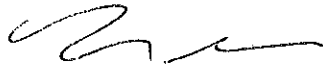


**DISABILITY, CITIZENSHIP, AND HIGHER EDUCATION: HUMBER
COLLEGE'S COMMUNITY INTEGRATION THROUGH CO-OPERATIVE
EDUCATION PROGRAM**

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**A Masters Research Paper submitted to the Graduate Program in Critical
Disability Studies in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of**

Master of Arts

Graduate Program in Critical Disability Studies

School of Health Policy and Management, Faculty of Health

York University

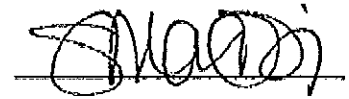
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August 2016

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that I am the sole author of this Masters Research Paper. This is the true copy of the Masters Research Paper, including any required final revisions, as accepted by my supervisors.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'S. Macri', written over a horizontal line.

Susan Elizabeth Macri

ABSTRACT

Individuals labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities encounter a severe lack of choice when it comes to deciding what they will pursue once they are ready to exit high school. For those individuals that are interested in continuing their studies at the post-secondary level, the options are limited or non-existent depending on their perceived disability and/or impairment. In the province of Ontario, the Community Integration through Co-operative Education (CICE) program is one viable possibility for individuals labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities that are able to meet the program admissions standards. Using a Critical Disability Studies analysis, this paper questions if inclusive higher education can exist within current neoliberal structures. This paper also aims to contextualize how having barrier-free access to post-secondary programs (like the CICE program) impacts substantive citizenship for individuals labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

For people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, full citizenship and quality education are limited in their accessibility, or worse, completely out of reach. Disability is perceived to be a financial burden by business and public institutions, and for those with disabilities, substantive citizenship and inclusive higher education are almost unattainable because of the blatant and subtle structural and attitudinal barriers. Disability, citizenship and education act as three foundational pillars on which the rights, struggles, and identities of many Canadians with disabilities are based. It would seem that having a disability is a precursor to experiencing social exclusion, systemic discrimination, and institutionalized oppression. The significance of substantive citizenship (which goes beyond the right to vote or declare yourself part of a nation) is the crucial element of social belonging, where being recognized as a member, and enjoying the rights and privileges this entails grants one access to realms of society—like post-secondary education—that they may otherwise not tread. Therefore, “citizenship is closely connected to a human being’s equal rights in society” (Kjellberg, 2010, p. 187). And one way of realizing this sense of social belonging and membership in Canada is by having the opportunity, or right, to go to college or university and to receive a post-secondary education at one of these institutions of higher learning. People labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities have very limited options in terms of what post-secondary choices they can make after high school, if at all, thus hindering their chances of social mobility, gainful employment, and being perceived by other members of society as full citizens. According to Bruce (2011),

Advocates or persons with intellectual disabilities have emphasized the realization for full citizenship for this systematically marginalized group. Participation in higher education and employment are two key components of achieving full participation as citizens and as members of civil society (p. 8).

For people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities to realize their social citizenship as a real source of power, they must be allowed to access and experience institutions of higher education. Disability is a social creation that governments, institutions, organizations, individuals and activist groups are always trying to define, depending on what is most suitable for their agenda.

According to the Ontario Human Rights Commission (No Date), in Section 10(1) of the Ontario *Human Rights Code*, a broad definition of disability is provided which includes, but is not limited to: “a condition of mental impairment or a developmental disability” that pertains to intellectual and developmental disabilities (p. 10). The terms *intellectual* and *developmental* disabilities refer to “a range of diagnostic labels” relating to mental or cognitive impairments typically acquired before adulthood, and these are labels that are used to describe a set of characteristics associated with having limited intellectual capability and difficulty with performing “everyday social life” and practical skills (Gallinger, 2013, p. 2). Intellectual and developmental disabilities are labels that Canadian school boards use to identify and categorize students with cognitive and learning impairments for the purposes of streaming them into “appropriate” special education classes (Carey, 2009; Carlson, 2010; Parmenter, 2011; Gallinger, 2014; Harrison & Holmes, 2014). These imposed labels chart their course throughout their time in the elementary and secondary school systems, and ultimately influences their experiences and chances once they leave high school. In the Ontario public school

system, students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities are often streamed into special education classes throughout their elementary and high school years, which are either segregated or semi-integrated, but are never fully inclusive. Unfortunately, for children labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, “low expectations lead to inferior educational opportunities for certain groups of students, who are *a priori* expected to fail on the basis of a deficit-oriented nomenclature” (Liasidou, 2013, p. 306). Many of these students will have an Individual Education Plan that is used to adapt and modify curriculum material to meet the student’s needs. These students face a number of challenges upon leaving high school, transitioning into adulthood, and seeking out options for employment and/or higher education—ultimately attempting to realize their full potential as citizens. Academic program opportunities at the post-secondary level are few and far between for students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, and this creates complex challenges for them and their families/carers, when it comes to overcoming the systemic and societal barriers in their way of attaining a higher education. Post-secondary institutions have traditionally favoured a certain type of able mind/body, leaving individuals labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities excluded from learning and participating. Higher education for these students was all but unheard of until a few decades ago when the community living movement gave way to self-advocacy and the deinstitutionalization of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities (Panitch, 2008; Carey, 2009).

Community Integration through Co-operative Education

In Ontario, this led a group of concerned parents to question what options were available to their children after high school, and with the support of Humber College, set out to develop a program for these students (Panitch, 2008). According to Bruce (2011), “the Ontario college system [created] a post-secondary option for students with developmental or intellectual disabilities,” known as the Community Integration through Co-operative Education (CICE) program, which has now expanded to multiple college campuses across Ontario (p. 17). The CICE program allows adult students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities to integrate and experience college life on campus, by taking modified versions of mainstream credited classes, taking “life skills” courses with other students that are labelled as intellectually and developmentally disabled, and by participating in campus social activities. As Gallinger (2013) notes, “because of the intensive supports provided to CICE students, this program receives considerable funding from MTCU in order to provide such supports” to the students and to help make the program a continued success (p. 75). Aside from other vocational programs located at Seneca College and George Brown College, the CICE program is the only one of its kind in the province of Ontario (Gallinger, 2013). Each CICE program is run according to its own mandates and guidelines—in terms of which students they will grant admissions to, how the curriculum is designed, to how much integration the CICE students will have with/in the rest of the college campus and community (Gallinger, 2013).

According to the Humber College website (2016), the CICE program “is a leader in building collaborative, inclusive communities that support and promote experiential and transformative learning” for students to develop skills they can “use at college, work, home and in the community” (No Pagination). Now into its third decade, CICE is located at Humber College’s north campus, and is a two-year, four-semester full-time certificate program for adult students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities. The focus of the program is to provide students with the college experience and to develop their skills for possible future employment (Bruce, 2011; Gallinger, 2013; Harrison & Homes, 2014). Progress has been made for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, as the CICE program allows these students to “pursue a postsecondary education” – a notion that was unheard of only a few decades ago (Harrison & Holmes, 2014, pp. 25-26). The CICE program is located in the School of Health Sciences, which, when looking at it critically through a disability studies lens, a medical model of disability could be applied when questioning the placement of the program within Humber College. I was first introduced to Humber College’s CICE program when I was a student at the college doing a work placement during my second semester for my own program in Early Childhood Education – Advanced Studies in Special Needs, or ECAS (it should be noted that although still widely used, “special needs” is an unfavourable and outdated term). In retrospect, I see how problematic and inappropriate it was that a college program for adult students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities was offered alongside programs for toddlers with disabilities as work placement options within the ECAS program. The fact that the CICE

program was considered to be of equal standing with programs for toddlers is reflective of society's offensive and discriminatory perception about the capabilities of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities—and this form of discrimination occurred in an institution of higher learning.

Methodology and Research Questions

The research and analysis of this paper will examine the fragile formation of substantive citizenship for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, and how this is affected by having access to higher education. I will be using a mixed method of research where I draw upon Humber College's CICE program and my experiences working there as a type of case study to provide illustrative examples that support the available literature on the elements of citizenship, education, and disability. Each of these three areas will be fleshed out using a Critical Disability Studies conceptual framework that is supported by a combination of Marxist theoretical analyses (Gramsci and Freire) applied to the structural and systemic barriers within higher education, and issues in obtaining substantive citizenship for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities. A prejudice exists regarding entry and access to higher learning because the essential human worth and intellectual capabilities of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities are called into question. Therefore, the central questions that guide this research and analysis are as follows: (a) What is substantive citizenship in relation to accessing higher education?; (b) Is the CICE program inclusive in design and structure (i.e. courses, support staff, etc.)?; (c) How do my experiences as an integration facilitator in the CICE program impact the CICE

students and reflect the wider societal expectations of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities?; and (d) How do the social institutions of citizenship and education intersect with, and influence the lives of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities?

