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**An Interpretive Framework for Understanding
the Politics of Policy Change**

by
Hanne B. Mawhinney

A Doctoral thesis presented to the
School of Graduate Studies of the
University of Ottawa
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

 Hanne B. Mawhinney, Ottawa, Canada, 1993



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ABSTRACT

The impetus to develop a framework for understanding the politics of policy change came from concerns expressed by many policy researchers about the nature and effectiveness of policy changes which have reformed or restructured education in jurisdictions throughout the world during the past decade. Despite an explosion of policy research on reform-related issues the link between theoretical research on policy, and the practice of policy making remains weak. Many educational policy studies have ignored the larger normative issues evident in educational reforms, and have focused instead on specific issues and narrow time frames. The result is that much educational policy research has failed to provide guidance for policy development and policy change.

Critics argue that this failure arises because policy inquiry has been guided by models which reconstruct an idealized and rationalized logic of policy that has little to do with the logic-in-use that occurs in policy change. A growing number of critics propose that the problem lies with the positivist foundations of existing policy change models. What is needed is a model stressing contingency, chance and interpretation. Although the parameters of this re-conception of policy making have been identified by a number of post-positivist scholars, there is a need to develop the dimensions of this interpretive orientation. The Interpretive Framework (IF) developed in this thesis responds to the need to develop a conception that reflects the practice of policy making by examining the interaction of the many factors that influence the policy change process.

The research design guiding the study emphasized the development of conceptual elements of policy change, which have been identified in the current policy literature, through the examination of two substantive educational policy changes. A methodology of theoretical sampling was used to develop a conceptual framework grounded in the phenomenology of change. In the first step of the three-stage research path, a number of problematic issues and themes were identified through a review of the literature on policy change. The conceptual trends which emerge from a review of current research on policy processes, identified the core elements of the IF developed in this thesis. Together, the trends identified in the

literature suggest that policy change involves a dynamic interplay of ideas, institutional structures and political processes that are embedded in an historical-political context, which emerges from the ecology of interactions within policy communities and policy networks. These elements formed the basis of the study's theoretical orientation, and established the direction for the research undertaken to develop the IF.

Six research questions developed from the literature provided the framework for the second stage of empirical inquiry into issues surrounding two policy changes made by the government of Ontario, directed at Franco-Ontarian educational governance and funding of Roman Catholic schools. *Bill 30*, passed in June, 1986, extended full funding for Roman Catholic education to the end of secondary school. *Bill 109*, enacted in 1988, established a French-language school board in the Ottawa-Carleton region of the province. The effects of these two policy changes, the ongoing complexities of implementing the legislation, and the questions regarding the fundamental purpose of schooling raised by granting collective rights to some linguistic and religious groups, have had a substantial impact on many communities throughout the province. The politics surrounding these two policy changes were investigated by conducting interviews with 70 policy actors who were identified through a network sampling process. Documents and newspaper coverage of the policy changes were used to confirm and extend the observations of policy actors. Analysis of the documents and of the taped and transcribed interviews, which lasted from 20 minutes to two hours, provided the empirical basis for the third and final stage of the study. In this final stage of the research, the conceptual issues identified in the literature were analyzed in the context of the findings of the investigation of the two policy changes. This analysis, reported in two chapters of the thesis, developed the ideas and concepts of the Interpretive Framework (IF) for understanding the politics of policy change.

The IF proposes that policy responses emerge from the process of actors structuring the problems posed by the interaction of exogenous and endogenous forces impinging on the policy domain. Policy problems are therefore the products of subjective human judgement, and, as such, are ultimately socially constructed, maintained and changed. Issues arising in the environmental context are interpreted as problematic by diverse stakeholders

in a policy community whose perspectives and actions are interdependent, and continuously altered as a consequence of incremental, problem-focused policy learning. Drawing from the analysis of the two policy changes, the IF views policy change as a problem-solving process in which problems are never defined once and for all. Rather, policy players are active throughout the process to ensure that their view of the problem is elaborated along the way in choosing instruments and in implementation. Problem definition, from the perspective of logic-in-use, is important in every phase of the policy process, as various stakeholders actively construct different representations of policy problems based on competing sets of assumptions about external events. In focusing on the logic-in-use, the IF acknowledges the holistic nature of the multiple interactions, both micro and macro, both vertical and horizontal, that occur as problem definitions are debated and revised over time. In this holistic interpretation, the logic of policy emerges as policy analysts, advocates, and policy makers continue to argue over problem definitions, as problems are introduced, evidence considered, solutions debated, decisions made, programs implemented, and policies evaluated.

The IF, presented in an eight page table with a visual model, outlines the elements and attributes of an interpretive orientation. It is a product of an exploration of the conceptual issues raised in the literature, applied in the context of the perceptions of policy actors involved in two significant educational policy changes. The framework also includes a series of interpretive probes which can be used in other policy studies to capture some of the dimensions of policy logic-in-use.

The IF makes a contribution to the development of an interpretive orientation to understanding policy change. It links policy theory to policy practice by focusing on the dimensions of policy logic-in-use. In developing this link, the IF also makes a contribution to the practice of policy making. The IF provides policy makers with a guide to engage in reflection and action research. This educative dimension of the IF is embodied in the interpretive probes that form a key part of the framework. Because they are derived from theoretical issues, the interpretive probes provide not only a guide to the practice of policy making, but they also outline a program for further research on conceptual issues related to the politics of policy change.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

The desire to understand the manner by which public policies are formulated and implemented, and what effect these actions have on the world has motivated generations of scholars to examine the "behavior of major types of governmental institutions (legislatures, courts, administrative agencies, chief executives), as well as the behavior of interest groups, the general public and the media" (Sabatier, 1991, p. 147). The initial impetus to adopt a policy orientation came from Lasswell's (1951a) call for an emphasis on the policy sciences. Lasswell proposed that this new field of inquiry should assist in making more efficient decisions, and should contribute the knowledge "needed to improve the practice of democracy" (p. 15). In subsequent decades a "rational paradigm of policy," which emphasized analysis of the various consequences of a course of action in terms of their costs and benefits, came to dominate the study of policy (Pal, 1992, p. xi). Under the influence of the predominant positivist logic of inquiry, the policy sciences came to be associated with a technocratic orientation to analysis that seeks to calculate solutions to specific policy problems using "rational, analytical, and scientific methods" (Stone, 1988, p. 4). The image inherent in these methods has been called "decisionism, the vision of a limited number of political actors engaged in making calculated choices among clearly conceived alternatives" (Shklar quoted in Majone, 1989, p. 12). The economic model reflected in "decisionism" assumes that choices are rational to the extent that they are the best means to achieve objectives (p. 12). This approach is rooted in classic micro-economic theory, which adopts a market model of society as a collection of individuals with independent preferences interacting with each other to maximize their well-being.

Although economic and decision making models continue to provide the dominant paradigm for policy studies, a growing body of research has demonstrated "how actual policy making 'deviates' from pure rational analysis" (Stone, 1988, p. vii). Stone, for example, does not find the market model a "convincing description" of society. Society, in her view, is best depicted as a "political community, where individuals live in a web of dependencies, loyalties, and associations, and where they envision and fight

for a public interest as well as their individual interests" (p. vii). There is growing agreement that the political nature of the policy process places limitations on the model of decision making that assumes there is a single decision making unit that is able to arrive at the best technical solution to a problem through rational means (Nelson, 1977). Translating the cognitive steps of the rational model of decision making into the context of policy making has produced an image of policy as comprising "an orderly sequence of stages almost as if on an assembly line," which includes agenda formation, policy development, adoption, implementation, and evaluation. (Fischer, 1989, p. 944). There is, however, a growing consensus that the rational "production model of policy, whereby policy is assembled in stages, as if on a conveyer belt" is "remarkably devoid of theory" (Stone, 1988, pp. vii-viii). Many scholars argue that the dominant paradigm of the policy process, the stages heuristic¹ "has outlived its usefulness and must be replaced, in large part because it is not a causal theory," and contains no "coherent assumptions about what forces are driving the process from stage to stage" (Sabatier, 1991a, p. 145). Some critics argue these forces are political, and that the stages heuristic "virtually bleeds the political life out of the policy-making process, leaving little room for the dilemmas, contradictions, and paradoxes that characterize the interesting and difficult political problems" (Fischer, 1989, p. 944). Rational analysis, based as it is in positivist assumptions of a fact/value dichotomy, rejects politics as a deviation or as a potentially corrupting force. It is this epistemological foundation of the "rationality project" that has increasingly been questioned by critics (Stone, 1988).

During the past five years criticisms of the "rationality project" have mounted as an emerging current of "post-positivist" thinking about the nature of policy making has gained momentum (deLeon, 1988; Dryzek and Bobrow, 1987; Fischer, 1980; Hawkesworth, 1988; Jenkins-Smith, 1990; Majone, 1989; Reich, 1990; Stone, 1988).² Critics have questioned the positivist basis of the rational model, "principally its reliance on the fact/value dichotomy, empirical verification, the scientific method and causality" (Pal, 1992, p. 60). They argue that "positivism thus functions as a myth, providing a rhetorical justification for research standards based on 'hard' methods and universal forms, and of research that conforms to these standards" (Brunner, 1991, p. 77).

Such critiques are not new. Tribe (1972), in an early critique, argued that the positivist bias of the policy sciences, which is committed "to a posture of detached and impersonal objectivity," has tended to "partition and warp reality in certain patterned ways, generating a fairly understandable, and sometimes quite unfortunate system of blind spots and distortions" (p. 66). The reality is that, in policy making, facts and values, private values and the public interest, political processes and policy outcomes, and decision making and moral judgement, are inseparable (Lynn, 1980). The rationality project and its model, in the view of post-positivist critics, is both unrealistic and impossible because it ignores the inseparability of policy and politics. Policy making is a constant struggle over the definitions of policy goals such as equality and efficiency. Post-positivist critics like Hawkesworth (1988), therefore, propose that new policy models must be constructed that pay greater attention "to the theoretical assumptions that structure political discourse, subtly shaping the perceptions of policy alternatives, unobtrusively altering available options, narrowly circumscribing the range of choice, and imperceptibly delimiting decisions" (p. 93).

Need for the Study

Critics argue that the need for new understanding of policy making is particularly pressing because of the adversities created by complex socio-political processes. Dror (1986) for example, argues that:

the shifts and time-compressed turns in the nature of issues make traditional policy paradigms, policy assumptions, policy habits, policy 'grammars,' and grand policies increasingly doubtful. Recent, present, and foreseeable shifts and jumps in policy issues include transformations in expectations, aspirations, and beliefs; inflections of the internal dynamics of policies, which make their linear continuation with only incremental changes impossible or counterproductive; jumps in the material features of policy issues; and emergence of new and unprecedented problems. (p. 23)

In education, as in other policy domains, shifts and jumps in policy issues have become increasingly common. In fact, a common observation in

educational policy research is that there is "never a moment in state education when policies are not changing in one respect or another" (Hargreaves & Reynolds, 1989). Reflecting on the scope of educational changes occurring through "legislation, new and revised curricula, and special projects" during the past decade, Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1991) conclude that "it is clear that change is common fare for school people" (p. 4). The dismissal, however, that "all policy is policy change" (Hogwood & Peters, 1983, p. 25) fails to explain the breadth and complexity of educational policy change in many countries during the past decades.³

The educational reforms adopted by provincial and state governments, emerging from a changing North American socio-political context, are part of the nearly continuous wave of rising expectations that has buffeted North American schools during the past quarter-century (Cibulka, Mawhinney, & Paquette, 1991, p. 2). The policy changes offered in response to these demands by educational policy makers have, however, often proven problematic. Already, critics such as Sarason (1990) and Chubb and Moe (1990) warn that current reform efforts will fail again. Some argue that the predicaments commonly arising in education are dilemmas whose resolution depends not upon the prevailing methods of rational inquiry, but upon political and moral choice (Greenfield, 1986; Hodgkinson, 1978; Schön, 1982). Others charge that reform failures are predictable because policy makers have not, for the most part, taken into account the lessons of past reforms (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988). One of the conclusions that can be drawn from findings of the decades of research on efforts to reform education is that "getting reform right" is a complex and difficult task that requires an understanding of the change process (Fullan & Miles, 1992). This understanding must come from critical assessments of the "myths and truths" derived from knowledge accumulated about the dilemmas of educational policy change (p. 745).

A "cardinal" truth so derived is that "all large-scale change is implemented locally" (p. 752). As Fullan and Miles suggest, "this observation has both obvious and less obvious meaning" (p. 752). Some experts suggest, for example, that "too much emphasis is given to the educational policy development process and not enough to the . . . embodiment of policy into school practice" (Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Coombs & Thurston, 1992). Other experts argue the opposite. Moreover, although a substantial body of research

directed at particular educational policy changes has accumulated during the past decades, most investigations have focused either on the generation of those changes or on their implementation. This separation in research has reinforced a "perspective of the policy process as linear in form," a perspective that is increasingly questioned by observers of educational policy change in progress (Bowe, Ball & Gold, 1992, p. 7). There is growing agreement that the dominant paradigm of the policy process, the stages heuristic (see Anderson, 1975; Jones, 1970; Peters, 1986), that "divides the policy process into several stages (agenda setting, formulation and adoption, implementation and evaluation), contains no coherent assumptions about what forces are driving the process from stage to stage (Sabatier, 1991). Moreover, the sequence of stages envisioned in this heuristic does not capture the true dynamics of policy making (Nakamura, 1987).

Only now are observers of the politics of education beginning to systematically integrate focuses on macro policy development with examinations of micro implementation processes (Ball, 1990; Ball & Whitty, 1990; Townsend, 1990). Indeed there is some agreement that "the process of educational change in modern society is so complex that the greatest initial need is to comprehend its dynamics" (Fullan & Stiegelbauer, 1991, p. 16). Many contemporary policy researchers recognize the need to adopt a "dynamic" perspective on policy that emphasizes that unpredictable consequences are inherent in policy making (Dror, 1986), and that much policy making occurs under conditions of "uncertainty" (Patterson, Purkey, & Parker, 1986). Currently there are calls for the integration of the lessons from the practice of policy change into broader theoretical frameworks that focus on the dynamics of linked processes (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987).

One reason for the failure of most models to capture policy dynamics is that until recently they did not fully take into account the influence of the institutional structure and capacity of different policy domains within the state, and differing capacities among states themselves (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; March & Olsen, 1986, 1989). Mainstream approaches to policy and politics have, for the past two decades, paid "little attention to institutional structures, and particularly to the way that the state in any given society patterns individual behaviour" (Pal, 1992, p. 98). There are growing calls by political scientists to "bring the state back in" to studies of policy (Skocpol,

1985). In this "neo-institutional" approach the "state" is disaggregated into institutional sectors that are conceived as structuring political reality and as defining the terms and nature of political discourse (March & Olsen, 1986). From a neo-institutional perspective political institutions are defined by the expressed "values and norms offered by those working in the institutions" and by their "formal rules of operation and their intra-organizational structures" (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990, p. 2). This neo-institutional perspective shares with post-positivist approaches to policy a concern with the normative questions about who "possesses political power in a given policy area" (p. 3). Both approaches recognize that the political nature of policy making places limitations on the rational model of decision making (Nelson, 1977). Although a neo-institutional approach to politics does focus on institutions, it also rejects "approaches that reduce policy making to structural factors, or assume that individual behaviour is completely rational and self-interested" (Pal, 1992, p. 101). Rather, this approach shares with post-positivist policy frameworks an emphasis on ideas and meaning. The neo-institutional emphasis is consistent with growing calls for new frameworks for understanding policy that place ideas at the center, that assume that policy making is a "constant struggle over definitions of ideas that guide the ways people think and behave" (Fischer, 1989, p. 945).

Critics agree that it is the challenge of the next generation of policy research to overcome the limitations of the "narrowly defined technical, 'value-neutral' models that have predominated the study of policy, and its analysis" (p. 947). Many argue that there is a need to develop frameworks for understanding major dilemmas arising from the political nature of policy making such as "how to get people to give primacy to these broader consequences in their private calculus of choices" (Stone, 1988, p. 17). In sum, there is a growing recognition of the need for new frameworks for understanding the politics of policy change (Bowe, Ball & Gold, 1992; Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; Dror, 1986; Hecl, 1976; Hogwood & Peters, 1983; Kingdon, 1984; Majone, 1989; McDonnell & Elmore, 1987; Mitchell, 1984; Pal, 1992; Rose, 1976; Sabatier, 1988, 1991).

Problem and Purpose

There is general agreement that current frameworks of policy fail to guide understanding of the politics of policy change (Dror, 1986; Kingdon, 1984; Majone, 1989; McDonnell & Elmore, 1987; Sabatier, 1991; Stone, 1988). Analyses of the practice of policy making have suggested a number of conceptual issues that must be addressed by new policy models. Reviewing the lessons from past implementation research in education, McDonnell and Elmore (1987), for example, suggest that new policy models must attempt to specify the relationships among the problems being addressed, the basic structure of the policies designed, the political and organizational context of the policies, and the actual impact of policies. Models of policy change, in other words, must incorporate longer time frames in order to examine the impact of the design of the policy on its implementation (Dror, 1986; Hecl, 1976; Hogwood & Peters, 1983; Majone, 1989; McDonnell & Elmore, 1987; Rose, 1976; Sabatier, 1988, 1991a, 1991b).

It is argued that because satisfactory theoretical foundations for guiding action are lacking, there is a need to rely on model building, rather than on policy analysis, to provide a better understanding of policy change (Quade, 1982). Although there is a general consensus that such models must incorporate the lessons of past policy research (Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988), there is also a growing recognition that grounded theory, arising from an interpretive perspective, is vital to policy inquiry (Kelly, 1986, p. 527). The purpose of this thesis is to address the problem of incorporating the lessons from past policy research into the process of constructing theory grounded in the phenomenology of change. As such, the thesis focuses on the study of policy, or policy theory, rather than on policy analysis, or "providing advice on choosing alternatives" (Ripley, 1969). It departs from the predominant concentration on case studies that examine particular institutions or processes, but fail to "systematically link some set of explanatory variables with some dependent ones" (Simeon, 1976, p. 552). These studies commonly assume that variables such as interest groups have an impact on policy change. This assumption is, however, rarely assessed. Such an assessment requires that the relevant dimensions of policy be specified through an empirical investigation of what those involved perceive to be the important dimensions of the policy change. This study goes beyond such an assessment

to posit theoretically relevant dimensions of policy change. In pursuing this purpose, the thesis, therefore, develops an interpretive framework for understanding the politics of policy change.

Background to the Study

Commentators note that few policy fields have been "as volatile as education in the second half of this century" (Allison & Paquette, 1991, p. 2). Industrialized nations throughout the world have adopted, then modified or discarded, an array of policies as "social values shifted, educational ideologies waxed and waned, and political parties came and went" (p. 1). In Britain, strands of policy changes flowing from the recently passed *Education Act (1988)* have effectively reduced state support for education, while increasing state control over what remains (Hargreaves & Reynolds, 1989, p. 2). In North America, the variety and extent of new educational policy initiatives in many American states and Canadian provinces during this time has been called "staggering" (Mitchell, 1988, p. 459). Following the release of *The Nation at Risk* report in 1983, American education has been buffeted by "waves of reform" (Bacharach, 1990; Cuban, 1990; Elmore & McLaughlin, 1988; Murphy, 1990; Passow, 1990). After reviewing the current reform initiatives in the United States, Murphy (1990) concludes "the scope and momentum of the movement are unparalleled," and "have spawned more activity than at any time in the past" (p. 4).

Although public discourse and scholarly debate on reforms are common in both Britain and the United States, discussion of reforms in elementary and secondary education rarely reach the national political agenda in Canada, and only occasionally do provincial policy changes raise public debate (Holmes, 1991). Nevertheless, extensive educational policy changes have also occurred in many Canadian provinces during the past decade. Many policy changes have focused on relatively narrow issues, such as teacher evaluation (Burger, 1988), and secondary education (Bosetti, 1990), others have involved changes in educational finance (Sale & Levin, 1991), and curriculum reform (Allison & Paquette, 1991; Leithwood, Cousins & Trider, 1990). Recent substantial policy changes have involved restructuring educational systems, such as has occurred in British Columbia (Martin, 1991), Quebec (Cornell,

1991), Alberta (Bohac, 1989), and the Northwest Territories (Isherwood & Sorensen, 1992).

Educational policy changes in Ontario provide an example of the dynamic nature of policy making during the past decade. Ontario has undergone a decade of significant policy changes directed at reforming schools through de-streaming and increasing "provincial centralization and control" (Allison & Paquette, 1991, p. 3). The province has also effectively recognized the collective educational rights of Franco-Ontarians and Roman Catholics (Hickcox, 1990; Hickcox & Li, 1992; Jakes & Mawhinney, 1990; Lawton, 1989, 1990, 1991; Lawton & Leithwood, 1991; Mawhinney, 1990, 1991a, 1991b). These latter policy changes, which have created French-language school boards and French-language educational committees, and which have extended public support to all levels of the Roman Catholic system, are significant because they "have redrawn the structure of Ontario education" (Lawton & Leithwood, 1991).

The interaction of these two policy changes, the ongoing complexities of implementing the legislation, and the questions regarding the fundamental purpose of schooling raised by granting collective rights to some linguistic and religious groups has had a substantial impact on many communities throughout the province (Lawton & Leithwood, 1991). The Ottawa-Carleton region provides an example of the interdependent and ongoing effects of these policy changes. In 1985 the region supported four school boards, in 1992 six boards operated in the region. That the implementation of *Bill 30, An Act to Amend the Education Act* has involved an ongoing process of conflict and accommodation among the boards in the region can be seen in the establishment of a commission of inquiry by the Minister of Education in 1991 to attempt to settle the bitter disputes among Roman Catholic and public boards over school facilities that were raised by *Bill 30* (*The Ottawa Citizen*, June 29, 1991, p. B14).

The ongoing complexities of granting collective rights to linguistic and religious groups can also be seen in the disputes over funding between the public sector of the new Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board and the government of Ontario. In 1991, the Minister of Education authorized an investigation of the public sector's financial operations. At the same time the public sector filed a court challenge against the Ontario Ministry of Education

arguing that it was "doomed to financial difficulty from the start because of the way the government set up the formula that determines the amount of money the board receives" (*The Ottawa Citizen*, June 28, 1991, p. B5). Subsequently, in June 1991, the Ministry placed the public sector under trusteeship.

The government of Ontario's policy making during the past decade directed to these two issues provides a unique opportunity to investigate policy change in the important, but little studied, domain of educational governance. The framework developed in this thesis is grounded in an analysis of the political dynamics surrounding these two policy changes. Consistent with a focus on the creation and interpretation of the meaning of policy, the study reported here adopts an interpretive perspective recognizing the inherent complexity and the temporal nature of the policy process, the multiplicity of participants, and the contingent nature of policy effects (Greenberg, Miller, Mohr & Vladeck, 1977). The study examines the phenomenology of policy change by drawing from the varied perceptions of members of Ontario's educational policy community.

Definition of Terms

At the heart of a conception of the politics of policy change is the meaning ascribed to policy. This thesis adopts a definition of policy proposed by Pal (1992). Policy, in his conception, is defined as:

a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems. (p. 2)

Although this definition implies a conscious intention by public authorities, the thesis acknowledges that policy makers "may be unaware of their policies and may not have chosen them" (p. 5). This study recognizes that, during implementation, policies may be defined in ways unintended by the original policy makers. It accepts that policies may be based on logic rooted in past intentions largely unknown to present policy makers. Policies are also seen as infused by a broad system of power relations regardless of the intentions of policy makers. The definition of policy adopted here, therefore, incorporates a focus on both the impact and on the intentions and beliefs of policy makers.

The definition also recognizes that public policies include both action and inaction. Policies do reflect government intentions, visions, and actions, although, "refraining from action, waiting, leaving things as they are, can all be plausible policy options" (p. 6). Policy making in this thesis is, however, ultimately defined as a problem-oriented activity. The way in which a policy defines the problem it is intended to address provides a key to deciphering the meaning and the logic of policy. The definition of policy making as a problem-oriented activity recognizes that policies are goal oriented, and that there is a close relationship among the problems a policy defines and the goals it pursues. The distinction between means and ends, or between goals and the instruments, or means, used to achieve them is viewed as artificial in this definition of policy. Analytically, instruments are viewed as the link between problems and goals. Implicit in the definition of policy making as a problem-solving activity adopted in this thesis is the recognition of the central role of ideas, and the policy arguments and debates they raise as problems are defined and solutions proposed (Townsend, 1991).

Delimitations

This thesis is delimited in the following manner:

1. Although this study acknowledges the influence of historical factors on the two policy changes studied, the direct focus is on the processes occurring during their adoption and implementation. The study, therefore, focuses most directly on events occurring during the ten years from approximately 1980 until 1991.
2. The primary focus of this study is on two policy changes, one extending funding for Roman Catholic secondary schools, and the second establishing a French-language school board in the Ottawa-Carleton region. Other policies are discussed only in the context of their impact on these two changes.
3. Primary sources of data included recorded materials such as reports, memos, minutes of meetings and news releases.
4. Secondary sources of data were derived from semi-structured interviews conducted with over 70 members of the two policy networks studied. The

actors were identified through a network / reputational technique that facilitated confirmation of key roles played by particular actors.

Limitations

This study is limited by the following conditions:

1. As in most policy studies availability of confidential documents is a potential limitation. In this study some data of relevance to both cases examined were not available, for example, private notes and classified government documents.
2. Although attempts were made to gain access to representatives of most groups identified as relevant to the cases through the snow-ball technique, some policy actors were inaccessible due to a number of circumstances.
3. A number of interviewees still actively involved in policy development related to the cases studied requested that their interviews be treated confidentially. Some information was, therefore, provided to the researcher off the record.
4. During the months in which interviews were conducted a number of conflicts related to the cases studied resulted in court actions. As a result, a number of ministry-level policy actors declined to be interviewed.
5. Retrospective analysis is recognized as implicitly limited. For example, in this case some events described by interviewees occurred a number of years ago. Their perceptions of these events may, thus, have been clouded by the passage of time.
6. The limitations of the perceptions of actors are well documented. In this case the interviewees may have attributed different motives or provided explanations of events that reflect less what actually occurred than what they believed, or wished the researcher to believe, occurred.

Significance

The rational decision model of the policy process that has dominated policy inquiry since the World War Two, has come under increasing scrutiny during the past two decades. Policy scholars have highlighted a number of phenomena that need to be incorporated into new theories of the policy

process. The desirability of a focus on policy change over longer periods of time, the importance of policy subsystems involving actors from multiple levels of government and numerous institutions, the influence of institutional structures, the impact of policy space crowding, and the central role of ideology have all been recognized as important phenomena that must be taken into account in developing theoretical conceptualizations of the policy process. Reflecting the need to adopt longer time frames in studying policy change (Sabatier, 1991a, 1991b), the study extends previous analyses of the history of the passage of the two bills (Jakes & Mawhinney, 1990; Mawhinney, 1989). Consistent with the need to focus on the "phenomenology of change" (Fischer, 1980; Fullan, 1991), the perceptions of the relevant actors in the educational policy networks regarding these policy change processes are incorporated in this study. By developing a framework that demonstrates how these phenomena affect the process of policy change, this study contributes to the theoretical understanding of policy making, and provides a new perspective to guide future policy research.

During the past decades, in North America, educational policy makers at all levels have confronted the complexities of policy change. Critics charge that many of the reforms encompassed in these policy changes fail because policy makers developing reform initiatives rarely have detailed information about the range of policy instruments available, and about the political and organizational contexts required for the instruments to work as intended. There is a growing recognition that the next generation of policy research must focus on the relationship among policy problems, the policy instruments used to address those problems, and the political and organizational contexts of the policies. This study contributes to the practice of policy making by providing information to educational policy makers about the policy instruments available, and about approaches to designing policies.

Although the role of ideology and values in the policy process has long been recognized, only recently have cultural theories of policy gained prominence. There is a growing recognition that cultural views and meanings are prime forces influencing the policy system. Culture shapes institutions and traditions, and is reflected in codes of behavior guiding actors in policy subsystems. A growing body of research has documented the unique

political culture that defines the assumptive worlds of educational policy actors in various American states (Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1989). Ontario educational policy networks have, however, rarely been examined through similar cultural lenses. In the context of the influence of American policy models, it is important that interpretations of core cultural values guiding policy change in Ontario be clarified. This study contributes to such clarification by examining the unique ideas supporting educational choice for collective minorities.

Along with the questions of the role of existing theory in policy inquiry have come concerns about the appropriateness of the value-neutral stance and the trustworthiness of extant methodologies and measurement tools. There is a growing recognition that qualitative methodologies, drawn from a phenomenological perspective, are useful in capturing the context and dynamics of policy processes. In response, richly descriptive qualitative policy studies have become more common. These studies often address the need to incorporate the multiple value perspectives represented in the policy process. Issues of validity in the research process are, however, often not considered. Increasingly qualitative researchers are attempting to develop procedures to ensure validity in qualitative research, and to document research procedures in order to facilitate replication. This study contributes to the understanding of qualitative policy research by developing a research design that explicitly emphasizes validity (Brinberg and McGrath, 1985).

Organization of the Thesis

Chapter One has introduced the study and outlined the problem and the purpose guiding this thesis. The background of the study, and the definition of key terms were presented. A number of delimitations and limitations to the study were described, and the significance of the research approach that has been adopted were indicated.

Chapter Two presents the review of the literature on policy change, and the six research questions that emerge from this literature. Chapter Three describes the Validity Network Schema (VNS) (Brinberg and McGrath, 1985), which is the conceptual orientation with respect to validity that guides the research design of the study. The conceptual, substantive and methodological

domains of the study are outlined, the three-stage theoretical research path adopted in the thesis is described, and a model of the research design is presented. Chapters Four and Five describe and discuss the study findings. Chapter Four discusses the interpretive orientation to policy change, and the processes and contextual influences in policy change. Chapter Five discusses the institutional and ideological elements of policy change, and describes an interpretive orientation to understanding the logic of policy change. The Interpretive Framework (IF) that emerges from these findings is presented. Chapter Six discusses the implications of the interpretive framework for policy theory generally, for educational policy making specifically, for the practice of educational policy analysis, and, finally, for the training of educational policy analysts and administrators.

Notes to Chapter One

- 1 The stages heuristic is reflected in Jones (1970), Anderson (1975), and Peters (1986).
- 2 See Fischer (1989) for a review of some of these emerging critiques. For other post-positivist treatments see also deHaven Smith (1988), Rogers (1988), Foster (1989), Portis and Ley (1988).
- 3 Many of the change models focus so narrowly on "innovation" that they are little use in examining significant structural changes such as the declining enrollments that Ontario school boards faced during the 1980s (Hickcox, January 15 1993, personal communication).

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The following chapter presents a review of the literature on approaches to understanding policy change. The chapter intends to fulfill two interrelated goals:

- a) to demonstrate how the purpose of this thesis, which is to develop an interpretive framework for understanding the politics of policy change, emerged from policy inquiry literature, and
- b) to indicate the origin of the six research questions that provide the basic orientation for the interpretive framework developed in this thesis.

In fulfilling these goals the chapter reports on the first stage of the three-stage theoretical research path adopted in this thesis. In this first stage an exploration of the literature on policy change establishes the conceptual orientation for the empirical investigation undertaken in the second stage, and the analytic interpretation undertaken in the third stage of research.

The chapter first describes the evolution of policy inquiry that has resulted in the current calls for an interpretive orientation to policy inquiry. It is from this debate that the first research question guiding the thesis emerges. A related debate has emerged over the common depiction of the policy process as a series of discrete stages that suggests the second research question to be explored in this study. The chapter discusses current conceptions of the influence of environmental context on policy making, and explores the critique of the society-centered models that have emphasized environmental forces. The emerging neo-institutional critiques that call for bringing the state back into models of policy are discussed, and the important role these critiques propose for institutional structures in policy making are outlined. The chapter then considers the literature which suggests that dominant ideas influence policy change. In this discussion the contradictions within and among core ideas such as equality and efficiency provide the basis for the arguments and debates that generate policy change. The final section of the chapter outlines the arguments for reconsidering the logic of policy that have arisen in this review of the literature. The chapter concludes by presenting the six research questions that emerged from this review of the literature.

The Evolution of Policy Inquiry

The explicit study of policy is a relatively recent phenomenon dating from Lasswell's (1951b) call for a "policy orientation" in his classic book *The Policy Sciences*.¹ The focus on the study of policy as a science that came to be associated with this orientation emphasized analysis of the various consequences of a course of action in terms of their costs and benefits, in order to provide better information for the policy maker. Lasswell's concern was with clarifying outcomes of certain actions through "mapping of the decision space" of a policy maker (Fay, 1975, p. 14).² During the past decades under the influence of the predominant positivist logic of inquiry, the policy sciences came to be associated with a technocratic orientation to analysis which seeks to calculate solutions to specific policy problems.³

Four central features of the positivist paradigm have influenced the development of the policy sciences: first, the assumption of a distinction between the processes of discovery and validation; second, the belief in the possibility of a neutral language of observation; third, the assumption of value-free scientific knowledge; and fourth, the belief in the possibility of a unified methodology for all the sciences (Fay, 1975, p. 13). These tenets of the positivist paradigm fit well with the growing trend toward rationalization of modern life identified by Weber (1952). Rationalism requires the manipulation of various factors according to a plan in order for some goal to be achieved. Positivist social science promised to fulfill the need for technical control required by this process of rationalization by providing the "sort of information needed to organize and administer" (Fay, 1975, p. 45). The focus in the emerging field of policy science was, therefore, on developing a set of procedures to determine and choose the best and most efficient course of action. The policy scientist became viewed as a kind of a "policy engineer" who "seeks the most technically correct answer to political problems in terms of available social-scientific knowledge" (p. 14).

Rational Models of Policy

A number of models of policy were developed to assist the policy analyst in this process. One of the most influential, the economic model, provided the "analytical paradigm that has shaped much of the language and logic of

policy studies (Boyd, 1988, p. 505). The model of society implicit in the economic paradigm is the market. Society is viewed as "a collection of rational decision makers who have no community life" (Stone, 1988, p. 6). In the market model of society, individuals have "fixed, independent preferences for goods, services, and policies," and, according to Stone, they "compare alternative ways of attaining their objectives, and they choose the way that yields the most satisfaction" (p. 6). Individuals maximize their self-interest through rational calculation based on accurate information. The economic paradigm assumes that given similar situations and similar preferences, individuals will tend to behave in the same way (Pal, 1992). A central tenet of this model is the idea that "voluntary exchanges are the best way to achieve efficiency" (Stone, 1988, p. 53). The theory of markets assumes that as long as exchanges are voluntary and fully informed, they lead to the goal of allocative efficiency. Exchanges are, therefore, seen as choices in which "individuals survey a variety of possible exchanges, match the two kinds of information--available alternatives and personal preferences--and select the exchange that yields the best results" (p. 55).

The market model's depiction of this process of maximizing self-interest through rational calculation is closely related to what has come to be called the rational decision-making model. Until recently, decisionism, which adopts the economic model of choice as the most appropriate paradigm for all policy problems, remained virtually unchallenged as the predominant model of policy. The "decisionist approach" views policy as a process involving a limited number of political actors making calculated choices among clearly conceived alternatives (Majone, 1989). Christened the "rational-actor model" by Allison (1971), this idealization rejects any notion of structure as separate from individual actors. Patterns of group actions do exist, "but not because individuals are driven or orchestrated subconsciously by larger forces." Rather, rational actor theories assume that, given similar situations and similar preference orders, rational actors will tend to behave in the same way (Pal, 1992, pp. 30-31). Commonly adopted as a guide for policy making, the rational decision-making model is based on the belief that reasoned choice among alternative courses of action offer solutions to policy problems (Dunn, 1981). The rational decision-making model offers an ideal perspective on how policy is formulated. It involves a step-like process of identifying a

policy problem, clarifying and ranking goals, examining all alternatives, forecasting the consequences of alternatives, comparing alternatives and their consequences, and selecting the alternative which maximizes the goals (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1967).

Critiques of Rational Models

Limitations to the rational actor model, arising from its failure to address the political forces in the external environment, its impractical and impossible emphasis on comprehensive search and analysis, its lack of guidance for policy makers confronting conflicting values, soon led to modified models such as bounded rationality (March & Simon, 1958), incrementalism (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1967; Lindblom, 1959), and mixed scanning (Etzioni, 1968). More recently the limitations of these modified models, and of the rational paradigm of policy analysis generally, have become evident (Boyd, 1988, 1991; Dror, 1986; Fischer, 1980; Hoos, 1972; Majone, 1989; Simeon, 1976; Stone, 1988).

Cahill and Overman (1990) suggest that assumptions of:

...complete information, a finite set of alternatives, the ability to aggregate utility preferences, and known or predictable means-ends relationships, prevent perspectives on decision making based on assumptions of rationality from being relevant beyond an extremely finite and limited set of highly constrained situations--the 'well-structured problem.' (p. 15)

The rational paradigm is based on the assumption that the external environment is relatively stable and certain, and that it will impinge on organizations in rational and predictable ways. During the past decades, the problems confronting policy analysts have, however, become "broader and more complex" (Majone, 1989, p. 14). Dror (1986), for example, argues that policy making increasingly occurs under conditions of "adversity." Uncertainty is characteristic of policy making under these conditions. Policy making is often characterized by multiple goals and inconsistent preferences, unclear technologies for producing the outcomes, and the fluid participation of actors in the decision-making process (March & Olsen, 1986). Conditions of uncertainty force a departure from the orientation towards outcomes or goals

and make it impossible to determine the optimal choice (Majone, 1989). Instead of optimizing, the policy maker maximizes.

This condition of uncertainty is well documented in education. Research on educational decision making confirms that policy makers generally pursue a multitude of competing and conflicting goals (Firestone & Herriott, 1982; Townsend, 1990; Wise, 1983). School systems are often faced with the tensions created by balancing goals related to administrative efficiency with goals related to equity (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989). Policy goals are often ambiguous, and change as conditions change (Patterson, Purkey & Parker, 1986). Further, state/provincial, and district-level goals are often quite unconnected with what occurs in the classroom (Lortie, 1975; Patterson, Purkey & Parker, 1986; Weick, 1976). Research confirms that, rather than being set by decision makers at the top of the hierarchy, policy goals emerge through a process of bargaining and compromise among forces both inside and outside the educational policy system (Bacharach & Mitchell, 1987; Bowe, Ball & Gold, 1992; Barrett & Fudge, 1981).

There is a growing consensus that rational models cannot account for policy making when goals are ambiguous or conflicting, and when policy makers lack knowledge about the dynamics of obtaining goal consensus. In educational administration, for example, notions of rationalism have been undermined by analyses using critical perspectives (Bates, 1986; Foster, 1986). Examinations of micro-politics of schools suggest that political life in schools is "complex, unstable, and virtually unpredictable" (Blase, 1991, p. 250). The failure of the dominant rational perspective to provide policy makers with usable knowledge about the conflictual nature of agenda setting in school districts has, therefore, led to the development of a number of political approaches to the study of educational organizations (Bacharach & Lawler, 1980; Bacharach & Mitchell, 1987; Wirt & Kirst, 1989). These political perspectives attempt to overcome the limitations of the rational models by generating knowledge about the value conflicts that pervade educational policy and implementation.⁴

Disappointment with technical rationality in policy making, which has largely been the "epistemology of practice" in education, has grown during the past decade (Schön, 1982, p. 31). Among policy scholars, the veracity of the promise of knowledge to be gained by technical rationality has increasingly

been questioned. The failure of large-scale, highly-funded studies drawing from substantial sample sizes, adopting sophisticated methodologies and a large number of variables, to provide usable and generalizable solutions to public policy problems has led to a loss of confidence in the ability of the behavioural science methods to ensure objectivity.

There is currently less confidence that the rational paradigm of inquiry can enable the policy analyst to "assess reality reliably and validly," and that it can support relevant theory development (Kelly, 1986, p. 522). During the past two decades this discontent has been reflected in the intensified critiques of the rational models of social inquiry (see Campbell, 1984; Diesing, 1982; Fischer, 1980; Lincoln & Guba, 1985). These critiques question the appropriateness of the value-neutral stance that underlies the rational paradigm commonly adopted in policy inquiry. Some argue that these critiques have arisen because along with the loss of confidence in behavioral methods, has come an affirmation that "values are an integral part of policy inquiry" (Kelly, 1986, p. 522). Although values and power have historically been seen as central to the study of politics and policy in political science, the dominance of the behavioral science methods in the field until recently has served to separate and compartmentalize values in many policy studies.

There has been a growing dissatisfaction with the collection of methodologies that rely on the "scientific method and its techniques" to study "normative political and social phenomena" (Fischer, 1980, p. 1). Critics have begun to question some of the basic methodological principles of the behavioral sciences, particularly the separation of facts and values. Under positivism values are seen as external to "or detached from specific social or material conditions rather than as inherently tied to the particular life understandings that gave rise to them" (p. 3). Normative relationships in policy are seen as static rather than dynamic multidimensional processes, and, as such, are rarely analyzed.

Public policy, encompassing the decision-making processes of government organizations, concerns two functions: instrumental, and integrative (Etzioni, 1961, Fischer, 1980). Instrumental decisions, which are concerned with the efficient achievement of organizational goals, are amenable to the economic model that has come to dominate policy studies. Integrative decisions, in contrast, concern normative political problems. In

practice, of course, both are closely interwoven. Related to the decision making process, March and Simon (1958) refer to a problem-solving phase directed at instrumental decisions, in which participants share common goals and undertake a collective investigation of the problem. If participants realize that they do not share the same criteria and goals, decision making shifts to the second analytical phase, persuasion. In this phase the task is to examine the discordant beliefs and values, and to search for "more general criteria shared by the disputants that enhance the possibility of reconciling differences" (Fischer, 1980, p. 6).