To explore this further, I have organized this paper into sections that examine: (a) theoretical frameworks for analyzing substantive citizenship and higher education in relation to disability; (b) the rights and restrictions for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities in Ontario; and (c) a close examination of Humber College's CICE program and my experiences working as a facilitator for students enrolled within the program. The conclusion follows with a summary and discussion of future possibilities to continue this research. *Chapter 2: Theory – Citizenship and Education in Relation to Disability*, will examine the history of citizenship and education for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities and the pertinent theories surrounding access, inclusion, and critical inquiry. I will draw upon T.H. Marshall's 'social citizenship' and apply it to the experiences of people with disabilities. The Marxist theoretical underpinnings of Paulo Freire and Antonio Gramsci will also be examined—specifically the way they engage with the concepts of pedagogy, hegemony, and neoliberalism in relation to students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities. These theories will be woven together using a critical disability studies lens of inquiry into social justice and inclusion. *Chapter 3: Disability, Citizenship and Education in the Ontarian Context*, will consider how the intersecting elements of disability, citizenship and education come together to influence the lives and social

experiences of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities in Canada. I will question the assumed right to a higher education and contextualize it with Canada's history of the treatment of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities and the barriers and challenges they have faced. Community movements, self-advocacy and the disability rights movement will also be taken into account as influential contributors to progress. *Chapter 4: A Critical Analysis of Humber College's CICE Program* will take into consideration the design of the CICE program, and if inclusion is practiced. I will consider my experience in the CICE program as an integration facilitator. I will draw upon my experiences and analyze them in relation to citizenship, inclusion, and education for students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities. I will also draw upon Freire's 'banking theory' when it comes to the teacher/student power dynamic at the college level (which reinforces hierarchical educational practices).

Chapter 2: Theory – Citizenship and Education in Relation to Disability

When it comes to thinking about and discussing issues pertaining to post-secondary opportunities for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, there are three main elements of theory and analysis to consider here: full participatory citizenship, higher education, and critical disability. It is important to consider these three elements in relation to disability, impairment, and disability rights. The means of conceiving these elements has changed over time—both socially and politically—and continues to influence the way people labelled with intellectual and

developmental disabilities are treated and governed within the social institutions of citizenship and education. There is no one particular school of thought suitable to tackle this issue alone; a multi-angled approach is needed to assess the many complexities and layers associated with citizenship and education for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities. In this chapter, I will be drawing upon the theoretical insights of (a) T.H. Marshall's social rights of citizenship; (b) Antonio Gramsci's and Paulo Freire's examination of pedagogy and hegemonic education (for adults) under neoliberalism; and (c) the social model of disability and the disability rights movement in relation to post-secondary education. This will provide a thorough understanding of the available literature, and these three points will be the theoretical foundation for later analyses and inquiries regarding the CICE Program and the students with intellectual and developmental disabilities in higher education.

Citizenship

There is more to citizenship than nationality, patriotism, or the right to vote. According to Dwyer (2004), "the citizen is one way of imagining a link between the state and the individual" (p. 4). Citizenship is both a broad topic and a ranging concept that can be difficult to define in concrete terms. Through the centuries, citizenship has carried a variety of different meanings, where the definition continues to change over time to reflect the current global state of affairs (Turner, 1993; Leary, 1999; McMahon, 2012; Clarke, et al., 2014; Simplican, 2015). According to Heater (1999), "citizenship connects the individual to the state, certainly; but it also connects individuals to each other. Citizenship is teamwork; citizenship is shared activity in a spirit of mutual goodwill" (p.

56). This notion of citizenship comes to us from as early as the ancient republics of Greece and Rome, where in Greece, Aristotle first began philosophizing and writing about the concept (Heater, 1999; Leary, 1999).

For Aristotle, ideal citizens were “expected to be publicly active” and that “citizens must be possessed of and display *areté*, goodness or virtue” by which Aristotle meant “fitting in, in social and political behaviour, to the style of the particular constitution of the *polis*” (Heater, 1999, p. 45). Although Aristotle stressed the importance of civic morality, this form of citizenship was only practical for the elites of the time; those men that had the leisure time and affluence to “participate fully in public affairs” (Heater, 1999, p. 46). Ancient Rome saw a similar approach from Cicero, who admired Aristotle’s notion of civic morality, but “rejected his elitist definition of citizenship” (Heater, 1999, p. 46). It was Cicero’s “staunch commitment to the Stoic ethic that gave his interpretation of citizenship its weighty influence” because he believed that denying others one’s gifts to public work was a betrayal of man’s social nature (Heater, 1999, p. 47). Moving ahead to the Renaissance, Italy saw a change in the conception of citizenship, one that incorporated military involvement for the sake of the republic. Heater (1999), states that according to Machiavelli, “good citizenship is essential for sustaining a militarily secure state and a republican form of government; indeed, citizenship is possible only in a republic” (p. 48). Machiavelli’s notion of “good” citizenship revolved around able-bodied males as “patriotic citizen-soldiers” (Heater, 1999, p. 48). Moving along, just prior to the French Revolution, there were the philosophical writings of Rousseau, who, according to Heater (1999), believed that “one

of the purposes of citizenship is to secure freedom; the other is to underpin the republican state” (p. 53). During the French Revolution, “the concept of ‘citizen’ also implied a rejection of special privileges and honours claimed by the aristocracy and nobility. Citizenship connoted that all men (!) were free and equal” (Leary, 1999, p. 247). Aristotle, Cicero, Machiavelli and Rousseau, spoke of civic virtue, which was “applied to a man who displayed martial patriotic devotion” (Heater, 1999, p. 60). All these approaches to citizenship centred on the state, where serving the republic was at the heart of citizenship.

The discussion around citizenship changed again in the 1940s with the advent of T.H. Marshall’s influential theory of citizenship that linked three essential elements of what it meant to be a citizen: civil rights, political rights, and most especially, *social rights* (Turner, 1993; Heater, 1999; Leary, 1999; Dwyer, 2004; Prince, 2009; McMahon, 2012). According to Leary (1999), citizenship “acquired the connotation of a bundle of rights – primarily, political participation in the life of a community, the right to vote, and the right to receive certain protection from the community” (p. 257). Marshall’s addition of social rights was something new, and a move away from the state-centred take on citizenship, where social rights in this case referred to the “representative, legislative and welfare institutions of the nation state” (McMahon, 2012, pp. 2-3). Being a citizen with social rights also meant having “rights to basic welfare and full participation in society” (Dwyer, 2004, p. 4). Dwyer (2004) also notes that “social rights are still often widely regarded as subordinate to legal and political rights [...] and social rights are perhaps the most contentious part of citizenship” (pp. 7-8). It was Marshall’s addition of social rights

into the equation of citizenship that made it a real game-changer in a move towards equality for people in society.

Equality is an admirable societal goal, but Turner (1993) reminds us that “we must avoid the equation of citizenship with sameness” because citizenship (or membership and belonging) does not hold the same meaning or lived reality for all individuals or groups of people (p. 15). Just as Aristotle held ideals about the publicly-serving citizen, so too did Marshall about citizen equality: Dwyer (2004) states that “according to Marshall, every citizen, irrespective of their class position, shared a common ‘equality of status’ with others who were also members of a shared (national) community” (p. 4). McMahon (2012) continues this discussion of citizenship equality when quoting Marshall: “there is a kind of basic human equality associated with the concept of full membership of a community” (pp. 2-3). Equality of citizenship is ideal in theory, but it rarely translates seamlessly into practice, as full membership and full participation into society is not realized by many individuals and groups of people. This can be clearly demonstrated for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities that are facing myriad barriers in the education system. The formation of substantive citizenship and equality has a lot to do with internalizing one’s membership (or lack thereof) and expressly feeling a sense of belonging and connectedness to others (Shotter, 1993; Cairns, 1999; Leary, 1999; Dwyer, 2004; Mohanty and Tandon, 2006; Prince, 2009; Clarke et al., 2014).

The concept of citizenship continues to “raise issues of exclusion and diversity” (Leary, 1999, p. 248). Who benefits from being a citizen? Which groups of people

struggle to be seen as citizens? Since the advent of citizenship as an institution has brought about positive changes by establishing qualified citizens with legal, political, and social rights, one cannot talk about citizenship without also talking about exclusion and inclusion (Leary, 1999; Barnes and Mercer, 2003; McMahon, 2012). According to Barnes and Mercer (2003), the lack of social participation “experienced by disabled people demonstrates that exclusionary barriers remain deeply embedded in the structures and processes of contemporary societies” (p. 64). One such barrier is having equitable access to post-secondary education programs.

Although “equality has been perceived as a powerful characteristic of citizenship,” there still remains some major problems with citizenship, especially regarding full participation and inclusion into society (Heater, 1999, p. 82). Marshall’s social rights account of citizenship incorporates welfare and full participation in society, but he “fails to consider issues of impairment and disability” (Dwyer, 2004, p. 113). People with disabilities have long struggled for inclusion and full participation within society and their communities. Dwyer (2004) says that Marshall’s

emphasis is on the rights and responsibilities of able-bodied males, and the fact that many disabled people fail to enjoy basic citizenship rights in any substantive sense, suggest that it would be premature to consider many disabled people as equal members of the community of citizens that Marshall envisaged (p. 113).

Although citizenship implies belonging, access, and certain social rights, a “failure to consider fully the needs of individuals with impairments denies disabled people [sic] their citizenship rights” (Dwyer, 2004, p. 115). So even though someone may legally be a citizen, their full social citizenship rights are not realized because of the intersection of identity politics (Cairns, 1999; Mohanty and Tandon, 2006; Carey, 2009). Consider

people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, for example: as the concept of citizenship was forming in America during the 19th and 20th centuries, “the ‘good’ citizen was seen as rational, autonomous, and morally upright, [and] the ‘idiot’ was depicted as incompetent, dependent, and deviant and on these bases received protections and faced restrictions” (Carey, 2009, p. 36). Such restrictions included being institutionalized or denied access to an education (Dwyer, 2004; Carey, 2009; Simpican, 2015).

Gains have been made since then, but “issues of impairment and disability continue to raise a number of important questions about the potential for and limitations of citizenship” (Dwyer, 2004, p. 113). Why is full participatory and inclusive citizenship still out of reach for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities? How is this injustice affecting their chances at receiving an education at post-secondary institutions? Is citizenship equality an attainable objective for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities? Utilizing one’s citizenship *can* be empowering and having this form of membership provides individuals and groups access to a variety of resources in society (such as higher education), but it also leaves much to be desired for marginalized groups. As Dwyer (2004) notes, “the struggles of disabled people for equality and recognition, and for the right as people with impairments to exercise full and effective membership of society, are ongoing” (p. 116). While the struggle is ongoing, some are still wondering about how progressive and equitable changes can be made: “Can the marginalised [sic] citizen [act as] agents capable of affecting changes? What are the structural barriers to this?” (Mohanty and Tandon, 2006,

p. 13). One phenomena affecting such changes is the disability rights movement—proof that people with disabilities and impairments, and their allies, can and do make changes for the betterment of all people, especially with regards to education (Barnes and Mercer, 2003; Dwyer, 2004; Prince, 2009; Fleischer & Zames, 2011; Stienstra, 2012).

Education

Citizenship and education are intrinsically linked. Prince (2009) notes that “citizenship struggles connect people with disabilities to [...] educational institutions” (p. 179). Historically, colleges and universities “have provided [an] advanced education for a certain minority of the population [able-bodied, able-minded, heteronormative, and wealthy males]” (Barnes, 2006, p. 136). This has changed over time to include all types of students, and “until recently, the university has contributed relatively little in terms of nurturing our understanding of social citizenship for disabled people [sic]” (Barnes, 2006, p. 140). This includes allowing people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities admission into post-secondary programs. Institutions of higher learning are culpable of propagating exclusionary forms of citizenship for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities by denying their enrollment into accredited programs. According to Heater (1999), “education has a twofold purpose: to develop individuals for their own sakes and to fit them for life in the society to which they were born” (p. 164). While leisurely learning and the pursuit of knowledge in and of itself is an activity only for the wealthy and dominant classes, the main catalyst behind attaining a post-secondary education is to further one’s socio-economic status with the hopes of making gainful employment (Mayo, 1999; Dale and Hyslop-Margison, 2012; Irwin,

2012). And people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities are no different in their want and desire to be participating and employed members of society.

While higher education prepares graduates for the existing job market, access to this educational development, is not a unanimous phenomenon: even though people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities now have a minimal presence on post-secondary campuses—as evidenced by the CICE Program—their credibility and legitimacy, as capable and deserving human beings, is often still in question (Freire, 1970; Freire, 1974; Titchkosky, 2011). Dwyer (2004) reminds us that persons with disabilities

have long faced institutionalised discrimination in most areas of their lives. Pointing to a combination of enforced segregation within the education system, the labour market and various welfare services, and a hostile physical environment, [it is argued that persons with disabilities] are effectively denied the civil, political and social rights that are central to the notions of citizenship (p. 115).

Institutional higher learning in colleges and universities has remained as a revered practice to becoming a better citizen and furthering one's socio-economic status and job prospects in today's neoliberal society. As Dale and Hyslop-Margison (2012) accurately point out, "Neoliberal culture is naturalized to students in public and higher education as an unchangeable social reality rather than critiqued as an ideological movement imposed by special corporate interests on citizens of industrialized democratic societies" (p. 136). This has been the case for some time, as Mayo (2015) notes that "since the early eighties, Neoliberalism provided the dominant hegemonic discourse surrounding economic development and policy" (p. 1). This discourse extends to policies of citizenship, education, and disability rights.

Although Marxist theorists Antonio Gramsci and Paolo Freire did not directly discuss neoliberal educational practices, their analyses of hegemony and pedagogical oppression, respectively, are applicable to the struggle people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities face when trying to gain substantive citizenship through access to higher education (Mayo, 1999; Dale and Hyslop-Margison, 2012; Johnstone and Terzakis, 2012; Mayo, 2015). Marxist theory is crucial for analyzing issues of citizenship and education for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities because Marxism uncompromisingly rejects “all forms of human alienation, exploitation, oppression, and injustice” (Dale and Hyslop-Margison, 2012, p. 132). The Marxist theories of Gramsci and Freire can be applied to critiquing neoliberal hegemonic education and the affects it has on people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities.

Although “hegemony” is a theoretical concept closely associated with Gramsci, it originally dates back to the times of the ancient Greeks (Mayo, 2015). The Gramscian definition of hegemony is “a social condition in which all aspects of social reality are dominated by or supportive of a single class” (Mayo, 1999, p. 35). This “social reality” is maintained by a culmination of ideologies, values and customs that underpin the domination of that single class (Gramsci, 1973). For Gramsci, the modern state has two functions: the maintenance of *hegemony* and, when that fails, the use of *coercion* (i.e. police, judiciary, prisons, etc.) to quash any substantive dissent (Gramsci 1973, p. 263). The realm wherein hegemony is fostered and maintained is known as “civil society” and it is populated by institutions that shape ideas, values and customs—schools, churches,

the media, and voluntary associations (Gramsci, 1973). At the same time, civil society is also a space of fostering “counter-hegemony”, which challenge dominant values, ideas and customs. Thus, higher education can be either a space for reinforcing dominant values and ideas or a means for challenging them. In the case of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, the dominant ideas and values are ableist and have historically sought to deny them access to higher education. Moreover, university and college administrators are increasingly driven by the imperatives of the market, which often lead them to operate colleges and universities within a neoliberal framework that is focused on perpetuating and maintaining hegemonic capitalist ideals, not fostering inclusive spaces. But these values and practices have not remained unchallenged; disability rights activists have made some inroads in countering ableist practices within institutions of higher learning. Yet even still, more work remains to be done.

According to Mayo (2015), “Hegemony is sustained by a series of social relations which operate on the basis of specific pedagogies. The influencing of ideas, practices and desires, as the basis of consent, entails broad pedagogical efforts” (p. 14). Mayo is referring to hegemonic pedagogies that teach and reiterate that status quo: for example, believing that people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities have no place in higher education. Freire (1970) counters this notion of hegemonic pedagogical efforts with his radical stance on adult education: “No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors” (p. 54). Although Freire spoke to the impoverished and illiterate classes in the favelas of Brazil, I argue that pedagogical

liberation and empowerment extends to people with disabilities, and specifically in this case, people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities who are making waves in the ivory tower.