Although the policy literature recognizes these analytical phases of decision making, the positivistic bias of the behavioral sciences has emphasized the instrumental aspects of policy. The fundamental normative questions of policy, which concern political issues and focus on patterns of power as well as the values, norms and institutions that shape policy, cannot be answered by instrumental techniques such as cost-benefit analysis and survey research. The policy sciences, captured as they have been by the positivist bias in decision theory and economic models, have accepted the separation of fact and value without question. This has occurred despite the evidence that public policies are "essentially political agreements designed for the practical world of social action where facts and values are inextricably woven" (Fischer, 1980, p. 2). Although recently a growing number of post-positivist scholars have begun to focus their attention on the political dimensions of policy decision making, especially recognition of diverse political values, recruitment of political support, and accommodation of contradictory goals and objectives, the rational actor model, and particularly its economic variation, has continued to dominate the policy sciences.

Despite the critical importance of normative questions in public policy, until recently the political dimensions have often been ignored in both policy studies and in the governmental approaches to policy making. Boyd (1991), for example, confirms that, in the United States, policy analysis guided by the paradigm of the self-interest maximizing individual has indeed "contributed to the dramatic shift in the nature and semantics of American discourse about social policy and the public interest" (p. 22). Boyd argues that "dialogue and concern moved from equity, social justice, and the common good to questions of liberty, choice, excellence, and efficiency" (p. 22). In his view the

"pervasive paradigm of pursuit of self-interest has eroded and deflected attention from the value of community" (p. 22). The market model of society implicit in this paradigm is comprised of "a collection of atomized individuals who have no community life" (Stone, 1988, p. vii). Yet policy making occurs in communities motivated by the political processes of negotiation, compromise, and accommodation. In making policy in political communities, facts, as Weiss (1972) argues, "have an impact to the extent that program effectiveness-- inevitably and justifiably-- competes for influence on decisions with considerations of acceptability, feasibility and ideology" (pp. 3-4). Indeed, in political communities policy decisions must always be justified, and justification arguments play an important role in policy debate.

An Interpretive Orientation to Policy Inquiry

The discontent with rational models outlined in the preceding discussion has led to a growing support for an interpretive orientation to policy inquiry (Healy, 1986; Heron, 1981). Current proposals for an interpretive perspective in policy studies echo in varying degrees Lasswell's view that policy making is "contextual". There is growing agreement that inherent in a contextual orientation is a relational view of policy inquiry (Gregware & Kelly, 1990, p. 29). Drawing from the emerging quantum and relativity findings in contemporary physics, Gregware and Kelly observe that implicit in the relational perspective of reality is a view of the universe as an interconnected web of relations that are intrinsically dynamic, and by inference, that are ultimately constrained. The theme of interconnectedness implies a holistic perspective in which all possible alternatives are part of the whole. In this context the distinction between the observer and the observed disappears. Interconnectedness refutes dichotomies such as those posited by positivism between the subjective and objective, or between fact and value. These interconnected webs of relations are dynamic and are characterized by movement, interaction and transformation. Reflecting on these dynamic context attributes of human reality, Gregware and Kelly argue that "since movement is uncertain, it gives rise to freedom's components of opportunity and choice" (p. 33). Constant movement implies constant change ultimately directed toward transformation. This relativistic perspective contradicts the model of linear causality in which the past determines the future. It suggests

that the past and the future are interrelated and not separable from the present. Gregware and Kelly (1990) comment:

The present is thus structured by countless historical interactions but is also drawn to the future by our ability to choose and create with a sense of purpose. . . Interaction is the aspect of dynamic context that connects and helps balance individual choice and the direction of choice with the relational category of interconnectedness that might otherwise favor state structure and community over individual self-transformation. By adding dynamism, the social whole becomes in effect a process rather than just a structure. (p. 34)

At the same time, this process allows individuals, as they interact, to choose to identify and be responsible for others. The concept of interconnectedness generates a multitude of "vertical interactions both with history and with the future, and those horizontal contacts with others in the community" (p. 34). The potential for transformation through interconnectedness and dynamism is, however, limited because each part of a relationship places some limits on the other. In the context of policy inquiry this means that focus on community to the exclusion of individual needs or visa versa can only be problematic.

A number of other trends are evident in the emerging post-positivist efforts to restructure policy studies. For example, a growing number of policy scholars criticize rational models of policy making for their inability to take into account the patterns of power, as well as the values, norms and institutions that shape policy in a political community. Policy scholars are now calling for new frameworks of policy that recognize the political dimensions of policy decision making. The parameters of such frameworks are discernable in the findings of scholars who have paid attention to "diverse political values, recruitment of political support, and accommodation of contradictory goals and objectives" (Fischer, 1980, p. 44). Policy, in these frameworks, is closely linked to politics, and, therefore, to power.

A Model of Polis

The philosophical perspective guiding this thesis is rooted in the link between policy and politics evident in an interpretive orientation. Consistent with this link, the political orientation adopted in this thesis views policy as emerging from the interplay of "economic, social and political forces, as manifested in and through institutions and processes" (Simeon, 1976, p. 550). It recognizes that policy making occurs "within a broader political framework, defined by such factors as prevailing ideologies, assumptions and values, structures of power and influence, patterns of conflict and division, and so on" (p. 549). A grounding assumption is, therefore, that policy is concerned with power, conflict, and ideology. Ideas lie at the heart of this conception that sees policy making "the struggle over ideas" (Stone, 1988, p. 6).

A core metaphor is polis, or community, because public policy is "about communities trying to achieve something as communities," and trying to fulfill the public interest (Stone, 1988, p. 14). The perspective adopted in this thesis does not deny that conflicts are also motivated by private interests. Rather, it highlights the unique nature of the problems that arise when private benefits and collective benefits work against each other. Commons problems, as they are called, occur when policy making must take into account both self-interest and public interest, when libertarian concerns for the "I" are inextricably connected with the communitarian "We" (Etzioni, 1990). Despite the prevalence of commons problems in many educational policy changes, policy makers are provided little guidance by either the rational decision models, or by the economic models that have influenced so much of the policy debate on school reform in the west (Boyd, 1991).

In the market model, commons problems are viewed as unique because self-interested actions are rarely thought to have social consequences. The model provides little language with which to speak to issues of public interest, yet these are the very issues that bedevil attempts to govern the commons. Critics of educational policy making charge that the pervasive paradigm of pursuit of self-interest has eroded and deflected attention from the value of community. This economic paradigm "gives us no way to talk about how people fight over visions of the public interest or the nature of the community- the truly significant policy questions" (Stone, 1988, p. 7). Without a concept of the community, or what Stone calls the "polis" to draw

from in addressing commons problems, policy makers lack the language and concepts with which to address the public interest.

Yet some of the most confounding dilemmas of policy making arise from the paradoxes of governing the commons. Such dilemmas emerge when policy makers must make and revise policies to address conflicts arising from simultaneous demands for private benefits and for collective benefits (Stone, 1988). They arise because there are very few purely public goods, that is, those that are available to all citizens, instead "most goods distributed by government confer differential benefits- some get more than others; some pay more than others" (Simeon, 1976, p. 550). Much of the conflict in policy making is, therefore, related to the commons problem. As a result, one of the fundamental concerns of the framework developed in this thesis arises from Lasswell's (1951) political question "Who gets what, when, and how?" It is the emphasis on this distribution question that establishes a focus on the development of an interpretive framework to understand the politics of policy change.

Linking Politics and Policy

The dimensions of the polis outlined by Stone (1988) provide the conceptual basis for the interpretive framework for understanding policy change developed in this thesis. Fischer (1989) points out that although Stone's conception of polis is not an analytical model, it does provide a framework of concepts that constitute some of the basic elements of a political description of the policy process. Other elements have been identified by contemporary policy scholars such as Majone (1989), who also argues that traditional conceptualizations of policy making have failed to link the intellectual and political, economic and institutional aspects of the process by close ties of mutual relevance. This is true not only of the "conceptualizations of policy-making as planning or decision-making writ large - the technocratic model favored by analysts of the decisionist school - but also of the political model that views policy as the outcome of a power struggle, the resultant of conflicting interests and pressures" (p. 148).

Understanding policy as a political process requires that the complexity of modern government be recognized through grouping a wide variety of

determinants of public policy. Acknowledgement of this complexity is evident in the Doern and Phidd (1983, p. 34) proposal that public policy involves:

- the expression of normative intent and therefore of ideas, values and purposes;
- the exercise and structuring of power, influence and legitimate coercion;
- the processes of change, including not only the need to deal with uncertainty but also with equally normative judgements about the legitimacy and fairness of the dynamic processes used to develop policy;
- the changing or sustaining of human behaviour in desired ways; and
- the decision making and non-decision making that make up the process.

In this proposal Doern and Phidd (1983) suggest that public policy involves the exercise and structuring of power, influence and legitimate coercion, a view shared by many theorists. As the following discussion suggests, however, the conception of power implied in social relations has been under debate for a number of years.

A Relational Theory of Power

This thesis recognizes the assessment of the central role of power and coercion in policy by Doern and Phidd (1983) and others. The conception of power implicit in the model of polis adopted in the thesis is, however, more "relational" than either the functionalist or pluralist conceptions of power that have dominated political analyses during the past decades. Some of the widely recognized limitations of functionalist theories,⁵ which view power as the illegitimate or unauthorized use of influence, were addressed by pluralist scholars like Dahl (1957). Unlike Parsons, who viewed authority as a personal capacity or property, Dahl recognized power and authority both "as socially constituted resources, secured and exercised by individuals or groups in pursuit of sectional interests" (Angus & Rizvi, 1989, p. 10). Dahl (1957), who

developed his analysis of power within the context of his research into local government, framed his theory of power on pluralist assumptions that democratic society is comprised of a plurality of interests that compete for scarce resources according to the rules set by the collaboration of the state and established interest groups. Dahl's definition of A's power over B as the ability of A to ensure that B does something that B would not have done otherwise, although widely adopted by political analysts and policy scholars, has been criticized for failing to capture the hidden dimensions of power. Bachrach and Baratz (1962) suggest that a second face of power, one that involves the mobilization of bias, characterizes policy making and politics. By this they mean that some issues are organized into politics and others are organized out, through the exercise of non-decision making. Lukes (1974) proposed a third face of power that operates when power is exercised through the biases that are built into the structure of the system. These biases are socially structured and culturally determined patterned behavior of groups and practices of institutions. Like many critical theorists, Lukes (1974) argues that:

...the most "insidious exercise of power. . . is to prevent people, to whatever degree, from having grievances by shaping their perceptions, cognitions and preferences in such a way that they accept their role in the existing order of things, either because they see or imagine no alternative to it, or because they see it as natural and unchangeable. (p. 24)

Lukes presents power as a relational concept, located within social systems that are culturally and historically determined. This third view of power facilitates an understanding of "the emergence over time of particular values, attitudes, and interests and structures that contribute to individual or group status, or to widely accepted social and organizational arrangements that privilege some people more than others (Angus & Rizvi, 1989, p. 12).

Recently Burbules (1986) has extended this relational conception of power.⁶ The relational theory of power rejects the kind of technocratic and instrumental rationality presupposed by many policy models which assume that power is

- an individual possession

- wielded instrumentally
- exercised to achieve particular and intended outcomes. (Angus & Rizvi, 1989, p. 12)

Burbules (1986) emphasizes that power is "a relation that is not simply chosen (or avoided) but made more or less necessary by the circumstances under which persons come together" (p. 97). Power, therefore, "involves culturally and historically formed predispositions that define patterns of social relations" (Angus & Rizvi, 1989, p. 12). People rarely seek these relations and may not even realize they exist. Burbules (1986) rejects the conception of power as an individual possession, arguing instead that power is a relation among persons: that A has power over B but in most cases B empowers A. Power therefore, involves human relationships within a state of conflicting interests.⁷

Power and influence can be "directed both to getting things done and to preventing things from happening" (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 35). The recognition of the role of coercion in public policy, contrasts with the failure of rational models of policy to deal with the critical presence of legitimate coercion in the public domain. In contrast to the model of polis, which recognizes that public policy is about communities trying to do something as communities, rational models of policy do not differentiate public from private decisions. Rational models do not recognize coercion, but rather adopt "a kind of blind faith in knowledge as power and the capacity of the discovered 'truth' or the 'facts' to change behaviour in a benign way" (Stone, 1988, p. 152). Incremental models are similarly silent on the coercive dimensions of policy, focusing instead on consensus and agreement. In contrast, this thesis accepts power and coercion as central aspects of policy change.

Summary: Defining the Elements of an Interpretive Orientation

The preceding review of recent policy theory literature documents a growing discontent with the positivist bias in the rational economic and decision-making models that have dominated policy inquiry. For example, economic models that adopt the market as the central paradigm, are criticized for over-emphasizing individual self-interest and defining efficiency

narrowly. The adoption, by these models, of the positivist assumptions of linear causality in which the past is seen to determine the future, is questioned by critics who argue for a more relational orientation to policy inquiry. A relational orientation recognizes that neither the purpose nor the consequences of social inquiry are value free as proposed by positivist policy models. This recognition has led to calls for an interpretive orientation to policy inquiry. The parameters of the relational conception of power just outlined define one of the core conceptual elements of an interpretive orientation to policy inquiry. Much more must be done, however, to develop this orientation. The first research question guiding this thesis emerges from this need. It asks:

What are the elements and attributes of an interpretive orientation to understanding the politics of policy change?

The Processes of Policy Change

The criticisms in the preceding discussion of the positivist bias to the dominant rational models are echoed in the growing awareness of the limitations of the conceptions of the policy process that these models offer. The rational-comprehensive decision model offers an ideal perspective on how policy is formulated.⁸ One outcome of the sequence approach to policy change is that it has provided a rationale for policy studies focusing on relatively narrow time frames and specific stages of the process. Much of this policy research has adopted what have been called "stages models" of policy, such as those proposed by Jones (1970), Anderson (1975), Peters (1986) and others. For example, according to Jones (1970), a policy problem goes through several stages including:

- identification
- definition
- alternative search
- choice
- implementation, and
- evaluation (feedback and learning)

During the past decades the impact of this model on policy research has been substantial. Dunn (1981), for example, describes policy analysis incorporating six "policy-analytic methods": problem structuring, forecasting, recommendation, monitoring, and evaluation. Many researchers have adopted the stages heuristic as a grounding assumption, and, as a result, have tended to view the stages as separate, focusing on narrow time frames and further subdividing stages. The result has been relatively discrete bodies of research focused on agenda setting, implementation, evaluation and more recently on policy design. Several strands of recent research that have focused on separate stages, have, however, identified contradictions and problems with the rational model and the stages heuristic it promotes. The following discussions examine some of the contradictions and dilemmas identified in the agenda setting, design, implementation, and impact research that support the growing critiques of the stages model.

The Agenda-Setting Process

Understanding policy change requires that the influences that shape the alternatives chosen by decision-makers be considered. The question of interest is "what reduces the agenda to a manageable size, and what principles or forces serve to limit the range of alternatives considered?" (Simeon, 1976, p. 555). Answering this question requires identifying the assumptions that policy makers make, and the actions they take. A number of approaches to answering this question have been developed. Hall, Land, Parker and Webb (1975), for example, adopted a political systems framework in analyzing case studies of agenda change in British public policy. They argue that a policy change occurs when an issue is perceived by policy makers as legitimate, feasible and having significant support. More recently, Egri and Stanbury (1989) have also focused on exogenous factors in assessing how Ontario adopted pay equity legislation. They argue that changing environmental variables, shifts in political power, and shifts in the balance of power of pressure groups influence the adoption of a new policy. Similarly, Smith (1989) focuses on the changing agenda in his study of British agricultural policy in the 1930s and the 1980s. He presents a critique of the pluralist assumption that interest groups have a major influence on agenda change implied in Egri and Stanbury's study. In this critique the pluralist

explanation of agenda change is inadequate in the case of the relatively closed policy community determining British agricultural policy. Instead, Smith (1989) proposes that agendas change when "new situations are created through the development of either new constraints or new perceptions" (p. 163). The emerging view of the agenda setting process is that it is at the least "untidy" (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 102).

The failure of the stages model to capture this untidiness has led contemporary policy scholars such as Kingdon (1984) to draw guidance in explaining the processes from alternative post-rational conceptualizations such as the "organized anarchy model" of decision making (Cohen, March & Olsen, 1972).⁹ Drawing from this theoretical perspective, Kingdon (1984) argues that it is futile to try to find the single origin of a policy change. Instead he conceptualizes policy making as three largely unrelated and meandering "streams;" a problem stream consisting of information about policy problems and the effects of past policy interventions; a solution stream floating around in a policy community, composed of various advocates and specialists who analyze problems; and a political stream, consisting of the legislative contests, elections and other aspects of politics.¹⁰ Kingdon argues that policy change occurs when a "window of opportunity" joins these three streams. Such a window opens in response to a particular problem when "a policy community develops a proposal that is financially and technically feasible, and politicians find it advantageous to approve it" (Sabatier, 1991b, p. 151).

Part of the impetus for opening a window of opportunity is that a problem is recognized. This commonly occurs through three mechanisms. First, problems may be recognized because of a change in some generally accepted indicators, such as a sharp rise in unemployment. Second an unpredictable "focusing-event," may draw attention to a problem. Third, normal feedback from programs may identify some problem. Kingdon characterizes solutions as floating around in a policy community, as if in a "primeval soup" of ideas (p. 123). Kingdon (1984) depicts the soup thus:

Ideas become prominent and then fade. There is a long process of 'softening up': ideas are floated, bills introduced, speeches made; proposals are drafted, then amended in response to reaction and floated again. Ideas confront one another. . . and

combine in various ways. The 'soup' changes not only through the appearance of wholly new elements, but even more by the recombination of previously existing elements. While many ideas float around in this policy primeval soup, the ones that last, as in a natural selection system, meet some criteria. Some ideas survive and prosper; some proposals are taken more seriously than others. (p. 123)

Kingdon's approach challenges the stages model in a number of ways. For example, it incorporates an "enlarged view of policy communities," gives a more prominent role to the "impacts of previous governmental interventions" and "gets behind the rigid institutionalism" characterizing previous policy research (Sabatier, 1991b, p. 151). A policy streams orientation captures the influence of ambiguity and unanticipated events of the policy process that have typically been ignored by the stages models.¹¹

Policy Development and Design

Current policy research has provided some insights into how governments set agendas (Kingdon, 1984). The development and design of policies to meet policy goals is, however, less well-developed. The result is that less is understood about the choice of instruments and the design of policies (Linder & Peters, 1988). The recent findings that implementation failures can be traced back to the statutes that structure implementation has led to growing recognition that research is needed to provide more comprehensive information about the policy instruments available to educational policy makers, and about approaches to designing policies (Boyd, 1988; Ingram, 1989; Linder & Peters, 1989; McDonnell & Elmore, 1987; Sabatier, 1986; Schneider & Ingram, 1989). Current research on policy design is rooted in the systematic alternative search processes proposed by rational-comprehensive policy models. The emerging design perspective has, however, moved beyond the narrow assumptions of the rational decision-making models. The following discussion suggests, therefore, that the literature on policy design offers some important insights into the nature of the policy process that add weight to the critique of a discrete stages model.

Policy design has been defined as "the process of inventing, developing and fine-tuning a course of action with the amelioration of some problem or the achievement of some target in mind" (Dryzek, 1983, p. 346). Linder and Peters (1989) include among the elements that form the basis of policy design:

- 1) policy instruments, "the basic building blocks of public policy";
- 2) attributes of these instruments;
- 3) contexts within which assessment typically occur; and
- 4) users and purveyors of instruments. (p. 42).

Policy instruments, or the tools of government are a major component of most theories of policy design. A number of typologies of policy mechanisms have been developed (Kirschen, 1964; Doern and Phidd, 1983; Hood, 1984; Kettl, 1987; Lowi, 1972; McDonnell and Elmore, 1987; Mosher, 1980; Salamon, 1981).¹² The traditional approach to the study of instruments has been to focus on the formal properties of different instruments, in order to determine the underlying assumptions guiding each.¹³ McDonnell and Elmore (1987) expand this approach by linking instrumental and theoretical constructs in their analysis of policy instruments. On the basis of existing theories of the effects of government action, and observations of the patterns of choices of policy makers, they identify four categories of instruments: mandates, inducements, capacity building, and system changing.

In this typology, mandates, which are equated with the theories of regulation, require a degree of coercion to deal with a particular problem or issue. Because mandates require enforcement, they entail certain costs for government. They are also costly for those subject to enforcement who face compliance costs, or, if they choose to avoid the mandate, avoidance costs. If the costs of avoidance are lower than those for compliance, individuals and agencies may choose to avoid the mandate. For this reason mandates rarely achieve uniform compliance, but rather set minimum standards for compliance. The unintended effect is that there may be no incentive to exceed those standards.

Inducements, which are less coercive than mandates, use conditional grants to deal with problems that require monetary solutions. Such grants are often directed to support programs for a particular constituency, or for a particular program. Inducements create costs to implementing agencies, but

also provide the agencies with the benefits of increased budgets and authority. The objects of the inducements also receive benefits in the form of valued programs. This emphasis on the production of value differentiates inducements from mandates that exact compliance as a goal. Because agencies differ in their capacity to produce the desired changes, there may be significant variation in the programs supported by the inducements. The result is that as "the range of tolerable variation narrows and the restrictions on inducements increase, the problems associated with implementation of inducements begin to look more and more like those associated with mandates" (pp. 15-16).

Capacity building involves the expectation of future returns. This category of instruments produces costs for governments and society as a whole. Benefits accrue to specific individuals in the short term, but ultimately their effect benefits future members of society. McDonnell and Elmore (1987) point out that "society's willingness to invest in intangible, immeasurable, and distant benefits may affect its future ability to respond to mandates and inducements" (p. 11). Capacity-building instruments are commonly adopted when there is a perceived failure of performance by particular individuals or institutions. When such perceptions reach the political agenda of governments, they are translated into policies supported by capacity-building instruments. Capacity-building instruments, however, produce intangible and uncertain results. This means that policy makers must justify their use by emphasizing their present utility. These instruments are seldom as successful as inducements "because there are basic contradictions between mobilizing material, intellectual, and human resources for future purposes and the immediate production of value" (p. 17). Applied to education, this means that capacity building instruments will not produce immediate educational results. If a short term response is demanded, it must come from the existing capacity of the educational system.

System-changing instruments that change the institutional structure by which public goods and services are delivered are commonly used to deal with unresponsiveness in the existing system.¹⁴ These instruments often are based on the transfer of authority, and have the effect of either broadening, or narrowing, the system. They may alter the distribution of public funds. For example, a system-changing policy extending financial aid to private schools

alters the authority and funding system significantly. Although these instruments attempt to address the unresponsiveness of a system, they may also produce problems. Introducing private service providers into the educational system, as occurs when public support is extended to private schools, raises issues such as how they will be controlled, what performance measures they should meet, and how their control is to be determined. (See Table 2.1)

The McDonnell and Elmore typology, like other classification schemes, is not without problems. Policy instrument typologies are often constructed from very broad categories that are not mutually exclusive. Often an apparent difference among instruments may stem more from "differences in the scale of their operations or in the scope of their intended results than from any basic dissimilarity in their workings" (Linder & Peters, 1989, p. 43). Clear distinctions among instruments are difficult to make. Moreover, most public policies do not depend upon a single instrument.¹⁵ Some policies may initially use one or two primary instruments, but over time, as the policy context changes, or as specific technologies change, other instruments may be added. Related to this concern is the more fundamental issue of what variables influence the choice of policy instruments by decision makers and their policy advisors as part of the policy design process. This issue is the focus of the following discussion.

Choosing the Instruments

In addressing the question of what drives politicians to make particular choices, one approach has suggested that choice involves a calculus of comparing the basic attributes of policy instruments and the trade-offs that are implied in their choice. Linder and Peters (1989) find four general categories reflected in these tradeoffs. First is the resource intensiveness of the policy, including the administrative costs involved, and the operational simplicity of the instrument.¹⁶ A second category of trade-offs focuses on the targeting capacity of the instrument, that is, its precision and selectivity. Hood (1983) suggests that tools that are both accurate and easy to control are also less intrusive, but are resource intensive. The third category of trade-offs focuses on the constraint implied by the instrument, including its coerciveness, and the underlying ideological principles limiting government activity.

Table 2. 1

Characteristics of Policy Instruments

Instrument	Primary Elements	Expected Effects	Costs	Benefits	Examples
Mandates	Rules	Compliance	Initiators: Enforcement	Specific benefits to individuals	Environmental regulation
			Targets: Compliance Avoidance	Diffuse benefits to society	Non- discrimina- tion require- ments
Inducements	Money (procurement)	Production of value (short- term returns)	Initiators: Production Oversight Displacement	Initiators/ Producers: Increased budget authority	Grants-in-aid to govern- ments
			Producers: Overhead Matching Avoidance	Clients: Value received	In-kind grants to individuals
Capacity- building	Money (investment)	Enhancement of skill, competence (long-term returns)	Short-term costs to initiating government	Short-term specific benefits to receiving agency, Long-term, diffuse benefits to society	Basic Research Preservation
System- changing	Authority	Composition of public delivery system, incentive.	Loss of authority by established deliverers	Gain in authority by new deliverers	Vouchers Deinstitution alization New Providers

From: "Alternative Policy Instruments" by L. M. McDonnell and R. F. Elmore, 1987, Center for Policy Research in Education, p. 8.

Conceptualizing policy instruments along a continuum of coercion forms an ordering of "steadily increasing burdens of proof and persuasion associated with the expansion of governments' role in private activities" (Linder & Peters, 1989, p. 46).¹⁷ The political risk of the instrument, in terms of its public visibility, and the support and opposition it engenders represents another tradeoff. The bluntness of the instrument may make it more visible, but at the same time may increase the potential for political opposition to be raised. Sharpening, or making an instrument more precise, entails, however, an increase in costs.

The resource-intensiveness and the political risk attributes of instruments, are related to the internal and external aspects of the political feasibility of the instrument. Targeting is concerned with the technical feasibility of the instrument. Constraints, implied by the degree of coerciveness of the instrument, relate to decision makers' fundamental beliefs about "what is ideologically acceptable, over and above considerations of quality and costs" (Linder & Peters, 1989, p. 48). The attributes of instruments derived from these categories of trade-offs appear to be fairly durable and persistent. However, the relative influence of the technical versus the political feasibility of the instrument on decision makers' choices of instruments is the subject of some debate.

Most authors do not believe that the technical efficiency of an instrument plays a key role in its choice. Doern and Phidd (1983), for example, point out that the Canadian literature on policy instruments agrees that the choice of instruments is not a matter of technical efficiency. Political efficiency is considered to be more important (Pal, 1987). Political efficiency, or feasibility, relates to the underlying ideological basis of governments' choice of instruments. It is also well recognized that parties and governments retain ideologically-based preferences for particular policy instruments. Recent ideologically conservative governments in Britain, the United States and in Canada have, for example, favoured market mechanisms for the delivery of services (Boyd, 1991; Pal, 1992).

Political efficiency is also a salient factor because instruments often have a "long term impact on the pattern of politics in a particular area of policy" (Woodside, 1985, p. 51). Because particular policy processes are also associated with certain instruments, they often define who benefits and to what extent

they gain. Often the determination of beneficiaries is influenced by the systemic context of the policy system that defines the social cleavages based on language, religion and region, which have "substantial political salience" (Linder & Peters, 1989, p. 50). In the presence of such cleavages, governments may prefer to use less visible instruments in order that competing groups not be inflamed. However, as Lowi (1972) has argued redistributive policies that provide differential benefits inevitably generate political conflict. The replacement of policy instruments over time in reaction to the dilemmas created by unwanted or unanticipated side effects of such conflicts, has become the focus of an emerging concern with the phenomenon of policy succession (Peters & Hogwood, 1980).¹⁸ Governments, faced with such dilemmas, will attempt to design new packages of instruments to apply to areas where the original instruments no longer seem to fulfill the desired purpose.

To recap the preceding discussion, policy design has not yet received the full attention of policy scholars and decision makers. Common assumptions are that policy design is technical and specific, or so creative that it is an art. Yet policy reform research suggests that many policy failures can be traced to the flaws in the instruments of government. McDonnell and Elmore (1987) call on policy researchers to "focus on their underlying mechanisms as a way of generating hypotheses about the links among policy, implementation patterns, and ultimate effects" (p. 4). In response to such calls, researchers have begun to describe how designs are actually devised, or to identify the various approaches to design (Alexander, 1982; Dryzek & Bobrow, 1987; Dryzek, 1983; Ingraham, 1987; Linder & Peters, 1988, 1989; Schneider & Ingram, 1989). Emerging findings from this research supports the growing critique of the stages model. These findings suggest policy design cannot be viewed as a discrete stage of the policy process that is completed before a policy is implemented. In fact, as the following discussion illustrates, it is often through implementation that a policy instrument is refined, revised or rejected in favor of another.

Implementation

The recognition that understanding policy success or failure requires consideration of implementation has grown in the past quarter century as the

process has become the focus of extensive research. Concerns with program failures are not new, but rather, can be viewed as part of a more fundamental anxiety about "the effectiveness of public policy and government generally" (Barrett & Fudge, 1981, p. 3). It was this concern that led to assessments of the policy innovations undertaken by governments in Western Europe and North America during the 1960s and 1970s (Sabatier, 1986). In America much of this research grew out of concerns over failures in "Great Society Programs." These early policy change studies generally analyzed single cases, and often concluded that effective implementation of programs by government was problematic (Derthick, 1972; Murphy, 1973; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973).

One of these assessments, Pressman and Wildavsky's (1973) study of the failure of an American federal government program, focused on the "policy-action" relationship that lays at the heart of concerns with government ineffectiveness. Prior to the 1970s most policy frameworks had tended to equate policy decisions with action. Decisions were seen as the outputs of the policy process, and it was assumed that once made they would automatically be put into action (Barrett & Fudge, 1981). The Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) study which focused on the extent to which, and the reasons why, the formal objectives of a policy were not achieved pointed to the "implementation gap" in the policy frameworks of the day (Dunshire, 1978; Hjern, 1982). Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) went beyond the boundaries of traditional studies of policy that focused on single organizations. They highlighted the complexities of joint action required by the substantial number of actors at various levels, and the corresponding number of clearance points involved in implementation. Pressman and Wildavsky, thereby, established the importance of inter-organizational relations and policy networks as a distinguishing feature of implementation research (Sabatier, 1986).

Recent waves of implementation research have developed more analytical and comparative approaches (Goggin, 1986; Goggin et al., 1990). These studies attempted to examine the variation in successful implementation across programs through reference to specific variables and conceptual frameworks (Mayntz, 1978; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1981, 1983; Rogers & Bullock, 1976; Van Horn, 1979). Two general theoretical approaches

to the study of implementation have emerged. The "top-down" and "bottom-up" perspectives, as they have been termed, make contrasting assumptions about the appropriate point of departure for implementation research. Each approach offers a different perspective on an implementation issue, and, as such, each provides a critique of the other. The most recent research in implementation attempts to address the criticisms of both approaches through a synthesis of elements derived from each perspective. In the following discussion each of these approaches will be examined.

Top-down and Bottom-up Perspectives on Implementation

The top-down depiction of policy being formed at the top and successively translated into "operating instructions as it moves down the hierarchy to the operatives at the bottom" reflects a fundamental belief in the separation of politics from administration (Barrett & Fudge, 1981, p. 9). Policy making is seen as a series of steps, a progression from intention to decision and finally to action with implementation starting where policy making stops. Implementation entails a process of putting policy into effect, and is concerned with the management and co-ordination of various elements to achieve the desired ends.¹⁹

The main features of the top-down perspective are illustrated in the Mazmanian and Sabatier (1980) framework of the implementation process.²⁰ The framework synthesizes various legal, political and "tractability variables" affecting the different stages of the process into six variables that are "sufficient and generally necessary" for the effective implementation of legal objectives. These six variables, derived in part from the previous first generation research on implementation, include:

1. Clear and consistent objectives.
2. Adequate causal theory. That is, the policy intervention must include an explicit theory about how to effect the policy change, generally apparent in the provision of adequate policy levers to implementing authorities.
3. Implementing process is legally structured to enhance compliance by the implementing officials and target groups.
4. Committed and skillful implementing officials.

5. Support of interest groups and sovereigns.
6. Changes in socio-economic conditions which do not substantially undermine political support or causal theory.
(Sabatier, 1987, pp. 23-25)

The evidence from studies using the Mazmanian and Sabatier framework have confirmed the importance of the legal structuring of the implementation process (Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983; Kirst & Jung, 1980). Elements of this legal structuring include: selecting implementing institutions that are supportive of the new program, controlling the number of veto points in the program delivery, and providing sanctions and incentives to overcome resistance. These studies also suggest that the framework shares a number of weaknesses with other top-down models. One weakness arises from the emphasis the framework places on "clear and consistent policy objectives" (Sabatier, 1987, p. 29). Studies suggest that few policies meet this criterion (Majone & Wildavsky, 1978). In fact, most involve a "multitude of partially-conflicting objectives" (Sabatier, 1987, p. 29).

In reaction to the perceived weakness of the top-down approach, more recent studies have found that the fundamental flaw in the top-down models is that they begin from the perspective of the central decision-makers, and, as a result, tend to neglect other actors involved in the implementation process (Barrett & Fudge, 1981; Elmore, 1979; Hanf, 1982; Hjern & Hull, 1982). These studies have found that the most important actors are not official policy makers but rather "street-level bureaucrats," such as teachers who interact directly with target groups such as students (Weatherly 1979; Weatherly & Lipsky, 1977). Legislative intent is often vague, and hierarchical control sufficiently weak that street-level officials have substantial discretion (Berman & McLaughlin, 1976; Weatherly 1979; Weatherly & Lipsky, 1977; Williams & Elmore, 1976). As a result, this research argues that policy makers can seldom exercise effective control over those implementing the policy. In addition, the top-down models are criticized for their tendency to ignore the strategies used by implementors to divert the policy to their own end (Berman, 1978; Elmore, 1978; Weatherly & Lipsky, 1977).²¹

In reacting to approaches taken by top-down models of implementation, these studies, many of them from Western Europe, have taken a "bottom-up" approach focusing on the various actors interacting at the local level on a

particular issue.²² The bottom-up research has considered the strategies used by local actors to ensure their goals are reached. In this focus the traditional stages of the policy process, including formulation, implementation and reformulation, have tended to disappear. This research has found that local actors often adapt the program objectives to their own ends (Barrett & Fudge, 1981; Berman & McLaughlin, 1976; Elmore, 1979; Hanf, 1982; Hanf & Scharpf, 1978; Hjern & Hull, 1982; Ingram, 1978; Lipsky, 1971).

Both top-down and bottom-up approaches have strengths and weaknesses suggesting that a synthesis of both approaches could provide a useful conceptual framework for the study of policy implementation.²³ Several recent attempts to develop a synthesis not only identify policy network actors and the strategies they use, but they also include assessments of how legal and socio-economic factors structure the options of the participants (Elmore, 1985; Knoepfel & Weidner, 1982a; Majone & Wildavsky, 1984; Sabatier, 1986). Much of this research attempts to describe the complex links among the development, implementation and impact of a policy change. Impact, as the following discussion suggests is recognized as a key element in policy change.

Policy Impact

Assessing whether policies work, and what their impact is, has become one of the primary focuses of policy analysis. Many models incorporate evaluation as the final phase in the policy process (see Dunn, 1981, p. 342, Patton, p. 1986, p. 170). Dunn (1981), for example, argues that policy evaluation has become:

...synonymous with appraisal, rating, and assessments, words which imply efforts to analyze policy outcomes in terms of some set of values. . . . When policy outcomes do in fact have value, it is because they contribute to goals and objectives. (p. 340)

This means that policy problems have been resolved, at least from the perspective of some "criteria of assessment," some "style of analysis," or some interpretation of policy goals (Pal, 1992, p. 178). Assessment of policy success or failure depends on the perspective brought to bear on the evaluation. A policy seen as successful from some perspectives, may be viewed as a failure from others. Evaluation is difficult because it requires first that the problems

and goals addressed by a policy be identified, and then that some assessment of whether those goals have been met by the policy be made. These tasks are challenging because generally a policy may have a "wide range of impacts or effects, some intended and some not" (p. 182). For example, success or failure are not generally either-or determinations. A policy change that is viewed as successful may also include a degree of failure. Determining the success of policies is also difficult because it depends on knowing the goals they are intended to fulfill. Goals are, however, often vague because they must address clusters of problems. Goal ambiguity may result in specific objectives that conflict with one another. Often these multiple conflicting objectives arise because multiple stakeholders hold conflicting goals for a policy change.

In addition, perceptions of the impact of a policy may vary depending on whether the ultimate or intermediate targets are selected as measures of success. Intermediate goals are the means or instruments used to achieve the ultimate goals or the end states to which a policy is directed. Because the links between means and ends are unclear, intermediate and ultimate goals are often confused. The tools and techniques to support a policy's ultimate goal are commonly seen as steps toward the ultimate goal, and sometimes even as ends in themselves. Measuring the direct impact of a policy is also complex because some of the same issues that arose in the debates between top-down and bottom-up proponents of implementation research in the 1970s and 1980s are evident. The following discussion suggests that these issues have raised some fundamental concerns about the efficacy of a stages heuristic for policy inquiry that continue to challenge current policy scholars.

The Policy Development and Implementation Relationship

Two related issues have emerged from the findings that have raised questions about the separation of policy development from implementation. One of these issues arises from the apparent blurring of the roles of politicians in making policy and administrators in translating these policies into rules and practice. A second and related issue emerges from the finding that street-level bureaucrats have a substantial influence on the policy implementation process. Critics of the top down approach have argued that the separation of policy, or the efforts to convert decisions into operational terms, from the implementation process by researchers such as Williams (1971), and others, is

not "merely semantic juggling, but raises some fundamental questions about the definition of policy itself" (Barrett & Fudge, 1981, p. 11). Both of these issues raise questions about the assumption that policy emanates from the top, is transmitted down the hierarchy, and is translated into specific rules and procedures to guide action at the bottom of the hierarchy. Increasingly critics point out that the policy-action relationship is complex and leads to questions such as "what is the relationship between policy development and policy administration?," and "where does policy-making stop and implementation start?" (p. 11). These two questions are examined in the following discussions.

Changing Images

The classical literature makes "a fairly clear distinction between the policy-development process (establishing mission statements, guidelines and mandates), and the articulation of policies into administrative rules and professional practices" (Sergiovanni et al., 1992, p. 58). In 1905, Goodnow emphasized that "politics has to do with policies and expressions of the state will. Administration has to do with execution of these policies" (p. 15). During the past century a number of critiques of this ideal depiction of the relationship between administration and governance have emerged. Aberbach, Putnam and Rockman (1981) have documented the changing images that effect the historical evolution of thought in the literature in administration and public policy on the nature of this relationship. As the following discussion illustrates, the trend in the four images is towards a convergence of the roles of administrators and politicians.

Simon (1955) identified the problematic nature of the policy/administration relationship noting that "no clear-cut distinctions have been suggested that would enable one to recognize a 'policy question' on sight, or to distinguish it from an administrative question" (p. 45). From this critique, Simon drew the parameters of a second image, based on a "Fact/Interest" dichotomy, that assumes both politicians and administrators participate in making policy but emphasize different aspects of the process. In this image politicians emphasize responsiveness to constituencies in policy making, and administrators focus on the "technical efficacy of policy" (Aberbach et al., 1981, p. 6). In recent years critics have questioned the

division of labor suggested in this image by pointing to the "role of bureaucratic agencies in mobilizing and mediating sectorial interests" (p. 8). Administrators, like politicians, must maintain the support of their constituencies in order to survive. Moreover, administrators often inherit the role of reconciling competing interests from politicians unable to reach consensus on a policy change.

A third image flows from this argument, that is based on an "Energy/Equilibrium" distinction between governance and administration. This image acknowledges that both politicians and administrators engage in policy making and both are involved in politics. In this image politicians "articulate broad, diffuse interests of unorganized individuals, [and] bureaucrats mediate narrow, focused interests of organized clienteles" (p. 9). In this image, politicians are passionate idealists engaging in the energetic thrust of partisan politics. Administrators deal in the back room, making "incremental adjustments, and providing policy equilibrium" (p. 9). Although both politicians and administrators need political skills, the focus of their skills, and the kinds of issues each group places on the policy agenda, are different. Whereas politicians are attuned to "more diffuse sorts of public discontent, administrators draw "impulses for initiatives" from contact with their clientele (Mayntz & Scharpf, 1975, p. 71). The administrative bias suggested in this image is toward a kind of status quo, procedural conservatism in which the public interest is subverted by bureaucrats captured by their clientele (Aberbach et al., 1981). Critics of this image of status quo policy making point out, however, that the influence of administrators tends to diminish at times of acute social crisis when controversial issues that involve some sort of redistribution of social power arise.

The three images of governance and administration outlined here reflect a chronological conceptualization of gradual overlap in the roles of the politician and the administrator. Conjecturing on the evident trend toward a gradual convergence of these roles, Aberbach et al. (1981) argue that the last decades of this century are "witnessing the virtual disappearance of the Weberian distinction between the roles of politicians and bureaucrat," producing instead what they term a "Pure Hybrid" (p. 16). In this image there is an integration of politics with administration. Hecl's (1977) study of political and administrative leadership in the United States indicates that the

lines between the two have become increasingly blurred in recent years, a phenomenon also observed in Canadian policy systems (p. 82).

Challenges to the Policy Stages Model

Closely related to the challenges to the ideal image of a separation between policy making and administration are the questions that have been raised about the depiction of the policy process as a series of discrete stages. The problem with studies that adopt a stages framework such has been in identifying distinctive stages, and in substantiating that one stage follows another. The most important issue is "understanding the factors generating particular policy sequences" (Hecló, 1976, p. 247). Without explanations of the forces moving policy through stages, policy frameworks that rely on sequence analysis are simply devices for conveniently organizing information (Hecló, 1976, Sabatier, 1991). Sabatier (1991), for example, charges that the stages model, contains "no coherent assumptions about what forces are driving the process from stage to stage" (p. 145).

Findings from policy studies suggest that policy change does not fit the sequence of stages envisaged (Nakamura, 1987). Further, this research has questioned the utility of the separation of policy and action implied in the stages model. Implementation research taking a "bottom-up" perspective argues that policy does not necessarily originate from the top, but may be a response to pressures or problems arising in implementation (Barrett & Hill, 1984; Elmore, 1979; Hjern & Porter, 1981).

A growing body of research confirms that where policy stops and implementation starts is difficult to determine and may depend on the perspective of the participant (Berman, 1981; Elmore, 1979; Hjern & Porter, 1981). Most of this research acknowledges the limitations of prescribing ideal conditions for perfect implementation. Pal (1992) comments that if implementation is seen as control or "as the formal elaboration of some unitary design, then almost by definition that is unlikely to happen" given the complexity of social systems (p. 177). A number of researchers have proposed viewing implementation as evolution rather than control. Majone and Wildavsky (1984), for example, argue that:

Implementation is evolution When we act to implement a policy, we change it. . . In this way, the policy theory is transformed to produce different results. As we learn from experience what is feasible or preferable, we correct errors. To the degree that these corrections make a difference at all, they change our policy ideas as well as the policy outcomes, because the idea is embodied in the action. (p. 177)

Implementation from this perspective is a process of elaboration that occurs as policy is put into action (Pal, 1992). The link between policy and action is blurred because not every eventuality can be covered in the policy design phase. Putting policy into action inevitably results in changes from the original conception and design. Implementation is best seen as an opportunity to learn, and, if possible, to amend. Impact is best understood when the policy change is viewed in its historical context, rather than from the truncated perspective of the stages heuristic. The emerging critique of the stages heuristic argues for a more dynamic orientation that expands the time frame depicted as relevant in policy models.

This critique argues that understanding of the dynamics of policy requires a focus on longer periods of time, and an emphasis on the cumulative influence of previous policies (Carter, 1984; Dror, 1986; Kirst & Jung, 1980; Majone, 1989; Sabatier, 1988, 1991). In understanding the dynamics of policy change the critical problem of the time perspective adopted to "reach judgements about evidence and causality" is confronted (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 567). Simeon (1976), for example, argues that "given the overwhelming evidence of incrementalism and continuity, a longer time span and emphasis on historical evolution is required" (p. 555).

In addressing this problem policy scholars now concur that there is a need to view policies over a significant historical period (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 566). An emerging argument, therefore, calls for theoretical models that focus on the process of policy change over longer periods of time rather than on specific stages, and an emphasis on the cumulative influence of previous policies (Sabatier, 1988). The desirability of longer time perspectives is supported by policy scholars such as Dror (1986) who argues that "a perspective of at least twenty to thirty years is necessary for the dynamics of

policy making response patterns to adversity to unfold and become visible" (p. 64).

Summary: Focusing on Policy Dynamics

The preceding section of this chapter has outlined the emerging concern with the stages heuristic in current research on agenda setting, policy design, implementation and impact. The arguments raised suggest that policy models must adopt a more dynamic analytic focus that emphasizes what Heclo (1976) calls "selective and comprehensive reprogramming" (pp. 247-255). Selective reprogramming assumes that policy change is influenced by factors both exogenous and endogenous to the policy making systems as well as by the "unfolding consequences of the policy-makers' own actions" (p. 249). An analytical perspective emphasizing selective reprogramming has limitations in analyzing dynamic change. The perspective assumes that policy change is essentially an adaptive process of incremental change that occurs within the general "paradigm" defining the nature of the policy domain (p. 250).

Such general paradigms may, however, also shift in ways that are more than previous adaptations. In such cases "comprehensive reprogramming" occurs (p. 250). Although such shifts involve big changes, they do not necessarily involve big events. Although not all policy involves dynamic change, the problem has been that most policy making systems are generally better equipped to make static adjustments than they are to dealing with dynamic changes. Models of policy change have tended to reflect this static emphasis, or, at best, have focused on sequential analysis. Observers note, however, that the context of education has become increasingly complex, uncertain, and adverse (Dror, 1986; Patterson, Purkey & Parker, 1986). Some of this complexity arises because of the "cumulative growth of interdependency" as policies interact in unanticipated ways to create unexpected outcomes (Heclo, 1976, p. 256). Such policy adversities are "very complex, in the sense of including a large number of interacting and dynamic factors not reducible to a few clear cut causes" (Dror, 1986, p. 37). They are exogenous to governance because they derive from the social, technological, economic and cultural aspects of a society and its relationship to changing global conditions. They are also endogenous to governance in that they are

related to the "main features of politics" (p. 37). Because of the adversities inherent in politics and government, it has, therefore, become evident that the complexities of policy change cannot be captured by models conceptualizing a simple, sequential process (Dror, 1986; Doern and Phidd, 1983; Heclo, 1978; Sabatier, 1991). Rather, models are required that deal with the "cumulative movement and reinterpretations of policy" that characterize the dynamic end of the change continuum (Heclo, 1978, p. 254).

Scholars addressing the need to understand policy dynamics agree that frameworks must move beyond sequential analysis of discrete stages to focus on the cumulative forces generated as a policy is created, enacted and implemented. These growing calls for theoretical treatments that focus on the process of policy change over time, rather than on specific stages, provide the rationale for the second research question guiding this thesis:

What are the processes and configurations of policy dynamics?

The Context of Policy Change

The preceding discussion of the current literature on policy processes argued that new policy frameworks are needed to capture the dynamics of policy making under the conditions of adversity that arise because of the increasing complexity in the context of policy systems. Context, in other words, is seen as fundamental influence on policy change. As the following section of this literature review suggests, the conceptions of the exact role that it plays have changed during the past decades. The focus on the influence of environmental context on policy change emerged from the translation of the open systems perspective, which developed following the Second World War, into the policy domain. From this perspective, an open system is capable of self-maintenance based on a throughput of resources from its environment (Boulding, 1956, pp. 200-207). Easton's (1965a, 1965b) application of general systems theory to politics produced an input-conversion-output-feedback model of the political system that has provided a heuristic guide for many more recent policy models (e.g., Mawhinney, 1989).

Easton (1965b) defined a system as "any set of variables regardless of the degree of interrelationship among them" and a political system as "those interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society;

which distinguishes a political system from other systems that may be interpreted as lying in its environment" (p. 21). The boundaries of the political system are defined by its capacity for the authoritative allocation of values for the whole society. Interactions that do not share this characteristic are excluded from the political system and are viewed as external variables in the environment. The environment includes intra-societal systems, or those "sets of behavior, attitudes, and ideas...[such as] the economy, culture, social structure or personalities" (p. 22). It also includes the extra-societal, or all those systems that lie outside the given society itself. The intra- and extra-societal systems form the environment of the political system. The political system is open to influences or disturbances from its environment. In turn, the environment is affected by the actions of the political system. The political system and its environment are, thereby, linked by an input-output relationship. Specifically, the influences of the environment upon the political system are exchanges or transactions that cross the boundaries of the political system. Exchanges refer to the mutuality of the relationship, whereas transactions suggest the movement of an effect in one direction. The political system itself is conceived as a process of converting inputs into outputs, thereby insuring the survival of the system.²⁴ Easton's conception of the political system as a gigantic communications network into which one kind of information flows and out of which another kind of information emerges, is illustrated in Figure 2.1.

Typically, open systems models focus on the dynamics and processes of a political system operating in its environment. In political systems models, policy demands, arising from the environment and from inside the system, are translated into authoritative allocations by authorities. In open systems models the structures and process of policy making are viewed as a function of environmental forces and conditions, such as wealth, urbanization, economic systems, educational levels, inequalities, class structure, cultural patterns, racial composition and religious make-up (see for example Dye, 1978; Hofferbert, 1974).²⁵ The effect of environmental forces and conditions on political and governmental institutions, processes and behaviours are often depicted as initiating a cycle of activity. These open systems models have often been associated with pluralism, another conceptual orientation that has dominated policy studies until recently. Both reflect a functionalist

Figure 2.1 Easton's Political Systems Framework

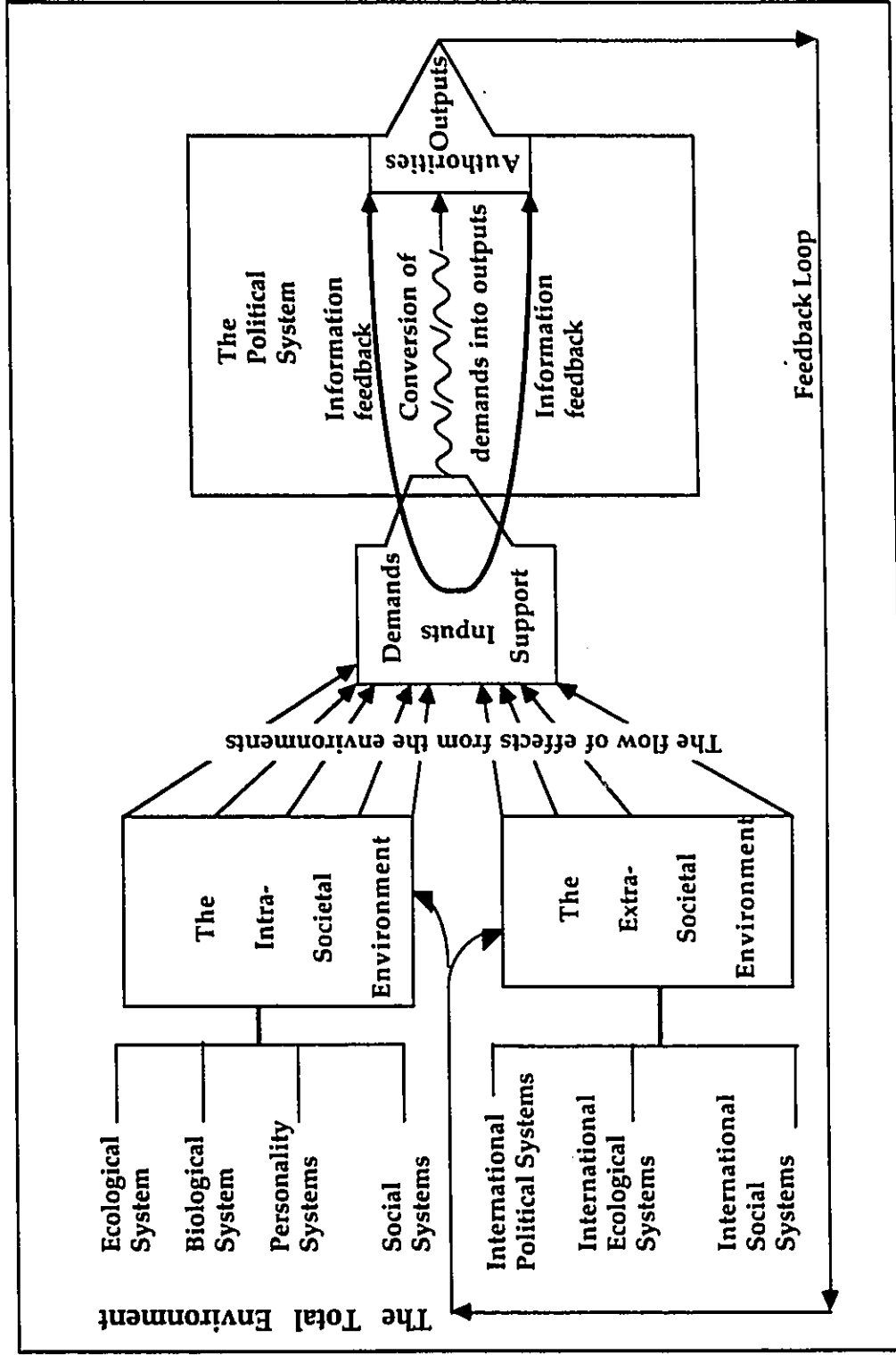


FIGURE 2.1 From: Systems analysis of political life (p. 30) by D. Easton, 1965, Chicago: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

perspective emphasizing social regulation, stability and objectivity (Burrell & Morgan, 1979). In essence, functionalism specifies requisite functions for systems maintenance. The most ambitious attempts to introduce a functional approach into political science have come from scholars such as Almond (1960, 1965), who have adopted the structural-functional framework developed by Parson (1951). Using this theoretical basis, Almond and Powell (1978) argued that the "analysis of specific political structures and their relationship to political functions makes it possible to describe and compare very different political systems" (p. 55). Two functions that have been seen as crucial to the stability of a political system are those described as interest articulation and aggregation. Pluralism associates both functions with interest group behaviour. Pluralist scholars like Truman (1951) argued that interest groups are "aggregators and articulators of the needs of their constituent membership who serve to place issues on the political agenda of society, predigest the disparate views of individual members and formulate coherent demands for insertion into the legislative process" (Jackson, Jackson, & Baxter-Moore, 1986, p. 533).

Critiques of Pluralism and Open Systems Models

A number of criticisms of the "pluralism-structural functionalism. . . paradigm of contemporary political science" have emerged in recent years (Almond, 1989, p. 196). One set of criticisms is directed at the assumptions of power relations made by pluralism particularly. These critiques argue that the implication of pluralism is that society produces groups representing all its members, from the rich to the disadvantaged. The competition among groups ensures there is no monopoly on power (Truman, 1951, p. 33). Critics of pluralism argue that groups representing the interests of the disadvantaged are much less effective in determining what goes on the political agenda than the powerful special interest groups. In effect, "non-decision making" allows political and economic elites to prevent political issues counter to their goals from entering the political arena (Bachrach & Baratz, 1963). As a result, Lowi (1969) charged that democratic government in the United States has been replaced by a "special-interest state," and Schattschneider (1960) suggested that "he who determines what politics is about runs the country, because the

definition of alternatives is the choice of conflicts, and the choice of conflicts allocates power" (p. 78).

Recently, critics of pluralism have argued that rather than being solely influenced by special interest groups the institutional structure of the policy making system itself influences what happens (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; March & Olsen, 1989; Skocpol, 1985). These critics have challenged the "long-dominant pluralist model of interest intermediations". . . by "not only demonstrating the variety of roles organized interests play in policy-making, but also by highlighting the role of the state in structuring sectoral demands and influencing the organization and strategies of interest associations" (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990, p. viii). Pluralist and open systems models of policy making have been criticized for their "black box" approach to government institutions and elite behavior, the aggregated nature of the variables, and for their neglect of intergovernmental policy communities (Sabatier, 1991). Open systems and pluralist models illustrate a "society-centered" logic that is inclined to see the "causal links between society and polity as running from the former to the latter, rather than the other way around" (March & Olsen, 1989, p. 4). Societal context, in open systems models determines policy and politics.

During the past decades the limitations of open systems models have become evident. Inputs are not as easily classified as Easton's model suggests, and the conversion process has become increasingly complex. The problems confronting policy analysts have become "broader and more complex" (Majone, 1989, p. 14). Policy making increasingly occurs under conditions of "adversity" (Dror, 1986). Uncertainty is characteristic of policy making under conditions of multiple goals and inconsistent preferences, unclear technologies for producing the outcomes, and the fluid participation of actors in the decision-making process (March & Olsen, 1976). Research on educational policy making confirms that policy makers generally pursue a multitude of competing and conflicting goals (Firestone & Herriott, 1982; Townsend, 1990; Wise, 1983). School systems are often faced with the tensions created by balancing goals related to administrative efficiency with goals related to equity (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989). Policy goals are often ambiguous, and change as conditions change (Patterson, Purkey & Parker, 1985). Further, state/provincial and district-level goals are often quite

unconnected with what occurs in the classroom (Lortie, 1975; Patterson, Purkey & Parker, 1986; Weick, 1976). Rather than being set by decision makers at the top of the hierarchy, research confirms that policy goals emerge through a process of bargaining and compromise among forces both inside and outside the educational policy system (Bacharach & Mitchell, 1987; Bowe, Ball & Gold, 1992; Barrett & Hill, 1984).

These conditions suggest that although environmental factors may suggest a set of problems, and place limits on the resources available to deal with the problems, the designation of certain issues as important is not simply a matter of objective environmental conditions (Simeon, 1976). For example, Dye's (1984) influential study of the determiners of American policy found that four socio-economic variables, urbanization, industrialization, education and income, were "more influential than political system characteristics in shaping public policy in the U. S. states" (p. 245). As a whole, however, output studies that attempt to explain the relationship among socio-economic variables and policy outputs, particularly those adopting economic production function frameworks for analysis in education, have produced "ambiguous, inconsistent and contradictory" results (Benson, 1988, p. 366).

Such results have raised criticisms that focus on the implicit assumption in open systems and pluralist-functional approaches that "politics mirrors its context" (March & Olsen, 1989, p. 3). Currently there are growing criticisms of the "society-centredness" of these models (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; March & Olsen, 1989; Skocpol, 1985). Skocpol (1985), for example, argues that these models viewed government:

...primarily as an arena within which economic interest groups or normative social movements contended or allied with one another to shape the making of public policy decisions. Those decisions were understood to be allocations of benefits among demanding groups. Research centered on the societal 'inputs' to government and on the distributive effects of governmental outputs. Government itself was not taken very seriously as an independent actor, and in comparative research variations in governmental organization were deemed less significant than

the general functions shared by the political systems of all societies. (p. 4)

Critics charge that pluralist theories tend to ignore public actors and institutions, viewing government as "an arena within which societal actors struggle to insure the success of their own particular preferences" (Almond, 1989, p. 196). Despite this criticism, the arena conception of government has been the basis of a number of recently developed models of educational policy change (e.g. Mazzoni, 1991a, 1991b, 1992; Fowler, 1992). A more general policy arena model has recently been proposed by Sabatier (1987, 1988). The Sabatier model portrays variables external to the policy system as providing the constraints and resources for advocacy coalitions as they engage in policy debates.

Sabatier's (1988) "Advocacy Coalition Framework" (ACF) specifies two sets of variables, one exogenous to the policy system, and another derived from interactions within the policy subsystem, that influence policy change over time. Consistent with Easton's (1965a) political systems approach, the ACF describes the interactions of a policy subsystem with the larger political and economic system in which it is embedded. The framework differentiates between relatively stable and changeable parameters of the external context of policy subsystems. A number of important parameters both within and external to a policy subsystem remain relatively stable over several decades. Stable parameters of the overall policy system include the constitution and legal foundations of a society, its fundamental cultural values, and its social and economic structures. More dynamic features of the entire system include economic conditions, the composition and nature of governing, administrative and interest group coalitions, and the policies and programs from other domains that interact with the policy subsystem (Heintz, 1988).

Within the policy subsystem there are also a number of relatively stable parameters as well as changeable attributes that influence policy change. Relatively stable elements within the policy subsystem include factors such as the distribution and characteristics of natural resources and processes, and the structure of the government and institutions involved. More changeable aspects of the policy subsystem are also specified by the framework. These include socio-economic conditions and technology, the membership of

various advocacy coalitions and policy brokers, and their beliefs and actions. Figure 2.2 illustrates these forces in the ACF.

Summary: Re-conceptualizing Contextual Influences

The Advocacy Coalition Framework provides a useful interpretation of the dynamic and stable nature of the environmental context of a policy system, and illustrates that policy making depends not only on economic and social conditions but also on political institutions. It shares with other arena models an interpretation of institutions such as "bureaucratic agencies, legislative committees, and appellate courts" as arenas for contending advocacy coalitions (March & Olsen, 1989, p. 17). The problem with arena models is that they do not take into account that these governmental institutions are not only arenas for struggle but are also "collections of standard operating procedures and structures that define and defend values, norms, interests, identities, and beliefs" (p. 17). It has become clear, therefore, that, although an investigation of the environmental context of policy change provides a useful starting point for identifying geographic, demographic, social, economic and technological forces much more must be done to trace the mechanisms through which the factors bring about particular outcomes. Understanding the translation of environmental factors into policies requires the identification of the relevant influences, and the mediating variables and processes (Jenkins, 1978). It is from this background that the third research question guiding this thesis emerges:

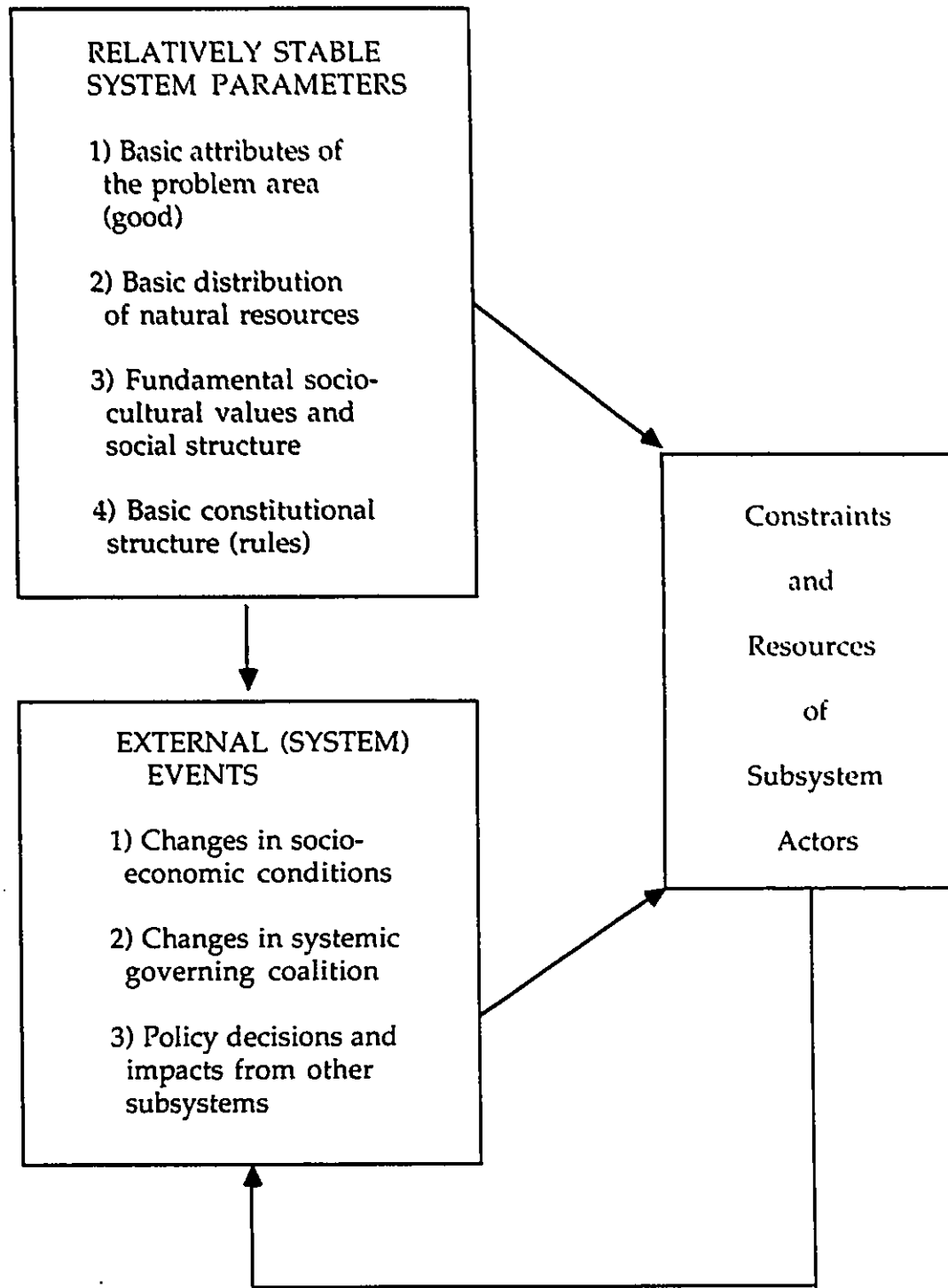
How do contextual factors influence policy change?

Institutions

The preceding discussion suggested that open systems and pluralist policy models commonly propose that environmental context is a primary influence on policy change. Until very recently the consensus in political science literature was that institutions were of little consequence, prompting one scholar to note "the concept of the state is not much in vogue in the social sciences right now" (Nettl, 1968, p. 559). The study of structures is not a new phenomenon. During the 1960s, however, the traditional importance of political institutions, such as the legislature and legal system, gave way to a

Figure 2.2

Stable and Dynamic System Parameters in the Advocacy Coalition Framework



Adapted From "An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein" by P. A. Sabatier, 1988, *Policy Sciences*, 21, p. 132.

behavioural perspective that viewed institutions as arenas for political behaviour (March & Olsen, 1984). Modern political interpretations tended to make the structure of politics and the process of policy change a function of exogenous forces such as economic and social conditions. It is assumed that politics and policy change mirror their context. More recently a new focus has emerged which recognizes the central role that major institutional structures have in resolving conflicts and differences of view, and in allocating values in an authoritative way (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Doern & Phidd, 1983; King, 1973; March & Olsen, 1986, 1989; Jepperson & Meyer, 1991; Simeon, 1976; Skocpol, 1985).

A number of approaches to conceptualizing institutional forces have emerged in fields other than political science, such as economics, organizational theory, history and sociology. Although rooted in diverse traditions, these approaches share a "common conviction that institutional arrangements and social processes matter" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 3). The discussions that follow draw from some of the neo-institutional approaches current in political science and organizational analysis.

In outlining the rationale for this new focus on institutions, the following discussions draw from the new institutionalism in organizational theory and sociology.²⁶ This emerging view, illustrated in the work of March and Olsen (1984, 1989) "comprises a rejection of rational-actor models, an interest in institutions as independent variables, [and] a turn toward cognitive and cultural explanations" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 8). Although earlier work on institutions by organizational theorists such as Selznick (1949, 1957) adopted a political focus in analyzing group conflict and organizational strategy, the new institutionalism has often "down played conflicts of interest within and between organizations" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 12). One of the basic differences among earlier institutional perspectives and those current in organizational theory is the conceptualization of the environment. In the work of Selznick (1949), organizations are described as embedded in local communities to which they are tied by inter-organizational links. In these communities, treaties are "hammered out in face-to-face interactions" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 13). Neo-institutional organizational theorists depict a more subtle influence by environments that

"penetrate the organization, creating the lenses through which actors view the world and the very categories of structure, action, and thought" (p. 13).

Related to these differences are alternative conceptions of the bases of institutionalized behaviour. Older institutional conceptions emphasized values, norms and attitudes. Reflecting the current "cognitive turn in social theory," many organizational theorists have turned to a theory of practical action based in ethnomethodology²⁷ and in psychology's cognitive revolution (p. 15). The new theory of practical action which emphasizes "such standardized cultural forms as accounts, typifications, and cognitive models," views the process of institutionalization as the diffusion of standard rules and structures (p. 27). At the same time, concern that this emphasis may result in a "one-sidedly cognitive" institutional perspective has led to calls to place more emphasis on the "strategic and political elements of action" (p. 27). Central issues in this emphasis are the role of interests, power and social change. Institutional perspectives have emphasized the constraints imposed by institutions on human action, but institutions must also be seen the product of human action. As DiMaggio and Powell (1991) argue:

Rules are typically constructed by a process of conflict and contestation, [and] thus, although we stress that rules and routines may bring order and minimize uncertainty, we must add that the creation and implementation of institutional arrangements are rife with conflict, contradiction, and ambiguity. (p. 28)

These issues are examined in the following discussions that explore the way in which institutions, such as the state, act as shapers of interest and politics. A central theme is that the institutional frameworks of the state define both the ends and the means by which interests are determined. As the following discussion suggests this theme has led to a new focus on the role of the state.

Bringing the State Back

Calls to "bring the state back into" analyses of policy change and politics emerged from the realization that mainstream approaches to politics "pay too

little attention to institutional structures, and particularly to the way that the state in any given society patterns individual behaviour" (Pal, 1992, p. 98). March and Olsen (1986, 1989), who have emerged as leading proponents of the neo-institutional movement, argue that the dominant approaches to understanding policy change and the state generally share five characteristics that deny the influence of institutions. Dominant approaches, for example, tend to subordinate politics to exogenous forces. Contextualism characterizes approaches to policy that make "the structure and process of politics a function of physical environment, geography, and climate; of ethnicity, language, and culture; of economic conditions and development; or of demography, technology, ideology, or religion" (March & Olsen, 1989, p. 3).²⁸

A second characteristic of dominant policy models has been a reductionism that emphasizes "macro consequences of micro actions which requires that the elementary units be individuals" (p. 5). Thus, until recently, in most of the social sciences the actions of individual human beings were thought to determine the flow of events in a larger social system. Related to reductionism is the utilitarianism predominant in modern political science, and particularly in the choice theories of decision making that describe political events as the consequence of calculated decisions. Utilitarianism assumes that individuals make choices on the basis of rational calculations, taking into account their preferences. A fourth characteristic of modern approaches to understanding policy making is the "instrumentalism" evident in the tendency to give primacy to outcomes, and to either ignore symbolic actions or to see "symbols as part of manipulative effort to control outcomes, rather than the other way around" (p. 7). Efforts to control symbols and the values and emotions that they evoke, are seen as simply strategic moves by self-conscious political actors. A fifth characteristic of contemporary political theory is the presence of an implicit "functionalism" which assumes that particular patterns of interaction within a political system exist to serve the needs of that system. To March and Olsen these five characteristics of contemporary political models tend to reduce politics and policy to factors such as class struggle, or to a view of individual behaviour as primarily self-interested. The contribution of state institutions to stability and change in political life has been largely ignored. Current proponents of an institutional

perspective reverse this trend by focusing more specifically on state institutions.

During the past five years there has been a growing concern for incorporating a focus on both micro and macro institutional structures into analyses of public policy making (Pal, 1992, p. 98). According to Coleman and Skogstad (1990) the approach to the state inherent in the new institutionalism is largely structural in that it is based on the assumption that "the preferences and values of policy actors are shaped fundamentally by their structural position. . . Political institutions, accordingly, take on a life of their own: as autonomous political actors, they promote certain ideologies and constrain the choices of individuals" (p. 2). The emerging neo-institutional perspective differs, however, from traditional structural approaches such as neo-Marxism, which propose that politics is subordinate to exogenous forces, particularly social class structure. The new institutionalism rejects this form of contextualism which sees "the causal links between society and polity as running from the former to the latter, rather than the other way around" (March & Olsen, 1984, p. 735). It rejects the reductionism implicit in the market model of society, which suggests that "behavior of a market is the consequence of the interlocking choices by individuals and sub-units, each acting in terms of expectations and preferences manifested at those levels (p. 736). Although not rejecting the importance of the social context of politics and the motives of individual actors, the new institutionalism insists on a more autonomous role for political institutions.

Implicit in this neo-institutional perspective is a focus on society-state relations. Recent studies have found that the "holistic characterizations" that have dominated macro-level theories of the state do not "adequately account for the rich variety of state-society relations being uncovered at the meso or sectoral level of analysis" (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990, p. 15). There is a growing interest in moving toward a "more disaggregated conception of the state" (p. 15). The neo-institutional approach that is adopted in this thesis conceptualizes state-society relations at three levels: macro, meso and micro (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; Pal, 1992). The broadest level encompasses the "state tradition, which embraces rules and conventions that apply across the full range of state institutions" (Pal, 1992, p. 103). In Canada, a state tradition derived from the institutions of the parliamentary system and federalism

influences, to some degree, the political behaviour and policy making at all levels. State-society relations can also be conceptualized at the meso-level of specific policy sectors such as education or agriculture. The boundaries of a policy sector can be determined by the "degree to which policy actors themselves plausibly see the sector as a coherent arena of activity" (Pal, 1992, p. 103). The concept of a policy community, consisting of "all the actors, real and potential, with an interest in a policy area," has been proposed as a vehicle for further delineating the boundaries of this meso-level of state-society relations (p. 103). A third, micro-level of state-society relations occurs in what neo-institutional scholars like Coleman and Skogstad (1990) call "policy networks" within large policy communities. These are patterns of relationships among a particular set of state and societal actors that form around a specific issue. The following discussions examine in turn the macro-, meso- and micro- levels of state-society relations.

Macro-Level Patterns of Politics

Skocpol (1985) argues that the structures and activities of states influence the "formation of groups and the political capacities, ideas and demands of various sectors of society" (p. 21). This macroscopic view of the state focuses on the idea of the state as "an organizing institutional principle" (Pal, 1992, p. 103). This approach suggests that institutional structures and activities affect different dimensions of political culture, including ideas about the "nature and locus of political power and notions about what can be attained in politics and how" (Skocpol, 1985; p. 22).²⁹ The state is conceived as a set of institutions that are founded on conceptions of political authority supported by historical tradition (Dyson, 1980). This approach views the state as more than simply "the system of legal norms, the embodiment of sovereign authority or a collection of public services" (p. 243). Rather it embodies political world pictures defining appropriate political conduct. Dyson argues that "attitudes towards the accommodation of interests typical of different polities are closely related to an experience of authority. . . exercised through both public institutions and a particular set of social relations" (p. 57). Thus, different states "not only conduct decision-making, coercive, and adjudicative activities in different ways, but also give rise to various conceptions of the meaning and methods of 'politics' itself, conceptions that influence the

behavior of all groups and classes in national societies" (Skocpol, 1985, p. 22). The Constitution of the United States, for example, promotes government by legislation and litigation where politics becomes "the struggle to translate social and economic interests into law" (Katznelson & Prewitt, 1979, p. 31-33). Various institutional structures, such as a country's constitution, define the nature of politics in that polity.

In defining the possible types of state/society relations, Dyson (1980) places at one extreme the notion of a "state tradition." Coleman and Skogstad (1990) contend that political communities sharing a state tradition:

...have evolved a notion of an abstract, impersonal state above and distinct from the government and the governed. Such societies prefer bureaucratic and legalistic methods of conflict resolution, deny that the public interest is simply the sum of private interests, stress the distinctiveness of the state and society and the unitary character of public power, and promote strongly collectivist and regulatory attitudes. (p. 18)

Societies without a state tradition adopt political world views that are "not informed by a deep institutional consciousness or constitutional awareness but rather by the notion of politics as a game in which the rules, which are often vague and subject to various interpretations, are mainly the result of mutual understandings between contestants who compete for the favour of the spectators" (Dyson, 1980, p. 67). Canada is often portrayed as lacking a strong state tradition, embodying instead such an "adversarial model" of state-society relations. The parliamentary system that lies at the heart of adversarial polities such as the United Kingdom and Canada stresses the role of public debate and partisanship.

Such macro-level institutional configurations will affect the policy process at the meso-level, but in an indirect fashion" (Coleman and Skogstad, 1990, p. 19). The institutional and normative framework in a polity "sets the limits within which state and societal actors take initiatives, defines the extent to which policy planning can be longer term, and circumscribes the degree to which state actors can impose their will" (p. 19). Viewing the state as an important influence on the policy process implies that states may formulate and implement goals that are "not simply reflective of the demands or interests of social groups, classes, or society" (Skocpol, 1985, p. 9). Skocpol

argues that unless such "state autonomy" is evident in independent goal formation, there is "little need to talk about states as important actors" (p. 9). The autonomy and capacity of a state to implement goals in the face of actual or potential opposition or challenging socio-economic conditions are, therefore, fundamental concerns in exploring institutional influences on policy change. State autonomy is often attributed to the influence of the policy actors and administrative officials who are guided by the rationale of obligatory action. In fact, there is empirical evidence that collectivities of administrative officials can have direct and indirect effects on the content and development of major policy changes beyond those demanded by powerful interest groups (Hecl, 1974).

Related to the autonomy of the state is its capacity to implement its goals. A state's capacity to implement policies is derived from its financial and human resources, including the support of loyal and skilled officials. Although the financial capacity of the state may appear to be somewhat more manipulatable, in reality, constitutionally defined constraints to the capacity of a state to collect taxes make changing patterns of revenue collection more difficult. A state's means of raising and deploying financial resources provide the "best general insight into the direct and indirect leverage a state is likely to have for realizing any goal it may pursue" (Skocpol, 1985, p. 17).

Central to these inacro-level issues relating to state tradition are questions about why and how various states formulate and pursue their own goals. The answers to these questions can best come from focusing on meso-level policy sectors and policy communities. There are still substantial differences in the power of a state in different policy sectors. These differences may be explained by viewing a state as a set of organizations through which collectivities of officials are able to formulate and implement distinctive strategies or policies. In light of the general agreement that institutional patterns seem to vary by policy sector, and even within sectors there is clearly a need for more nuanced analyses of the relationship between macro- and meso-level structures (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; Pal, 1992; Skocpol, 1985). Understanding the politics of policy change in a sector requires an examination of the specific social properties of the actors in that sector, and the way in which they "organize their interests, and the relative capacity and autonomy of state agencies making policy for the sector" (Coleman &

Skogstad, 1990, p. 20). The following section of the chapter examines the notion of policy sector and policy communities.

Policy Communities

The notion of a policy community operating in a particular sector emerged from studies documenting the limitations of the rational actor policy models that have focused on a "single lonely organization" (Barrett & Hill, 1984; Hanf & Toonen, 1985; Heclo, 1976; Wamsley, 1985). Numerous strands of research directed at the dynamics of policy have demonstrated the inadequacies of a focus on a single institution (Sabatier, 1991). The findings of most implementation research, from early studies (Murphy, 1973; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973; Van Horn, 1979) to more recent research (Barrett & Hill, 1984; Goggin, 1987; Hjern & Porter, 1981; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1981, 1989) have demonstrated that the process of policy change involves numerous agencies and interest groups at all levels of government. The growing body of literature on inter-governmental relations (Hanf & Scharpf, 1978) as well as the studies of implementation (Sharpe, 1985; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1989) and the analyses of educational policy making specifically (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Mawhinney, 1989) have demonstrated that a variety of professional associations and other policy specialists are often active participants within what has been called a policy subsystem or a policy community (Sabatier, 1988; Wamsley, 1985).

One of the conclusions emerging from this research is that concepts and methodologies appropriate to the study of single organizations are "seriously deficient when it comes to examining the complex networks of inter-organizational arrangements through which important areas of public policy are implemented" (Hanf & Toonen, 1985, p. vii). The image of policy being formed within an inter-organizational network is not new. By the 1970s the commonly accepted view by political scientists was that the U. S. public policy process was controlled by a series of "iron triangles, linking executive bureaus, congressional committees, and interest group clienteles with a stake in particular programs" (Heclo, 1978, p. 88). Heclo was one of the first to question this static view of a closed set of triangles of control, in the light of the expansion of government activity and the layering and specialization within government bureaucracy that have occurred in recent decades. Heclo

argued that given such expansion focusing on closed triangles of control meant that analysts missed "the fairly open networks of people that increasingly impinge upon government" (p. 88).

The standard perceptions of policy as a rational decision-making process occurring within an iron triangle of legislators, administrators and interest groups simply does not suit the loosely connected play of influence that characterizes policy making. The notion of an iron triangle assumes that a small circle of relatively autonomous participants make policy in their own direct interest. Adopting this rational decision-making framework suggests that one group exerts dominance over another and that policies "get produced by a few makers" (p. 102). This depiction does not reflect the impossibility of identifying who the dominant actors really are. Hecló (1978) argued that "looking for the few who are powerful, we tend to overlook the many whose webs of influence provoke and guide the exercise of power" (p. 102). These webs, or "issue networks. . . comprise a large number of participants with quite variable degrees of mutual commitment or of dependence on others in their environment" (p. 102). Members, representing stable participants, move in and out of networks constantly. Furthermore, issue networks operate at many levels, from minority groups to issue experts.

In the context of the realities of the multi-level and multi-organizational process of policy change that Hecló and others have documented, serious attention must be given to units and levels of analysis that are explicitly inter-organizational and inter-governmental in focus. Understanding policy change, therefore, requires adopting as a unit of analysis an inter-governmental policy community composed of politicians, legislative personnel, bureaucrats, interest group leaders, and interested individuals (Barrett & Hill, 1984; Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; Hecló, 1976; Hjern & Porter, 1982; Kingdon, 1984; Pal, 1992; Pross, 1986; Sabatier, 1988; Wamsley, 1985).

A number of closely related conceptions of the policy community have been developed (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1986, 1989; Pross, 1986; Wamsley, 1985). Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986, 1989), for example, developed a model of the policy community that focused specifically on state-level educational policy formulation in the United States. This model classified state education policy actors as Insiders, The Near Circle, The Far Circle, Sometime Players and Often Forgotten Players. Insiders, the

most influential group in education policy making, include individual members of the legislature who have the knowledge and power to make or break an education policy. The Near Circle Players are those whose full-time occupation is focused on education policy, such as teachers' associations and senior department of education staff. The policy groups in the Far Circle are influential but not crucial education policy makers. Sometime Players are intermittently involved policy actors, such as administrators' associations. The Often Forgotten Players include courts, federal statutes and non-education groups such as business leaders, PTAs and advisory councils, textbook publishers and test producers. The result is a model of power and influence in educational policy making in a particular institutional setting illustrated in Figure 2.3.