Disability

Disability is the point of intersection for both citizenship and education, and there are major problems with both of these influential social institutions in terms of access and inclusion for people with disabilities. Disability Studies allows us to examine this intersection with a critical lens that challenges the structural and attitudinal barriers present in society. The socially constructed institutions of citizenship and education exist together, and have progressively changed over time with the help of the disability rights movement. For people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, the mid-nineteenth century was dominated by their incarceration into government-run institutions for the “feeble-minded” (Carey, 2009; Carlson, 2010). This practice of warehousing people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities was a grave injustice that was shaken and dismantled by the advent of community activism and the independent living movement (Fleischer & Zames, 2011). In and around the 1950s and 1960s, “deinstitutionalization allowed [people with disabilities] to begin entering the mainstream, bringing a new population to the developing disability rights movement” (Fleischer & Zames, 2011, p. 33). While the movement back into the community was hailed a positive step in the right direction, it was not without its challenges in terms of accessing support services and gaining equitable rights in all areas of society, including employment and education. According to Boxall (2011),

Advocates or persons with intellectual disabilities have emphasized the realization for full citizenship for this systematically marginalized group. Participation in higher education and employment are two key components of achieving full participation as citizens and as members of civil society (p. 8).

Being able to attend post-secondary education is so intrinsically linked to citizenship, that to deny anyone this opportunity, is a form of oppression. And one way to analyze this oppression is by utilizing the social model of disability—which identifies that disability lies in societal and systemic barriers, and not within the individual. This has furthered the disability rights movement and disability activism.

According to Shakespeare (2006), understanding the difference between impairment and disability is an important distinction to make when working with the social model of disability to analyze an issue: “Impairment is defined in individual and biological terms. Disability is defined as a social creation. Disability is what makes impairment a problem” (p. 34). So in the case of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, although their ‘impairment’ refers to their cognitive abilities, it is societal structural and attitudinal barriers that determines they are ‘disabled’; the ways in which people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities think and how they perceive the world is considered to be sub-standard, and ultimately not worthy of accessing certain realms of society, including being an active citizen and a student in post-secondary education. When the social model of disability is applied to higher education for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, “it prompts us to ask what is ‘wrong’ with the education system and the learning environment, rather than what is ‘wrong’ with the [student]” (Boxall, Carson & Docherty, 2004, p.105). The onus lies with the institution, as Boxall, Carson, and Docherty (2004) aptly note: “a social

model approach to higher education would both question [the] ‘failures’ of the university learning environment to accommodate students with learning difficulties” (p. 105).

These systemic failures have been addressed by self-advocates and allies within the disability rights movement. Ultimately, the premise of citizenship and higher education is not one of inclusion, but systematic and intentional exclusion, especially for people with disabilities.

It is well known that “university graduates generally do better than non-graduates occupationally, economically, materially, health-wise, and so forth;” and this sentiment extends to people with disabilities (Côté & Allahar, 2011, p. 12). They are people too, that want the same things, as anyone else, regardless of whether one has a disability/impairment or not. Is having an intellectual or developmental disability an impediment to higher education? Quite simply, the answer is yes: “persons with intellectual [and developmental] disabilities continue to be denied educational opportunities equal to those of their peers without intellectual [or developmental] disabilities” (Tardif-Williams, Trent-Kratz & Donato, 2009, p. 240). This structural and systemic denial happens at all education levels in society, including primary and secondary schooling, but it is most apparent when students are transitioning out of high school, and wanting to continue their studies. According to Stienstra (2012), “people with intellectual disabilities are often prevented from entering because of the perception that they are not intellectually able to undertake this level of education” (p. 43). Not all people with disabilities will get the opportunity to go to college or university, and this is because some disabilities and impairments are categorized hierarchically when it comes

to higher education. For example: “‘higher education’ [refers] to the order of abstraction required for grasping certain types of knowledge” (Côté & Allahar, 2011, p. 14).

Abstract thought, philosophy, theoretical analysis, and academic work in general, are not things typically associated with people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities (Carey, 2009; Carlson, 2010; Steinstra, 2012; Tardif-Williams, Trent-Kratz & Donato, 2009). According to Parmenter (2011), people with every type of disability and impairment “have experienced discrimination and stigmatisation throughout the millennia, but an intact intellect has historically been highly valued and often seen as the essential characteristic of being fully human” (p. 304). The CICE program challenges this notion by integrating students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities into colleges across Ontario.

Chapter 3: Disability, Citizenship, and Education in the Ontarian Context

What is the Canadian context of disability, substantive citizenship and higher education, and how does it all tie together in the province of Ontario? For people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, it means having barrier-free equal and equitable access to inclusive post-secondary education (or, IPSE). According to Mosoff, Greenholtz, and Hurtado (2009), initiatives in IPSE “for persons with [intellectual and] developmental disabilities address one of the last remaining systemic obstacles for including this population as full members of Canadian society” (p. 7). Accessing higher education opportunities is very much linked to being perceived as viable and real citizens that are an integral part of their communities, which still presents

a major challenge for the students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities (and their families) that are left facing the unknown after high school. The Ontario Human Rights Commission (No Date) states:

The Ontario *Human Rights Code* sets out the principle that each person should feel a part of the community and be able to contribute fully to the development and well-being of the community and the Province. The *Code* guarantees the right to equal treatment in education, without discrimination on the ground of disability, as part of the protection for equal treatment in services. This protection applies to elementary and secondary schools, colleges and universities, both public and private (p. 5).

The guarantee to equal treatment in education does not hold up, and discrimination based on perceived disability continues for students with all disabilities and impairments.

Equal treatment does not mean being marginalized within one's own classroom; nor does it mean that some students graduate high school with an OSSD and some with a certificate of participation. According to the Ontario Human Rights Commission (No Date), "It is apparent that many students with disabilities do not have equal access to educational opportunities in Ontario, either at the primary and secondary, or at the post-secondary level" (p. 5). This inequality that is rampant throughout all levels of schooling, is arguably felt the most by students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities once they are ready to leave high school and are trying to enter institutions of higher learning, because of the importance placed upon intellect and abstract thinking—which they are discriminatorily perceived of as lacking or not possessing. This begs the question for all students: Who belongs and who has the right to be a student in post-secondary education?

The Right to a Higher Education

For people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities that “have experienced marginalization in the past, the recognition of their rights now is often met with resistance by those who perceive these new demands as conflicting with long-standing practices” (Carey, 2009, p. 214). This resistance is felt in many spheres in Canadian society, including post-secondary institutions. Do any of us have the right to a higher education? The importance placed upon it as an almost required necessity in today’s economy would suggest you either get one, or else suffer the socio-economic consequences of not having one. But the question is a serious one, and there is no satisfactory answer. Because right away, there are elements of class and ability that intersect here: we know that not everyone can afford to go to post-secondary institutions, and not everyone is deemed capable enough, based on their academic standing or their disabilities. Some questions to consider when postulating on the ideal student: Can you afford to go? Are you able/smart enough to be accepted? Does society expect you to go? These questions lead us to realize that post-secondary education and access is designed for the entitled. According to the Ontario Human Rights Commission (No Date), “in Canada, education is recognized and legislated as a fundamental social good. A publicly-funded education system, accessible to all, is recognized as a core responsibility of government” (p. 5). This refers to elementary and secondary levels of schooling. Nowhere is the right to a higher education bestowed upon all citizens—it would be bad for the business of the neoliberal model of post-secondary institutions that only want the best and the brightest ‘ideal students’ walking through their doors. Therefore, the

‘entitlements’ to a higher education seems to be a more appropriate turn of phrase when discussing rights and liberties. Carey (2009), reminds us that

Rights are human constructions established and negotiated in real-world contexts. We may rhetorically claim that all people have the right to live in the community or to receive an education, yet the claim exists only in the rhetoric unless it is recognized and supported by other people and social institutions (p. 214).

For some Canadians, it may be an assumed social expectation to attend college and/or university (with the underlying hopes of improving one’s social mobility), but there are no implicit or explicit rights that are government-sanctioned for citizens to attain a higher education—at least none that have yet been formally written into Canadian federal law and statutes. Class and social positioning is tied in with the impetus to go to college or university, where the drive to achieve or maintain a “middle class” existence is fuelled by neoliberal ideologies that exist to bolster the capitalist economy upon students’ graduation and entry into the job market. For people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, their job prospects are severely limited in relation to their peers that graduate with a recognized college diploma or university degree (Carey, 2009; Prince, 2009; Gallinger, 2013). There is a connection between being part of the workforce, and being educated at the post-secondary level, and in regards to this, Liasidou (2013), talks about the “neo-liberal constructions of educational successes,” where,

Under the siege of neo-liberal ideologies, ‘the “ideal student” becomes a source of educational aspiration’ whilst ‘constitutions of the ideal student invoke constitutions of the non-ideal’ – for example, the disabled student – who is marginalized and excluded in a system within which issues of power, oppression and subordination are relegated to the sphere of individual pathology (p. 307).