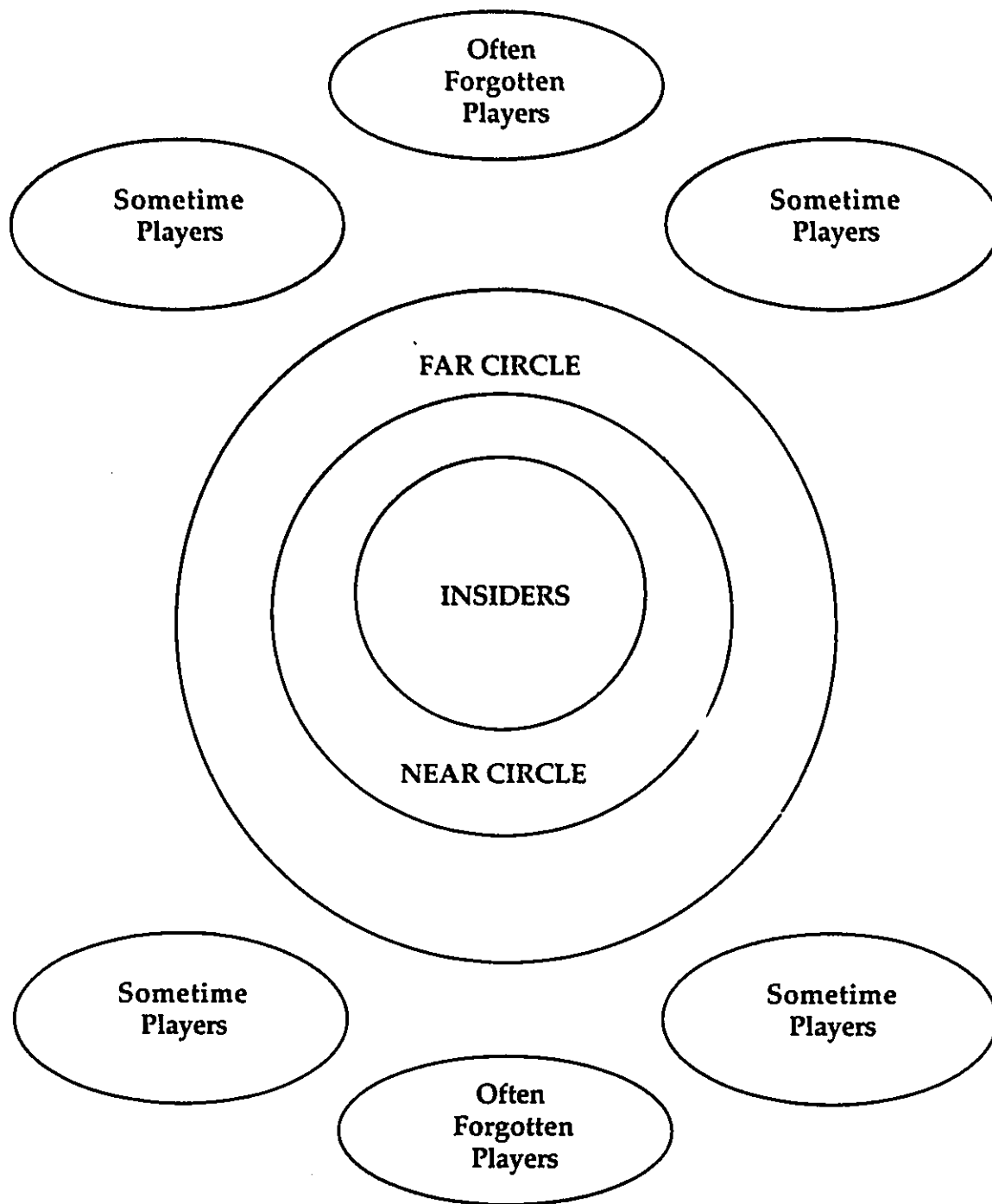
Organizational Development of Interests

Policy communities are distinguished by the organizational development of interests within their sectors. This development differs, depending on the "role that sectoral associations play in policy making" (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990, p. 20). Two roles can be played: policy advocacy and policy participation. Groups within a policy community play a policy advocacy role when they seek to influence the nature and content of public policy. Successful advocacy depends upon the "group's capacity to develop a knowledge of the policy making process, to generate information about specific policies, to mobilize support for its policy proposals, and to maintain internal member cohesion" (p. 20). Groups may also play a second role, that of policy participation when they not only develop these capacities, but also develop distinctive organizational structures. Coleman and Skogstad (1990) identify two properties that are evident in the organizational development required for policy participation:

First, the interest organization must be able to order and coordinate a range of complex information and activity so as to arrive at positions on relatively sophisticated policy questions. Second, as an organization, the group must be sufficiently autonomous from members to be able to transcend their short term interests and to take a longer term perspective on policy while still guaranteeing members' compliance. (p. 21)

Figure 2.3

A Model of the Policy Community



From "State-Level Policy Formation" by C. Marshall, D. Mitchell and F. Wirt, 1986, Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 8(4), p. 351.

A policy sector generally includes a number of associations representing particular functional or territorial divisions. More encompassing associations regroup a broad range of sub-interests within a sector. Collections of these associations form an associational system unique to a particular sector. Policy participation in a sector generally requires an associational system that is highly differentiated, drawing members from both broad and narrow domains. This differentiation is required in order to provide the specialized knowledge relevant to highly technical policy issues. At the same time associations must also be able to integrate these diverse and narrow interests either by forming a peak association, or by establishing a differentiated system of subsectoral branches.

In order to participate in policy making, an association must also have an institutionalized source of resources that will ensure that it remains independent of the state. In addition, the status that comes from recognition of an association's officially-sanctioned role as intermediary between the state and society adds the legitimacy required for policy participation. Organizational development, therefore, appears to be reciprocally related to the policy role of an association. Coleman and Skogstad (1990) argue that "well-developed associational systems are better equipped to move beyond policy advocacy to policy participation" (p. 23).

Two sets of factors influence these policy roles of associations. One of these, "the logic of membership," refers to the interests and motivations of individuals and groups that motivate them to join an association (p. 23). The second set of factors emphasizes the "logic of influence," that is, the "structure of the state itself at the sectoral level" (p. 24). State autonomy and capacity to make and implement policy changes are primary dimensions of this logic of influence. The state itself also shapes the actual organization of interest. In addition, particular state policies may have an impact on the organizational development of an associational system.

Policy Networks

One of the difficulties with the concept of a policy community that emerges is the issue of accounting for differences in group involvement depending on the particular policy problem under consideration. A policy

community identifies the various actors in a policy sector, but it does not define the nature of their relationships. In order to understand the politics of policy change the patterns in their interactions must be identified. To address this problem, Coleman and Skogstad (1990) propose a micro-level concept of the policy network that describes "the properties that characterize the relationships among the particular set of actors that forms around an issue of importance to the policy community" (p. 26). This conception of the policy network focuses on the structural properties of state agencies and organized interests. Key variables in the relationship between these two are "the degree of autonomy and concentration of power among state agencies, and the degree of concentration or coordination of interests on the societal side" (Pal, 1992, p. 111). The concepts of state autonomy and state capacity are demonstrated by coordinating capabilities, resource availability and expertise in decision making. State coordinating capacity is indicated by centralization of various state actors and by the existence of inter-departmental committees (p. 26). On the sectoral interests side, organizational development is a crucial property. The relationships among these variables have been used to develop a conceptualization of several ideal types of policy networks. These networks may be grouped into three families: pluralist, closed and state-directed.

Pluralist networks arise when both the state and the interest associations are weak. Pal (1992) defines two types of pluralist networks. The first, pressure pluralism, occurs when the state maintains some autonomy, but "is confronted by a host of uncoordinated interest groups all vying for attention" (p. 111). In this network interest groups tend to assume a policy advocacy role. If the state's authority is dispersed, however, clientele pluralism may arise where the state agency becomes dependent on the interest groups for information and policy participation. In this case interest associations tend to adopt a policy participation role.

Pluralist networks can be contrasted with closed policy networks. In closed networks, state policy making capacity is concentrated and well-coordinated. Organized interests also play an important policy role, "tending to draw on highly developed associational systems that guarantee a virtual monopoly relationship with the dominant agency" (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990, p. 28). Two types of closed networks have been identified. Corporatist networks involve multilateral relations among relatively strong state agencies and

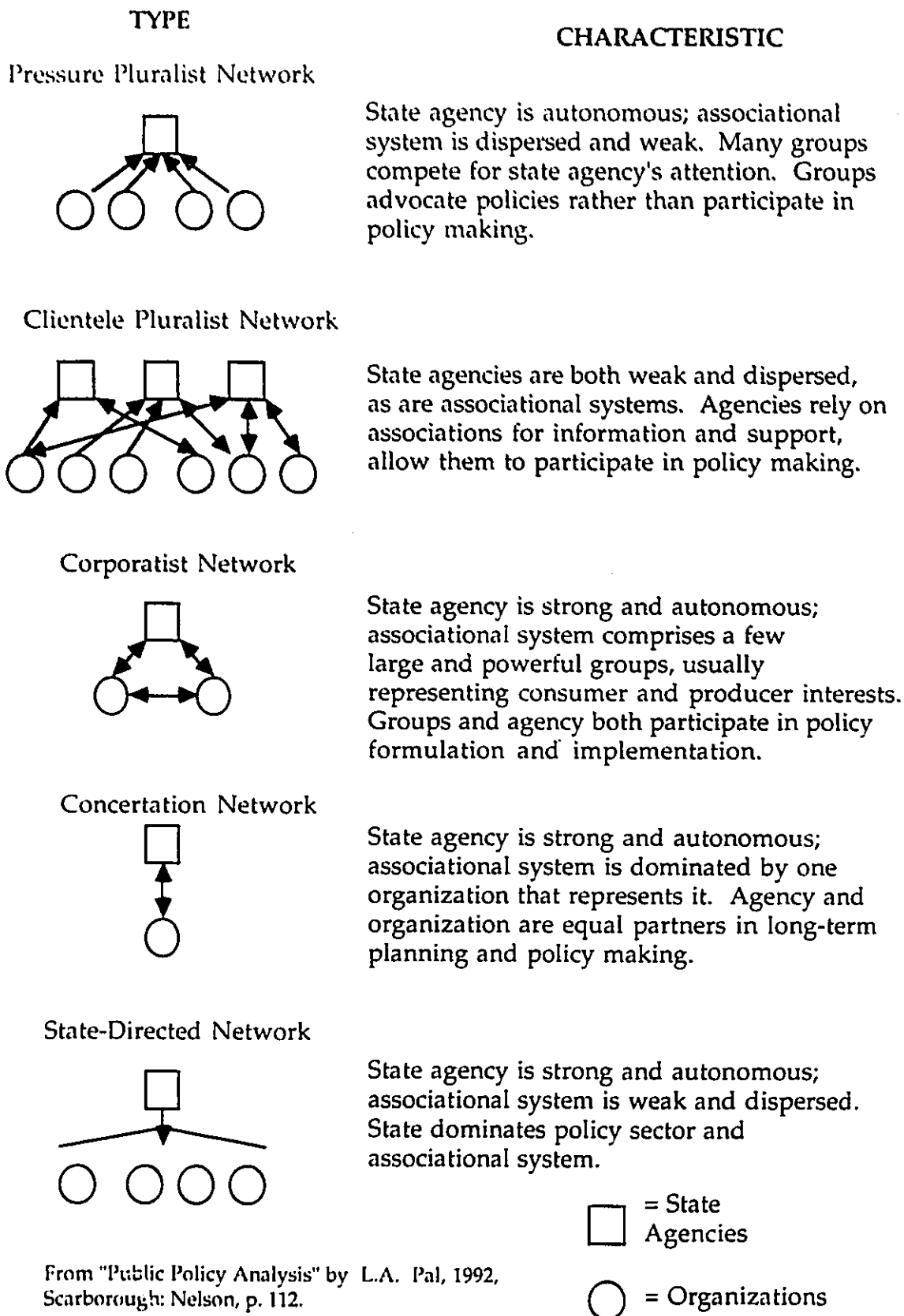
several strong and often opposing interest associations. A second closed network has been called concertation, referring to the situation where a strong state agency deals primarily with a single interest association. The bilateral character of this relationship distinguishes it from corporatism. A third category of networks are state-directed. They occur when the associational system is weak and the state agency is relatively strong and coherent. In such cases the interest associations play neither policy advocacy nor policy participation roles, but rather state officials dominate policy making and often without consultation are able to impose their solutions on the policy community. Often such networks are short-lived, operating only until interests are able to organize enough to assume a policy advocacy role. Figure 2.4 illustrates these networks.

The Institutionalization of Meaning

A central concern in the preceding discussion of the macro-, meso- and micro-institutional structures has been to understand why and how various states formulate and pursue their own goals. Implicit in all these discussions is the recognition that the state can be seen as a set of organizations through which collectivities of officials are able to formulate and implement distinctive strategies or policies. From the perspective of organizational theorists, it is assumed that "actors associate certain actions with certain situations by rules of appropriateness" (March & Olsen, 1984, p. 741). From this perspective, behaviour is viewed as rule bound. March & Olsen (1989) define rule bound behaviour as "routines, procedures, conventions, roles, strategies, organizational forms, and technologies around which political activity is constructed" (p. 22). Routines, for example, may be:

...procedural rules specifying a process that is to be followed under certain circumstances. They may be decision rules specifying how inputs are to be converted into outputs. They may be evaluation rules specifying criteria for assessing results. Rules may regulate the allocation of authority and responsibility, record keeping, and information gathering and handling. They may specify who has access to what institutions or arenas under which conditions, including the rights of political

Figure 2.4 Schematic Diagrams of Different Types of Policy Networks



From "Public Policy Analysis" by L.A. Pal, 1992, Scarborough: Nelson, p. 112.

oppositions. They may regulate appropriate times for saying or doing things by providing deadlines or by imposing time periods when certain things cannot be said or done. They may regulate the changing of rules. (p. 22).

A key point is that individual actions in governmental institutions are rule bound, and depend on assessments of what is appropriate rather than on self-interested calculations. Administrative officials "associate specific actions with specific situations by rules of appropriateness" (p. 23). Rather than undertaking an anticipatory calculus of consequences, administrative officials determine appropriate actions on the basis of the obligations and duties of their role.³⁰ Their understanding of these obligations emerges through "socialization, education, on-the-job learning, or acquiescence to convention" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 10). The logic of these differing calculations is evident in Table 2.2.

Making judgements about the appropriateness of a particular action, requires that policy actors interpret the meaning of questions such as "what kind of situation is this?" and "what is appropriate?" In fact, most theories of political action assume that action depends on an interpretation of life, and that such interpretations are constructed within political institutions. The underlying assumption is that values and preferences of political actors are "not exogenous to political institutions, but develop within those institutions" (p. 40). Individuals develop values and preferences as they interpret events by linking them to previous understandings, and to the understanding of others in their social network (Daft & Weike, 1984). In the case of political actors it is within political institutions that such interactions are organized, and, in this process, social norms are constructed to provide an interpretive frame or reference for understanding events (Greenfield, 1991). The role of social norms in facilitating the interpretation of events is a familiar theme in social inquiry. The importance of norms is, however, compounded in situations of contextual ambiguity.

Perceptual and affective ambiguity is common in complex policy change processes that involve "pluralism, decentralization, mobility, and volatility in attention" (March & Olsen, 1989, p. 43). The challenge for policy actors is to determine an appropriate course of action in the face of such contextual ambiguity. This requires that they not only interpret the situation, but that

Table 2.2

Conventional Rationales for Bureaucratic Action

Anticipatory action:	Obligatory action:
1. What are my alternatives?	1. What kind of situation is this?
2. What are my values?	2. Who am I?
3. What are the consequences of my alternatives for my values?	3. How appropriate are different actions for me in this situation?
4. Choose the alternative that has the best consequences.	4. Do what is most appropriate.

From "Rediscovering Institutions" by J. G. March and J. P. Cisen, 1989, New York: The Free Press, p. 23. Copyright 1989 by The Free Press.

they also interpret the effect of implications of action on their role. They must know "what the situation means, more than what it is about" (Pal, 1992, p. 101). March and Olsen (1989) argue that by providing a "structure of routines roles, forms, and rules," political institutions reduce the ambiguity faced by actors and, thereby, facilitate action.

Political action, from this perspective, is institutionalized through structures of rules and routines. Action is based on a "a network of rules and rule-bound relations" that are sustained by trust and "a confidence that appropriate behaviour can be expected most of the time" (p. 38). The complex of rules guiding political action emerge from interpretations of historical traditions. Thus, historically determined routines and norms representing a kind of institutional memory guide political action.

Summary: Institutional Arrangements Shape Collective Action

The preceding discussion has suggested that the study of institutions developed as a reaction against the rational actor model which interpreted collective behaviour as a consequence of individual choice (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991). The findings of empirical research guided by this model led organizational theorists such as March and Olsen (1984, p. 747) to comment that "what we observe in the world is inconsistent with the ways in which contemporary theories ask us to talk." DiMaggio and Powell (1991) illustrate this phenomenon by noting:

Administrators and politicians champion programs that are established but not implemented; managers gather information assiduously, but fail to analyze it; experts are hired not for advice but to signal legitimacy. (p. 3)

Research documenting these phenomena in policy change processes has provoked efforts to replace rational theories with conceptual frameworks more consistent with the inter- and intra-organizational reality currently observed. A central theme in these efforts is that institutionally determined rules serve as frameworks for organizing behaviour. At the same time that institutional rules establish order, they are, however, also "potentially rich in conflict, contradiction, and ambiguity" (March & Olsen, 1989, p. 38). In fact, major political struggles are almost always about the "formation and

reformation of rule systems that guide political and economic action" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 28). Although the role of rules and routines in promoting order and stability in policy making seems self evident, they are also central forces in defining the interests, and, thus, the conflicts in a polity. The responses to this contradiction offered by neo-institutional scholars outlined in the preceding discussion are helpful, but tentative, and the key question remains "what effect do these institutional structures have on policy making?" (Pal, 1992, p. 109) and "how do institutional arrangements shape the nature of collective action?" (DiMaggio & Powell, 1991, p. 28). It is from this background that the fourth research question guiding this thesis emerges:

How do institutional structures influence the nature of policy change?

The Ideological Basis of Policy Change

Previous sections of this chapter have suggested the limitations of rational economic models and pluralism that portray public policy as either a matter of technical problem solving or as an exercise in self-interest (March & Olsen, 1989; Pal, 1992; Skocpol, 1985; Stone, 1988). The difficulty with approaches which argue that self-interest determines policy preferences through a process of rational choice is that these models have no theoretical foundation for determining the origin of preferences beyond arguing that they are exogenous to the systems being considered (Wildavsky, 1987). Interests are assumed, or taken for granted, in the pluralist and economic models that have dominated policy inquiry during the past decades. In recent years, however, critics have argued that only the simplest policy actions can be explained by portraying policy preferences as external. Critics like Lindblom (1982) suggest that "we have impoverished our thought by imprisoning it in an unsatisfactory model of preferences taken as given" (p. 335).

In response to the growing recognition of the limitations of market-based models alternative conceptions argue that policy preferences are endogenous, that they "emerge from social interaction in defending and opposing different ways of life" (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 5). These alternative conceptions share a common assumption that "preferences are formed through opposing and supporting institutions" (p. 5). March and Olsen (1984), for example, provide

the rationale for their neo-institutional approach by arguing that "if political preferences are molded through political experiences, or by political institutions, it is awkward to have a theory that presumes preferences are exogenous to the political process" (p. 739). Similarly, Wildavsky (1987) has developed a "cultural theory" which assumes that "preferences in regard to political objects are not external to political life; on the contrary, they constitute the very internal essence, the quintessence of politics: the construction and reconstruction of our lives together" (p. 5). Policy choices, therefore, are "choices of culture-shared values legitimating different patterns of social practices" (p. 5). Stone's (1988) model of polis also depicts core values such as equity, efficiency, security and liberty as "continuously constructed" through policy argument and debates (p. 28). Although policy debates involve conflicting interpretations of these concepts, the concepts also unite the political community because people also try "to convince others that their interpretation best fulfills the spirit of the larger concept to which everyone is presumed to subscribe" (p. 29). Shared values that emerge from social relations, rather than self interest, are central forces in these alternative conceptualizations of policy making.

A central issue in these critiques is the role that self-interest plays in policy preferences. Critics such as Orren (1990) argue that research on political attitudes and behaviour over the last thirty years has documented how weak an influence self-interest actually exerts. Evidence has accumulated that "ideas and values are autonomous and do not merely rationalize action in accordance with self-interest" (p. 24). Pal (1992) also argues that ideas and interests often do not coincide. Self interest cannot explain the powerful human sentiments like compassion, loyalty, affection, and duty that "shape people's views and move them to action" (Orren, 1990, p. 27). Even where ideas and interest coincide, "the nature of policy discourse in public arenas (e.g., parliament, the media, the hustings) forces interlocutors to address the public interest, not self interest" (Pal, 1992, p. 200). Policy making is fundamentally about public interest, and, as a result, public arguments about policy always take place on the higher plane of the public good. Policy arguments, therefore, reflect one of the distinguishing characteristic of the political world: "the acceptance of ideas and commitments to goals" by members of a political community (Orren, 1990, p. 27).

These arguments are consistent with the growing body of research that confirms the central role that ideologies and ideas play in the process of policy change (Doern & Phidd, 1983; Fischer, 1980; Kirst, Meister, & Rowley, 1984; March & Olsen, 1989; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Pal, 1992; Sabatier, 1988, 1991; Simeon, 1976; Townsend, 1988; Young, 1977; Wildavsky, 1982, 1987). The role of values in policy making has been recognized at least since Easton (1953) established the founding assumption that policy making involves the authoritative allocation of values and resources. A policy change, therefore, "consists of a web of decisions and actions that allocates values" (p. 130). This process is, however, not without conflict, rather, it occurs within a political arena of conflict over value allocations (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989). More recently neo-institutional scholars have argued that dominant ideas such as equality, equity, efficiency and liberty are embedded in "key political institutions and in the relations among them" (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 560). Ideas are also present in the "structure of public policies as power is organized and resources allocated" (p. 560).

Although the normative content of policy lies at the heart of much recent research, there are some differences in how ideas and values are categorized and what role in policy change is ascribed to the various categories. A common approach is to specify a hierarchy of ideas or values.³¹ Doern and Phidd (1983), for example, identify three levels of normative content: ideologies, ideas and objectives, which range respectively from the broadest to the most specific policy-oriented values. Pal (1992) identifies a similar set of three categories of ideas that influence the way that people think about public policy. The first category "contains basic assumptions about human behaviour, the second involves the ends or goals we strive to reach, and the third contains the theories or frameworks that apply to a specific policy area" (p. 210). In the following discussions, these categorizations have been combined to outline the parameters of the normative content of policy. Conceptions of human behaviour are first outlined by drawing from recent work developing a cultural theory of preference formation, and discussions of ideologies, a related category of broad ideas. A second, but related category of dominant ideas is examined next. A third level of normative content, the policy specific related to education is then discussed. These three categories of ideas are influential in defining the assumptive world of the actors in the

policy network, and for establishing the basis for the policy debates among those actors, two issues that conclude this discussion of the ideological basis of policy change.

Conceptions of Human Behaviour

At the most fundamental level, core values inform the assumptions that people make about human behaviour. These assumptions in turn structure judgements about the basic feasibility of policy interventions. For example, Pal (1992) identifies two contrasting views of human behaviour that result in vastly different policy orientations. Viewing "human beings as flawed, sinful, self-interested, grasping, and essentially asocial" results in policies that attempt to control and constrain human behaviour (p. 211). In contrast, the assumption that humans are kind, sincere, and altruistic, results in policies that reject social constraints as unnecessary.³²

A theoretical perspective recently proposed by Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky (1990) develops a cultural theory of preference formation that addresses the question "what are the social constructions of human nature?" (p. 33).³³ This theory proposes that perceptions of human nature are inextricably tied to social relations. Like other neo-institutional perspectives, cultural theory recognizes the interaction between the institutional context of social relations and perceptions of human behaviour. The theory assumes that "what matters to most people is their relationships with other people and other people's relationships with them" (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 6). As social creatures, individuals "are not only being molded by but actively molding their social context" (p. 7). Social relations are the patterns of interpersonal interactions from which emerge the shared values and beliefs that define a cultural bias, and, ultimately, a way of life. The theory proposes that "only a few conjunctions of shared values and their corresponding social relations are viable in that they are socially liveable" (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 6). Two dimensions of social interaction define the viable ways of life. One dimension, termed "grid," refers to the number and variety of prescriptions on human behaviour. In this dimension, "the more binding and extensive the scope of the prescriptions, the less of life that is open to individual negotiation" (Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990, p. 5). The second dimension, referred to as "group," reflects the extent to which "the

individual's life is absorbed in and sustained by group membership" (Douglas, 1982, p. 191). Thus, high group status is evident in an individual who is joined with others in "common residence, shared work, shared resources and recreation" (p. 202).

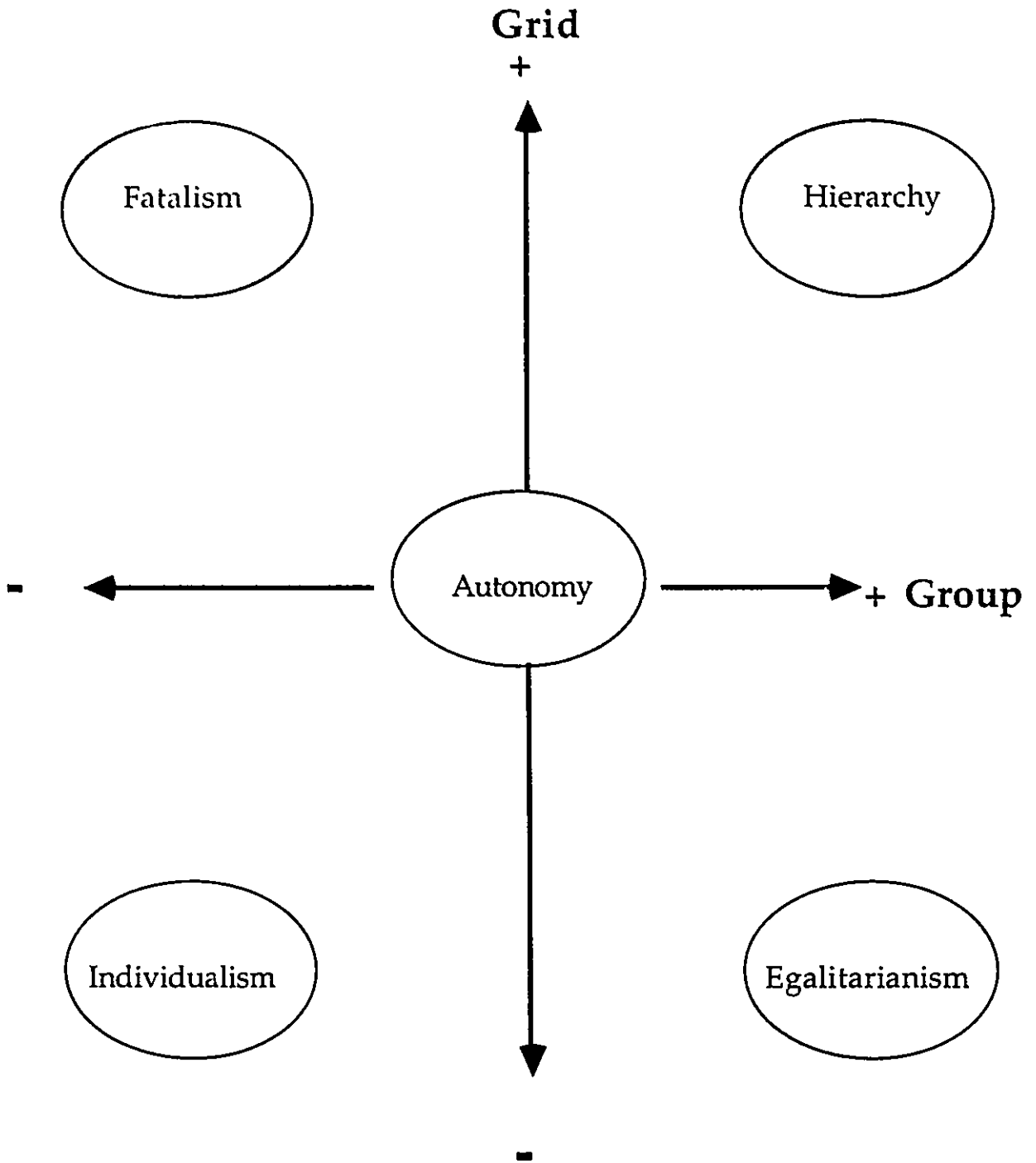
The modes of social control are the basis of the interaction of these dimensions. Differences in modes of power, such as who is or is not entitled to exercise power over others, provide the basis for the five types of organization that emerge from the interaction of these dimensions: hierarchy, egalitarianism, fatalism, individualism, and autonomy. Strong group boundaries and binding prescriptions result in hierarchical social relations where individuals are constrained by both the demands of other members and by the demands of socially imposed roles. In contrast, strong group boundaries combined with minimal prescriptions produce egalitarian social relations reflecting "voluntary consent without coercion or inequality" (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 6). An individualistic social context occurs when group boundaries are subject to negotiation, and where there are few prescriptions imposed on individual behaviour. A fatalistic culture emerges when group boundaries are not only weak, but individuals are also excluded from group membership at the same time that they are subject to binding prescriptions. A fifth way of life, that of the "the hermit," occurs when an "individual withdraws from coercive or manipulative social involvement altogether" (Thompson, Ellis, & Wildavsky, 1990, p. 7).

Cultural theory suggests that each of these modes of organizing social life incorporates value-based policy orientations. For example, individualistic cultures support core ideas of self-regulation, bargaining and reduction in external authority. Hierarchy, in contrast, institutionalizes authority. Egalitarian cultures reject authority and support non-coercion in striving to reduce differences among groups and individuals. Apathetic cultures emerge when people cannot control what happens to them. As a result a fatalistic bias against identifying policy preferences emerges (Wildavsky, 1987, p. 7). Figure 2.5 depicts these five modes of social organization.

None of these modes of organizing is viable on its own. In fact, Wildavsky (1987) argues that one of the basic assumptions of cultural theory is that "conflict among cultures is a precondition of cultural identity" (p. 7). Such conflict is evident in the process of policy change where the ideas to be

Figure 2.5

Five Modes of Organization Mapped Onto the Dimensions of Sociality



From "Cultural Theory" by M. Thompson, R. Ellis, A. Wildavsky, 1990, Boulder, Westview Press, p. 8.

incorporated are contested throughout the process by those assuming different cultural perspectives. Cultural theory suggests that the political culture of a polity emerges from conflicts among these perspectives. The influence on policy preferences of the values and beliefs embodied in political cultures is recognized by other theoretical approaches. Doern and Phidd (1983) for example, propose that ideologies, discussed next, provide the broadest level of normative policy content.

Ideologies

Identifying ideologies as a category of values distinct from those reflected in the five modes of social organization identified by cultural theory is largely arbitrary. Ideologies defining a political culture are intimately related to assumptions about the nature of human behaviour held by the different cultural orientations. These orientations interact with the various religious, social and ethnic values of members of the polity and coalesce into a general political culture which "defines the zone of appropriate action for government" and which "provides a range of acceptable values and standards upon which leaders can draw in attempting to justify their polities" (Bell, 1984, p. 156).³⁴

Political culture is, however, not a monolithic concept. It includes general ideologies, dominant ideas, and specific goals or objectives. Ideologies refer to the beliefs and actions that help to "provide political and social identity to its adherents" (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 51). Ideologies are more or less coherent and explicit, and tend to be held by those whose political involvement is fairly high (Bell, 1984). Doern and Phidd (1983) argue that the broad ideologies found in Canada include liberalism, conservatism, and socialism. Liberalism, which encompasses a belief in the central role of the individual in a free society, is founded upon a belief in defending private property and the market economy, with some moderation of the effects of capitalism through government intervention. Conservatism, includes a belief in the need to preserve valued and proven traditions, and a contemporary support for minimum government intervention. Socialism adopts a "collective view of society, and a de-emphasis on individualism" (p. 52). Taken together ideologies are important because although they do not automatically lead to

particular policies and actions by government, they can help foreclose certain policy options and screen out unacceptable ideas.

Cultural theory argues that these broad classifications can be misleading. Wildavsky (1987) suggests that the ideology often defined as individualism, in fact, combines "two separate and distinct political cultures with opposing preferences for policies and institutions--competitive individualism and egalitarian collectivism. Individualistic cultures prefer a minimum of authority, but they do not reject all authority. Although egalitarians wish for minimal prescription in choice, they are also "part and parcel of collectives in which, so long as they remain members, individuals are bound by group decisions" (p. 11). Failure to recognize such differences results in the confusion that is often evident when traditional depictions of dichotomies between liberals and conservatives, and between left and right, are used to explain policy choices. In the traditional left versus right dichotomy the left, or liberal is generally equated with a tendency toward greater use of central government for policy purposes. The right, or conservative ideology is depicted as signifying "a disposition against central governmental intervention in the economy but of greater respect for collective authority" (p. 11). Wildavsky (1987) points out that this depiction is beset with contradictions:

The preference for greater use of government may stem from a hierarchical culture in which the individual is subordinated to the group. Yet the very same preference for central governmental action may be rooted in a desire to reduce all social distinction, including those on which hierarchies are based. Hierarchies and egalitarian collectives may, in certain historical contexts, ally themselves in favor of redistributive measures, yet they may also at the same time, be bitter opponents in regard to respect for authority. (p. 11)

Others share Wildavsky's perception of the limitations of the traditional liberal-conservative ideological continuum. Conover and Feldman (1981) suggest that the debates over policy changes directed at many contemporary social issues cannot be explained by the traditional liberal/conservative continuum. Ideologies, in fact, are not often presented in "pristine form," they are often reflected "in the changing rhetorical language of general

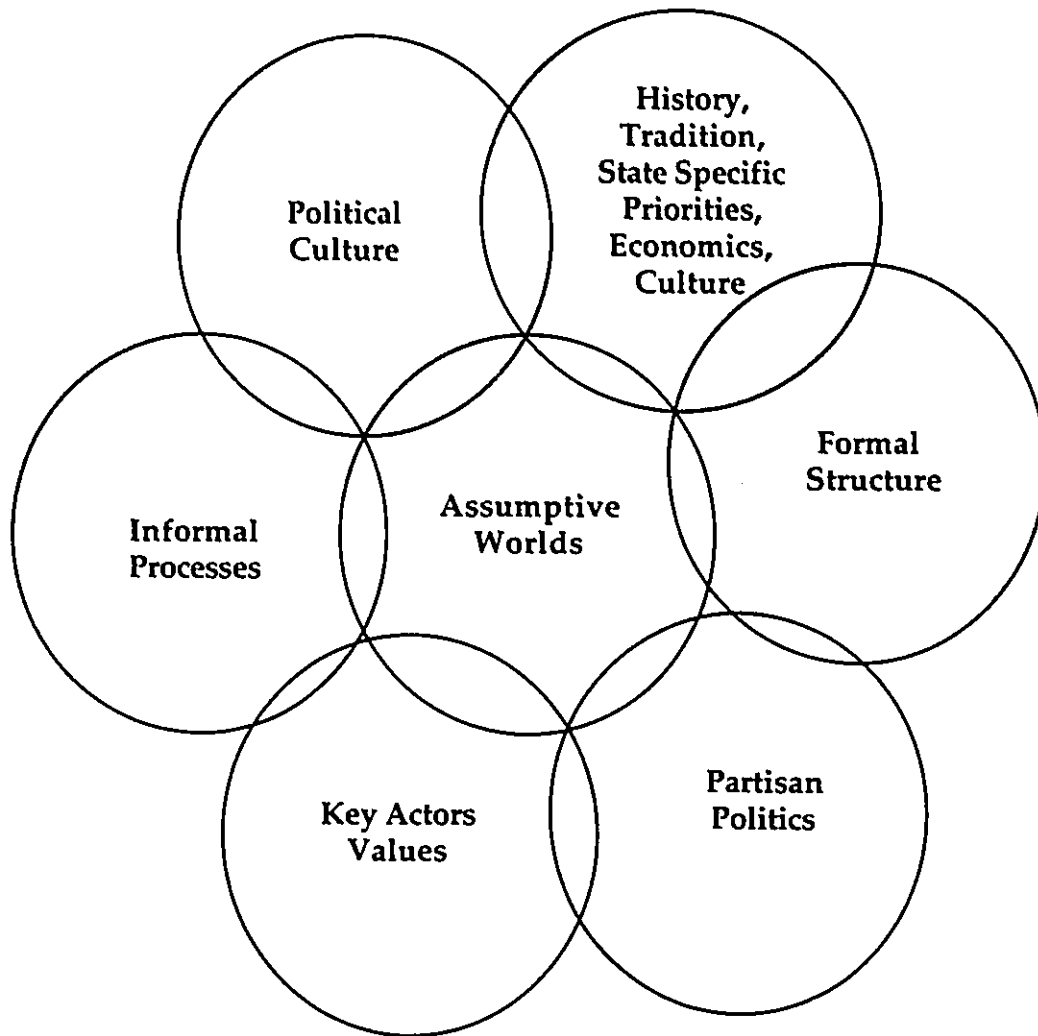
political debate" that argues, for example, for "a just society" or a "community of communities" (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 561). The importance of the values, beliefs and orientations of actors' in the policy debate is acknowledged by many writers in the social policy field (Aberbach, Putnam & Rockman, 1981; Hecl & Wildavsky, 1974; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Putnam, 1973; Sabatier, 1988; Townsend, 1988; Young, 1977, 1979, 1980, 1981). Although some researchers have attempted to identify the general left/right political orientation of policy makers (Putnam, 1973), others have developed more elaborate models of the role of ideology in policy making.

Young (1977, 1979, 1980), for example, proposed the notion of the "assumptive worlds" to suggest the intermingling of actors' beliefs and ideologies with the structures, history and processes involved in policy. Young (1977) first proposed a theory of assumptive worlds comprised of policy makers' subjective understandings of their environment drawn from "the several intermingled elements of belief, perception, evaluation, and intention" (p. 3). Recently, Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989) have adapted the concept of assumptive worlds to the education policy context in developing a cultural framework of studying American state-level education policy. The "cultural paradigm" they adopt focuses on "cultural views and meanings held by actors and ways these drive the policy system, both its processes and results" (p. 4). They propose that the assumptive worlds of members of an educational policy community includes their perceptions of existing socio-economic conditions, their understandings of the history of previous policy making in the domain and of the influence of other policies. Ham (1980) summarizes the importance of this growing focus on the beliefs of the actors involved in the policy process by quoting Young and Mills (1980) who argue that "an understanding of the assumptive worlds of governmental actors is essential to successful policy analysis, for it enables us to interpret events in the light of the meaning which the actors involved ascribe to their own actions, rather than interpret these actions in terms of postulated interests, motives or goals" (p. 65). Figure 2.6 illustrates this conception of assumptive worlds.

The conception of "assumptive worlds" provides a broad conceptual basis for focusing on the ideological foundation of policy making in a policy community. The assumptive worlds notion is less successful in providing

Figure 2.6

The Assumptive Worlds of Policy Actors



From "State-level Policy Formation" by C. Marshall, D. Mitchell, and F. Wirt, 1986. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 8 (4) p. 37.

theoretical understanding of the actual debates that occur over conflicting conceptions of dominant ideas in that community. As the following discussion suggests, such conflicts fuel policy debate, and thus influence policy change.

Dominant Ideas

Closely related to broad ideologies such as competitive individualism and egalitarian collectivism are a number of core ideas. Ideologies and assumptions about human behaviour structure responses to policy issues in a very general fashion. A number of scholars have argued that ideas are evident in a related set of assumptions about the proper ends of public policy. Pal (1992) refers to these as policy goals. Similarly, Doern and Phidd (1983) suggest that dominant ideas are the second level of normative content of policies. Although related to ideologies, they may be combined to "embody a particular normative preference in a particular policy field" (p. 54). Several dominant ideas evident in Canadian policy include equality, efficiency, security, liberty, stability, redistribution, national identity, unity and integration, and regional diversity and sensitivity. Stone (1988) argues that four of these ideas tend to dominate the language of policy discourse: equality, efficiency, security, and liberty. Pal (1992) adds a fifth idea: community. In the following discussion, each of these ideas is discussed.

Equality is a democratic and philosophical concept best embodied in the first self evident truth stated in the *American Declaration of Independence* that "all men are created equal." Although the idea does seem self-evident, in fact, equality is one of the most contested issues in politics and policy. These issues arise because equality raises pervasive sets of dilemmas regarding the distribution of scarce resources. Stone (1988) argues that distributions "whether of goods and services, wealth and income, health and illness, or opportunity and disadvantage--are at the heart of public policy controversies" (p. 30). Lasswell (1951a, b) defined the nature of such political controversies as conflicts over "who gets what, when and how". As this definition implies although equality is the goal everyone desires in a distributional policy change, conflicts emerge over "how the sides envision the distribution of whatever is at issue" (Stone, 1988, p. 30).

Three important dimensions of the challenges to the concept of equality of distribution focus first on the recipients, that is, who gets something; second on the item, or what is being distributed; and third on the process, or how the distribution is being decided upon and being carried out. Stone argues that these three dimensions of challenges result in eight different versions of equality, each of which results in unequal distributions but equality of something else. Of the set of challenges directed at the who, or the recipients, one challenge is based on the definition of membership. This challenge supports the idea of equal divisions, but questions who should have claim on these divisions. In many cases varying definitions of the class of members who are entitled to equal treatment lie at the heart of a political controversy. Other challenges concern how society is internally divided. One of these is a claim for distribution based on rank. This is a widely accepted approach, for example, most organizations pay their employees according to rank. In fact, this view is based on internal subdivisions that are sometimes called horizontal and vertical equity. Horizontal equity means equal treatments of people with the same rank, and vertical equity means unequal treatment of people of different ranks. Of course there are many challenges to this view of equity, for example questions can arise over whether the lines between ranks are correctly drawn, or whether the rewards given to ranks are proportional to the differences among them.

A related challenge is a claim for group-based distributions which holds that some major divisions in society are relevant and that membership in a particular group should sometimes outweigh individual characteristics in determining distribution. Such group based distributions are often proposed as a remedy for previous violations of merit or rank-based distributions. Affirmative action is an obvious example; other group-based distributions arise from divisions created by ethnicity, race, gender, and religion. Other challenges focus on what is being distributed. Some are based on the definition of the item to be distributed. One challenge redefines the boundaries of the resource. Instead of seeing a particular distribution on its own, it is seen as part of the distributional pattern as a whole. This expands the boundaries of what is being distributed. Another challenge redefines the item in terms of its value to the individual. A further set of challenges are directed at the when and how, or the process of distribution. Thus, some

argue for distribution based on competition, others suggest the lottery as a basis of distribution, and still others propose voting as the appropriate basis of distribution of scarce resources. Process is important because notions of fairness and equity include not only ends but also the process by which results occurred.

These challenges illustrate why statements, like equal opportunity for all or treat like cases alike, are far from simple and may mask the dilemmas of distributive justice. This is the paradox in distributive problems: equality may, in fact, mean inequality. Equal treatment may require unequal treatment, and the same distribution may be seen as equal or unequal depending on one's point of view. Table 2.3 illustrates concepts of equality.

Like equality, efficiency is a commonly used, but often misunderstood, idea in public policy. Efficiency has "come to mean the ratio between input and output, effort and results, expenditure and income, or cost and resulting benefit" (Stone, 1988, p. 49). The standard definition of efficiency as "getting the most out of a given input" illustrates the comparative nature of this idea (p. 49). Although efficiency is generally agreed to be a valuable policy goal, dilemmas arise over definitions of "what is considered a cost, an output, and a benefit" (Pal, 1992, p. 213). Often the biggest policy debates concern the issue of how to organize human activity to ensure greater efficiency, and how to organize efficient service delivery systems. During the past decade proponents of market models have argued that voluntary exchanges are the best way to achieve efficiency so successfully that these models have gained increasing prominence. Critics argue that the belief that markets can lead to efficiency is predicated on the idea that efficiency is objectively determinable, a claim they charge that is largely unsubstantiated. Stone argues that as organized forms of social activity, markets are not neutral, but rather they incorporate rules which ensure that those who control money and property have greater power than those who do not. Aside from debates over the means of achieving efficient results, the recognition that resources for policy changes are limited and that public policy makers are accountable to taxpayers ensures that efficiency will remain a core, though often contested, policy idea.

Security is seen as "a primary human and social need" (Pal, 1992, p. 215). Needs are the most fundamental political claims because they are often seen

to be essential, and as such they carry greater weight than desires. Conflicts concerning security arise over definitions of essential needs. Stone (1988) has outlined five dimensions, which are reflected in various definitions of essential needs, that are outlined in the following discussion. The first dimension is evident in the argument that needs can be objectively identified. This argument is problematic because of the symbolic meaning attached to many objects. Walzer (1983), for example, suggests "People don't just have needs, they have ideas about their needs" (p. 66). Needs also have a relative dimension because people define them "in accordance with community standards, norms, and customs" (Stone, 1988, p. 73). Moreover, needs may be direct or instrumental. For example, education is often portrayed as a need that is instrumental for students' future well being. In fact, some needs are specifically premised on future conditions, such as those concerning the condition of being "at risk" that are evident in current policy debates. There is another dimension of need that focuses less on individual survival than on a complex of communal needs. Communal needs, according to Stone, arise because "humans require community, solidarity, a sense of belonging, dignity, respect, self-esteem and honor, friendship and love" (p. 77). These dimensions of need are not proposed in any kind of hierarchy; they suggest, rather, the multiple ways of defining a need that result in different perceptions on the requirements for public policy changes.

Liberty is rooted in the idea of individualism and in the recognition of economic, religious and other freedoms. It implies a belief in self-interest and self-development, and the freedom of individuals to do as they please as long as they don't harm others (Doern & Phidd, 1983). Liberty suggests that individual choice should be constrained by governments only when that choice harms others. Stone (1988) argues that "to ask in this framework what kinds of freedom people should have is to ask what types of harms society should prevent" (p. 88). The notion of harm embodied in this framework is often disputed. Even the apparently clear definition of harm as physical injury becomes ambiguous when concerns are about long-term and cumulative effects of exposure to potentially harmful substances. The problem is that physical inquiry does not capture the "array of indirect and poorly understood mechanisms by which individual actions harm other people" (p. 88). Harm has also been interpreted more broadly as effects that

materially, emotionally, or spiritually injure another. Pal (1992), for example, suggests that psychological harm can be created by portrayals of others in ways that offend them as in the case when "ethnic groups protest against the harm caused by stereotypes" (p. 214). These interpretations of the concept of harm-to-others confirm that rather than providing a simple criterion for determining appropriate restrictions on liberty the interpretation of harm is often an impetus for political conflict.

Constraints on liberty arise from potential harm that may result to other individuals. Liberty must also be constrained by potential harm to the community. Stone (1988) argues that restrictions on individual liberty, such as requirements of members of a polis to obey the law whether or not violations will cause harm to another individual, are protections of the social order, or the community as a whole. The idea of community has traditionally been more important in Canada than in the United States. Liberty, although recognized in Canada, is not given as key a position as it has in American political culture. Stone comments that the most serious defect of the individualistic conception of liberty common in America is that "in seeing only harms to individuals, it fails to protect community life" (p. 93).

The preceding discussion suggests that the core ideas of equality, efficiency, security, liberty and community provide the conceptual lenses that focus debates over policy changes. None are monolithic concepts, but rather are the focus of multiple interpretations that are often further refined during debates within specific policy domains. As the following section suggests, debates occurring at the micro-level policy domains often concern ideas of goals that reflect unique interpretations of core ideas such as equality.

The Policy Specific

A third level of normative content refers to the goals or values evident in specific policies or policy domains. Pal (1992) suggests that policy fields are generally defined in terms of key policy-relevant concepts and theories which he calls the "policy specific" (p. 215). Core ideas are implicit in policy-specific theories and in the instruments that are favored by those theories. Doern and Phidd (1983) refer to this level of normative content as the specific objectives and purposes that may be "debated or in dispute within a policy field" (p. 58).

These objectives are closely related to the "policy paradigm" that provides "a series of principles or assumptions which guide action and suggest solutions within a given policy field" (p. 57). Such paradigms can become entrenched in a field, and as a result, they may "change very slowly because they become tied to the education and socialization of professionals or experts and even perhaps the larger public as well" (p. 57).³⁵ Similar to broader ideologies, policy paradigms may, thus, screen out policy options and provide a framework from which specific objectives are developed.

Among the dominant ideas guiding policy specifics that have often been identified with educational policy by American scholars are efficiency, equity, quality and choice (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989). These values can be translated into approaches to policy making in three policy-specific domains of education: program, finance, and organization and governance. Table 2.4 illustrates the influence of these policy ideas on specific domains in education.

There is general agreement that these ideas, although desirable in themselves, often "totally or partially contradict each other" (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 57). Policy makers constantly face dilemmas as they choose among these values. For example, "an intent to achieve equality frequently decreases school efficiency" (Garms, Guthrie & Pierce, 1978). At the same time, different ideas can also reinforce one another. Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989) conceptualize these possibilities of conflict and reinforcement as "conceptual dimensions along which values that reinforce one another are close together, while those that are opposed are more removed" (p. 146). Quality, which seeks uniform services for all students, for example, can be viewed as opposing equity, which seeks "special services or standards to meet needs of particular clients" (p. 147). In contrast, quality and efficiency can be seen as reinforcing each other, as in the case where proponents of quality, arguing for uniform minimum standards, appeal to the economic benefits and the accountability provided by such standards. Quality and choice can, however, be viewed as opposing ideas. This occurs when the monopoly of educational professionals on defining this value is seen to conflict with the right of parents to choose what qualities will be emphasized in the curriculum. Choice is also in opposition to equity because it provides options from which choices may be made, whereas equity mandates "requirements

Table 2.4

Public Values Expressed in Three Educational Policy Domains

Value	Policy Domain		
	Program	Finance	Organization & Governance
Efficiency	Making Programs more cost-effective	Improving the use of education tax dollars	More efficient school management
Equity	Giving more attention to children with special needs	Greater equalization of resources	Broader participation in decision making
Quality	Setting higher academic standards	Increasing the level of funding for schools	Developing quality-conscious leadership
Choice	Increasing program flexibility	Reducing restrictions on local expenditures	Providing more choices for families and children

Adapted From *Culture and Education Policy in the American States*, by C. Marshall, D. Mitchell, and F. Wirt, 1989, New York: Falmer Press, p. 93.
Copyright 1989 C. Marshall, D. Mitchell, & F. Wirt.

that districts and clients must choose" (p. 148). Choice, which supports providing a range of options, also contradicts efficiency, which supports a "one best way" orientation. Similarly, efficiency and equity are viewed as opposing because equity programs often disrupt efficiently administered procedures. Equity and efficiency can in the longer term, however, be seen as reinforcing values because the goals of the first use the means of the second to be realized. Table 2.5 illustrates the reinforcement and opposition of these values.

The opposition and reinforcement of different values highlight the ambiguous nature of policy ideas. Ambiguity is evident in the multiple interpretations that are generated by different interests involved in the policy change. This evidence underlines the connection between ideas and interests. The link is crucial, according to Pal (1992), who suggests that one of the fundamental issues that must be examined is how ideas combine with power to influence policy change (p. 217). As the following discussion suggests, Sabatier (1988, 1991) has developed one of the promising theoretical approaches with which to address this question.

The Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF)

Sabatier (1988) developed a conceptual framework of policy change that focuses on the interaction of competing advocacy coalitions within a policy community. These coalitions of actors from all levels of the public and private sectors form on the basis of a set of shared core beliefs. The framework addresses issues encountered in understanding the relationship between ideas and interests. The conceptual problem has been to find ways of aggregating interests into theoretically useful categories. As the preceding sections of this chapter have suggested, the policy subsystem, made up of actors from different levels of government as well as legislative committees, interest groups, members of the media, and researchers who are involved in the policy process, has been proposed as one such category (Hecl, 1978; Kingdon, 1984; Milward & Wamsley, 1985; Pross, 1986; Sharpe, 1984). Although it is generally recognized that the policy subsystem often contains a large and diverse set of actors, the conceptual problem has been to specify the

Table 2.5

Opposition and Reinforcement of Values			
Choice	Quality	Equity	Efficiency
Quality	N. A.		
Equity	Oppose	N. A.	
Efficiency	Reinforce	Reinforce	N. A.
Choice	Oppose	Oppose	Oppose

From *Culture and Education Policy* by C. Marshall, D. Mitchell and F. Wirt, 1989. New York: Falmer Press, p. 147, Copyright 1989, C. Marshall, D. Mitchell & F. Wirt.

relationship of these interests to the dominant ideas animating policy debates. Sabatier (1988) proposes that this problem can be overcome by focusing on advocacy coalitions, formed of "people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers) who share a particular belief system- i.e., a set of basic values, causal assumptions, and problem perceptions - and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time" (p. 139).³⁶

Sabatier draws from a number of theories³⁷ that have been offered to explain the structure of elite belief systems.³⁸ The ACF is synthesized from four strands of this research.³⁹ The synthesis of these strands suggests that belief systems include a set of dimensions of value that are perceived to be related to the policy issue; a set of causal relations that are thought to underlie the policy problem, perceptions of the extent of the problem; and perceptions of the efficacy of policy instruments.⁴⁰ Members of an advocacy coalition will share a set of beliefs derived from these structural characteristics.

As Table 2.6 suggests, the ACF proposes that members of an advocacy coalition share a set of beliefs which include a "core" of fundamental normative axioms that are translated into policy core positions regarding the appropriate strategies to achieve these normative axioms and a series of secondary policy positions based on a view of the state of the world. A basic assumption of the ACF is that the positions of policy elites on core issues will be slower to change than their views on issues related to secondary aspects of their belief systems. These secondary aspects are moderately easy to change in response to findings of policy analysis and research, or through policy-oriented learning. Learning is reflected in changes in the behaviour of policy elites of opposing coalitions seen in the "facts, causal theories and policy instruments they advocate" (Heintz, 1988, p. 216). The process of policy-oriented learning occurs as individuals perceive a particular problem that affects their core values, and they begin to search for information about the seriousness of the problem and its causes. Finding such causes, they identify an institutional arrangement that will address the problem, and they propose one or more policies to support such arrangements. Opposing groups may respond by challenging the validity of the data illustrating the problem's seriousness, the causal assumptions regarding the proper institutional arrangements, or the technical aspects of the proposed policies.

Table 2.6. Structure of Belief Systems of Policy Elites.*

	Deep (normative) core	Near (policy) core	Secondary Aspects
Defining Characteristics	Fundamental normative and ontological axioms	Fundamental policy positions concerning the basic strategies for achieving normative axioms of deep core.	Instrumental decisions and information searches necessary to implement policy core.
Scope	Part of basic personal philosophy. Applies to all policy areas.	Applies to policy area of interest (and perhaps a few more).	Specific to policy/subsystem of interest.
Susceptibility to change	Very difficult: akin to a religious conversion.	Difficult, but can occur if experience reveals serious anomalies.	Moderately easy: this is the topic of most administrative and even legislative policy making
Illustrative components	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) The nature of man <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i) Inherently evil vs. socially redeemable. ii) Part of nature vs. dominion over nature. iii) Narrow egoists vs. contractarians. 2) Relative priority of various ultimate values: freedom, security, power, knowledge, health, love, beauty, etc. 3) Basic criteria of distributive justice: Whose welfare counts? Relative weights of self, primary groups, all people, future generations, non-human beings, etc. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Proper scope of governmental vs. market activity. 2) Proper distribution of authority among various units (e.g., levels) of government. 3) Identification of social groups whose welfare is most critical. 4) Orientation on substantive policy conflicts, e.g. environmental protection vs. economic development. 5) Magnitude of perceived threat to those values. 6) Basic choices concerning policy instruments, e.g. coercion vs. inducements vs. persuasion. 7) Desirability of participation by various segments of society: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i) Public vs. elite participation. ii) Experts vs. elected officials. 8) Ability of society to solve problems in this policy area: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> i) Zero-sum competition vs. potential for mutual accommodation. ii) Technological optimism vs. pessimism. 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) Most decisions concerning administrative rules, budgetary allocations, disposition of cases, statutory interpretation, and even statutory revision. 2) Information concerning program performance, the seriousness of the problems, etc.

* The policy core and secondary aspects also apply to governmental programs.

From "An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein" by P. A. Sabatier, 1988, *Policy Sciences*, 21, p. 143.

Opponents may also attempt to mobilize political opposition "by indicating the costs to themselves and others" (Sabatier, 1988; p. 151).

The initiating group generally responds to this opposition and, thus, initiates a political and analytical debate. This debate is mediated by policy brokers, and often results in some sort of governmental action program. In order to reduce the potential for escalating conflict and the involvement of other actors, brokers may attempt to provide a negotiated compromise that often involves little change to the existing program. Sometimes the research and analysis conducted during this process can alter the perceptions of the problem to such an extent that significant changes in policy occur. Knowledge about a problem does not often, however, appear suddenly. Instead it emerges gradually from the analytical debates among coalitions within a policy subsystem over the perceived problem and the solutions suggested.

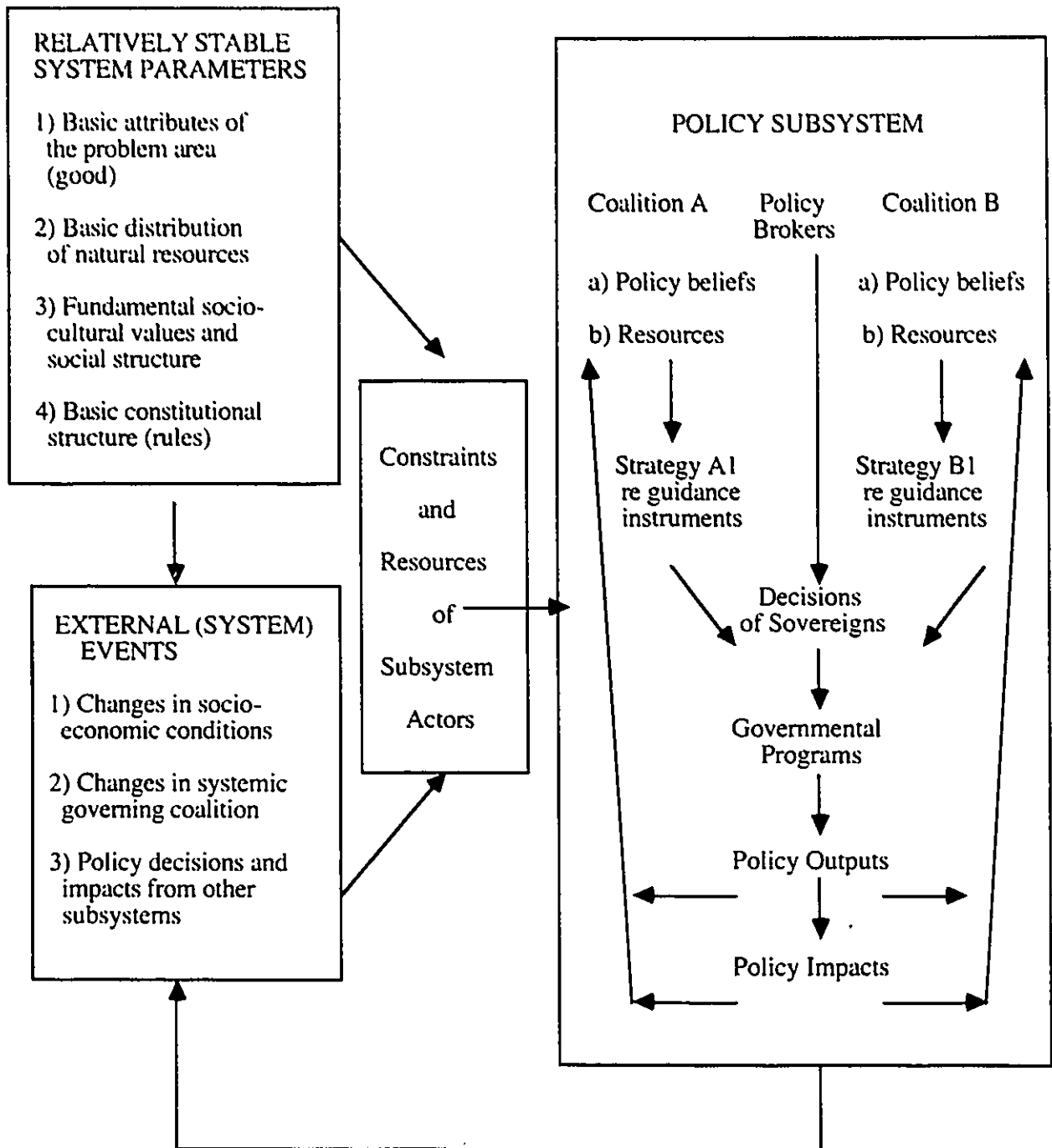
Sabatier argues that policy changes occur as the analytical debates among coalitions are mediated by policy brokers. The result is a policy change created by a governmental program that produces policy outputs, and, ultimately, impacts on the policy problem. Assessments of the impact of the policy change by advocacy coalitions may result in the revision of belief systems, or the alteration of their strategies. Such strategy alteration may involve seeking major institutional revisions, or it may require minor operational changes. Advocacy coalitions may also go outside the subsystem to seek major political changes.

The process of policy change proposed by the ACF is outlined in Figure 2.7. In this framework policy change is viewed as the product of two sets of exogenous factors, stable factors such as the constitution, and dynamic factors such as the state of the economy, as well as subsystem dynamics. The external factors offer constraints and opportunities to subsystem actors. Policy change in the ACF is also a function of analytical debates among opposing advocacy coalitions as they attempt to achieve the goals of their core belief systems.

Policy-oriented learning, which occurs through the process of analytical debate among members of different advocacy coalitions, is enhanced when a number of conditions are satisfied. A productive analytical debate occurs

Figure 2.7

**General Model of Policy Change Focusing on Competing
Advocacy Coalitions Within Policy Subsystems**



From "An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy-oriented learning therein" by P. A. Sabatier, 1988, *Policy Sciences*, 21, p. 132.

when one, or both, coalitions alter the secondary aspects of their belief systems (if not their policy core) as a result of an analytical debate. Policy-oriented learning is greater when the core values of the advocacy coalitions in a policy subsystem are not in conflict, more technical resources are used in the policy debate, the debate occurs in a "prestigious forum," quantitative performance indicators are available, and the problems of concern involve natural systems rather than social systems (p. 216).

Although the ACF offers a valuable conceptual approach to aggregating subsystem members on the basis of their belief systems into advocacy coalitions, the framework is not without difficulty. For example, the framework recognizes that not all members of an advocacy coalition will share exactly the same belief system, particularly on secondary instrumental decisions. Nevertheless, the ACF proposes that most members of a coalition will demonstrate agreement on policy core issues. The problem is that it is not clear what degree of consensus on a policy core required for advocacy coalition to exist. The focus of the ACF is, instead, on "the basic thrust of the argument" (Sabatier, 1988, p. 147). The problem with this approach is that it does not provide an explicit guide for the analysis of policy debate, one of the primary forces generating policy change.

Summary: The Influence of Ideas in Policy Debate

The preceding exploration of the literature has demonstrated that there is general agreement that ideologies, dominant ideas and policy-specific ideas are powerful influences on policy making. There is also growing recognition that "whether in written or oral form, argument is central in all stages of the policy process" in generating change (Majone, 1989, p. 1). Although it is accepted that conflicting interpretations of ideas lie behind policy debates, the exact link is not yet clearly specified. Although political philosophers and politicians understand the central role of debate in public policy making in democratic societies, policy arguments have been largely ignored by the rational choice decision models and pluralist conceptions that have provided the dominant theoretical basis for the policy sciences. Majone (1989) argues that a great deal is lost if policy change is viewed from a pluralist perspective in terms only of "power, influence, and bargaining, to the exclusion of debate and argument" (p. 2). Majone's view is shared by a growing number of policy

scholars who recognize the important role of ideas in arguments and debates surrounding policy change (Fischer, 1980; Hambrick, 1974; Majone, 1989; 1990; Pal, 1992; Sabatier, 1988, 1991; Townsend, 1991). These arguments suggest the fifth question guiding this thesis:

How do ideas influence the arguments and debates that generate policy change?

The Logic of Policy Change

The preceding discussions have outlined some of the emerging trends in understanding policy change evident in recent literature. These trends suggest the need to acknowledge the complexity of forces operating during the process of policy change. There is a growing recognition of the need to focus on community and the public interest rather than on the market in understanding the dilemmas that arise in policy change. Strands of recent literature suggest that policy change occurs through the interplay of prevailing ideas, institutional structures, and processes embedded in an historical, social and political context (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; Doern & Phidd, 1983; Fischer, 1980; Kingdon, 1984; March & Olsen, 1984, 1986, 1989; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989; Pal, 1992; Simeon, 1976; Stone, 1988; Thompson, Ellis & Wildavsky, 1990). As the following discussion suggests, these trends have implications for the meaning and logic of policy. The discussion first examines the contradictions among several definitions of policy.

Defining Policy

Understanding policy change first requires that the characteristics of policy be specified. These characteristics in turn depend upon the definition adopted, for policy is not a self-defining phenomenon. There is no definitive set of decisions constituting a policy waiting to be discovered (Hecl, 1972). Rather "policy is an intellectual construct, an analytic category the contents of which must be first identified" (Majone, 1989, p. 147). A number of issues emerge in examining policy as an analytical category that relate to the definition of policy adopted.

One important distinction among definitions of policy is the perspective adopted on the policy-action relationship. Guba (1984) outlines eight common definitions of policy that indicate the range of perspectives on this relationship.⁴¹ Definitions of policy, such as a goal or an intent, a standing decision, a guide to discretionary action, or a problem-solving strategy, focus on a policy-in-intention, that is, a statement about policy. Other definitions, such as sanctioned behavior, norms of conduct, and output of the policy-making system, emphasize policy-in-action. Such definitions treat policy as the behaviors or activities apparent in the process of implementation. A third approach defines policy as involving constructions based on experiences of the client. As Table 2.7 illustrates, each of these definitions suggests that different groups determine the nature of the policy process and, therefore, that policy is formulated at different distances from the "point of action," or the implementation point. All make assumptions about the nature of the policy/action relationship.

Policy researchers that do not assume that a hierarchical relationship exists between policy formulation and policy implementation do not make a distinction between policy and action (e.g., Barrett & Fudge, 1981).⁴² These regard implementation as an integral part of the policy process, rather than as an administrative "follow on" from policy making. Barrett and Hill (1984), for example, argue that "the political processes by which policy is mediated, negotiated, and modified during its formulation and legitimation do not stop when initial policy decisions have been made" (p. 220).

A contrasting view of the policy/action relationship is implied in much of the organizational literature in the Weberian tradition that treats implementation as a separate process. Policy is made at the top and is translated into operating instructions as it moves down the hierarchy. From the perspective of these definitions of policy, implementation becomes a matter of communication and use of control systems to ensure compliance. Politics, associated with the policy level, is seen as separate from administration and implementation (e. g., Williams, 1971; Van Meter & Van Horn, 1975).

A central issue in these contrasting analytical interpretations is whether policy is "consciously made by governments" (Pal, 1987, p. 7). A number of scholars emphasize conscious intention of government as a key criterion of

Table 2.7

Eight Definitions of Policy

Types	Determiners	Definition	Proximity	View
Policy-in-intention	- Legislature - Minister - Ministry	1. Assertion of goal or intent	Distant	Ends
	- Legislature - Minister - Ministry	2. Standing decisions used to regulate & control	Mid	Rules
	- Legislature - Minister - Ministry	3. Discretionary Guidelines	Mid	Guidelines
	- Legislature - Minister - Ministry	4. Problem-solving strategy	Mid	Set of tactics
Policy-in-action	- Street-level - Local - Supervisors	5. Behaviour sanctioned through acceptance	Close	Expected actions
	- Street-level bureaucrats - Local supervisors	6. Norms of conduct established through consistent & regular behaviour	Close	Norms
	- All of the above	7. Output of the policy making system	NA	Effects
Policy-in-experience	- Clients	8. Constructions based on experience	Inside	Encounters

From "The Effects of Definitions of Policy on the Nature and Outcomes of Policy Analysis" by E.G. Guba, 1984, *Educational Leadership*, 43, p. 65.

policy. Lasswell and Kaplan (1950), for example, define policy as "a projected program of goal values and practices" (p. 71). Similarly, Dye (1984) suggests that policy is "whatever governments choose to do or not do do" (p. 1). These definitions focus on intended, or immediately perceived, aspects of policy as the outputs of governments. Two dimensions of public policy are suggested by this focus. The first of these, the scope of government, refers to range of issues that are "subject to public choice and government involvement" (Simeon, 1976, p. 559). The second output dimension of policy involves the means used by government to make and enforce policy choices.

Another perspective on policy emphasizes impact of government actions whether intended or not. Simeon (1976) defines policy as what governments actually do and why. Hecllo (1972) also argues that "a policy may be usefully considered as a course of action or inaction rather than specific decisions or actions, and such a course has to be perceived and identified by the analyst in question" (p. 85). The argument that some policies may be unintentional and that policy makers may not be aware of their real goals "implies that the logic of policy is invisible to those who make it" (Pal, 1987, p. 7). This can occur if the stated goals are unclear, inconsistent, or impractical to the extent that policies are altered by implementors. Policies may also be viewed as unintentional if they are systematically perceived in a different way by those they are directed towards. Separatists, for example, have viewed Canadian federalism as a constraint to the social and economic potential of Quebec, even though there has never been a stated federal policy suggesting this intention. This perspective focuses on policy impact whether intended or not (Pal, 1992, Simeon, 1976). Rather than attempting to understand the "logic of policy" from the intentions and goals as originally conceived, "policy-in-use" approaches "decipher that logic from the systematic effects of policy" (Pal, 1992, p. 6).

Summary: The Logic of Policy Change

The emerging trends described in preceding sections of this review of the literature suggest that both policy-as-intention and policy impact approaches fail to provide adequate understanding of the logic of policy change. The literature reviewed suggests that no a priori assumption can be made of a

distinction between policy and action, between formulation and implementation, and between politics and administration. This position emerges from the interpretive perspective on policy as an ongoing process of problem definition and problem solving adopted in the thesis. Policy, from this perspective, involves "a course of action or inaction chosen by public authorities to address a given problem or interrelated set of problems" (Pal, 1992, p. 2). This focus implies that to understand the logic of policy requires an examination of problem definition, goals, means, scope and impact. It is on the basis of these requirements that the final research question guiding this thesis is based:

What are the implications of an interpretive orientation for conceptualizing the logic of policy change?

Research Questions

Preceding sections of this chapter have reported on the first stage of the theoretical research path adopted in this thesis. The central task of this stage of research was to establish the parameters of an interpretive approach to understanding the politics of policy change. Critiques of rational models reported in the chapter provide the rationale for focusing on the model of political reasoning implicit in Stone's (1988) conception of polis. Research on the policy process analyzed in the preceding sections focused on agenda setting (Dunn, 1981; Kingdon, 1984; Pal, 1992), policy design (Linder & Peters, 1989; Stone, 1988), and implementation and impact analysis (Barrett & Fudge, 1981; Hjern & Hull, 1985; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1983; Pal, 1992). The thesis adopts an open systems approach as a general heuristic (Easton, 1965a, 1965b; Hofferbert, 1974; Mazmanian & Sabatier, 1980). At the same time, this chapter has documented the growing calls to "bring the state" back into political analyses, and particularly the influence of institutions on policy change (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; DiMaggio & Powell, 1991; March & Olsen, 1984, 1989; Skocpol, 1985). Conceptualizations of policy communities and networks are central to the neo-institutional perspective examined in this review (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; Hecl, 1976; Hjern & Porter, 1981; Pal, 1992; Sabatier, 1988, 1991; Wamsley, 1985). The chapter documented the growing recognition of the role of ideas (Fischer, 1980; Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt,

1989; Stone, 1988), and the importance of argument in policy debate and policy change (Fischer, 1980; Majone, 1989; Pal, 1992; Sabatier, 1988; Townsend, 1991).

The conceptual issues that emerged from the review and analysis of current literature on policy change suggests that questions to guide the development of an interpretive framework must focus on the dynamic interplay of the ideas, the institutional structures and the political processes that are embedded in an historical-political context. As Figure 2.8 illustrates, these questions are grounded in six core elements of policy change:

- **Policy**, encompassing problem solving actions and or lack of action by authorities directed to a given policy issue;
- **Context**, including the direct and indirect influences of historical-geographical and socio-economic conditions, mass political behaviour, and more directly, elite behaviour;
- **Institutions**, and interests involved in the policy process in the polis;
- **Processes**, or the dynamics arising as the result of the problem solving actions required for policy making in the face of uncertainty and a changing environment;
- **Ideas**, or the normative content of policies; and
- **Forces** generated by policy debate which provide the impetus for policy change.

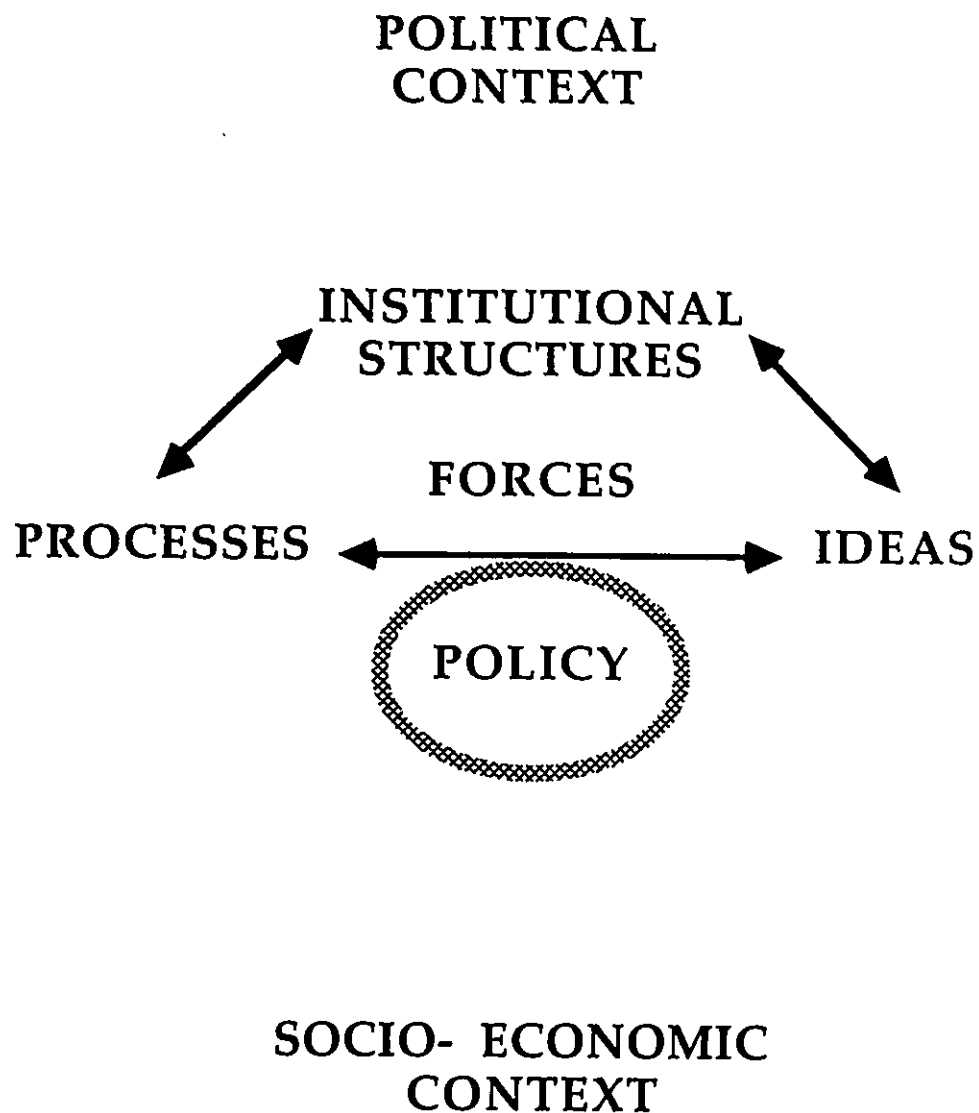
A number of problematic issues relating to these elements were identified in research and theory on various aspects of the politics of policy change in the preceding review of the literature. These issues provided the frame of reference for formulating the following six research questions that will guide the development of an interpretive framework for understanding the politics of policy change:

1. What are the elements and attributes of an interpretive orientation to understanding the politics of policy change?
2. What are the processes and configurations of policy dynamics?
3. How do contextual factors influence policy change?

4. How do institutional structures influence the nature of policy change?
5. How do ideas influence the arguments and debates that generate policy change?
6. What are the implications of an interpretive orientation for conceptualizing the logic of policy change?

Figure 2.8

Core Elements for an
Interpretive Framework of Policy Change



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- 1 Although Lasswell is generally credited with framing the policy focus the general orientation it shared with political studies was part of Western and American intellectual tradition (see Cahill and Overman, 1990)
 - 2 The "policy sciences" envisioned by Lasswell (1951b) were to assist in making more efficient decisions, and also to contribute to the knowledge "needed to improve the practice of democracy" (p. 15).
 - 3 Ironically Lasswell's proposal, although reflecting the influence of positivism, was for an approach that was "clearly at odds with the positivist posture" (Torgerson, 1985, p. 242). Lasswell (1951b) called for an orientation that was interdisciplinary and would provide knowledge in and of the policy process. Criticizing the "preference for automation" that he saw in much of the work in decision process, which reduced the role of judgement, he proposed a creative approach to policy that was explicitly normative, and context dependent (Lasswell, 1955, pp. 387-389). Anticipating the current post-positivist restructuring of policy analysis, Lasswell (1965) proposed a "contextual-configurative" mode of analysis requiring "an act of creative orientation" (p. 12). Despite this proposal, Lasswell remained "sufficiently under the spell of positivism" to formulate his policy science proposal in a way that was consistent with the rational decision theory and economic models that have predominated in policy inquiry during the past decades (Torgerson, 1985, p. 255).
 - 4 For an examination of the thoughts of Canadian politicians and policy makers on the nature of the politics of education see Townsend (1988).
 - 5 The functionalist approach to the study of power emerged from the work of Parsons (1949, 1967).
 - 6 See Clegg (1989) for an in-depth discussion of these approaches to power and a proposal for a "circuits of power framework" which addresses their limitations.
 - 7 See Wright and Hersom (1992) for the development of perspective on "power with" rather than "power of" or "power through."
 - 8 The rational comprehensive model depicts policy making as a step-like process of identifying a policy problem, clarifying and ranking goals, examining all alternatives, forecasting the consequences of alternatives, comparing alternatives and their consequences, and selecting the alternative which maximizes the goals (Braybrooke & Lindblom, 1967).
 - 9 The organized anarchy model, developed by Cohen, March & Olsen (1972), focuses on decision making as a process that is loosely connected with organizational goals or intentions. Decision making can occur through oversight, with little focused attention to the problem; as flight,

-
- where a problem moves on to a more attractive choice opportunity; or as resolution, which occurs when a choice resolves the problems attached.
- 10 For a recent use of the Kingdon model in education policy see Holderness (1992).
 - 11 At the same time there are a number of aspects of the approach that need to be developed. The conditions creating windows of opportunity, should, for example, be further specified. See Sabatier (1991) for a critique of the model.
 - 12 Lowi's (1972) conceptual work on policy has been one of the most important influences on policy instrument research. Lowi differentiated between types of policies based on their degree of direct coercion, and whether they sought to control behaviour directly, or through the environment. Contrary to the prevailing view of policy, Lowi argued that policy content determined the nature of the policy process because prior experience with that policy type established expectations of a distinctive policy process derived from both the directness of the coercion involved, and from the extent to which behaviour was either directly or environmentally controlled. Lowi initially identified three policy types: distributive policies, the least coercive, followed by regulatory policies, and redistributive policies, as the most coercive policies. Doern and Wilson (1974) and Doern and Phidd (1983) developed a similar concept of the management and manipulation of legitimate coercion as the basis of government action.
 - 13 Although there is no generic inventory of instruments, there is some agreement that there are at least seven classes of instruments: 1) direct provision, 2) subsidy, 3) tax, 4) contract, 5) authority, 6) regulation, and 7) exhortation (Linder & Peters, 1989, p. 44). Among these classifications are the economic models of instruments developed by Kirschen (1964); Mosher (1980) and Salamon (1981). Trebilcock, Hartle, Prichard and Dewees (1982) offer an alternative explanation of instrument choice based on public choice theory.
 - 14 McDonnell and Elmore (1987) cite the perennial issue of educational vouchers, as an example of a potentially system-changing instrument that was intended to respond to the discontent with public schools in the United States by broadening the pool of potential suppliers of education, and changing their relationship with their clients.
 - 15 Hood (1983) describes the combinations, linkages and substitutions of government tools that are possible for each of the four government resources: nodality, treasure, authority and organization.
 - 16 Salamon (1981), concentrating on the tradeoff between administrative costs and political support, suggests that the same characteristics that

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- make an instrument easy to manage also makes it the focus of political opposition.
- 17 Doern and Phidd (1983) argue that policy makers will choose the least coercive instrument first, and move gradually to the most coercive. This centrality-of-coercion hypothesis has, however been criticized by public choice theorists who argue that instrument choice is a function of the self-interested decision makers rational calculations to determine which instrument will likely produce the greatest political support. For another critique of the centrality-of-coercion" hypothesis, see Woodside (1985).
 - 18 Peters and Hogwood (1980) distinguish policy succession from policy innovation, which involves the entry of government into a new field, and policy termination, which implies the departure of government from some activity.
 - 19 This approach is illustrated by Van Meter and Van Horn (1975) who developed a top-down framework based on the definition of policy implementation as encompassing actions by public and private individuals (or groups) that are directed at the achievement of objectives set forth in prior policy decisions.
 - 20 This framework evolved from the findings of the first wave of implementation studies with their pessimistic conclusions (Bardach, 1977; Berman & McLaughlin, 1976; Elmore, 1978; Jones, 1975; Murphy, 1973; Pressman & Wildavsky, 1973).
 - 21 Another criticism of the top-down approaches is that they are difficult to use in situations where there is no dominant policy but rather a multitude of directives.
 - 22 Hjern, Porter, Hanf and Hull (1978) developed a methodology for conducting implementation analysis from a bottom-up perspective which begins by identifying the network of actors at the local level involved in a particular issue or in the delivery of a service. This methodology, which provides a way of mapping the policy connections between the "bottom" level street bureaucrat and the "top" policy makers, has been used extensively in Europe (Ackermann & Steinmann, 1982; Davis & Mason, 1982; Hanf, 1982; Hjern et al., 1978; Hjern & Porter, 1981; Hjern & Hull, 1985; Wittrock et al., 1982).
 - 23 See Sabatier (1987) for a discussion of the strengths and weaknesses of the top-down and bottom-up approaches to implementation.
 - 24 For a discussion of Easton's political systems framework see Mawhinney (1989).
 - 25 In Hofferbert's (1974) model, government decisions are seen as a direct and indirect function of historical-geographic conditions, socio-economic conditions, mass political behavior, government institutions, and, most directly, elite behavior.

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- 26 Neo-institutionalism in organizational theory is rooted in the work of Philip Selznick (1949, 1957). See Perrow (1986) for an overview of Selznick's contribution.
 - 27 Harold Garfinkel's (1967) work which developed the foundations of ethnomethodology, is considered seminal, but difficult. For a secondary, but informative, treatment see Heritage (1984).
 - 28 Pal (1992) suggests that Harold Innis' (1970, 1972) work on the Canadian fur trade, and on communications and empire, emphasize geography and technology as fundamental contextual factors influencing empire building.
 - 29 See Nettle (1968) for earlier comparative analysis of the state as a conceptual variable in American and European contexts. For a more recent study of related issues see Dyson (1980).
 - 30 March and Olsen (1989, p. 23) argue that the distinction between the "logic of appropriateness associated with obligatory action and the logic of consequentiality associated with anticipatory choice" has been described by scholars like MacIntyre (1988).
 - 31 Many approaches share similarities with the hierarchy of values developed by Hodgkinson (1983), who argues that values are subjective "motivating determinants of behaviour" (p. 37). He justifies his hierarchy of values by arguing: "so far as I have been able to determine, four and only four kinds of answers can be given to the question, why is an object or action or event deemed to be *good* or *right*? The four grounds or justifications for valuing are principles (Type I), consequences (Type IIA), consensus (Type IIB), and preference (Type III)" (p. 37-38). In Hodgkinson's typology, values that relate to concepts of good or right that are grounded in principles are resistant to change, whereas values reflecting preferences for what is good are changeable.
 - 32 Pal (1992) suggests that the depiction of humans as flawed follows the philosophy of Hobbes, and the contrasting view of humans as altruistic parallels the philosophy of Rousseau (p. 211).
 - 33 Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky (1990) recognize the difficulty with the notion of human nature by asking "what does social life have to be like to make a particular conception of human nature persuasive to people" (p. 33).
 - 34 See Chilton (1988) for a discussion of definitions of political culture.
 - 35 Doern and Phidd (1983) cite the "curative" approach, that is helping those who are already sick, as an example of the dominant health care policy paradigm.
 - 36 For a recent analysis of policy issue networks using the ACF see Bishop (1992).