For post-secondary institutions, the “ideal student” then, does not include people labelled with intellectual or developmental disabilities. Using the social model of disability to critique this relationship between the institutions of higher learning and the excluded potential students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, one can see the blatant inequality. These institutions are complicit in the “othering” of students that are not held up as ideal learners, and in essence, students with disabilities are blamed and shamed for not meeting these expectations, of which the result is their fundamental exclusion. This reality only adds to the “severe disparity in opportunities for adults with intellectual [and developmental] disabilities to continue one’s education that needs to be addressed” (Weinkauf, 2002, p. 31). Advocacy groups are attempting to tackle this issue of “continuing education for adults with intellectual [and developmental] disabilities as an education and human rights issue, emphasizing that past barriers to college and university participation need to be systematically dismantled” (Weinkauf, 2002, p. 31). In Ontario, one potential government organization that has the power to make changes in the system would be the Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities (MTCU). The MTCU administers post-secondary education provincially, and it also “develops policy directions for post-secondary institutions, authorizes universities to grant degrees, [and] distributes funds to colleges and universities” to support such programs as CICE (Ontario Human Rights Commission, No Date, p. 45). Part of this policy development and funneling of funds goes towards making accommodations for students with disabilities, which is “governed by the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, and by the provincial human rights statutes” (Ontario Human Rights Commission, No Date, p. 45). But for students

labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, the duty to accommodate does not extend to being granted admission into post-secondary institutions. Once in higher education though, the “accommodation of students with disabilities at the post-secondary level is not subject to the same detailed legislative structures as at the primary and secondary levels” (Ontario Human Rights Commission, No Date, p. 45). Although ultimately held accountable by the Ontario *Human Rights Code* and the AODA (Accessibility for Ontarians with Disabilities Act), this lack of detail in post-secondary policy allows individual colleges and universities a great deal of interpretive power when it comes to doling out accommodations to students with disabilities (Ontario Human Rights Commission, No Date). It should be noted that accommodation is not synonymous with inclusion.

Canada’s Struggles

The initial history of education for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities beginning in 19th century Canada is a dark one that began with institutionalized and government-sanctioned forms of exclusion. This history involves removing people from their communities and warehousing them in psychiatric asylums and state residential institutions, where they would often be trained in the maintenance of the buildings in which they were incarcerated (Burge, et al., 2008; Panitch, 2008; Carey, 2009; Carlson, 2010; Gallinger, 2013). With the support of families and advocacy groups, circumstances eventually changed over time, when “the institutional era began to draw to a close with the rise of organized parental and other pressure groups in the 1950s. These groups’ growth in numbers and effectiveness in the 1960s, lead to the birth of the

community living movement” (Burge et al., 2008, p. 4). The community living movement brought people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities out of these institutions and back home to their families. These families initially struggled to find adequate resources to help support their children at home, of which the majority were now adults (Panitch, 2008; Carey, 2009). Although it was a major improvement from institutional incarceration, family advocacy for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities often took on a paternalistic tone of care, whether intended or not (Carey, 2009). And so, it went on like this until the 1980s, when self-advocacy became front and centre in the disability rights movement for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities. A change also took place in Ontario’s education sector when

A major public policy shift occurred in 1980 when Bill 82 introduced significant amendments to the Education Act. Bill 82 recognized the rights of students with disabilities to receive an appropriate education at public expense and permitted parents to appeal the identification of their child as exceptional and the placement of their child (Burge, et al., 2008, pp. 4-5).

This meant that children with disabilities were now becoming increasingly integrated with their peers in the classroom setting, regardless of their disability or the labels imposed on them by their doctors or schools. It was a step in the direction of progress, and it sent waves of change up the levels of schooling, all the way to post-secondary education.

People with disabilities (with the support of their allies) began self-advocating for equal educational rights, and as Atkinson and Walmsley (2010) note, “the growth of self-advocacy has meant that many people with intellectual disabilities have begun to speak

for themselves” (p. 275). Being able to speak for yourself (whether verbally or through another method of communication) and having the space and the right to identify your own needs and on your own terms, is empowering. Taking back the power that had been denied to people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities for so long, flew in the face of neoliberal hegemonic discourse. This is because they were a group of people deemed uneducable and unemployable, and therefore seen as inessential to a capitalist education system and job market. According to Beauchamp-Pryor (2011), “Gramsci’s doctrine of ‘hegemony’ rests on the ‘domination’ by the ‘intellectual and moral leadership’ in ‘civil society’: domination which is not based on material power alone, but through moral, political and cultural values” (p. 285). What did this mean for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities that had returned to their communities and were now advocating for themselves? It meant struggling for the possibility and opportunity in joining fellow citizens as equal members in society, when it came to attaining gainful employment and getting a higher education.

According to Stienstra (2012), “At every stage of life, inclusive education in Canada remains illusive, with physical and attitudinal barriers, a lack of disability supports, additional costs for people with disabilities” (p. 46). Therefore it should be noted that, even though this paper examines the follies and triumphs of post-secondary education for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, the problems regarding inclusion, equality, and equity starts much earlier in the primary years of education, when resources are plentiful but schooling operates in a segregated or integrated way. This continues throughout high school, and when these children become

adults, there are far less resources made readily available and they are often left to fend for themselves as they navigate complex social supports with their families and caregivers. This is a far-reaching socio-economic and political issue.

Transitioning out of high school is a significant milestone in a student's life, regardless of whether or not the student is labelled with an intellectual or developmental disability. I would argue that perhaps this is even more so the fact given all the barriers and systemic exclusions these students face throughout their elementary and high school years, in comparison to their typically-developing peers. And depending on the individual and their personal circumstances, some students with disabilities in specialized programs remain in high school for an extended period of time, beyond the provincial standard of four years, until they reach the age of twenty-one (Bruce, 2011). What are the next steps and opportunities for these students? Most students labelled with an intellectual or developmental disability do not graduate with a provincially recognized high school diploma or equivalent; rather, it is a certificate of participation that they receive upon exit of their final seventh year. Not possessing a "legitimate" high school diploma already limits their options in terms of employment and furthering their education. According to Bruce (2011), "transition from public school to community and to employment is frequently identified as an issue that must be addressed for students with intellectual and developmental disabilities" (p. 12). Canada-wide, this transition is mired by a lack of available resources, funding, and viable options; there "is a gap in many jurisdictions, and it is often identified by parents and advocates as the most prevalent barrier to community inclusion" (Bruce, 2011, p. 12). The good news is that

“post-secondary participation rates for youth in their late teens and early twenties, and attainment rates for prime age works, are high in Canada by international standards” (Frenette, Mueller & Sweetman, 2010, p. 1). But how many of those youth are labelled with an intellectual or developmental disability? So often, anything discussed regarding higher education is assumed to be referring only to typically-developed students with “ideal” levels of intellect, and “it is clear that people with disabilities (in general) are under-represented in post-secondary education in Canada” (Stienstra, 2012, p. 42). There are still stigmatic expectations placed upon post-secondary students: that they must be smart in a certain way that ultimately benefits the institution and the capitalist job market upon graduation. When it comes to post-secondary education and students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities, Bruce (2011) notes the following:

Canada has made noticeable strides in providing post-secondary options for students who would not otherwise have access to a college or university experience. Unfortunately, the growth in availability of post-secondary options for students with intellectual disabilities is not consistent across the country, and the degree of full inclusion is variable (p. 2).

For the young adults labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities in Ontario that want to pursue higher education, their options are limited to college vocational programs (e.g. the vocational programs at Seneca College or George Brown College), or the Community Integration through Co-operative Education (CICE) programs located at various other college campuses across the province.

Contextualizing Ontario’s CICE Program

Inclusion is one of those words that gets used even when inclusion is not being practiced or implemented. Schools at all levels, from primary to post-secondary, like to

boast about how inclusive they are from the ways they operate within their programs, their classrooms, with faculty and students, and the functioning of the institution in general. According to Mosoff, Greenholtz and Hurtado (2009), “before [IPSE] was a real option, the choices available to young adults with [intellectual and] developmental disabilities leaving high school were limited to segregated skills-based training, segregated work programs, and day programs” (p. 13). IPSE is hailed as “one conduit to adulthood that includes aspects of a broader set of values that sees people with [intellectual and] developmental disabilities as having a valued place in society as true citizens” (Mosoff, Greenholtz & Hurtado, 2009, p. 7). Adulthood and substantive citizenship in Canada is very much connected to attending college or university after high school, and people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities feel these same pressures as their peers. To help bolster this transition into adult student life,

IPSE programs are supporting the inclusion of adults with intellectual [and developmental] disabilities to be included into mainstream college and university campus life. This represents a radical departure from traditional adult education opportunities for these learners. IPSE demonstrates that adults with intellectual disabilities no longer need to be isolated from their non-disabled peers who are also continuing their education. IPSE signifies a new vision of adult education for adults with intellectual [and developmental] disabilities (Weinkauff, 2002, p. 29).

While current options are limited in Ontario, in comparison to the options available for typically-developing students with a legitimately recognized high-school diploma, college programs like CICE operate on an IPSE-based model, “whereby students with intellectual [and developmental] disabilities participate alongside their non-disabled peers in normative and typical post-secondary experiences” (Gallinger, 2013, p. 3). This may seem to be the initial impression one has of the CICE program, but in reality, IPSE is a

concept that looks more attractive on paper and less likely to come to fruition. Although the IPSE notion “rests on a fundamental principle of ‘zero exclusion,’” this is not always how it transpires in reality for the students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities enrolled in the CICE program, that still find themselves largely segregated from the rest of the student body on a daily basis and with regards to their courses and campus social life (Mosoff, Greenholtz & Hurtado, 2009, p. 8). Addressing ways to ensure post-secondary education is in fact inclusive, remains an ongoing effort for advocates, allies, and for those working in the field of disability and education. One instance where equity is given a chance is during the admissions and application process into the CICE program. For potential new students, the “level of ability, previous academic performance, or diagnostic categories are not grounds for denial” (Mosoff, Greenholtz & Hurtado, 2009, p. 8). The CICE applicant is not required to have an Ontario high school diploma in order to gain entry into the program because the program does not grant diplomas, and instead focuses less on academic study and more on the overall ‘college experience’ which includes “course work, dorm life, college social life and many more experiences similar to other adults attending community colleges and four-year universities” (Martinez & Queener, 2010, p. 1). Although the CICE programs across Ontario give students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities the chance to experience college life, similar to that of their typically-developing peers, they operate on a “special education” model of learning and integration (Uditsky & Hughson, 2007). Students in the Humber College CICE program only experience integration when they are auditing a “mainstream” elective course from a credited program within the

college; otherwise, they take “life-skills” classes with their CICE peers. In the following chapter, I will take a closer look at the design and inclusivity of the program.

Chapter 4: A Critical Analysis of Humber College’s CICE Program

For a long time, a gap existed for students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities that were ready to leave high school and transition into adulthood and the wider social community. Hardly anything had been made available to them in comparison with their typically-developing peers. As Mosoff, Greenholtz and Hurtado (2009) note,

Although research on post-secondary education suggests that students with [intellectual and] developmental disabilities should remain with their peers, rather than be shunted off to specialized semi-segregated environments, impediments to mainstream college and university experiences continue the social “othering” of people (p. 7).

Although some might argue the CICE program is a form of “othering” within the college post-secondary institution, its existence has provided an alternative for individuals labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities. For decades, their only options after high school consisted of varying forms of segregated day programs that focussed on skills-training and segregated forms of work (Mosoff, Greenholtz & Hurtado, 2009; Bruce, 2011).

Application Process and Curriculum

Entry into the CICE program at Humber College begins with the admissions process, just like any other college program, except with this one, applicants are required to submit an application form (please see Appendix, pg. 52), additional documents, and

to participate in a panel interview (Gallinger, 2013; Humber College Website, 2016). Applicants must be at least 19 years of age by the first day of classes and have graduated high school with a “Certificate of Achievement, Ontario Secondary School Certificate, or equivalent” because possessing an Ontario Secondary School Diploma does not meet the program requirements (Humber College Website, 2016, No Pagination). Individuals that have a high school diploma are considered too high functioning, or overly capable, for Humber College’s CICE program. This demonstrates a form of subtle bureaucratic sanctioned segregation within the college system.

It is a requirement however, that the applicant disclose their disability to the admissions committee by providing proof of a “documented intellectual disability” which would either come from their private medical records or their elementary and high school records and transcripts (Humber College Website, 2016, No Pagination). It should be noted that for some CICE programs in Ontario, applicants “are not required to submit verification or documentation of their disability for entrance into the CICE program” (Gallinger, 2013, p. 72). For Humber College, disclosure is a requirement to even be considered. This form of public disclosure and having to prove one’s disability to the institution for the sake of consideration into a post-secondary program, makes for a complex and layered issue. On the one hand, Humber College would argue it is a way to determine which students are a proper fit for the design and success of the program (perhaps additionally for provincial funding and insurance purposes, etc.). On the other hand, when applying the social model of disability to this situation, the college is identifying the applicant as the disabled party and consequentially supporting the

oppressive practices of labelling and othering people with disabilities and impairments. A pattern of discrimination surfaces where the individual labelled with an intellectual or developmental disability is forced to “out” themselves by publicly displaying proof of their impairments. In addition, the applicant must be willing to accept the “disabled” label placed upon them by Humber College in order to gain membership into this post-secondary community. But for the students in the CICE program, that label might be worth the attached assumptions and stereotypes because graduating from this program has the potential to increase their chances for employment while still having the opportunity to experience post-secondary education first-hand (Gallinger, 2013). At this point in the admissions process, if the applicant has met all the required criteria and disclosed all “necessary” information to Humber College, and their references are substantiated, the applicant is called in for an interview. The interview portion of the admissions process takes place in the spring prior to the start of the fall/winter school year for which the student would be applying. From the time when I worked as an integration facilitator in the Humber College CICE program, I can recall being a part of the interviewing panel during several interviews for hopeful applicants. There are usually two or three interviewers that ask the applicant a variety of questions pertaining to their past experiences, their interests, their community involvement, and what they would like to gain from the program. In addition to answering these questions to the satisfaction of the CICE staff present during the interview, the applicant must also “demonstrate a willingness to participate fully in the program” (Humber College Website, 2016, No Pagination). If it is apparent that the parents/caregivers are pushing

the applicant to apply, and they personally have no interest in attending the program, they will not be considered for admission. With about 30 students admitted into the program each year, space is limited, and this makes choosing students difficult.

Not every individual labelled with an intellectual or developmental disability is eligible for the CICE program. According to the Humber College Website (2016), “students must have a level of independence that does not require constant support and supervision” (No Pagination). This means that for students with co-morbidities and/or physical impairments that requires they have additional support to assist with mobility, this program no longer becomes an option. Although it does not say this on the Humber College website, I know it to be the case from working there: students are not permitted to have personal support workers assisting them while in the program attending classes or work placements. They must be completely independent in that regard. According to Bruce (2011), “Students in this program are required to have a certain level of independence, and supports are not provided outside the academic arena” (p. 17). The emphasis on independence is also applied to transportation, where “students must arrange for their own transportation to and from Humber, from one campus to another (if applicable) and to field placement sites” (Humber College Website, 2016, No Pagination). Again, this limits which individuals labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities will have access to the CICE program, hindering the potential for an inclusive program.

For the 2016/2017 academic school year, the fees for two semesters is \$3,837.78 for domestic students and \$14,200.00 for international students. These amounts “are the

total of tuition, lab and material fees, student service and auxiliary fees” which are subject to change (Humber College Website, 2016, No Pagination). These fees are fairly standard in comparison to other college programs, but for students with disabilities who often incur added expenses in life due to their medical conditions and individual needs, college tuition can be an unaffordable expense, and ultimately another structural and systemic barrier to post-secondary education. The CICE program encourages students not to apply for the Ontario Student Assistance Program (OSAP) and instead states that: “Students are eligible to apply for the Humber Institution-Funded Bursary. They will receive the application form once they have been accepted into the program” (Humber College Website, 2016, No Pagination). The bursary is designed to defray some of the costs of tuition for these students, in turn making the program that much more accessible. Whether paid for out-of-pocket, or with the assistance of the college bursary, Gallinger (2013) notes that “as full-time tuition paying students, CICE students have access to the same college resources and supports available to any other college student” (p. 75). This includes, but is not limited to, such resources as the writing centre, disability services, the health or wellness centre on campus, campus social clubs, and the like.

Students in the CICE program take a variety of core courses each semester, with topics ranging from community relations, to personal development, to life skills classes. These courses that are taught by either the program coordinator or the integration facilitators, are for CICE students only and take place in segregated classrooms. In addition to their core courses, each semester students are allowed to choose one “mainstream” elective course that they get to audit with the course director’s permission.