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- 37 The focus on policy elites emerges from the finding that subsystems are comprised of policy elites, rather than the general public.
 - 38 See Putnam (1976) Chapter Four for a summary of the theories of the structure of elite belief systems. Also see Townsend (1988) for an analysis of the belief systems of Canadian educational politicians.
 - 39 Putnam's (1976) review of the elite's cognitive orientations toward the nature of man and social conflict, and their normative orientations toward political right/left cleavages, are combined with Axelrod's (1976) work on the complexity of elite's causal assumptions, and Lakatos' (1971) distinction between "core" and other elements in scientific belief systems. The framework's contention, that abstract beliefs are more difficult to change than are specific political beliefs, is derived from Converse (1964).
 - 40 There is some support for the assumption that elite actors have relatively complex and internally consistent belief systems in the policy domains in which they are interested (Axelrod, 1976; Putnam, 1976, pp. 87-93).
 - 41 See Ranney (1968) p. 7 for a conceptually sophisticated precursor to this typology.
 - 42 See Aberbach, Putnam and Rockman (1981) for a description of four images of the policy/action relationship that have evolved chronologically during this century in the literature of policy making.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

The epistemological perspective adopted in this thesis supports the position of "hypothetical realism" (Brinberg & McGrath, 1985; Campbell, 1981). This view on the nature of reality proceeds as though there is a "real and knowable world beyond the phenomenological evidence" of the senses (Brinberg & McGrath, 1985, p. 24). At the same time, this perspective recognizes that such a belief is itself "an under-justified and perhaps unjustifiable presumption" (p. 24). Although accepting the under-justified presumption of the existence of the real world, this study also assumes that the world can best be viewed as multifaceted and complex. These assumptions are consistent with those guiding the interpretive paradigm of inquiry described by Schwartz and Ogilvy (1979) and others.

In the face of this assumption of complexity the thesis seeks to increase the confidence in study findings by adopting a research design that emphasizes validity. Validity is commonly stressed as a key criterion for the design of research, yet there is considerable conceptual confusion in its use. For example, validity has been viewed as synonymous with correspondence, generality, repeatability and other meanings. In order to clarify the important issue of the validity of the research design, this study derives its organizing framework from the Validity Network Schema, or VNS, developed by Brinberg and McGrath (1985). This schema is framed by the assumption that validity must be assessed relative to the purposes and circumstances of research. In the VNS, research involves these three interrelated but analytically distinct domains: the conceptual, the methodological, and the substantive. Each domain is characterized by a unique set of elements and relations located within a unique embedding system.

The VNS highlights the complexity and multifaceted nature of the research process by recognizing that alternative research paths are equally valuable. The VNS proposes that three paths, or styles, of research are possible depending upon which domain is emphasized: the experimental path, the theoretical path, and the empirical path. This thesis adopts a theoretical research path which emphasizes the conceptual domain, but links with the substantive and methodological domains in order to fulfill the primary

criteria of research, validity. In linking these domains, the VNS divides the research process into three stages, each of which can be assessed by the corresponding meaning attached to validity.

Stages and Domains of Inquiry

The first stage of the three-stage theoretical research path undertaken in this study involved the generation, development, clarification, and evaluation of elements and relations within the conceptual domain, the primary focus in the theoretical research path undertaken. Validity in this stage meant determining which elements and relations were meaningful and, therefore, had "value or worth." As such, the first stage provided the basis for stage two and three work. The six research questions formulated in Chapter Two provided the foundation of the first stage of the theoretical research path adopted in this thesis. In this stage, the parameters of the conceptual domain were specified.

In the second stage of this study, research commenced on the specific focal problem. The focal problem was defined by the substantive phenomena, the concepts, and the methods that were used in stage two activities. Stage two involved developing sets of empirical findings by combining some subset of elements and relations from each of the three domains. Validity in stage two derived from the correspondence, or fit, among elements from the three domains. It involved meshing together the complementary networks of relations from each domain.

The third stage of this study analyzed conceptual issues related to policy change identified in the literature in light of stage two empirical findings. The VNS, adopted as a guiding framework for this study, assumes that the findings of stage two can gain meaning and importance through systematic efforts to establish confidence in them. Concern with increasing generalizability of qualitative research has led to calls for multi-site and multi-case designs (Firestone and Herriott, 1982; Miles and Huberman, 1984). Glaser and Strauss (1967), for example, argued for using multiple comparison groups to increase the scope of a study generating grounded theory. This study examined two substantive policy changes in order to extend the generalizability of the Interpretive Framework (IF) developed in the third

stage of the research. In the third stage of this study, the conceptual elements and their relations identified in the two policy changes studied were verified, extended, and delimited through systematic analysis, in order to determine the range of variation over which the conceptual relations held. This analysis developed the interpretive framework for understanding the politics of policy change.

In summary, the theoretical research path adopted in this thesis involved three stages of activity. Because the focus of this thesis is theoretical, in the first stage, the conceptual domain was delineated by formulating six research questions and identifying the core elements related to these questions from the literature reviewed. The second stage of research undertook an investigation of issues related to the six research question that emerged in two substantive policy changes. The empirical observations produced in this second stage were used in the third analytic stage of research. This stage used analytic procedures of data reduction. The main focus was, however, the interpretation of the conceptual issues evident in current literature in light of the empirical observations produced in stage two. The interaction of the conceptual and empirical in this final stage produced an interpretive framework that reconceptualizes the politics of policy change. Figure 3.1 illustrates the research design guiding this study.

Research undertaken in each of the three stages of this study focused on three inter-related but analytically distinct domains: the conceptual, the methodological, and the substantive. Table 3.1 illustrates that research within each of these domains entails exploration of the relations among elements located in an embedding system. The conceptual and substantive domains are described in detail in Chapters Two and Four; they are, therefore, only briefly outlined in this chapter. The methodological domain of this study is examined in greater depth in the discussions that follow.

Conceptual Domain

The conceptual domain contains ideas, concepts and their relations, as well as "the philosophical assumptions underlying them" (Brinberg & McGrath, 1985, p. 25). The concepts of interest depend partly upon the sets of phenomena from the substantive domain that are being studied. Conceptual

Figure 3.1 DESIGN OF THE STUDY

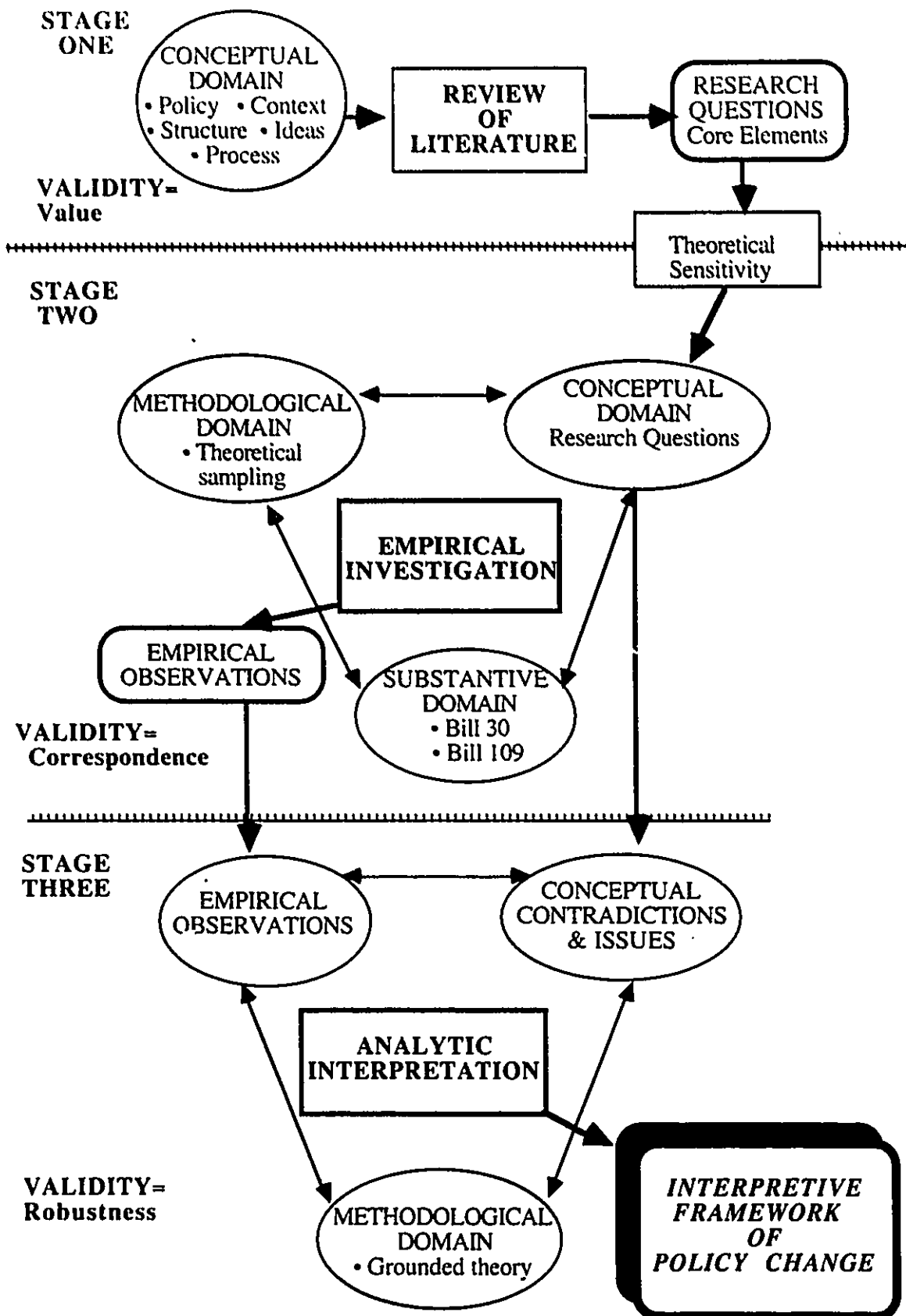


Table 3.1

Domains and Levels in the Validity Network Schema (VNS) System

	<i>Substantive</i>	<i>Conceptual</i>	<i>Methodological</i>
Element Level	Phenomena	Properties of phenomena	Mode of treatment of properties of phenomena
Relation Level	Patterns of relations among phenomena	Logical, causal, chronological relations among phenomena	Comparison techniques for modes of treatment
Embedding System	Substantive systems	Conceptual paradigm	Research strategies

From "Validity and the Research Process" by D. Brinberg and J. E. McGrath, 1985, *Validity and the Research Process*, p. 34. Copyright 1985 by Sage Publications Inc.

relations among two or more properties "specify the form of the logical-causal-temporal patterns" of these properties (p. 17). The embedding system of the conceptual domain refers to a number of properties, or assumptions that form the basis of the conceptual paradigm guiding the research.

The embedding system of the conceptual domain of this thesis is an interpretive paradigm which incorporates a relational view of the nature of policy inquiry. Chapter Two outlined the dynamic, contextual, institutional, and ideological elements and their relations that were drawn from current critiques of the dominant economic and pluralist models of policy. The six research questions guiding the second stage of research were drawn from these conceptual elements.

Substantive Domain

The substantive domain elements are "phenomena, which are states and actions of entities" (Brinberg & McGrath, 1985, p. 16). These substantive domain elements include human and nonhuman agents and objects which are sometimes referred to as "actors behaving toward objects in context" (p. 25). Elements located at various levels in the social system include individuals, groups, organizations and cultures. Relations are the "patterns of occurrence of two or more instances of actors behaving toward objects in context" (p. 34). The relations level of the substantive domain involves identifying, analyzing and understanding such patterns. The relations among elements in the substantive domain are embedded in substantive systems that provide the temporal, locational, and situational context. Thus, the selection of particular events and actors, in part, determines the embedding system.

The substantive domain of this study is drawn from issues surrounding two policy changes by the government of Ontario directed at Franco-Ontarian educational governance, and funding Roman Catholic schools. *Bill 30*, passed in June, 1986, extends full funding for Roman Catholic education to the end of secondary school. *Bill 109*, enacted in 1988, establishes a French-language school board in the Ottawa-Carleton region. The effects of these two policy changes, the ongoing complexities of implementing the legislation, and the questions regarding the fundamental purpose of schooling raised by granting

collective rights to some linguistic and religious groups has had a substantial impact on many communities throughout the province. The Ottawa-Carleton region provides an example of the interdependent and ongoing effects of these policy changes. Where the region supported four school boards in 1985, there are now effectively six operating in the area. The conceptual orientation adopted in this thesis suggested the utility of grounding the IF in these two policy changes. The politics surrounding these two policy changes, particularly as they have impacted on the educational community in the Ottawa-Carleton region, therefore, establish the substantive domain of the study.

Methodological Domain

Methods of treatment, or the "techniques for gathering information about phenomena," are the elements of the methodological domain (Brinberg and McGrath, 1985; p. 17). The relations in this domain refer to the comparison techniques or the methods for determining patterns of relations among phenomena. The embedding system of the methodological domain involves the research strategies guiding the particular methods and comparison procedures used.

An interpretive research paradigm provides the embedding system for this study's methodological domain. Recognition of the importance of an interpretive perspective emerged during the 1980s as critiques of the positivist approach to policy studies intensified (Scriven, 1984). Table 3.2 illustrates that the relational assumptions guiding the interpretive perspective can be contrasted to the assumptions guiding the classical positivist approach to science. Critics adopting this interpretive perspective questioned the appropriateness of the value-neutral stance, the role of substantive theory in policy inquiry, and the trustworthiness of extant methodologies (Kelly, 1986). They argued that theoretical efforts have not recognized the distinctive qualities of policy change, such as its inherent complexity, the temporal nature of the policy process that often takes place over long periods of time, the multiplicity of participants, and the contingent nature of policy effects (Greenberg, Miller, Mohr & Vladeck, 1977). The responses to this crisis in policy inquiry have varied. A growing consensus is, however, mapping a focus that recognizes that (Kelly, 1986):

Table 3.2

Ontological Attributes and Assumptions

CLASSICAL	RELATIONAL
Parts determine Whole Separation	Whole affects Parts Parts affect Whole Participatory Collusion
Conceptual Dichotomies Mechanical Linear Causality Absolute Law of Cause/Effect	Complementarity
Absolute Bias Towards One Dichotomous Pole	Balance Indeterminance
Truth as Fixed Life as Determined	Movement <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change • Opportunity • Choice
Truth as Ahistorical Present Structured by Past	Transformation Purpose
Focus on Individual <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Isolated and Atomized - Self Interest Primary State Must Require Obedience	Focus on Interaction <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Vertical and Horizontal Relationships Responsibility
No Limits	Limits

From "Relativity and Quantum Logics: A Relational View of Policy Inquiry" by P. Gregware and R. M. Kelly, 1990, *Policy Theory and Policy Evaluation*, S.S. Nagel (Ed.) p. 30. New York: Greenwood Press. Copyright Greenwood Press 1990.

- Values are intimately involved in policy inquiry;
- Qualitative analyses are essential for establishing the context and boundaries of inquiry; and
- Grounded theory, arising from a phenomenological perspective, is vital to policy inquiry. (p. 527)

The development of theoretical conceptualizations of the policy process that incorporate these elements remains of key importance in current policy inquiry (Sabatier, 1988, 1991).

Consistent with the requirements of the interpretive research paradigm adopted, this thesis incorporates a naturalistic mode of inquiry to develop the IF. The design of naturalistic research has been characterized as evolving, flexible, and emerging. The qualitative methods used in naturalistic inquiry include collection of data such as descriptive accounts, personal documents, field notes, people's own words, official documents and records from samples. These data tend to be small, non-representative, and obtained through theoretical sampling procedures.

This thesis focuses on using qualitative methods for theoretical model building to improve understanding and extend knowledge of the policy change process. Central is the view that theory "integrates pieces of information into a whole; it makes sense out of data; it summarizes what is known and offers a general explanation of the phenomenon under study" (Merriam, 1991, p. 55). Theories may be developed using deductive models or pattern models. Deductive models involve general laws, deduction of unknowns from knowns, and prediction (Kaplan, 1964). Pattern theories, in contrast, are more consistent with the requirements for qualitative policy inquiry (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). In pattern theories "something is explained when it is so related to a set of other elements that together they constitute a unified system. We understand something by identifying it as a specific part in an organized whole" (Kaplan, 1964, p. 335).

Pattern theory is analogous to the concept of grounded theory that focuses on inductively derived interpretations of data (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). Grounded theory is inductive in the sense that theory is built through a process of interpreting data and discovering underlying patterns, the conceptual categories that make sense out of the phenomena

(Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 23). Grounded theory is not, however, developed without reference to existing theory and research. Rather, existing theory provides the basis for the "theoretical sensitivity" required to recognize what is important in data and to give it meaning (Glaser, 1978). Developing grounded theory draws from existing theory and literature the concepts and relationships that formed the basis for the initial orientation of the conceptual domain of the study. In the first stage of the theoretical research path adopted in this study, the literature review presented in Chapter Two provided the theoretical sensitivity required in subsequent stages of the research to develop the IF. The literature identified key concepts and suggested some relationships from which the six research questions guiding the study were formulated.

In the following discussions the methods used in the second and third stages of research are described. The discussions first outline the theoretical sampling and data collection techniques that were used in the second stage to develop a set of empirical findings. The analytic procedures for data reduction and interpretation used in the third stage of this study are then described.

Stage Two: Theoretical Sampling and Data Collection

The product of the second stage theoretical research path adopted in this study was a body of empirical observations of dilemmas and issues in policy change that related to the six research questions identified in the first stage of research. In developing these observations this study used theoretical sampling and data collection methods consistent with the requirements of grounded theory. In grounded theory the process of data collection is tightly interwoven with data analysis, or coding (Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The process and methods of data collection are, therefore, determined by the requirements of "theoretical sampling." To sample theoretically means "sampling on the basis of concepts that have proven theoretical relevance to the evolving theory" (p. 177). The purpose is to sample "events, incidents, and so forth, that are indicative of categories, their properties, and dimensions" so that they can be conceptually related and developed (p. 177). Theoretical sampling is guided by the comparisons that emerge during analysis which help to generate the relevant categories. Sampling in

grounded theory is, therefore, "on the basis of the evolving theoretical relevance of concepts" (p. 179). The following discussion outlines the sampling procedures and the data collection and recording methods that were used in this study.

Consistent with the naturalistic approach to inquiry adopted and requirements of theoretical sampling, this thesis used a variety of purposive sampling strategies in gathering data. The purposive sampling techniques outlined by Patton (1980) include: extreme or deviant cases, typical cases, maximum variation cases, and critical cases. Although maximum variation sampling provides the broadest range of information possible, sampling similar phenomena contributes to the robustness of the findings. This study adopted both purposive sampling strategies by choosing two policy changes as foci for inquiry on the basis of their variation and of their similarity. Both policy changes concern issues of governance and control, and both reflect interpretations of dominant ideas of equity. The policy changes differ, however, in their scope. The extension of funding for Roman Catholic secondary education had a much broader impact on Ontario school systems than did the creation of the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board.

Four considerations must be taken into account when planning a sample regardless of whether the sample involves interviews, documents, or field sites. These considerations include providing for: identification of initial elements, orderly emergence, continuous refinement of the sample, and termination. Each of these considerations are discussed in the following sections of this chapter.

Consistent with the requirements for theoretically relevant sampling, in this study the selection of the categories and sources of data was guided by concepts derived from the literature review. These included: interpretive assumptions, process characteristics, contextual influences, institutional structures, and dominant ideas. Together, these conceptual elements provided the rationale for sampling from documents such as reports and newspaper accounts of events surrounding the policy changes, and from the accounts of policy actors involved in the policy changes. These two sources of data were selected to complement each other, thus enhancing the robustness of the study.

Documents and Records

Documents and records provide a useful source of data for several reasons. As Lincoln and Guba (1985) indicate, documents:

- are generally available; they are low-cost or free;
- provide stable sources of information because they provide an accurate historical record of past events;
- are a rich source of information, contextually relevant and grounded in the contexts they represent;
- are legally unassailable, representing formal statements that satisfy some accountability requirements; and
- are nonreactive, although there is some investigator/document interaction. (pp. 276-277)

Records, such as minutes of meetings, include "any written or recorded statement prepared by or for an individual or organization for the purpose of attesting to an event or providing an accounting" (p. 277). Documents, in contrast, are defined as "any written or recorded material other than a record that was not prepared specifically in response to a request from the inquirer" (p. 277). Examples of documents include diaries and newspaper accounts. Guba and Lincoln (1981, p. 229) suggest several possible distinctions among documents including:

- source
- primary versus secondary (or second hand)
- solicited versus unsolicited
- comprehensive versus limited
- edited versus unedited
- anonymous versus signed
- spontaneous versus intentional.

Documents relating to the policy changes under investigation provided important data for this study. Glaser and Strauss (1967) confirm the usefulness of documents for theory building, and suggest that data found in documents can be used in the same manner as data from interviews. In this study, document data was analyzed and used to furnish "descriptive

information, verify emerging hypotheses, advance new categories and hypotheses, offer historical understanding, and track change and development" (Merriam, 1991, p. 108).

Document sources included: newspaper accounts of policy changes, transcripts of public hearings, commission reports, memos and letters. A number of documents were obtained from policy actors interviewed.¹ Copies of newspaper accounts, obtained from microfiche and from policy actors, provided data outlining key events and public reactions related to the changes.² Submissions to public hearings and commissions were used to gain an understanding of the value preferences and perceptions of causal relationships of policy network actors (Sabatier, 1988).³ Newspaper accounts were also used to determine the values and beliefs of the elites involved, to assess the reaction of those groups directly influenced, and to elaborate the issues and conflicts involved in the policy changes investigated in this study.

This study also recognized that there are several problems inherent in the use of records and documents for analysis. Documents have been criticized as "possibly unrepresentative, as lacking in objectivity, as of unknown validity, and as possibly deliberately deceiving (or self deceptive)" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 279). Records have also been criticized as containing possible errors, and susceptible to being changed as record keeping systems change. There is also the difficulty of gaining access to documents and records. In order to overcome these shortcomings this study undertook interviews with policy actors involved in the two policy changes investigated.

Elite and Specialized Interviewing

In educational policy research, data are commonly collected through interviews (e.g. Townsend, 1988, Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989). Marshall and Rossman (1989, pp. 102-103) indicate that interviews have several strengths uniquely suited to policy research. Interviews:

- provide large amounts of contextual data quickly;
- are useful for discovering complex interconnections in social relationships;
- facilitate analysis, validity checks and triangulation;

- facilitate the discovery of cultural nuances;
- provide flexibility in the formulation of hypotheses; and
- have utility for uncovering the subjective side of organizational processes.

The format of interviews ranges from highly structured, questionnaire-driven interviews, to open-ended conversations. This study used elite interviews, a form of semi-structured interview. Less-structured formats, which attempt to "access the perspective of the person being interviewed" (Patton, 1980, p. 196), and techniques for specialized or elite interviewing, are particularly suitable to the theoretical sampling procedure undertaken in this study. Guba and Lincoln (1981) suggest that the "elite interview is concerned with the unique, the idiosyncratic, and the wholly individual viewpoint" of the interviewee (pp. 155-156). Dexter (1970) describes an elite interview as an interview with any respondent who is given a non-standardized treatment. Often these respondents are influential, prominent and well informed people in the community. Elites are selected for interviews on the basis of their expertise in areas of interest to the interviewer. Because of their expertise, and knowledge of legal and financial issues, of current policies, and of past histories and future plans, elites offer a study valuable information (Marshall & Rossman, 1989).

Issues arise in conducting interviews that relate to the skills required of the interviewer, recording the interview, follow-up clarification and negotiating outcomes, and protecting the confidentiality of the respondent. In addition, elite interviews present substantial challenges to the interviewer. Marshall and Rossman (1989) explain:

Elites, in general, resent the restrictions placed on them by narrow, stereotypical questions. They desire a more active interplay with the interviewer. In the course of the elite interview, considerable variation will occur in the degree of control, with the respondent occasionally assuming the questioner's role. Elites respond well to inquiries related to broad areas of content and to a high proportion of intelligent, provocative, open-ended questions that allow them the freedom to use their knowledge and imagination. (p. 94)

Interviewers should stress the respondent's definition of the situation, and encourage the respondent to structure the account of the situation and define what is relevant (Dexter, 1970, p. 5). Elite interviewing also requires recognition of one's own biases and the ability to discount for them; the capacity for concentrated attention; the ability to shift gears when respondents appear to jump to new issues; and an empathetic understanding (pp. 60-63). Effective interviewers display rapport with the person being interviewed but neutrality to the content of what a person says (Patton, 1980, p. 231). In working with elites, interviewers must establish competence by "displaying thorough knowledge of the topic" (Marshall & Rossman, 1989, p. 94).

With these unique requirements for elite interviewing in mind the process of interviewing in this study incorporated a number of steps suggested by Lincoln and Guba (1985, p. 270). These included:

- deciding on whom to interview,
- preparing for, initiating, and terminating the interview,
- selecting recording techniques and ensuring ethical conduct.

In this study, the conceptual issues identified in the literature review that related to the appropriate unit of analysis in policy inquiry provided the rationale for interviewing actors in the policy networks that formed around the two policy changes studied. Because sampling in grounded theory is based on theoretical relevance, these actors were selected on the basis of their specialized knowledge of the two policy change processes. In the context of this study's focus on the educational governance policy changes, many of the most knowledgeable sources were political and policy elites such as members of the Ontario legislature, school trustees, senior Ministry of Education staff and school board staff. Because these elites represent the varying interests competing over the allocation of values implied in the legislation, they provided the basis of a sampling pool from which the study drew to develop the core concepts of the interpretive framework to understand the politics of education.

Lincoln and Guba (1985) suggest that nominations by "gatekeepers, knowledgeable informants, or experts" can be used to identify the initial elements to be investigated (p. 234). A research design should include details of how these experts were identified and how they were asked to identify the

elements. Consistent with the concepts identified in the literature review, in this study a "backward mapping technique" was used to identify actors in the micro-level Ottawa-Carleton policy network that formed around the policy changes, and through these actors' recommendations, to identify the provincial or meso-level policy actors involved in the policy changes.

The identification of the policy network actors on the basis of their specialized knowledge of the process was facilitated by attendance at public hearings held on Sept 12, 13 and 14, 1991, by the Commission of Inquiry into School Accommodation in Ottawa-Carleton (the Taman Commission). The Taman Commission was established by the Minister of Education to study the concerns of the school boards in the Ottawa-Carleton region regarding the "impact of extension of full-funding to the separate school board and the establishment of the French-language school board on the allocation of existing school facilities" (Commission of Inquiry into School Accommodation in Ottawa-Carleton, 1991, p. 4). Identification of presenters to the Commission provided an initial mapping of actors in the policy community involved in the policy change processes surrounding both the extension of full funding and the creation of a French-language school board in the region. Analysis of presentations to the Commission that addressed issues related to the policy change processes identified coalitions of network actors supporting particular positions. This analysis suggested that some policy actors, such as local school board directors of education, local trustees, Ministry of Education officials, teachers' associations, church and French-language groups had been involved in both policy changes.

Preparations for the interview included contacting the respondent by telephone to request and set up a time for the interview. Following this initial contact a package of correspondence was sent to the respondent that included: an introduction to the researcher, an outline of the nature of the study, a list of general questions to guide the interview, a copy of the thesis abstract, an abbreviated curriculum vitae of the interviewer, the University of Ottawa Ethics Committee approval for research, and the informed consent form (See Appendices 3.1-3.3 for copies of: a letter of introduction, the University of Ottawa Ethics Committee approval and the informed consent form).

The interview was initiated by reviewing the purpose of the interview and the informed consent form, reaching agreement on whether or not the interview would be tape recorded and whether the respondent wished to be identified in this thesis. Consistent with Spradley's (1979) suggestions, in order to initiate the process the interview began with the general question: Were this (these) policy change(s) significant in your view? Consistent with Dexter's (1970) argument that elite interviews are non-standardized and should attempt to draw upon the unique knowledge of the respondent, the interviews were guided by questions focusing on the expertise of the actor relative to the particular concept being sampled. Interviews with these elites, were therefore, guided by a semi-structured interview guide made up of questions appropriate to the concept being sampled (See Appendix 3.4 for a list of questions used in guiding the interviews).

In order to facilitate pacing the interview, a number of strategies were used. These included brief questions, the use of probes, directed cues, prolonged pauses, or simple calls for clarification, to obtain more information. When information elicited from the interview became redundant, when the respondent became fatigued, or when the time available expired, the interview was terminated. In accordance with Lincoln and Guba's (1985) suggestion, throughout the interview and particularly at the conclusion, the researcher summarized the main points that were covered, and reviewed them with the respondent. This was an attempt to obtain a type of member check of the interviewer's perceptions. In some cases this check provided an opportunity for the respondent to add information that had been missed in the interview. The purpose of the check was also to put the respondent on record as agreeing with the interpretation. The interview was terminated by thanking the respondent. Following the interview, a letter of thanks was sent to the respondent.

Two other issues arise in conducting interviews. One of these concerns selecting the method of recording interview data. In this study, two ways were used to record interview data: tape recordings and note taking. Tape recording is the most common method used to record interview data, having the advantage of capturing nuances, of ensuring completeness of data, and of providing an incontestable data source (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, pp. 271-272). Verbatim transcripts of recorded interviews provide an excellent data base for

analysis (Merriam, 1991). Most of the interviews conducted in this study were tape-recorded with the permission of the respondent, and subsequently transcribed verbatim. Notes were taken in four interviews, and in those cases they were elaborated as soon as possible after the interview.

Finally, ethical issues arise in conducting interviews. This study was conducted in accordance with the requirements for ethical conduct in research outlined by the University of Ottawa Human Research Ethic Committee. Confidentiality is one ethical issue that arises in conducting interviews. In this study respondents were asked whether they wished to be identified as an interviewee. Throughout the thesis, attribution to individual respondents has only been made if their consent was indicated on the informed consent form. In other cases, attributions are made to general roles or advocacy positions. Another ethical issue relates to the trustworthiness of interview data. The trustworthiness of this study was enhanced by the author summarizing and restating comments previously made, and by cross checking accounts of events and issues with documents and other interviews.

Continuous Refinement and Orderly Emergence of the Sample

A key aspect of the theoretical sampling approach used in this study was the use of a snow-ball or networking technique to determine the members of the policy networks that formed around each policy change. This technique involved sampling a few key policy actors and asking them to identify others they perceived to have knowledge of the policy changes. (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 233). These policy actors, in turn, identified others and the process proceeded in this fashion until a point of informational redundancy was reached with each new sample.

An important consideration in this process is providing for an orderly emergence of the sample. This can best be achieved through a "serial selection of elements, that is, no element is selected until all previous elements have been selected and tapped for information" (p. 234). In this way each element is selected to complement and extend findings to that point. The snowballing technique used in this study facilitated the serial selection of sample units. In this process, as interviewing proceeded the conceptual elements became more focused, allowing successive selections of samples to

become more directed. As the key aspects of the policy changes were identified, the focus of the inquiry shifted and sampling became directed towards the emerging focus. Analysis of the initial interviews dictated further sampling directions, thereby clarifying core issues relating to the policy change. The interaction of the two policy changes studied influenced the manner by which the sampling process continued. In some cases policy actors had been involved with both policy changes, and in those cases their interviews were particularly helpful in comparing key aspects of the two policy changes. The interaction of the policy changes meant that sampling for both policy changes was conducted somewhat concurrently.

Termination

The process of sampling continued until a point of diminishing returns in information was reached with each new sample. In this study the theoretical argument proposing the importance of adopting, as a unit of analysis, a policy network, formed on the basis of shared interest in a value allocation, facilitated this process by establishing the theoretical boundary of the sample. Although the extension of funding had significant impact on many communities in the province, this study focused specifically on the impact of the policy change on the Ottawa-Carleton region. As the investigation proceeded the focus became clearer and the pool of information sought smaller. Sampling was terminated when no new insights about key elements were offered, and when few new policy actors were identified by respondents.

Appendix 3.5 provides a chronology of the sampling for both policy changes. The chronology indicates the date and location of the interview, names of respondents who agreed to be identified, or their role if they chose not to be. Consistent with the arguments presented in Chapter Five, the IF proposes that policy actors may assume one or more of several orientations toward a policy change advocate, architect, critic, or analyst. These orientations are indicated in the table. Finally, the chronology indicates other policy actors, nominated by the respondent, who subsequently agreed to be identified as interviewees.

Seventy interviews were conducted in the months from October 1991 until June, 1992 in Ottawa and Toronto. Interviews in Toronto were

conducted in three, week-long sessions in December 1991, January and February 1992. A purposive sampling strategy guided the selection of respondents from those nominated by other respondents. The purpose of this strategy was to sample the perceptions of the key members of the two policy networks studied. Key members of these networks were drawn from representatives of French, English, Roman Catholic and public teachers', trustees' and administrators' associations. Respondents were also drawn from provincial-level ministry officials, political advisors, members of the Cabinet, and opposition politicians. All but four of the interviews, which lasted from 30 minutes to three hours, were taped recorded with the respondent's approval. As the following section of this chapter indicates, the transcripts produced from the tape recordings were subsequently analyzed.

Stage Three: Data Analysis

The third stage of the theoretical research path adopted in this study used analytic procedures for data analysis to produce the IF. Because the intent of this thesis is to examine the dilemmas and contradictions evident in current theoretical discussions of policy change by linking the practices observed in two policy changes to conceptual issues, the analytic procedures were selected to facilitate flexibility. Marshall and Rossman (1989) suggest the need for qualitative data analysis procedures "where extant theory and practice are not explaining reality," as Chapter Two has demonstrated is the case with dominant policy change models. The central tasks of this analytic phase were data reduction and interpretation. Consistent with the constant comparative method of analysis outlined by Glaser and Strauss (1967), in this thesis, these tasks were viewed as interdependent. The constant comparative method is a "continuously growing process – each stage after a time is transformed into the next – earlier stages remain in operation simultaneously throughout the analysis and each provides continuous development to its successive stage until the analysis is terminated" (Glaser & Strauss, 1967, p. 105). Nevertheless, Miles and Huberman (1984) note that data collection and analysis activities do vary as research proceeds. Data analysis procedures proposed by a number of qualitative researchers were used in the third stage of this study (Bogdan & Biklen, 1982; Marshall & Rossman (1989); Miles &

Huberman, 1984; Merriam, 1991; Strauss & Corbin, 1990). The procedures discussed next included:

- category development and saturation,
- computer-assisted manipulation of data,
- integrating categories and their properties,
- displays for model building, and
- analytic interpretation.

The initial stage of the analytical method adopted in this study focused on identification and development of conceptual categories. As the interview and document data were analyzed, these categories were identified, confirmed, or elaborated. This development occurred when the properties of categories were delineated, and the conditions under which they occurred were demonstrated. The literature established "research questions, hypotheses, problems areas, and key variables" (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 57). Chapter Two identified the initial elements that formed the basis for the development of conceptual categories. These elements provided a master code that was developed analytically as properties were delineated. Although it is recognized that elements will change and develop as analysis proceeds, it is important that elements should "relate to one another in coherent ways" and, therefore, that they should be part of a governing structure (p. 60). The core elements related to the research questions formulated in Chapter Two, defined this study's governing structure, and provided the basis of the initial coding system used for analysis of interview and document data.

Turner (1981) points out that analysis requires putting data in a manipulative form. This study used computer data files to manipulate the data. Interviews were tape recorded and transcribed into Macintosh "Word" files.⁴ These files were subsequently read and core sections transferred into HyperQual version 3.0, a Macintosh HyperCard-based program. HyperQual assists the recording and analysis of data in the tradition of qualitative data analysis. It consists of various types of stacks, each comprised of collections of electronic note cards created from HyperCard, that can be reproduced as needed to enter and manipulate data. One of the advantages of HyperQual for qualitative data analysis is that it allows data to be identified and retrieved easily. As a result, it satisfies a prime criterion for valid qualitative research,

that the analyst stay close to the data. It also facilitates a shift of focus to meet the demands of emerging theory. HyperQual enabled the exploration of data stacks in an open-ended way. It allowed the researcher to enter data, prepare research memos, sort the data into useful groupings, and tag data chunks to support concept development and the identification of relationships in the data, in a fast and efficient manner.

Following the development of categories, the next phase of data analysis involved assessing the properties and rules of inclusion/exclusion developed for the categories. As the categories became clarified, the focus of analysis shifted to linking categories and testing the links. This phase involved a process of developing pattern codes that integrated categories into a "smaller number of overarching themes or constructs" (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 68). Pattern coding reduced large amounts of data into smaller analytical units, and it helped formulate the schema or causal network that was ultimately developed into the interpretive framework for understanding the politics of policy change. As these phases of analysis proceeded memos were written outlining the ideas that emerged. Memos are "written elaborations of ideas about the data and the coded categories" (Charmaz, 1983, p. 120).

This study used procedures to display data outlined by Miles and Huberman (1984) to facilitate data analysis and to assist the process of drawing and verifying valid conclusions. Summarizing tables and figures were useful in the process of developing the IF. Matrices were developed to display the properties of the framework. For example, process was a core element identified in the review of the literature. Inherent in this element is the emphasis on a chronology of events. Miles and Huberman argue that interest in processes leads to the production of a chronology, arranged in proper time sequence. Event listing, which arranges a series of events by chronological time periods, and sorts them into several categories, provides a useful way of capturing a process. It establishes the basis for a causal analysis that assesses "what events led to what further events, and what mechanisms underlay those associations" (p. 125). This study developed an event listing for each policy change that incorporated critical or influential incidents.

Although memos and various displays assisted in clarifying concepts, the ultimate focus of this last stage of the theoretic research path was on analytic interpretation. Because the purpose of this thesis was a theoretical

reconceptualization of policy change through linking conceptual contradictions in the emerging literature with the practices of policy making, interpretation was central to data analysis. Marshall and Rossman (1989) recognize the unique nature of analytic interpretation when they warn against "overly mechanistic" data reduction techniques by suggesting "in the effort to have systematically collected and analyzed data and valid analyses, a researcher could reduce and confine a study within valid, but insignificant parameters" (p. 115).

The requirements for developing the IF in this study confirmed the need for more interpretive and interactive processes of analysis. Therefore, although data displays were used as tools for analysis, the IF emerged from the broader and more intuitive process of progressive focusing of data and analysis. This process began in the first stage of research, by formulating the questions and identifying core elements from conceptual contradictions and concerns in the literature. Subsequently, those elements were "reconfigured" and the emerging concepts were "rehashed, and refined" into the IF (Miles & Huberman, 1984, p. 134). The second stage theoretical sampling techniques guiding the snowball process of selecting respondents facilitated this focusing. The interviews conducted as reflective conversations with policy elites were central to the process. As theoretical sampling proceeded, the researcher brought insights and meaning gained from previous conversations to each new interview. The result was akin to a process of schema absorption where "the analyst goes around recording individuals' mental cause maps, putting them together and making connections with his or her own, evolving map" (p. 130). For the researcher, the final stage of analytic interpretation undertaken in this thesis was, therefore, a reflective and transformational process of constructing meaning.

Methodological Rigor

As a form of scientific inquiry, qualitative research strives to achieve methodological rigor. Researchers have, however, questioned the appropriateness of qualitative studies of the traditional criteria of reliability, objectivity and validity that are associated with methodological rigor in quantitative studies. Some have suggested alternative criteria for determining the rigor of qualitative studies. Lincoln and Guba (1985), for

example, propose that criteria for determining the trustworthiness of naturalistic inquiry include credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. Similarly, Brinberg and McGrath (1985) offer the Validity Network Schema as an alternative to traditional behavioral science views of the research process. This study incorporated both approaches to ensuring methodological rigor.

As a naturalistic inquiry into policy change, this study sought to ensure the trustworthiness of its findings. Credibility has to do with the degree of confidence in the findings of the inquiry. It was enhanced in this study through a prolonged seven month engagement in interviewing, through the persistent observation of the elements of policy and their characteristics evident in those interviews, and through triangulation of data from different respondents and documents. Transferability is achieved through provision of "thick descriptions." In this study the criterion of thick description was fulfilled through the purposive sampling undertaken that provided a wide range of information about the two policy changes.

The three-stage research design derived from the Validity Network Schema (VNS) enhanced the validity of the study, thus contributing to its trustworthiness. In the first stage of research the research questions formulated and the elements identified, confirmed the study's value. The validity of the second stage of research was reflected in the correspondence of the conceptual, the substantive and the methodological domains of the study. In the third stage of research, the robustness of stage two findings were enhanced through verification, extension, and delineation. In these stages the value, correspondence and robustness of the study were developed.

Summary

This chapter has presented the research design of the study. The three-stage research process derived from the Validity Network Schema (VNS) was outlined, and the nature of the conceptual, the substantive and the methodological domains of the study were specified. The use of qualitative methods in policy inquiry was justified. The requirements for the theoretical sampling procedures used in the study were outlined. A networking technique for sampling was delineated and the unique nature of the elite

interviewing undertaken in the study was described. The strategies adopted for data analysis were presented. Finally, it was proposed that the methodological rigor of the study is evident in the credibility, transferability and validity of the research undertaken.

Notes to Chapter Three

- 1 The author acknowledges with appreciation the access provided by Malcolm Buchanan of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation to his documentation relating to *Bill 30*.
- 2 The Canadian News Index, listing articles in major Canadian newspapers, was searched from 1970 to the present to select articles. Microfiche versions of articles were photocopied and subsequently analyzed. In addition, Malcolm Buchanan's files, which included an extensive collection of newspaper accounts relating to *Bill 30*, were photocopied and analyzed.
- 3 The author acknowledges the assistance of John Boich in providing copies of the Legislature of Ontario Debates on *Bill 30*.
- 4 Verbatim transcriptions of taped interviews varied in length from 5 to 30 pages, and in total filled four large binders.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION I

History, Processes and Context

Chapter Four and Chapter Five present findings of the three-stage theoretical research path adopted in the thesis. Throughout the discussions that follow, illustrations are drawn from the two policy changes by the government of Ontario studied in this thesis: the extension of funding for Roman Catholic secondary education and the creation of a French-language school board. These policy changes provided selective benefits to two overlapping minority groups in Ontario whose interdependence has historically proven problematic for educational policy making in the province. Franco-Ontarians, being predominantly Roman Catholic, have generally supported separate schools. Their relationship with English Roman Catholic separate school supporters has, however, been complicated by their desire for linguistic and cultural survival. The interdependence of these groups is, therefore, crucial to understanding some of the political conflicts that arose as the policies were interpreted in implementation. The complexities of this interaction required that in the illustrations used in these two chapters the policy changes were sometimes examined in the same discussion.

The central task of the three-stage theoretical research undertaken in this thesis was to identify, clarify and develop the elements raised by each of the six research questions that emerged from the review of current theory and from the research reported in Chapter Two. Because the purpose of the thesis was to develop a conceptual framework, the illustrations drawn from the cases were necessarily selective. The intent was not to present a detailed, chronological accounting of the cases, although historical policy studies undertaken as part of the thesis research form a substantive background (see Jakes & Mawhinney, 1990; Mawhinney, 1991a, 1991b, 1992). Rather, consistent with the development of grounded theory guiding this study, theoretical sampling of key concepts from these policy changes was undertaken. In the discussions that follow the specifics of the policy changes were reported only to substantiate conceptual elements and their relations.

Chapter Four begins by presenting an integrated description of the background to the changes, before responding to the first research question guiding this thesis:

1. What are the elements and attributes of an interpretive orientation to understanding the politics of policy change?

In response to the first question, a discussion outlines the assumptions and elements of an interpretive orientation drawn from the emerging post-positivist critiques of policy inquiry. These assumptions provide the philosophical foundation for the interpretive framework (IF) for understanding the politics of policy change that is developed in this thesis. As such, they provide the conceptual lens with which the two policy changes were examined.

Responding to the second and third research questions, the processes and context of these policy changes are briefly outlined next in this chapter. These questions ask:

2. What are the processes and configurations of policy dynamics?
3. How do contextual factors influence policy change?

These discussions conclude by presenting a model of the dynamic tensions generated by the stable and changing contextual parameters of the policy system.

In Chapter Five that follows, the influence of institutional arrangements and ideas are discussed, and an interpretive orientation to understanding the logic of policy change is described. Chapter Five concludes by presenting the IF.

Background to The Politics of Two Educational Policy Changes In Ontario

The IF developed in this thesis is grounded in two educational policy changes undertaken by the province of Ontario that were directed at educational governance. As outlined in Chapter Two, interviews with members of the policy networks that formed around these policy changes, and analysis of newspaper accounts and documents related to them, were used to clarify the elements and relations of the interpretive framework for

understanding policy change developed in this thesis. Following is a description of the background to the policy changes studied. Subsequent sections of this chapter further describe these policy changes in order to illustrate core elements of the interpretive framework for understanding the politics of policy change.

On June 12, 1984, William Davis, the Conservative Premier of Ontario announced to the surprised members of province's Legislature that:

It is the government's intention to permit the Roman Catholic school boards to establish a full range of elementary and secondary education, and as part of the public system to be funded accordingly (Ontario, Legislative Assembly, Debates, 12 June 1984, p. 2416).

For Davis, the announcement represented the logical conclusion to an issue that had "been debated almost since the beginning of educational debate in the province," and that "had been front and center on the back burner, [and] had never really left the thinking of the government or even of the Ministry."¹ The policy change, in the former premier's view, flowed inevitably from policy decisions taken twenty years previously. To many members of the province's educational community, however, the announcement represented a sudden and unexpected policy reversal. Unlike the Liberal and the New Democratic parties who had, since the early 1970s, formally supported the concept of full funding for a complete Roman Catholic educational system in Ontario, the Conservative party had steadfastly rejected the concept.² The shock of the announcement was such that when interviewed almost ten years later, politicians, bureaucrats, and both separate and public school supporters commonly recalled their initial surprise. One separate school trustee commented "it surprised everyone. There probably weren't eight people in the province who knew about it before it was done. It was a dictatorial decree."³

Prior to that announcement, government support for Roman Catholic education was defined by the elementary-level only separate school system that operated in Ontario at the time of Confederation in 1867. Roman Catholics had gained concessions during the 1960s and 1970s as an equalized grant plan increased funding for the elementary education, and as grades nine and ten were funded as part of the elementary system. Although the

province had funded elementary education for its Roman Catholic minority from the time of Confederation in 1867, and had, through incremental changes during the 1970s, extended this elementary-level of funding to grade 10, the concept of full funding had historically been vigorously resisted by the predominantly Protestant population of Ontario. The announcement of full funding, therefore, represented a substantial policy change, and reflected a fundamental shift toward recognition of the collective right of the Roman Catholic community to "instil its values and beliefs" in its own school system (Lawton & Leithwood, 1991). The announcement caused such furor in the province that some have blamed it for the defeat of the Conservative party, which had governed the province for over forty years, in the subsequent provincial election of 1984.

The Liberal party, which signed an accord with the New Democratic party in order to form a minority government, adopted the policy change as one of its first mandates in office. Despite the official support of all three political parties, the debate between supporters and opponents of the policy change grew so heated during the next few years that some observers have called it a "religious war" (Hickcox and Li, 1992). *Bill 30 (An Act to Amend the Education Act, Chapter 21)*, permitted separate school boards to perform the duties of a secondary school board with ministerial permission. In electing to undertake these duties separate boards became eligible to share in legislative grants to secondary schools. *Bill 30* included provisions for the transfer of staff and real property. Although the policy change did not designate facilities for allocation, it did require public school boards to transfer high schools, identified through negotiations, to their coterminous separate school boards, a factor that caused substantial conflict in some communities. The implementation of *Bill 30*, given Royal Assent in the Ontario Legislature in 1986, was complicated by the resistance of non-denominational public school boards and private schools, who launched a Supreme Court challenge to the legislation. Although the legislation was upheld, implementing full funding of Roman Catholic secondary schools became a complex and expensive process, complicated by concurrent adoption and implementation of policy changes directed at minority French-language educational governance in the province (most Franco-Ontarians are Roman Catholic).

The policy changes for French-language educational governance were

directed to the five percent of Ontario's population who speak French as a first language. In 1984, after the patriation of the *Canadian Constitution*, and the announcement of full funding to Roman Catholic school systems, the government of Ontario began to develop plans to implement Section 23 of the newly enshrined *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. In order to determine whether the new policies fulfilled the requirements for the governance of French-language schools implied by Section 23, the government referred its legislation to the Supreme Court of Ontario for review. In its finding, the Court of Appeal provided the legal basis for effectively removing restrictions to the numbers of students required to justify the creation of a French-language school. The ruling also charged that "parents whose children use minority-language educational facilities should participate in managing them" (Superior Court of Ontario, June 26, 1984). The court thereby recognized the right of the French-language minority to governance of their schools, and also extended language rights in Roman Catholic separate schools.⁴ Subsequently, in December 1985, following its election, the Liberal government announced new legislation that guaranteed representation for francophones on every school board in the province operating instructional units for francophone students. In July, 1986, just one month after *Bill 30* was enacted, *Bill 75 (An Act to Amend the Education Act, Chapter 21)* was proclaimed. *Bill 75* required that French-Language Education Councils (FLEC's) be elected on the basis of guaranteed and proportional representation, with exclusive jurisdiction over French-language instruction, financial and administrative control. At the same time the government announced that it intended to create the province's first complete French-language school board uniting a separate and a public sector under an umbrella structure, in the national capital region of Ottawa-Carleton, legislation subsequently proclaimed as *Bill 109: (Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board Act)*, in June, 1988.

Bill 109 required the transfer of any real property of an English-language board that was a school site used by French-language instructional units on January 31, 1988, to the French-language school board on January 1, 1989. Because *Bill 109* established two sectors, one public and one separate, school sites transferred by public English boards went to the public sector, and sites transferred by separate English boards went to the separate sector. Several

factors influenced the decision to create a two-sector board under an umbrella structure. The long-standing wish of Franco-Ontarian elites in the Ottawa-Carleton region to create a single school board provided the impetus for the creation of an umbrella structure. The creation of two sectors within this umbrella structure was, however, conditioned by previous policies that created public French-language high schools, and, most important, by the requirement that Roman Catholic educational rights first defined in the *British North America Act (1867)* be protected. The impetuses for and the designs of policy changes for *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* were both conditioned by the historical context of education in Ontario. The following discussions identify those critical events and describe the legal mandates that resulted, that have had an ongoing influence on both policy changes.

Historical Context⁵

One of the most critical historical events to influence Roman Catholic and Franco-Ontarian education in Ontario was the determination of the constitutional rights and responsibilities for education in Ontario. The *British North America Act of 1867* is the legal basis upon which educational policy making in Ontario is founded. Religious and linguistic factors influenced the politics surrounding these legal provisions. The concept of a political union of British North America emerged during the 1860s after the repeated failure of attempts to find a solution to the continued tensions between the English and French populations in the Canadian colony. Faced with the virtual impasse in governing the Canadian colony, representatives of both ethnic groups sought a solution in the concept of a British North America made up of all the British colonies. As a result, a coalition of individuals from all the colonies was formed to work toward Confederation. Negotiation of clauses assigning responsibility for education to the provinces, and guaranteeing the continuation of existing privileges for Roman Catholics in Upper Canada (Ontario), and Protestants in Lower Canada (Quebec), were of central importance. It is likely that the provision of separate schools for Roman Catholics in the largely Protestant Upper Canada would never have been recognized had it not been for the desire of the powerful Protestants in predominantly Roman Catholic Quebec, to control their own schools, and the willingness of Roman Catholic legislators of both provinces to unite to assure

similar guarantees for Ontario Catholics (Lawton, 1989).

As the result of these negotiations, with Confederation in 1867, education became a provincial matter subject to the generally accepted practices at that time. In Ontario, the *School Acts* of the 1840s and 1850s established those practices. The interaction of the educational goals of the loyalist refugees from the American revolution, and the waves of British, Irish and Scottish settlers who followed, had ultimately produced the *Common School Act of 1841*, the first legislation providing for education in Upper Canada. The Act contained the dissentient, or separate school clause to protect the rights of Roman Catholic minorities. As the legal expression of the educational practice of funding elementary schools in Upper Canada at the time of Confederation, the Act became the foundation for Ontario's refusal to extend full funding for Roman Catholic secondary education for the next 140 years. Just as Ontario's Roman Catholics were constrained by *British North America Act of 1867 (BNA Act)*, the educational aspirations of the province's Franco-Ontarian minority were limited by the legislation. It is noteworthy that the legislation founding the Ontario educational system did not address the question of language. The *BNA Act* provided constitutional guarantees on the basis of religion, for Roman Catholic and Protestant minorities in Ontario and Quebec, not for the linguistic minorities of the two provinces. The failure of the *BNA Act* to guarantee linguistic rights confounded the ability of Franco-Ontarians to establish publicly funded French-language schools until the passage of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in 1982.

Policy changes for Roman Catholic and francophone education in Ontario have, therefore, been constrained by constitutional provisions for education in Canada. The key provisions for education in Section 93 of the *British North America Act of 1867* established the basis for a collective rights emphasis to education in Ontario. The 1867 Constitution recognized the right of separate school boards to public support for the elementary schools they operated at the time.⁶ The notable feature is that the right to particular schooling is granted to groups rather than individuals, that is, "it is a collective right granted to the minority religious group, Protestant or Roman Catholic, in a given community" (Lawton, 1991, p. 2).

Legal Constraints on Educational Aspirations

These rights came into play in the major policy changes for Roman Catholic and for minority French-language education reported in this thesis. For example, prior to the affirmation of minority French-language educational rights by the Ontario Supreme Court in 1984, the ability of Franco-Ontarians to establish and maintain French schools was constrained by the lack of provisions for these rights in relation to education in the *British North America Act of 1867*. This meant that between 1867 and 1968 the status of French-language education in Ontario changed very little, for although instruction in the elementary schools serving predominantly Franco-Ontarian communities was, *de facto*, almost entirely in French, legally English was still the language of instruction and communication, particularly after the third grade. According to the federal government's Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism (1968) this resulted in "a non-system of education for Franco-Ontarians. These schools operated in isolation: they were not part of the English-language system of education in the province, and they lacked the planning, the guidance, and the co-ordination essential to an adequate educational régime" (p. 51). Moreover, the schools Franco-Ontarians attended failed to provide an environment conducive to students continuing their studies in high school. Although student retention rates up to grade eight increased during the first half of the twentieth century, there were still few francophone students completing the high school entrance examinations.⁷

One of the reasons for the low participation of Franco-Ontarians in secondary schooling was that most were Roman Catholic, and, therefore, supported separate schools. Franco-Ontarian support for separate schools meant that they were subject to the limitations imposed on Roman Catholic secondary education in the province. The *British North America Act of 1867* assigned responsibility for education to the provinces subject to the practices of the day. Those practices, in turn, had been defined by the 1841 *Common School Act*, which gave Roman Catholics the right to establish separate denominational schools, and by the *Scott Act* of 1863, which extended financial aid to separate school by giving them a share of not only the provincial grant, but also of the municipal grant. At Confederation, education in Ontario only extended to the elementary grades, although the *High School Act* of 1871 provided for the establishment of public English

secondary schools. Roman Catholics were able to obtain support for grades nine and ten in 1889 when both public and separate elementary schools added grades nine and ten, although these were funded at elementary rates.

For Roman Catholics this support was viewed as inadequate. In 1926 the Roman Catholic Educational Council had arranged a test case to attempt to gain legal recognition of their right to all legislative grants for common schools, including grants for the support of secondary schools. The action brought by the separate school supporters in Simcoe's Tiny Township reached a climax when the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, Canada's ultimate court of appeal at the time, declared that the government was not constitutionally required to fund separate schools beyond grade 10, despite the fact that Roman Catholics were obligated to pay secondary school taxes to the public boards of education.

Organized Responses to Constraints

Although the decision in the Tiny Township case was a significant blow to Roman Catholic and French-language education, particularly at the secondary school level, it did not end the interest of the Roman Catholic church in providing secondary education through a network of church-supported Roman Catholic private secondary schools. Roman Catholic and French-language education for the high school years could only be obtained in these private institutions, built from donations and church collections, with education supported through fees and other donations. During the post war years, however, these institutions encountered great difficulties in providing educational services as demands for secondary education in Ontario increased fuelled by the combination of "immigration, the baby boom and industrial development" (Walker, 1986, p. 17). This situation created "almost intolerable demands on the small tax resources of separate elementary schools and additional pressure for the building of Roman Catholic high schools" (p. 17). In addition, in the 1940s and 1950s separate schools were no longer assured that over half the teaching staff would be drawn from the religious orders as they had in the past. During these decades, and increasingly in the 1960s, the separate schools had to pay salaries to lay teachers.

Public schools faced similar problems brought about by demographic

changes. For the separate schools, however, the problems were even more acute. Roman Catholic Franco-Ontarians, caught in this situation faced striking difficulties in obtaining a secondary education. Until the 1960s Franco-Ontarian students seeking a secondary level education in their own language, and in a separate school, had either to attend private schools or to leave the province. During these years the public system did begin to provide the opportunity to study an advanced version of French in schools where there was sufficient demand for it. It was soon evident, however, that these courses in advanced French were not the solution to improved retention of Franco-Ontarians in secondary schools.

As a result of these conditions, during the 1940s, representatives of both the French and English Roman Catholic communities demanded the formation of a commission to investigate separate school financial problems. Responding to these demands the Ontario Conservative government, led by Premier George Drew, established a commission in 1945, headed by Mr. Justice Andrew Hope, for the purpose of investigating the province's educational system. The Hope Commission recommendations were decidedly not supportive of Roman Catholic educational aspirations. The Commission recommended that the elementary school program be cut to six years and the secondary school program to four years. This would have required reducing the sphere of operations of the separate school boards. At the time a number of separate schools offered grades nine and ten. These grades were already in a tenuous position because they were only supported from rates imposed on "supporters of elementary separate schools, who would not be relieved from paying school taxes for the support of public secondary schools" (Walker, 1986, p. 48). The concern of Roman Catholics was that if elementary schools were limited to the first six grades, that separate schools would lose "both local and provincial financial support for their upper grades, or even if allowed to keep eight grades, they would not be able to offer an alternative to public schools" (p. 48).

Diverging Interests

Although many Franco-Ontarian Catholics believed that the re-grading of schools would be disastrous for separate schools, and especially for French-language separate schools, others were willing to transfer to public high

schools in order to take advantage of better facilities and more extensive programs. The issue was a complex one for the Roman Catholic community. Despite the call for harmony by the Church, the relations between the two linguistic groups of Roman Catholics were tense. Franco-Ontarians were suspicious that the English-speaking Roman Catholics were attempting to salvage their separate schools at the expense of bilingualism. English-speaking Roman Catholics wondered if the linguistic objectives of the francophones did not overshadow their religious interest. Despite these tensions, one of the key concerns of both linguistic groups of Roman Catholics was their desire to establish high schools. Ultimately, the size and composition of the Hope Commission precluded any great degree of unanimity. When the commissioners failed to concur on the jurisdiction of separate schools, the Conservative government of Premier Leslie M. Frost effectively shelved the report after it was submitted in 1950. There was little public reaction to the shelving of the report, because, in spite of the fact that many Ontario Protestants did not agree with the principle of separate schools, there was no demand that these schools be abolished.

When the province began to provide French-language secondary education within the public system after 1968, predominantly Roman Catholic francophones were confronted with moving to the public system in order to obtain it. Access to a complete Roman Catholic education to the end of the high school years continued to be available only through a network of church-supported private secondary schools. Nevertheless, that does not mean that education in Ontario was stagnant, or that provisions for Franco-Ontarian and Roman Catholic students did not improve along with those for all students in the province.

Ontario's wealth, derived from its geographical location and natural resources influenced the feasibility of options in policy areas such as education. Ontario, it is argued, has been relatively easy to govern because "as the chief beneficiary of the Confederation arrangement, its industrial development has been secured by tariff protection, and during much of the twentieth century, by low-cost energy" (Morton, 1990, p. 7). In the 1960s this prosperity was translated into major expansion of social services such as public housing, transit systems, and particularly educational services.⁸ From 1962 until 1971, education spending alone rose by 454%. During these boom

years for education in Ontario, schools and universities were opened, and a community college system was established.

Roman Catholics and Franco-Ontarians, like all students in Ontario, benefitted from the expanded programs. Incremental policy changes improved educational provisions for Franco-Ontarians, and although the target of a complete separate school system remained elusive for Roman Catholics, a number of policy changes improved funding provisions. Although the educational concerns and aspirations of Franco-Ontarians and Roman Catholics continued to overlap, the constraints and supports for these aspirations diverged in the 1960s. In order to capture this divergence, the following discussion describes key events in the years leading up to the announcement of both policy changes. The discussion first focuses on the Franco-Ontarian experience, before examining the responses to Roman Catholic educational demands prior to the Davis announcement of funding extension in 1984.

The Franco-Ontarian Experience

To meet the demands of Franco-Ontarians, beginning in 1962 schools were permitted, with ministerial approval, to teach a number of subjects in French. These programs were not obtained without significant lobbying on the part of Franco-Ontarian groups such as l'Association canadienne-française d'Ontario (ACFO), lobbying that was complicated by the interaction of language and religion. Franco-Ontarian leaders representing the largely Roman Catholic francophones of the province, faced a pressing need to obtain French-language secondary education for their students. Although ACFO officially demanded secondary schools that were French and Roman Catholic, there was increasing pressure from the francophone community for non-confessional French high schools. The Conservative government's rejection of the concept of separate secondary schools strained the alliance of English and Franco-Ontarian Roman Catholics pressing for these schools.

The government's continued rejection of denominational secondary schools, finally led Franco-Ontarian leaders to agree that, although their ideal was a continuation of their separate schools up to grade 13, under the circumstances "French-language secondary schools should exist within the public system" (Walker, 1986, p. 261). Premier Robarts responded by

establishing the Bériault Committee to develop recommendations for the establishment of French-language secondary schools wherever the number of students made it feasible. The recommendations of the committee resulted in the passage of *Bill 140* and *Bill 141* in 1968, which provided for the establishment of French-language elementary and secondary schools in the public school boards of the province. In a first step toward official support for Franco-Ontarian educational governance, the Bériault committee also proposed the creation of French Language Committees (FLC's) to make "recommendations to meet the educational and cultural needs of the French-speaking pupils" (Bériault Committee, 1968, p. 41).

In providing a mechanism by which they could ensure French-language instruction at all levels, the legislation represented a substantial gain for Franco-Ontarians. The legislation involved two essential changes in policy: the legitimation of existing practice in elementary schools and the creation of new French-language schools at the secondary level. Because the legislation, in effect, legalized practices already in operation in elementary schools, there was little change in the number of schools offering French-language programs. At the secondary level, however, the legislation encouraged a rapid expansion in French-language programs.

Response to the legislation was not unanimously positive. Some argued that students should not be segregated by language, but should be allowed to mingle. This position was similar to the one taken by opponents of schools segregated by religion. On the other hand, there were compelling reasons why segregation seemed to some to be a necessity, if French culture was to survive. Surrounded as they were by a dominant English culture, Franco-Ontarians required a segregated educational environment in order to maintain their own culture. Separate school supporters were notably lacking in enthusiasm for the provisions for French-language education. Many saw the development as a blow to their own campaign for support of separate school education until the end of secondary school. Almost immediately there was an exodus from grades nine and ten of the separate schools and from private schools into the newly available French-language programs in public secondary schools. Between 1967 and 1969, because of the declining enrollments caused by *Bill 141*, and the impossibility of providing comparable programming to that available in the public system by funding through

tuition fees, the number of private French-language confessional/Roman Catholic secondary schools decreased from approximately twenty to four.

Bill 140 and *Bill 141* provided some improvements in French-language educational provisions. During the 1970s it became clear, however, that Franco-Ontarians still faced many obstacles to fulfilling their educational aspirations. The legislation essentially created two types of high schools: "mixed" high schools attended by both francophone and non-francophone students, each free to choose credits in either French or English; and, "homogeneous" schools attended only by French-speaking students. Because many boards chose to provide services within mixed schools, a number of public disputes arose over the difficulties encountered by the Franco-Ontarian community in getting the boards to establish homogeneous French-language secondary schools. The 1968 legislation appeared to Franco-Ontarians to leave too much discretion to local school boards.

In 1971, in response to the many difficulties encountered by Franco-Ontarians in the various regions of the province, a Ministerial Commission on French Language Secondary Education was established, chaired by Thomas Symons. The Symons Commission, finding increasing assimilation of francophone students, made a number of recommendations that provided a new framework for protecting the official language minority in the school boards of Ontario. The recommendations sought to meet Franco-Ontarian educational needs by altering the role of the French Language Committee, creating a Linguistic Rights Commission, naming a French-speaking Deputy Minister, setting up a Standing Committee on French Language Schools, and providing for changes in the province's educational structure.

The recommendations of the Symons Report resulted in amendments to *The Secondary Schools and Boards of Education Act*. The passage of this legislation in 1973 had three main effects. First, mandatory requirements for providing instruction in French were strengthened. Second, French Language Advisory Committees (FLACs) were created. These bodies were elected by the local francophone community, and had to be consulted by school boards operating secondary schools on any decisions affecting the schooling of francophone students. The third effect of the reforming legislation was the establishment of the Languages of Instruction Commission of Ontario, which provided a mechanism for mediation and

resolution of conflicts. The FLACs provided the forum from which issues could be clarified, and the Commission gave the communities the means to gain the attention of both the public and the provincial authorities.

A number of other initiatives towards improving French-language education occurred during the 1970s. In 1977 the first Assistant Deputy Minister for French-language education was appointed, and initiatives on additional grants for French-language education, consultative services, learning material and research and evaluation were begun. Despite these provisions, conflicts between schools boards and francophones in communities throughout the province continued in the 1970s. In some cases, such as in Penetanguishene, the conflicts between the local school boards and the French-speaking residents became particularly bitter.⁹ In other cases, such as in Ottawa, there was less local conflict. Nevertheless, during the 1970s and early 1980s provisions for French-language education emerged incrementally, and grudgingly, as the result of public pressure. According to *The Globe and Mail*, during these years if francophones wanted their own schools, they practically had "to start one in a tent, or disused post office," before the province stepped in to support education in their own language (*The Globe and Mail*, June 1, 1982, p. 7). As the newspaper commented: "it's a nasty political procedure, but it works." In the long run, francophones get service in their own language but the government is able to convey the message that they have been forced to make another concession to a "noisy and persistent minority" (p. 7).

In 1982, an investigation of the obstacles existing to the government of Ontario's French-language program by the co-ordinator of French-language services found that the greatest obstacle was the government's vague language policy. As a consequence, decisions were generally left to the discretion of civil servants. The report concluded that the resulting implementation of imprecise policies led "to a general belief, in both the English and French language communities, that the francophone 'minority' should be granted only as much linguistic leeway as the majority determines to be good for it" (p. 7).

Not only was the policy process determining the provisions for French-language services inadequate, but also the actual provisions for French-language education were problematic. By 1980 there were three basic settings

in which French was being taught. There were 23 separate French schools, 35 mixed English and French programs, and two cases where a separate French school administration shared an English school building (school-within-a-school). The Minister of Education at the time, Dr. Bette Stephenson, argued that the province needed the three types of French high schools because different communities had different needs (*The Globe and Mail*, July 28, 1982, p. 5).

During the 1980s attempts to establish a number of school-within-a-school situations encountered growing problems. In some cases, parents and students overwhelmingly favoured splitting their mixed school into French and English schools; others objected that the result would be a separation in the school that would create a wall between the two linguistic groups. In some predominantly francophone communities, parents worried that establishing a school-within-a-school would mean that their children wouldn't learn to speak English. Other francophones criticized the "two schools in one model" as a half-way solution to demands for separate French schools. This view was shared by other critics of the government's policies on French-language education who argued that the province should establish more separate French schools, given the well-documented assimilation into the English culture by francophone students attending bilingual, or mixed schools. So, although provisions such as separate French-speaking high schools, mixed high schools, and the school-within-a-school approach represented some gains for Franco-Ontarians, they were not seen as adequate. Franco-Ontarians wanted more than high schools and French-language classes, they wanted the government to establish French-language school boards. During these years the demand for a separate French-language school board was expressed most strongly in the Ottawa-Carleton region of the province. In the sections of this chapter that follow, the government response to this demand is used to illustrate conceptual issues related to the process, context, institutions and ideology of policy change.

Incremental Expansions in Support for Roman Catholic Education

The preceding discussion has demonstrated the gradual improvement in provisions for Franco-Ontarian education following Bériault Committee's recommendations for the establishment of French-language secondary

schools. Reflecting on the creation of public French-language high schools, one long-time Roman Catholic Franco-Ontarian advocate indicated that, at the time, the decision to accept public French-language high schools was seen as the best possible response to the difficulty of staffing and funding private Roman Catholic francophone high schools, given the evident impossibility of obtaining funding for Roman Catholic secondary schools:

When the government decided that extension was not possible, the private [religious] schools [run by nuns and priests] decided to go to the public system, because they saw that staffing was getting more difficult, they had to raise the tuition fees, and they wanted to support public education for everyone, not just those who had money.¹⁰

At the time the Beriault Committee recommended the creation of French-language high schools, the concept of a publicly funded separate secondary system was rejected by the Conservative premier of the day, John Robarts, who argued that the cost of such a policy was prohibitive and "could only lead to a lesser degree of excellence of instruction as a result of poor facilities, smaller concentration of students, and, thus, less diversification of courses and the necessity of spreading our teachers over a wider and wider area" (Ontario Legislative Assembly, Debates, 26th legislature, 4th session, 23 February 1963, p. 923). Despite Robart's rejection of the concept, during the next few years advocates for a complete Roman Catholic school system continued to press for changes. In response to the ongoing and concerted pressure from groups such as the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ontario, the Conservative party, which continued to govern the province during the next two decades, made only marginal and incremental adjustments to their policy for separate secondary schools.

During those decades, concerns over the financial crisis facing separate schools, and desires to enlarge the scope of the system led the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ontario to present a brief to Premier Robarts requesting privileges such as "a share in curriculum planning, the development of separate colleges for the training of Roman Catholic school teachers, the extension of support for separate schools through the secondary school level, and the revision of the system of financial support for the separate schools" (Fleming, 1972, p. 257). Robarts rejected all but one of these demands. In response to the

demand for a revision of the system of financial support he established the Foundation Tax Plan in 1964. Before the plan's introduction, the separate school boards in the province "were facing an impossible situation [and] under existing conditions they simply could not have carried on" (Fleming, 1971, p.165). The plan brought the "separate school boards up to a level that was within reasonable reach of that of the public school boards" by allowing the corporate tax adjustment grant to be substituted for the lack of local corporate assessment (Fleming, 1972, p. 257). Although the policy did not have universal support in the province, many agreed with the decision to make sure that pupils were not deprived of "educational advantages because of their parents desire to exercise a constitutional right" (p. 257).

Although many viewed the Foundation Tax Plan as a final solution, for William Davis, who was then the Minister of Education, it was "the beginning only to a final solution," one that reaffirmed "...the legal and economic position of the public separate school system," and, thereby, established the policy direction that inevitably led away from a single school system toward the extension of full funding for Roman Catholic education in the province.¹¹ Another step in this direction occurred in 1967 when the government decided to base the grant on enrollment figures and allowed children in grades nine and then attending Roman Catholic schools to obtain a partial share of the corporation tax adjustment grant.

The government proposal in 1968, to form larger units of administration for public school boards, encouraged the separate school trustees of OSSTA to request that the legislation also amalgamate the 1500 Roman Catholic boards of trustees in the province (Jamison, 1985, p. 32). Along with the release of the 1968 Hall-Dennis Committee report, amalgamation became an important force for mobilizing members of the Roman Catholic educational community. The Hall Dennis Committee report promoting continuous progress from kindergarten to grade 13 pointed out to some separate school advocates the inability of their schools to adopt the report's recommendations. Reacting strongly to this limitation the "Catholics besieged the government with a series of briefs protesting the inequities" (Coo, 1985, p. 17).

These briefs were a manifestation of the growing movement within Roman Catholic educational communities that brought together "the local

Ontario English Roman Catholic Teachers' Association (OECTA) unit, the trustees, the separate school lay board, (and) the clergy" (Coo, 1985, p. 17). One of the events crystalizing the completion movement occurred during the 1968 annual meeting of OECTA when Sandra Glenn, an Ottawa area representative, called on those assembled to "fight for educational opportunities for Roman Catholic students. Failure to do so could result in the Roman Catholic school system becoming the backwater of Canadian education. We must act with unity and conviction, and provide leadership for the Roman Catholic population in general, in demanding its rights as citizens" (quoted in Coo, 1985, p. 18). In response to the tremendous support for the resolution, a completion committee was established with representatives from four regions of the province. During the next few years the committee worked with "teachers, students, the clergy and the parent-teacher associations, preparing bulletins, writing brochures, holding meetings, writing briefs, criss-crossing the province" (p. 18). The movement gathered force at the local level as teachers formed sub-meetings, and at the provincial level as a letter-writing campaign was organized to inundate Minister of Education Bill Davis with demands for completion.

The completion movement also faced some obstacles. One of the most serious was the lack of awareness by many Roman Catholics "who did not know that all of the secondary school portion of their tax dollars went to public school boards, and that grades nine and ten were financed solely by grants, well short of the grant accorded those grades in public high schools" (p. 19). In addition, teachers were not always enthusiastic. Elementary teachers felt the issue was of little relevance to them, and "secondary school teachers trusted the religious leaders to look after them" (p. 19). At that time more than "50 percent of the salaries of the [priests and nuns], which ranked well below their public counterparts, went back into the schools, as did the contributions that should have gone to superannuation funds" (p. 19). Despite these obstacles the completion movement continued to grow and continued to pressure the government.

A cornerstone of the completion campaign was "the recognition of grades nine and ten as secondary school grades" (p. 21). According to one completion advocate, the premise "was that once that goal had been realized, the money would follow as well as capital grants for buildings, and then as

due process, completion would follow in that order" (Fr. Kavanagh quoted in Coe, 1985, p. 21). During the next few years trustees represented by OSSTA kept up "steady pressure on the Ministry of Education for full funding for grades nine and ten" (Jamison, 1985, p. 32).

An important landmark in this advocacy occurred on May 31st, 1969 when a coalition of twenty groups including the Roman Catholic Bishops of Ontario and the Ontario Secondary School Trustees Association (OSSTA) presented a brief entitled *Equal Opportunity for Continuous Education in Separate Schools of Ontario* to Premier Robarts and Davis, then Minister of Education. Citing the government's official promotion of the 1968 Hall-Dennis report's advocacy of unbroken development from kindergarten through grade 13, this brief requested "the removal of the pedagogical and financial shackles that restrain the separate schools from offering a complete educational service from Kindergarten to Grade 12(13) at the present time" (OSSTA, 1969, p. 7). Specifically the brief demanded the removal of limitations: on Roman Catholic school boards to offering a K to 10 program, created by classifying grades nine and ten as elementary grades for grant purposes, and resulting from the lack of adequate voice for the Roman Catholic community at the Department of Education level.

The idea of "equality of educational opportunity" provided the normative basis for the proposals presented in the brief (p. 11). The brief argued that this value of equality was inherent in the general principle established by the *Common School Act of 1841*, the legislation founding the separate system of the province. This legislation specified that separate schools should receive their "due proportion of public funds in the same manner" as public common schools (p. 11). The idea of equality was also inherent in the Hall-Dennis proposal for continuous progress. That idea formed the cornerstone for the brief's argument that if "there were equal educational opportunities in both schools systems" then there obviously had to be "completion because to have one truncated was really to defeat all of the educational principles that were being espoused at that time about the value of a continuous and integrated learning system."¹²

According to Fleming (1971) the essence of opposition to the demands presented in the OSSTA brief are captured in a brief prepared by the Orange Lodge in 1968, which argued that "it was never intended that the separate

schools should have parity with the public schools" since no mention "of such parity was made in the *Separate School Act of 1863*" (p. 169). Perhaps concerned with such opposition, Premier Robarts never officially responded to the brief before he resigned as leader of the Conservative party. By 1969, members of OECTA had begun to formulate a political action plan that called for the "the dissemination of a variety of materials dealing with Roman Catholic education, its needs and its rights under the Constitution" (Coo, 1985, p. 19). Completion activists such as Kevin Kennedy, past president of OECTA, comments that " the plan of action was designed to lead up to the 1971 provincial election, and in our minds, subsequent elections. We saw political action as a process and not as a one shot deal" (quoted in Coo, 1985, p. 19).

Subsequent events would demonstrate the need for this long-term strategy for in October of 1970, as Minister of Education, Davis, finally responded to OECTA's brief by rejecting the demands for the completion of the Roman Catholic school system in front of a Toronto rally of more than 17,000 high school students, parents, and clergy. Some have argued that Davis' rejection of completion was not surprising given his involvement in the very contentious leadership race that followed Robart's resignation. In this race the candidates were faced with largely non-Roman Catholic party members who wanted to know what they "would do with respect to the request on the table from the separate school authorities."¹³ Davis, like the other candidates, responded to these questions by indicating that no changes would be made, and in the Tory leadership convention that followed Davis was elected leader of the party, and, thus, automatically became Premier of the province.

Reflecting on those events, Davis commented recently that he felt that brief should "have been dealt with before [Robarts] retired." The problem was that the brief required a "political decision" on an issue that was "front and center" prior to and during the 1971 election.¹⁴ In many communities throughout the province there was a lingering anger over the Conservative government's consolidation of small school boards in 1969. The creation of county sized boards had been very "unpopular" in many of the rural Protestant communities from which the Conservatives traditionally drew their support.¹⁵ It was feared that support for the extension of the separate

school system would alienate these voters. Partly on the basis of the OSSTA's brief both the New Democratic Party and the Liberal Party had reversed their long standing opposition to the idea of a complete separate school system in the fall of 1969, so the election of 1971 was seen as a debate on the issue. Davis stated his opposition to extension emphatically during the campaign:

If . . . the government of Ontario were arbitrarily to decide to establish and maintain, out of public funds, a complete education system determined by denominational and religious considerations, such a decision would fragment the present system beyond recognition and repair, and do so to the disadvantage of all those who have come to want for their children a public school system free of denominational or sectarian character. (Cited in *Queen's Park*, June 13, 1984, #801).

The resounding majority received by the Conservatives was seen as an affirmation of the party's rejection of full funding. One Roman Catholic trustee comments: "The result was devastation of both of the opposition parties, with Davis back in with an extreme majority first time he took them through a provincial election as leader."¹⁶ Disappointed completion advocates recognized that Davis "had won the leadership based on the fact that he was not going to reverse the stand."¹⁷ The resounding majority Davis received in that election convinced many Roman Catholics that "there would never be an opportunity to complete the separate school system ever in the future."¹⁸ At that point it was "almost accepted in the Catholic community that (the Davis rejection) was the death knell of completion."¹⁹

In the years that followed the separate school question never went far below the political horizon. The Catholic community maintained a steady pressure throughout this period. Despite their disappointment over the 1971 rejection of completion, separate school supporters maintained communication with the Davis government. Davis "met regularly with some of the bishops and with Cardinal Carter" throughout this period.²⁰

In addition, "all through that period" the leadership of the separate schools were "doing a lot to consolidate their position to take maximum advantage of the rules" that funded grades nine and ten by linking those grades with the grades 11, 12 and 13 offered in the private system.²¹ As one former separate school director commented:

I was director of a school board that ran grades nine and ten, and another board of volunteers ran grades 11, 12 and 13. They had no money, they had no staff, but they were there. The nines and tens received elementary grants for financing. Then (grades) 11 to 13 received nothing, but I used to reach into my pocket and say in this pocket I (have money) to pay my taxes to the public school board. . . Out of this pocket I pay tuition for my children to go to 11, 12 and 13. Back here is my Sunday envelope for church of which the first two months of the financial year go to help keep those two high schools going. And over here I buy bingo, lotteries and so on. . . (In addition) I did the directing of the volunteers in my spare time, and we looked for a way to keep those 11, 12 and 13's going.²²

In fact, the private Roman Catholic secondary schools not only kept going, they began to grow as a greater proportion of students went from grade eight into Roman Catholic high schools than in the previous years when more went to the public high schools.²³ By the late 1980s many separate schools, particularly those in the Toronto area boards, experienced overcrowding. For OECTA the expansion presented a particular challenge. John Flynn, one of the OECTA organizers, recalls that period as one in which:

We had to convert our own people. The Catholic school system was expanding at a very great rate. There were hosts and hosts of new teachers, new principals. The system was changing. Rule by the religious had faded away. The new people had to understand the situation and make their points known to the people at Queen's Park. Running along side all this was the increasing qualifications for teachers, which meant that with their degrees they could teach in high schools. It all went along with the expansion of the Catholic school system resulting in large measure from the flood of immigrants to Metro Toronto, largely Roman Catholics and strong school supporters. (Quoted in Coe, 1985, p. 20.)

OECTA strategists believed that there hadn't been total commitment to the 1968 completion campaign by "the Catholic community at large," and,

given the flood of new immigrants, an action plan to inform parents was seen as critical. As a result "brochures and letters to parents were drafted, supplied to the schools and sent home with students. Some were printed in Italian and Portuguese, to keep the parents of new immigrant children informed" (Coo, 1985, p. 22). At the same time, a number of large scale workshops and conferences were held on topics related to completion during the early 1980s. A former president of OECTA comments on these more politically visible pressure strategies:

There were forums on political action held in 1983 and 1984. During this period the committee dealing with completion of the secondary schools coalesced to form a completion committee with the object of planning long-term political action. The direct outcome of this plan included political action in each area, headed by unit presidents and political action officers. . . In short a full-scale political action campaign had evolved and was moving into full gear (K. Kennedy, quoted in Coo, 1985, p. 23).

The efforts of the OECTA to initiate a political action campaign were not fully supported by some representative of OSSTA, the Roman Catholic trustee association, who felt that "attention should be directed to trying to get a fairer share of corporation taxes" (Walker, 1986, p. 369). A student's group, however, took a directly confrontational course of action. Roman Catholic students who had formed a group called "Ontario Students For Fair Funding" led by Richard Chiarelli had begun to agitate for improved provisions. By 1984 this group of students, put together with little money and without the support of OSSTA or OECTA, launched a court appeal to the Tiny Township decision. Walker (1986) comments that "differences between trustees and teachers over political tactics and the sudden appearance of a completely independent students' group manifest the lack of a guiding hand in Catholic educational affairs" (p. 369). An umbrella organization called the Federation of Catholic Educational Associations of Ontario (FCEAO) regrouped members of the Catholic community including the: bishops, trustees, teachers, students, parent-teacher associations, the Ontario Catholic Superintendents' and Inspectors' Association, the Ontario Separate School Business Officials'

Association and francophone groups. Although the FCEAO had existed for some time, it was viewed as largely ineffective (Walker, 1986, p. 370).

The political efforts of these groups had, however, resulted in some improvements for Roman Catholic education. By 1984 the grants for grades nine and ten had improved, and the ministry had been asked to look into pooling commercial taxation provincially and redistributing it proportionally (Jamison, 1985, p. 12). There was also the expectation that grade 13 would soon be abolished in response to the recommendations of the Secondary Education Review Project. As one observer commented, gradual improvement in grants led many to believe that there would be "incremental changes leading to full funding to grade 10."²⁴ A former director of separate school board described the situation in 1984 thus:

Very honestly, the separate school system thought that we were going to have complete funding until the end of grade 10 because we had equal funding for kindergarten to grade eight. We had no right to commercial taxes but government grant-wise we had equal funding. For grade nine and ten we had about 90% funding. And very honestly we would have been grateful for 100% for nine and ten because we could stretch those dollars. . . I never expected to see completion in my lifetime. I thought all my lobbying, all of the things that I did as part of a much larger process that could possibly bring about funding to the end of grade ten.²⁵

It was against this backdrop that William Davis rose in the Ontario legislature on June 13, 1984 and announced that he wished to outline a "new course" on a "subject of long and heartfelt controversy in the development of the province, ever since we assumed the burdens and choices that go with responsible government in 1842" (Ontario, Legislative Assembly, Debates, 12 June 1984, p. 2416). In the sections of this chapter that follow, the politics of this policy change are analyzed in response to the six research questions guiding the thesis.