Electives, or “regular college courses are adapted to meet individual learning styles, and academic support is provided in the classroom and through tutorials” (Bruce, 2011, p. 17). These elective courses include “Spa Management, Hospitality, Broadcasting – Radio, Tourism Management, Journalism, Landscape Technician, Business, Police Foundations and many more” (Humber College Website, 2016, No Pagination). In the elective classes, students are integrated with other college students, and they are supported by their integration facilitator who assists them by adapting the curriculum and modifying assignments. The Humber College website (2016), informs applicants that "your CICE integration facilitator will adapt the elective courses to suit your specific needs so that you can participate” (No Pagination). The opportunity to make informed and independent choices is a positive and empowering experience for CICE students, and as

research shows that those with intellectual [and developmental] disabilities who participate in contexts where they have opportunities to make choices and to develop self-determination are more likely to participate fully in adult life and to fare better across multiple life categories including employment, access to health and other benefits, financial independence, and independent-living (Burge, et al., 2008, p. 3).

This opportunity for choice and agency extends to the CICE students’ work placement opportunities that they get to participate in yearly. According to Bruce (2011), “course work includes a variety of field placements to allow students to gain valuable work-related skills” (p. 17). One of the biggest draws to the CICE program, aside from the college experience, is the experience and skill development it provides students for potential future employment. Even though the CICE program promotes workplace experiences by providing students with unpaid placements on and off campus, the reality

for most of these students when they graduate, is that they will not be working. This is so for a number of reasons: (1) they are on the Ontario Disability Support Program (ODSP) and if they work it would take away from their benefits; (2) companies see them as a liability because of their medical diagnoses; (3) no one wants to hire them because of the perception that people with intellectual and developmental disabilities are not as capable as everyone else; and (4) barriers and ableist attitudes persist in Canadian society. After attending a CICE reunion party for graduates of the program in March 2016, I had the opportunity to speak to some of the individuals that had graduated in the cohort of students I worked with when I was employed by Humber College. I asked them how they were doing, and if they were employed anywhere since they graduated, and the majority of responses indicated that they were still looking for work. Some of the graduates had returned to volunteering or to their local community day programs in lieu of not finding gainful employment.

The Role of Facilitators in the CICE Program

During my work placement in the CICE program as a Humber College student, I moved between the roles of student and integration facilitator, learning from the CICE staff and assisting the CICE students as directed. The choice of language used to describe the facilitator role should be noted: integration facilitator, not inclusion facilitator. The idea behind the integration facilitator is to assist students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities to assimilate into the college experience in their role as a post-secondary student—whether it be helping the students familiarize themselves with the campus, adapting course material to their abilities, or facilitating

social opportunities for the students to participate in. For my work placement, it was my first time working with adults labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities in a professional setting, and I went into the role with an untrained critical eye. I learned the basic operations of the program and how to support students with experiencing college life on campus. I remember going away from the work placement experience with the feeling of wanting more. Then approximately eight months later after I had graduated from the ECAS program, and was already one term into my Master of Arts program in Critical Disability Studies at York University, I was offered a one-semester contract position at Humber College's CICE program, as one of their integration facilitators.

As an integration facilitator, I was given a "caseload" of CICE students that I supported and worked with on a daily and weekly basis. The role of the integration facilitator is similar to that of an educational assistant in elementary and secondary school classrooms. Within the college setting, the role also took on many other forms including teacher, assistant, and counselor—and always with the intent of supporting the students' individual goal-setting, as well as their independence. Getting to know the students on my caseload was important to be able to provide them with the tailored support they needed, and without the one-on-one interaction time, identifying the areas where support could be given, would not be possible or beneficial to the student. As Gallinger (2013) aptly states, "it is up to the CICE team to get to know students and their educational needs" (p. 72). This was accomplished through meeting with your student on a daily basis, and by having a weekly one-on-one meeting where the facilitator would go over the weekly modified assignments and check in with the student about their progress, if

they had any concerns, or if they required help with anything. According to the Humber College website (2016), “students will be able to receive up to 5 hours of academic support per week from Integration Facilitators” (No Pagination). In my experience, not all students needed the same amount of support, and the “5 hours” stipulation is not strictly adhered to by the CICE program. If it happens that a student requires more assistance, the accommodations are made by the integration facilitator in order to support their weekly success with their personal goal setting, as well as for completing their ongoing assignments. Part of this integrative support requires making an individualized program plan for each student, and reviewing it with them at their weekly meetings. The CICE student is involved in the creation and implementation of their own individualized program plan by setting weekly goals they aim to achieve (e.g. completing all their projects on time), and by making a list of what items they need to accomplish before the next meeting with their integration facilitator. This time allotted to the individual program plan was also used to go over areas of improvement that the student would self-identify, and it would be the integration facilitator’s job to help guide the student through any difficulties they may be experiencing—whether it be personal, social, or academic. Gallinger (2013) notes that “an individualized program plan is developed at the onset of a student’s CICE program, based on the student’s interests and strengths” (p. 73). In special education within elementary and secondary schools, this is also referred to as an individual education plan (or an IEP). This model of special education is applied at the college level to Humber College’s CICE program. Although, “IEPs” here are not seen as patronizing exercises imposed on the students by the program staff, but instead they are

viewed as useful tools that engage students and support their overall success within the program.

Banking Education

As an integration facilitator, an emphasis was placed on supporting student independence, and their abilities and accomplishments became the highlight, along with their employment goals and personal development goals being encouraged. Although students are supported, there remain paternal elements in the relationship between the CICE student and the integration facilitators and faculty within the program. The Humber College website (2016) assures prospective students that

All CICE integration facilitators and faculty are highly qualified professionals with extensive experience in the social service field, specifically working with adults with intellectual disabilities. The CICE staff is committed to a student-centred approach and to student success (No Pagination).

Staff qualifications and a student-centred approach are important to providing CICE students with a quality experience, but a critical disability studies examination reveals that the CICE program operates in a top-down model of learning, where the “qualified” staff instruct and the students absorb. This may seem not unlike the majority of higher learning experiences, except for the fact that students in mainstream college programs are not learning “life skills” and their chances for employment after graduation is much higher compared to students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities (Bruce, 2011; Gallinger, 2013).

In terms of educating students in a post-secondary setting, Bruce (2011) makes an accurate point regarding disability and discrimination: “When educators assume that universities and colleges are only meant to educate the ‘best and the brightest’, a

persistent intellectual barrier exists” and this barrier is exaggerated for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities trying to enter higher education (p. 8). The reality of this intellectual barrier is reflected in the “life skills” styled courses that CICE students are mandated to take. It should be noted that these courses are only for CICE students—other Humber College students cannot enrol in any CICE-specific courses as an option for an elective. This curriculum content and approach to teaching these life skill type classes is an extension of the special education segregated model of teaching and learning seen throughout elementary and secondary school. When I worked there as an integration facilitator, I had suggested during a staff meeting that this be changed so that any Humber College student could take a CICE course alongside CICE students that would be recognized and validated towards the completion of their degree, but this did not come to pass. Developing a credited course that both CICE students and other college program students could enrol in together is an opportunity not to be missed. I observed that the CICE students only interacted with other CICE students—even though they took elective courses with other students in various programs, and worked on projects with them, that is where the interaction stopped. Developing those social connections with peers that were not in the CICE program proves to be a difficult and ongoing battle. This is likely due to the carry-over of the special education model from elementary and high school, where students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities tend to be kept in segregated classrooms, and neither they, nor their typically-developing peers, have equal or equitable interactive exposure to each other. This

ultimately leads to a culture of fear, intolerance, and ignorance that is systemically maintained by the governing institution of education in this province, and nation-wide.

Due to the special education model that is used within the CICE program, a power dynamic is then created between the integration facilitator and the CICE student, and Freire referred to this power dynamic as “banking education” (Freire, 1970; Mayo, 1999; Mayo, 2004; Irwin, 2012). According to Freire (1970), “in the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing” (p. 72). The student is the “bank” and this “gift” of education follows the same line of thinking, where higher education is not a right or expectation for all people of all abilities, but a privileged entitlement for those deemed capable and deserving. Is it a form of charity that the CICE program even exists? Freire helps to answer this when he goes on to say that, “projecting an absolute ignorance onto others, a characteristic of the ideology of oppression, negates education and knowledge as a process of inquiry” (1970, p. 72). This form of othering, whether intentional or not, is denounced by disability rights activists, advocates and scholars. As it currently stands, the CICE program applies “a top-down approach to knowledge transmission, through which the teacher is the sole dispenser of knowledge and the students are passive recipients [constituting] a non-reflective mode of learning” (Mayo, 1999, p. 59). Freire questions “the effect of this kind of pedagogy on the person, not simply as a learner, but in terms of his or her very own personhood” (Irwin, 2012, p. 49). How do students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities in higher

education internalize this process of traditional methods of being educated? How does it affect their sense of substantive citizenship?

The course content that integration facilitators teach to students in the core CICE courses is already established for the most part by the program director and the college. The majority of learning materials issued to students come in the form of hand-outs and activity sheets, and they are supplemented by accessible-language lectures and videos where deemed appropriate. For the students that are non-readers, one-on-one support is provided to assist their comprehension of the course material. Still, CICE students are not consulted on course development—instead, they are told what courses to take, with their only room for choice being the elective classes given to them from a set list determined by the college. The CICE program is not customizable as per the needs of the individual students. The CICE students must fit within its set parameters if they are to succeed, and modifying and adapting elective course material and assignments only extends so far. It then it becomes a matter of discrimination, where the CICE program is not actually inclusive by design, but instead operates in a segregationist fashion, only enrolling hand-picked students that are assumed will adhere to the structure and expectations pre-determined by the CICE program.

According to Mayo (2004), the problematic circumstance where the integration facilitators deposit knowledge into the passive recipient students, contributes “toward the perpetuation of existing structures of oppression—asymmetrical and dehumanizing relations of power” (p. 43). Students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities have been navigating these oppressive structures and unbalanced relations of

power throughout their entire lives. It is a problem that exists in schools, at all levels, and it goes beyond higher education to areas of employment, welfare, and substantive citizenship. It should be noted that the CICE program does not operate in isolation—just as the CICE students face a top-down structure, so too do the integration facilitators with regards to their superiors within Humber College; and so it goes all the way up the ranks to levels of government and governing bodies within society. That is not to say that the students are helpless in instigating change. In fact, in a Marxist approach to education, learning and teaching would call for the process to be transformative whilst developing a critical consciousness amongst students (Freire, 1970). Although it may not be ready to embrace Marxist ideology at its core, the CICE program has made notable transformations in other ways. Since working there in 2012, the CICE program has made a significant and progressive change; at that time students that graduated received a Certificate of Participation. I was always critical of this because the cost of the program is on par with other college programs, and the effort and work the students put into their experiences and learning, is worth more than a Certificate of Participation. Thankfully this has changed over time. As Bruce (2011) notes, “depending on the college campus, students complete the program and receive either an Ontario College diploma or certificate” (p. 17). The Humber College CICE program now grants graduating students with an Ontario College Certificate—a major improvement from what was in place before (Humber College Website, 2016).

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Transformative progress is being made for (and by) people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities when it comes to issues of substantive citizenship and accessing higher education. Students are now leaving high school with more options being made available to them than ever before, and this is evidenced by Ontario's CICE program. But having more options does not automatically translate into experiencing social inclusion in other areas of life, such as equitable employment.

According to Harrison and Holmes (2014),

In line with research regarding postsecondary programs for students [labelled] with intellectual [and developmental] disabilities, continued development of specialized CICE programs at the postsecondary level may allow for such students to participate meaningfully in postsecondary education, and the results from this survey suggest that they may have a better chance of succeeding if enrolled in such a specialized program (p. 34).

The concerns then begin to revolve around enrollment numbers, who has knowledge of the program, who can afford to go, and how the program can be expanded to include more students. As it stands currently, the CICE program remains "specialized" and not yet inclusive. Harrison and Holmes (2014) acknowledge that post-secondary institutions need to deliver programs that "attract and retain a broader range of students, so as to allow students with lower intellectual potential the ability to participate in a postsecondary environment while also increasing their skills and knowledge base" (p. 34). For people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities and their allies, the fight continues to eradicate institutionalized and attitudinal barricades preventing them from full participatory citizenship and inclusive membership within society.

According to Prince (2009), "alongside citizenship, social inclusion is a flagship concept

in disability politics, associated with the active participation of persons with disabilities in all life domains” (p. 90). Thus, higher education cannot be divorced from the politics of the oppressed and the neo-liberal policies and structures within which it operates. Grassroots community activism still has its place to organize by championing the educational rights of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities. It is the hope that “through the inclusion of diverse learners in mainstream college and university classes, the presence of students with intellectual disabilities will be an unremarkable aspect of a diverse college or university community” (Bruce, 2011, p. 10). To what end are the possibilities for inclusion? Is there space for students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities in Critical Disability Studies? A reimagining of what post-secondary education is, or should be, is needed. To adopt an inclusive design, the reaches of higher learning and post-secondary education in general must go beyond the emphasis placed on intellectual ability alone, to include experiential knowledge. Individual or group experiences gives experiential knowledge a lot power to inform change at many levels, and is a form of learning and teaching that has just as much value as traditional, often hierarchical academic methods.

While the call is not for a universal design of post-secondary education, arguably there are instances where segregated environments might be a more suitable option for some individuals (with or without disabilities), based on their wants and needs that are not explicitly or implicitly dictated to them by society. But it still remains a fact that inclusion must always be a barrier-free and readily available option to everyone. It is not a matter of being “more” inclusive—something is either inclusive, or it is not. Although

gains have been made to integrate adult students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities in post-secondary education, the speed and effort on the part of the provincial and federal Canadian governments has been incrementally slow. Students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities still remain on the margins of society, the margins of citizenship, and on the margins of accessing higher education. They are underrepresented in accredited college and university programs—the two-year CICE program for example, only provides its students with an Ontario College Certificate, not an accredited diploma. The elitist and ableist way post-secondary institutions are structured is restrictive to the various needs of people with disabilities, most especially people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities. This current state of affairs needs to change, and as a result, the social institutions of citizenship and education require an overhaul of policies, legislation, and doctrines when it comes to progressing towards an inclusive society for people with disabilities. Perhaps most importantly, and where change is apt to start, is with the altering of societal attitudes about disability in general, and the capabilities of people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities. When attitudes change, social and institutionalized barriers begin to fall away, in the hopes of revealing a more inclusive society. This topic of substantive citizenship and higher education for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities has great significance in today's socio-economic climate because the time for change is now—activism and rights-based struggles have not stopped just because Ontario's CICE program exists; it is merely a step in the right direction.

In addition to the research presented here, possible avenues of further study around the themes of substantive citizenship and access to higher education for people labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities could include following up with CICE students at various time intervals after graduation from the CICE program to gauge the effect the program may or may not have had on their chances of employment, and their sense of inclusion within society. Another possible direction of study would be to interview integration facilitators in CICE programs province-wide, and to do a comparative analysis of all the colleges and a critical examination of their roles, experiences, and how it relates to developing inclusive educational practices at the post-secondary level for students labelled with intellectual and developmental disabilities.

APPENDIX



APPLICATION FOR ADMISSIONS TO
The Community Integration through Cooperative Education (C.I.C.E.) Program
Program Number 0107

THIS APPLICATION IS FOR HUMBER COLLEGE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY AND ADVANCED LEARNING ONLY

205 Humber College Blvd. Toronto, Ontario M9W 5L7 • PHONE 416-675-6622 ext. 4336 • FAX: 416-675-2015

PERSONAL INFORMATION – please print

Name: Mr./ Miss/ Mrs. _____
Last First Middle

Date of Birth: _____ Social Insurance Number: _____
Year Month Day

MAILING ADDRESS _____
Apt. # Street Number and Name

City Province Postal Code

TELEPHONE NUMBER Home: _____ Alternate: _____

I WOULD PREFER COMMUNICATION AT MY EMAIL ADDRESS: _____ OR by MAIL

STATUS IN CANADA – please check off

- Canadian Citizen Permanent Resident (Landed Immigrant)
 Student Authorization (Student Visa) Other Diplomatic Visa

Basis for Admissions – please check off all that apply

Note: applicant must meet both criteria in order to be considered

- Developmental Disability (include with your application a copy of documentation confirming a developmental disability)
 19 years or older on the first day of class

This application **must** be accompanied by a copy of a document confirming a "Developmental Disability" (eg. IEP or Psycho Educational assessment). Without the accompanying document, the application for the CICE Program will not be processed.

Educational History - please check off all that apply

From high school, I graduated with:

- Certificate of Achievement Ontario Secondary School Certificate
 Other (please specify) _____

When you sign this application, it means that you are giving us permission to talk about you.

I certify that the above information is true and complete. I understand that any false or incomplete information submitted in support of my application may invalidate my application. I have read the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act State and hereby authorize my secondary school and the Ministry of Education to release a full statement of my academic achievements to Humber Institute of Technology and Advanced Learning. I also authorize Humber to release information from this application to the Ministry of Colleges and Universities.

Signature of Applicant

Date

Freedom of Information Protection of Privacy Act, 1989
This information on this form is collected under the legal authority of the Ministry of Colleges and Universities Act, R.S.O. 1980, Chapter 272, S.S.; R.R. O. 1980, Regulation 640. The information is used for admission, administration and statistical purposes of the College and/or the Ministries and Agencies of the Government of Ontario and the Government of Canada. For further information, please contact the Office of the Registrar.

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