Summary: The Need to Understand the Historical Context

The preceding discussion has highlighted the historical context of the two policy changes examined in this thesis. Consistent with the arguments developed in Chapter Two that call for examinations of policy change over several decades (Dror, 1986; Majone, 1989; Sabatier, 1988; 1991; Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, in press), the intent has been to identify the patterns of policy making that are captured only by examining the historical context of policy changes. As one observer of the two policy changes observed "unless you look at *Bills 30, 75, and 109*, in a historical context, you miss the whole point."²⁶ The analyses that are reported in the sections of the chapter that follow link the salient dimensions of this historical context with the processes, context, institutional arrangements and ideological forces to define an interpretive logic of policy change. In the following section, this analysis begins by outlining the parameters of an interpretive orientation to policy inquiry.

An Interpretive Orientation to Policy Inquiry

The first research question guiding this thesis emerges from the need to outline the philosophical foundation of the framework for understanding the politics of policy change that is developed in this thesis. This question asks:

What are the elements and attributes of an interpretive orientation to understanding the politics of policy change?

In responding to the first research question, the following discussions outline the relational ontology that guides the IF. Also described are the elements of the model of "polis" proposed by Stone (1988) that define the parameters of the IF. These interpretive foundations provide the rationale for the definition of policy as a problem-solving process that is then described. The concepts developed in this section of the chapter are summarized in a table outlining the links between the research questions that emerged from the literature review presented in Chapter Two, and the framework's relational elements, assumptions and the interpretive probes to guide policy inquiry that flow from them. The section concludes by presenting a model of the relationships among the IF assumptions.

A Relational Perspective

The interpretive orientation to policy inquiry taken in this thesis is based on a relational view of reality. In this holistic orientation, facts and values are inextricably linked. Because meaning is disputed, questions of value are continually interpreted and negotiated. As the preceding description of the complex links between Franco-Ontarian and Roman Catholic advocates illustrated, policy change involves an interconnected web of dynamic relations. Responding to the calls to study relationships over time, the IF incorporates a dynamic, multidimensional focus that stretches back into history and forward into the future (Fox, 1987, p. 135). As one policy actor interviewed commented, in order to understand the politics of educational policy change in Ontario "you have to look back to the influence of Ryerson, who effectively squelched any hope that the Roman Catholics and the francophones had of having a system. He put in place such a powerful sense of regulation and procedures and structures, and the *Common School Act* of 1841, which had such a significant impact."²⁷

Consistent with the relational concept of multiple interconnectedness, this orientation recognizes that multiple interpretations of policy can exist. An interpretive framework must, therefore, focus on the policy community, must include understanding of multiple relationships, both micro and macro, both vertical and horizontal. Viewed from a relational perspective, policy change occurs in communities motivated by political processes of negotiation, accommodation and compromise. The need to adopt a relational perspective that focuses on political processes in a community in order to fully understand the politics of policy change is evident in the impact that *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* had on the school boards in the Ottawa-Carleton region. The Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton was formed in 1969 from an amalgamation of a number of adjoining municipalities. At that time school boards in the region were also consolidated into two public and two separate boards. Since then, the Ottawa Board of Education (OBE), and its coterminous board, the Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Board (ORCSSB) have operated schools in the largely urban centre of the region. Schools in the surrounding suburban region have been operated by the Carleton Board of Education (CBE) and the Carleton Roman Catholic Separate School Board (CRCSSB). *Bill 30* and the establishment in January 1989 of the Ottawa-

Carleton French-Language School Board (FLSB), comprised of a public and a separate sector, required significant re-allocation of facilities among the region's four boards. These changes reshaped the delivery of education in the region and generated considerable conflict, ultimately requiring compromise and accommodation among the boards.²⁸

The Politics of Policy Change in the Polis

In focusing on such political processes of policy change, the IF is guided by Stone's (1988) model of society as a political community. This model of "polis," which assumes that policies such as *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* are produced in political communities through the struggle over ideas about the proper role of education, provides the fertile ground for the development of the IF. Unlike the market model, which begins with individual preferences and intentions, a model of polis assumes the collective will and collective effort are important. Whereas self-interest characterizes the market model, public interest is a defining characteristic of a model of polis. That does not mean that self-interest is not also contained within a model of polis. In fact, the special problem of the polis is precisely how to combine self-interest and public interest. This is the "commons" problem, occurring in situations where self-interest and common interest work against each other. Significant policy problems, such as emerged from the interaction of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* in the Ottawa Carleton region, are commons problems, arising because policy changes often have "side effects, unanticipated consequences, second and third effects, long-term effects, and ripple effects" (p. 17). The major dilemma of policy is "how to get people to give primacy to these broader consequences in their private calculus of choices" (p. 17).

This dilemma was evident in the long-term impact that the two policy changes studied here had on the school boards in the Ottawa-Carleton region. Following several years of continuous conflict among the boards in the region, on July 1, 1991, Ontario's Minister of Education appointed the Commission of Inquiry into School Accommodation in Ottawa-Carleton to investigate "the impact of extension of full-funding to the separate school board and the establishment of the French-Language School Board (FLSB) on the allocation of existing school facilities" (Commission of Inquiry, 1991, p. 4). The need for such a commission emerged as a consequence of the impact on the region of a number of significant legislative, demographic and economic

changes that occurred during the 1980s. Those changes raised difficult problems related to "questions of religion, ethnicity, language and social position" (p. 3). The problems created by those changes were compounded, following the introduction of the Canadian *Charter* in 1982, by the emergence of a rights mentality that "often causes interests to be expressed as rights without pause to consider the reconciliation of conflicting rights' agendas" (p. 4).

By June, 1991 attempts to resolve the accommodation problems of the school boards in the Ottawa-Carleton region had reached a standstill. Negotiations between the ORCSSB and the OBE to resolve their six-year dispute over transfer of facilities required by *Bill 30* had broken off. A related court action by the ORCSSB against the OBE, two previous Ministers of Education and the government of Ontario was being reactivated. Court action against the Ministry of Education by the parents from the Public Sector of the FLSB had been initiated, and the two Carleton school boards housed a total of 12,000 students in portables. It was evident that the policy and demographic changes of the 1980s had significantly impacted on the region. The region's school boards had faced extensive upheaval in a relatively short period of time.

Bill 30 had changed the mandate and obligations of the region's separate boards, requiring an expansion of programs, services and facilities. The problem was, that *Bill 30* unlike *Bill 109*, made "no attempt to re-allocate the assets of the boards affected by it" (Commission of Inquiry, Preliminary Report, 1991, p. 19). The simultaneous establishment of the FLSB and the "corresponding division of real property, assets and reserves among English- and French-language boards similarly effected priorities and planning across the region" (p. 19). As a consequence of these changes antagonisms developed among various school boards. In addition, boards in the region faced the stress of responding to the needs of a changing student population. All of these changes occurred under conditions of increasing fiscal restraint, requiring boards to use existing facilities efficiently. By June 1991, the net effect was that the Boards in the region faced a redistributive policy problem, in which the optimal solution for one board could not be "equitably accommodated without impacting negatively on the others or the Province" (p. 21).

The resolution of redistributive policy problems, such as had been created in the Ottawa-Carleton region by the interaction of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*, requires that the gap between private and public interest be bridged. In the Ottawa-Carleton region, local ratepayers argued that the individual interests of different boards could not take precedent over the needs of the community as a whole (Mawhinney, 1992). Market models of policy that discount concern for the public interest are not of great use. In the model of polis, the gap between private and public interest can, however, be bridged through the forces of influence, cooperation, and loyalty. Influence is inherent in communities where an individual's actions are often conditional on those of others. Unlike the market model, which is governed by competition, in the polis, cooperation is as important as competition. In a political community, whenever there are two sides to an issue and more than two people involved, there must be alliances among the people on one side. Loyalty is related to cooperation in the polis. Unlike market models that provide no "glue in buyer-seller relationships," in a political community, relationships are not "perfectly fluid," they "involve gifts, favours, support and, most of all, future obligations" (p. 19). In other words, history is important in the polis. The forces of influence, cooperation and loyalty ensure that "groups and organizations, rather than individuals, are the building blocks of the polis" (p. 20). Policy making is distinguished from decision making precisely because it is often about how groups are formed, split, and re-formed to achieve public purposes.

Power, in Stone's conception, is a fundamental phenomenon in communities. It operates through "influence, cooperation, and loyalty," but in so doing it obeys the "laws of passion rather than the laws of matter" (p. 25). Viewed as a relational concept, power is exercised through "mechanisms that involve ascribing some institutionalized relationships as instances of authority" (Angus and Rizvi, 1989, p. 14). Instead of thinking of power in terms of the opposition of two parties, the relational view of power emphasizes the "multitude of micro-relations of force and influence within all cultural arrangements and practices which serve to support or challenge the status quo" (p. 13).

An Interpretive Orientation in Practice

The relevance of these characteristics of an interpretive perspective is evident in the government initiated effort to resolve the disputes among boards in the Ottawa-Carleton region. The interpretive perspective acknowledges the unique requirements of policy making for the public interest, but also recognizes that the legitimate coercion exercised through the use of instruments to address the public interest. The exercise of power through the choice of instruments was evident in the response of the provincial government to the ongoing disputes generated by the redistributive policy problems created by *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* in the Ottawa-Carleton region. In May, 1991, responding to the uncertainty, distrust and conflict among boards in the region, the government established a commission of inquiry under the authority given the Minister of Education by Section 9b of the *Education Act*, R.S.O., 1980, chapter 129. In choosing the commission of inquiry as the instrument to resolve this conflict, the government invoked Part II of the *Public Inquiries Act* which vests a commission with the powers to "require persons to give evidence on oath or affirmation or produce documents" (Commission of Inquiry, Preliminary Report, 1991, p. 74). This power acknowledges another characteristic of the politics of policy change, that is, that information is a central focus for political activity. In contrast to the assumption in the market model of the availability of complete information, in the polis, information is acknowledged to be incomplete, generally interpretive, and often strategic.

The processes adopted by the Commission of Inquiry appointed to investigate problems in Ottawa-Carleton were designed to take into account the strategic and interpretive use of information by the region's boards about their accommodation problems. The Commissioner of the Inquiry, Larry Taman, a bilingual lawyer experienced in negotiations surrounding constitutional rights and responsibilities, recognized that a common interest framework was required for the inquiry if it was to go beyond the traditional information gathering role of commissions.²⁹ Such a framework was required to move the boards beyond their self-interested bargaining positions to focus on the common interests of the community as a whole. The Commissioner acknowledged the key role of information in designing a common interest framework when he noted: "in government, information is

power and if we want people to have power, we have to tell them stuff" (*The Ottawa Citizen*, January 28, 1992, p. F10). What flowed from the recognition of information was an "open process" in which residents of the Ottawa-Carleton region were able to air their views, "get the facts," and through opportunities for focused debates on themes emerging from those facts, learn about the problems perceived by others. Through this process they were able to contribute different perspectives on possible solutions (p. F10).

An open process was required because of the nature of the disputes. Although they had been long-standing, most of the negotiations among boards over facilities transfers had not been public. A director of education commented that following the signing of the *Bill 30* transfer agreement between the OBE and the ORCSSB in 1988:

Most of the top negotiations were taking place in private. There was a community frustration with the process. Community frustration on the part of the Catholic community in that (they were) not getting anything, . . . not getting anywhere. Then also a frustration on the part of the public community that was saying 'listen these guys are going to come at us and get something from us at some point, (but) we're trying to hold on to what we have.'³⁰

The need for the Inquiry to be perceived as an open process was also crucial because of the rights-driven nature of the disputes. Both *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*, from which the disputes arose, rest on constitutional rights. The result is a kind of rights paradigm of policy debate that produces a different order of legitimacy than other policy debates. Implied is a sense that reference to constitutionally guaranteed rights provides a greater legitimacy for demands in policy debates. The rights paradigm engages various interests in fighting for collective rights. The kinds of value conflicts that result from rights driven debates stress the capacities of the existing policy-making mechanisms. In this context, the Commission of Inquiry was an attractive alternative mechanism. Moreover, it was one that was astutely conducted in a generally open forum of public debate, guided, however, by a well-defined framework.

One of the assumptions of this framework was that the resolution of a rights-driven, redistributive policy required a consensual approach to inquiry.

Rather than the adversarial model favoured in courts, this framework assumed that policy-relevant behaviour could best be induced through an open consensual process stressing public participation. Such a framework for inquiry is based on several principles. First, a consensual model of inquiry assumes that there should be ample opportunity for fact verification. This principle is based on the recognition that parties, such as school boards, can make all sorts of unsubstantiated claims in the media, whereas before a commission of inquiry they must submit documents under oath.

Getting the facts was the first initiative of the Commission, and an initiative that many of those involved in the policy debates felt was most productive. Moreover, the Commission provided a common framework for organizing the facts and established deadlines for argument and evidence to be submitted. Where this Commission differed from others was in taking several further steps to both clarify the facts, and to encourage the parties to confront the facts as perceived by opposing interests. The Commission required the boards to submit counter claims on the basis of the first data supplied, within a given deadline. In a third step the Commission used these claims and counter claims, along with the public submissions, as the basis for its Preliminary Report. This step was an important element in getting at the facts in the context of the open consensual model the Inquiry adopted. Too often commissions gather the facts through submissions without taking the next step and using the facts as a basis for a definition of the problem, and confirming this definition through public consultation (see Yudelman, 1985). Often commissions gather a "stupefying amount of information and opinions via public submissions" that does not ultimately contribute to the recommendations (p. 6). This was not the case with the Taman Commission's efforts. The Preliminary Report identified several themes from submissions, and posed questions that guided the second phase of public input.

Several other principles guiding an open consensual model of public inquiry were manifest in the Commission's approach to this second phase of broadened public input. One principle of a consensual model is that people in adversity should have a chance to interact. The Commission specifically set up meetings where all the parties could interact. The most significant of these was the Public Forum that was held during September, 1991. That the

themes and questions identified in the Preliminary Report provided the focus for these meetings is consistent with another principle of an open consensual model. Focus, is critical in such a model. It means that parties operate within a common frame of reference, and also that enough time is available during a focused process of public debate for parties to think about the issues. As in court proceedings, hearings that start and continue until some point of completion is reached, illustrate the principle of "focusing for the resolution of value conflicts." Focus alone does not, however, guarantee the resolution of conflicts, the goal that lies at the heart of the open consensual model adopted by the Taman Commission. This goal is fundamental to the core principle of "reconciliation" that guides the consensual model.

Reconciliation must be a central principle of an inquiry into a policy problem where there are clearly competing interests, and where not everyone can win. As Commissioner Taman indicated in commenting on the mandate of the Commission: "there may be no more important function of the process of public policy formation than the reconciliation of conflicting legitimate expectations of interested persons" (Commission of Inquiry, Preliminary Report, 1991, p. 83). As part of the process of public policy formulation, the purpose of the Commission from the outset had been to address the "legitimate expectations" of the boards in the region. Not all of those expectations could prevail in the recommendations of the Commission, however. In fact, the "reason for having the inquiry" was to determine exactly which expectations, "perhaps as matter of law, perhaps as a matter of policy judgement" should prevail, at the same time ensuring the reconciliations of the parties involved (p. 83).

Reconciliation in this win-lose context is difficult when core values of various interests are threatened. One theoretical approach to this issue, the Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF), argues that core values will be more resistant to change than secondary aspects of these values (Sabatier, 1988). In the context of the faculties disputes generated in the implementation of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*, the persistence of core values is clearly evident in the positions that the two coalitions that dominated the Inquiry maintained throughout the process. The strong advocacy for Catholicity in secondary education by those demanding appropriate secondary school facilities for Roman Catholic students remained unchanged by the Commission of

Inquiry. Similarly, advocates for a strong public school system did not change their core support for the values incorporated in public education as a result of the Inquiry. What did change were some of the secondary instrumental positions adopted by the two coalitions.

During the subsequent debate the Commission became the policy broker mediating the arguments between the coalitions. It also facilitated the process of policy-oriented learning through a number of procedures. Policy-oriented learning depends upon the degree of fragmentation and conflict over a policy issue. Situations of intense conflict generally occur when claims by coalitions "directly and indirectly threaten core values and precepts" (Jenkins-Smith, 1988, p. 177). If the conflict escalates, the receptivity of coalitions to findings from the debates diminishes. Learning and modification of belief systems are, therefore, unlikely to occur in episodes of intense conflict. This was the situation in the Ottawa-Carleton region that the Taman Commission initially confronted.

The challenge for the Commission was to de-escalate the conflict so that the coalitions would not feel their core values to be threatened and they could then begin to move toward some reconciliation through policy-oriented learning. When this occurs coalitions are more likely to modify their own belief systems in the face of information provided by opposing coalitions, and as a result, policy-oriented learning is more likely to occur. The utility of data or facts in encouraging this learning, is however, dependent on the nature of the policy problem. In problems where techniques of analysis, data, and theories can be agreed upon there is greater likelihood of policy-oriented learning across and within advocacy coalitions (p. 193). The Taman Commission clarified the problems perceived by the boards by establishing a common framework for fact, and verifying these facts through a process of claim and counter claim. Through these processes the Commission was able to de-escalate the conflict to the point that productive analytical debate could begin during a public forum.

Open public debate offers the opportunity to generate a climate of reconciliation. In some cases debates must be opened to the public simply to alleviate uncertainty and de-escalate conflict within a larger community. This is particularly the case in situations where there are clearly competing interests and where not everyone can win, and where a substantial

proportion of the public will be effected by the policy changes that result from the debates. This was the situation in the Ottawa-Carleton facilities dispute. To be effective in generating the policy-oriented learning that is required for the reconciliation of competing interests to occur, commissions must provide a common focus, questions that must be addressed to inform the focus, and a framework for interpreting that focus. The Taman Commission provided all of these in a Preliminary Report it produced to guide the forum discussion.

Another of the key components required to generate a climate of reconciliation in the context of redistributive policies, is establishing a legitimacy rule, that is, determining what evaluative criteria can be agreed upon by the interests involved. This involves gaining consensus on what constitutes a good result. The Taman Commission used the mechanism of the Public Forum to move the coalitions toward consensus on the criteria for acceptable solutions to the conflict. A number of specific procedures were used to move parties beyond their self interest toward an understanding of the interests of other parties, and to focus attention on solutions for the common good of the region as a whole. During the plenary sessions focused on particular questions Commissioner Taman played an active role, often asking presenters to justify their particular demands in terms of the needs of the whole community. Taman encouraged representatives of opposing coalitions to form adhoc discussion groups to explore their concerns and he provided time for these groups to report back to the plenary session. Workshops were organized as a deliberate attempt to encourage reconciliation. These workshops also reported back to the plenary sessions, often with very useful suggestions. Participants in the workshops generally agreed that "they had learned more about opposing interests through the workshop process" (Commission of Inquiry, Final Report, 1991, p. 62). Through these informal discussions "people with opposing interests were able to engage in a reasoned discussion of the issues," and, as a consequence, were able to learn enough about each other that a climate of reconciliation was established (p. 63).

After seven years of on-going conflict between the OBE and the ORCSSB over the transfer of facilities, a resolution was reached on January 14, 1992. That the agreement reached was seen by the community as a whole as a "fair and equitable" solution (*The Ottawa Citizen*, January 15, 1992, p. A10) can be

largely credited to the processes adopted by the Taman Commission during its inquiry, and the common interest framework it generated from those processes. Through the open consultative process it developed, the Commission facilitated the opposing coalitions' "learning" about each other's policy positions. This process "made the public aware of the real problems - including (in the Commission's view) 'unacceptable prejudice of a religious or ethnic nature' and an undue pre-occupation with preserving turf among some of the education establishment" (p. A10).

This illustration confirms the relevance of a relational orientation to policy that focuses on the public interest and on community, and that emphasizes negotiation, accommodation and compromise. Common interest models, such as guided the Taman Commission, can reconcile private and public interests by establishing processes for negotiating agreement on an evaluative criterion of what constitutes a good result for the community. Evaluative criterion such as "equal educational opportunity for all students in the region" identified in the Ottawa-Carleton dispute, can provide a platform for compromise to develop. The value of a community orientation to policy change models is acknowledged by members of that community such as the director of one of the Ottawa-Carleton boards involved in the process, who noted:

It is probably to the credit of the government that it (avoided) a legislated settlement that involves denominational schools fighting with public schools, and French schools fighting with English schools. When you get a consensus in the community, what better resolution could you get. . . I think (the commission resulted in) a very reasonable outcome, and, I think, a solution that avoided hatred, turmoil and bad feelings for years to come down the road.³¹

Summary: The Elements and Attributes of an Interpretive Orientation

The preceding discussion has responded to the first research question guiding this thesis by outlining some of the parameters of an interpretive orientation to policy change. It has argued that such an orientation requires a relational view of power as a "phenomenon of communities" that is

consistent with the model of polis adopted as a heuristic in this thesis (Stone, 1988, p. 24). Power in this conception generally involves the exercise of some degree of legitimate coercion by the state through its constituents: the legislature, the executive, the bureaucracy, and the courts, and in the preceding illustration, commissions of inquiry. Implicit in the conception of policy making as an ongoing problem solving process is the choice of the means or instruments to achieve policy goals. The process of choosing and implementing the means of policy is political and continuous, in response to the reactions of policy actors to previous policies. The choice of instruments is influenced by considerations of political rather than technical efficiency (Doern and Phidd, 1983, p. 131).

Instruments such as the commission of inquiry, from this perspective, are conceived as "strategies for structuring relationships and coordinating behaviour to achieve collective purposes" (Stone, 1988, p. 208). In the polis such strategies are "ways of exerting power, of getting people to do what they otherwise might not do" (p. 208). In the preceding illustration the challenge of the commission was to move the community toward some sort of reconciliation. Policy instruments or strategies, which represent underlying theories about how to change people's behaviour and how to coordinate individual and organizational behaviour in the service of collective goals, are, therefore, a fundamental manifestation of power in the polis.

It is in such political activity that another characteristic of the polis is evident. In the polis, the channels of influence and political connections that arise in such processes are themselves influences on policy making. Such political resources are often enlarged or enhanced through use, rather than diminished. Authority, for example, is enhanced by precedence. Yet, as Stone points out, the "phenomenon of resource expansion through exercise, use, practice, and expression is ignored in the market model" (p. 23). This manifestation of power is more subtle than simple. It links to a recognition that "human actions, social contexts, and institutions work upon each other in complicated ways, and these complex, interactive processes of action and the formation of meaning are important to political life" (March & Olsen, 1984, p. 742). It suggests the subtle exercise of coercion and power in the way that "the state in any given society patterns individual behaviour" (Pal, 1992, p. 98). Reflecting this phenomenon, the institutional structures of the state

promote ideas and constrain choices in the polity.

Ideas are, therefore, key forces in the model of polis. Ideas are the forces that drive change, that make the model dynamic. Unlike the market model, which is driven by exchange, in the polis ideas are central to politics. Stone (1983) observes that:

Political conflict is never simply over material conditions and choices, but over what is legitimate. The passion in politics comes from conflicting senses of fairness, justice, rightness, and goodness. Moreover, people fight with ideas as well as about them. The different sides in a conflict create different portrayals of the battle--who is affected, how they are affected, and what is at stake. (p. 25)

The central role of ideas is related to the assumption that in a political community the whole is greater than the sum of its parts. Thus, for Franco-Ontarians the creation of a French-language school board meant more than just the transfer of a few schools to a new set of trustees; it represented the symbolic affirmation of rights acquired over a century of struggle for cultural survival. Similarly, the extension of funding for Roman Catholic secondary education meant more than simply funding three additional years of schooling. For public school supporters, such as the President of the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation (OSSTF), the policy change represented an attack on the basic principles of public education, such as equal availability to all students and the promotion of the common good of all society (*Ontario Today*, August 1985, p. 8). In contrast, for the members of the Roman Catholic community, such as Fr. C. Matthews, the policy change represented "a great break through and a tremendous break to hundreds of thousands of students" (*The Toronto Star*, June, 13, 1985). Ambiguity is, therefore, an abiding characteristic of politics in the polis where things can mean more than one thing. Stone (1988) refers to these phenomena as the "laws of passion" which govern the polis along with those "laws of matter" that are the common grist of economic or market models of policy.

In summary, an interpretive orientation to understanding the politics of policy change is defined by procedural, contextual, institutional and ideological elements. Argumentation and political debate are the means by which ideas generate policy change. Policy change emerges from the ongoing

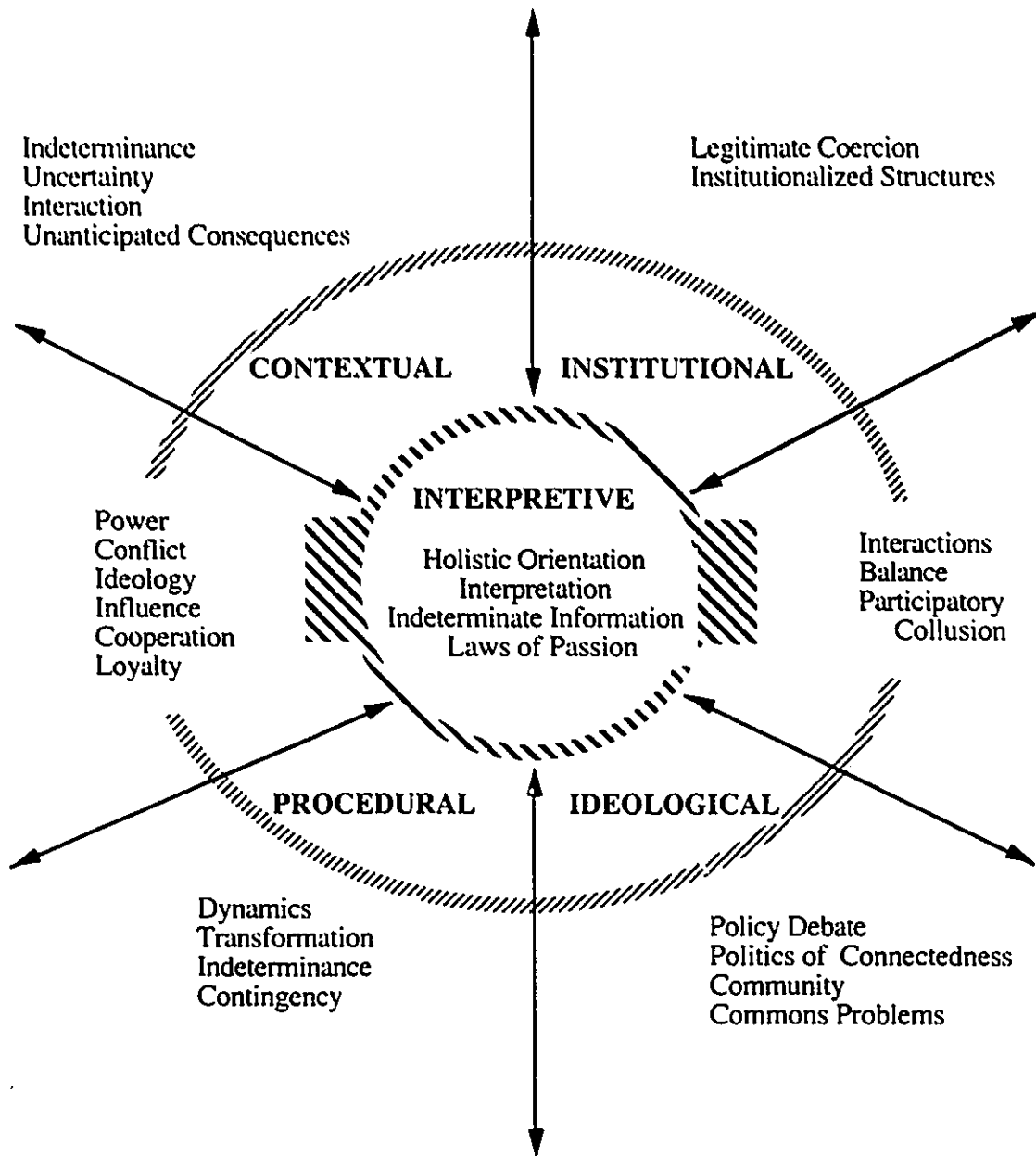
policy arguments and debates in which problems are defined and solutions proposed and attempted. The governing structure of the interpretive framework (IF) for understanding the politics of policy change, then, consists of these four elements. Figure 4.1 illustrates the relations among these elements, and their attributes, in a model of the IF.

The Processes and Context of Policy Change

Policy research has commonly attempted to understand the dynamics of policy through the mid-range analytic perspectives that focus on analysis of policy processes. The dominant approach to understanding the process of policy change has been to focus on relatively narrow time frames and specific stages of the process. The context in which the policy process occurs is viewed as the source of exogenous influences. The underlying assumption is that policy change involves a series of relatively discrete stages encompassing agenda setting, formulation and adoption, implementation, and evaluation. One convenient outcome of the sequence approach to policy change is that it has provided a rationale for policy studies focusing on specific stages, and, therefore, on narrow time frames.

The assumption of stages has also lead proponents to argue for a distinction between policy and action, and to define the proper roles of policy makers and implementors on this basis. Whereas policy makers are typically seen as responding to pressures arising in the exogenous context of the policy system, implementors are seen as responsive to the endogenous influences on the change. Some suggest that senior policy makers and their advisors do attempt to adhere, at least in symbolic ways, to the simple stages model, primarily because they "must attempt to manage, coordinate, and control the overall policy process" (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 102). For example, recent and influential research on agenda setting in the United States Congress by Kingdon (1984) also adopts an analytical strategy of distinguishing among various types of policy processes. Kingdon argues that agenda setting, alternative formation and implementation each reflect unique policy processes in which the concerns of different types of actors dominate. In the agenda-setting stage politicians dominate bureaucrats, whereas in the alternative formation and implementation stages bureaucrats have a far

Figure 4.1. Elements and Attributes of an Interpretive Framework for Understanding Policy Change.



greater impact. Kingdon further distinguishes between those involved in implementation and those involved in alternative formation. Line personnel are more preoccupied with implementation of programs, and staff with alternative formation. Implicit in this argument is the assumption that policy and implementation are distinct processes. Similarly Elmore and McLaughlin (1988) note that time lines are different for policy makers and practitioners. Policy reforms are generated on "electoral time" but they are implemented on "administrative time" and "practice time." (p. 36).

The contrasting view outlined in Chapter Two argues that policy formulation and policy implementation are interdependent and must be considered in combination. Hogwood and Gunn (1984) argue, for example, that "politicians, too, must accept the need for their continuing interest and involvement if they are to be sure of even partial implementation of legislation they have sponsored, and there may well be a need for follow-up legislation and regulations to cover loopholes and fill in details" (p. 217- 218). These contrasting views have led to debates about whether research depicting policy making as a series of discrete stages is descriptive or prescriptive (Simeon, 1976), and to the warning that the stages model has "outlived its usefulness, and must be replaced, in large part because it is not a causal theory" (Sabatier, 1991, p. 147).

An emerging view suggests that policy issues move in cycles or streams. Problems are never "defined once and for all; policy players are active at every phase to ensure that the issue remains high on the agenda and that their view of the problem is elaborated along the way in choosing instruments and in implementation" (Pal, 1992, p. 119). Problem definition, from this perspective, is important in every phase of the policy process and is influenced by a number of contextual factors. The rationale for this focus is drawn from conceptualizations of the context of policy change which underline the importance of a contingency focus (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989). Contingency perspectives emphasize the relative uniqueness of each education policy subsystem (Berman, 1981; Fullan 1991; Jenkins, 1978). In addition, the finding that problem formulation occurs throughout the process, as stakeholders interpret the exogenous context of the policy change, suggests that the IF must adopt a longitudinal focus (Berman, 1981). This view of the nature of contextual influences is consistent with current calls for

a focus on the dynamics of policy (Fullan, 1991). The critiques of the stages model and the emerging views of policy that attempt to capture the dynamics of contextual influences provided the rationales for the second and third research questions guiding this thesis:

What are the processes and configurations of policy dynamics?

How do contextual factors influence policy change?

In responding to these questions the following discussion first outlines the elements and attributes of a dynamic focus that recognizes the contextual forces that merge to create a cumulative pressure for change. Because contextual forces are often primary influences in moving or stalling policy processes, these elements are examined together in this section of the chapter. The description of the development of Franco-Ontarian and Roman Catholic education in the first section of this chapter illustrated the long-term patterns of policy making that defined the parameters for the policy changes studied here. A comparative assessment of the dynamics creating cumulative change is facilitated by this study's examination of the unique configurations of two policy changes adopted at about the same time (1985-1986), addressing the same issue of organization and governance (Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989), with overlapping jurisdictional implications, and both generating unanticipated complexities during their implementation (Taman Commission, 1991). In the context of this study's substantive focus on the policy change processes surrounding *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*, a dynamic perspective required adopting a time frame that allowed the analysis of the cumulation of the factors relevant in the adoption, implementation and outcome of the policies. In adopting this time frame, the intent was not, however, to classify events as particularly stages of activity. Instead, the following discussions analyze the conceptual issues related to processes and context raised in Chapter Two by identifying selected patterns of politics that emerged as the two policy changes were adopted, developed, implemented and some of their impacts began to emerge.

The Dynamics and Context of Policy

At the heart of a focus on policy change are the dynamics of the process. Processes "inherently involve dynamics and uncertainty" (Doern & Phidd,

1983, p. 36). There are a number of meanings ascribed to the term dynamics. In engineering it refers to forces that set things in motion. It also suggests forces that maintain an equilibrium through tension. The meaning of dynamics adopted here emerges from its Greek roots as a force or power (dynamis = power). Rose (1976) argues that "to study the dynamics of public policy is to seek to understand the forces that make for change and the forces that make government hold to a fixed policy - even when the world around it is changing" (p. 9). Policy dynamics encompasses a focus on change, a focus that has been conceptually connected to both policy and politics from the days of classical philosophers such as Heraclitus who emphasized "All is flux, nothing is stationary" (Rose, p. 8).

Applied to the study of policy undertaken here, the term "change" refers to "any kind of alteration in the world of which government is a part" (p. 8). This holistic stance is consistent with the focus on understanding the dynamics of policy. An emphasis on "cumulative inter-relatedness and temporal irreversibility" moves the mode of analysis adopted toward the dynamic end of the continuum of change (Hecllo, 1976, p. 239). In contrast to static conceptualizations which treat policy events and interactions as though they were "some universal moment," an analytical emphasis on dynamics occurs when "different static descriptions are not only compared, but are also made contingent upon each other's succession" (pp. 240- 245). Statics and dynamics can be viewed as two extremes in a continuum of change. The focus on stages or sequences that has predominated policy studies during the past decades represents a simple approach to the dynamics of policy change. The criteria for moving toward the dynamic end in policy research is the extent to which events, processes, outputs and so forth are "viewed in terms of their dependence on the cumulative influences arising from events in historic time" (p. 240). Figure 4.2 places analytical approaches to policy change along a continuum from statics to dynamics.

In addressing the need to capture the endogenous and exogenous forces interacting in the process of policy change, the IF adopts the contextual orientation to policy analysis outlined by Lasswell (1976) in which "the meaning of any detail depends ...[in turn] upon its relation to the whole context of which it is a part" (p. 218). This holistic stance is consistent with the focus on understanding the dynamics of policy change, and with current

Figure 4.2

**A Continuum of Policy Change:
Analytic Approaches and Orienting Questions**

Attribute	Steady	Comparative	Sequence	Selective	Comprehensive
Correlation	State Processes	Statics	Analysis	Reprogram- ming	Reprogramming
STATICS			DYNAMICS		
What goes with what?	How do things work, get processed?	What difference does X make to the working of things?	What are the stages of change	What are the elements of change	What are the configurations of change?

Adapted From: "Conclusion: Policy Dynamics" by H. Heclo, 1976, In R. Rose (Ed.) *The dynamics of public policy*, London: Sage, p. 247.

research on educational change which stresses the importance of context (Fullan, 1991; Berman, 1981). The IF developed in this thesis moves toward the dynamic end of the change continuum by focusing on linking the processes with contextual forces creating cumulative change in educational policy.

The influence of policy context on the course of events in policy making and on the outcomes is emphasized by most policy scholars, and particularly by those taking a policy design perspective (Linder & Peters, 1989; Schneider & Ingram, 1989). Chapter Two reviewed the systems and pluralist policy literature which proposes that events in the external environment of a policy system initiate or mediate a policy change. Other contextual factors are derived from the institutional and ideological characteristics of a policy system. It is, however, clear that contextual forces are not objective entities in themselves. That a context cannot be easily separated from the perception of it suggests that studying issues in the environment will not determine what policy responses will be made. These arguments indicate that the IF should focus on the mediating role of actors and how they interpret contextual issues and the policy problems they generate throughout the policy change process (Jenkins, 1978; Marshall, Mitchell & Wirt, 1989). The following discussions explore these influences on the interactive and overlapping processes of agenda setting, policy development, implementation and impact.

Setting the Agenda for Policy Change

Agenda-setting is commonly linked to the recognition of particular policy problems. The dominant policy analytic methods supporting the stages heuristic generally assume that the boundaries of policy problems are well defined. These models suggest policy problems come in relatively well-bounded packages which include: explicit statements of decision makers preferences, clear definitions of possible alternative actions, and models relating these preferences to alternatives in a way that enables an efficient choice of alternatives (see Stokey & Zeckhauser, 1978). Policy problems, from this perspective are seen as structured decision issues "about which enough is known so that problems can be formulated in ways that are susceptible to precise analytic methods of attack" (Mitroff, 1974, p. 224). The implicit assumption is that a single or, at the most, a few stakeholders formulate the

policy problem, generally during the initial stages of problem formulation or agenda setting.

Confirmation of such systematic alternative identification and search processes can be found in the policy making procedures developed in Ontario's cabinet committee system. As will be shown in the section of this chapter following that examines the role of institutional structures, in theory this system structures policy development process into several phases. An initial phase focuses on the development of policy alternatives. The assumption is that a policy issue may be identified within a ministry through its contacts, or by the minister, or even by the Premier. Sometimes the impetus for a policy change comes from issues that arise during an election campaign. Once governments are elected, however, institutionalized processes are set in motion which may take on a life of their own. Ideally the product of the initial phase is the preparation of a three page cabinet submission providing policy advice. The requirements of this three page document appear to formalize alternative search and identification procedures.³²

Some policies may indeed be developed through systematic alternative search procedures as implied in the theoretical literature on the cabinet committee system. In practice, however, a senior policy advisor warns against viewing the policy process, including agenda setting, as:

more systematic, more defined, more orderly, more thought-through than actually is often the case. . . [instead] it is a whole combination of circumstances that are eventually leading to whatever government policies and programs are put in place. Some of them are well thought out, have been taken through a systematic process and have led to a decision; but a lot of them are short-term reactions to problems that are assessed to be immediate and important. ³³

Emerging perspectives on agenda setting suggest that it is untidy, and best characterized by meandering problem, solution and choice opportunity streams (Kingdon, 1984). When a stream of political events overlaps with the problem and solutions stream, a policy window is opened that can be exploited by a policy entrepreneur. Commenting on the role of policy entrepreneurs, a senior government official indicated:

it's typical in the sense that almost every policy I've dealt with, that there are idea champions. They are usually very effective if they know how to persist, on the one hand, and they can see when the chance is coming on the other. Because the acceptance of ideas is a kind of chancy thing.³⁴

When problems, solutions and events combine in the typically chaotic fashion that they do, policy results are often unanticipated (Pal, 1992, p. 131). Sometimes other solutions in other streams will tag on to a choice opportunity.³⁵ Issues that manage to stay on the agenda are supported by several forces. Often macro-level pressures such as the enactment of Canada's *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* will facilitate keeping issues such as those related to minority language rights on the agenda. Sometimes an issue stays on the agenda because of the forces of inertia that commonly make policies difficult to change. There may also be a general consensus that a particular issue is of ongoing concern to the polity.

The following analyses of agenda setting suggest that this was the case in in the two policy changes studied here. Various commentators have noted that the issue of public support for Roman Catholic education has been an enduring feature of educational policy making since Confederation (*The Globe and Mail*, February 19, 1986, p. A1).³⁶ Similarly, the issue of Franco-Ontarian educational rights can be traced to the 1913 conflict over French-language schools that resulted in the passage of Regulation 17, which forbade the teaching of French in Ontario schools.³⁷ That issue has also been an ongoing policy problem for the government of Ontario. Both issues have a long history in the complex of policy problems that have faced the province. The following discussion suggests, however, that the influence of macro-level constitutional changes established a rights-based paradigm of thinking that influenced the policy changes to varying degrees. A description of the more specific context in which the policy change supporting Franco-Ontarian educational governance was adopted follows. The process of agenda setting is then examined in the very different manner by which the policy for full funding of Roman Catholic secondary education was adopted.

Macro-Level Contextual Influences on Agenda Setting

In the late 1960s a series of dynamic events occurred in other policy

systems which set the stage for both of the policy changes studied here. The most important of these events occurred at the federal level and resulted in minority language rights being enshrined in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* contained in the renewed *Canadian Constitution Act* of 1982. Although the *Charter* had the most direct influence on the provisions for French-language educational governance, it also had an impact on the challenges that were mounted against the extension of full funding for Roman Catholic secondary education.

The stimulus for these federal-level constitutional changes was the growing nationalism which swept Quebec beginning in the 1960s. Quebec nationalism, manifest in the resistance to assimilation by the English, has been a persistent fact of Canadian political culture since the British "Conquest" in 1760. During the 1960s there was a growing nationalism in Quebec which rejected the basic assumptions of Canadian Confederation, and sought instead increased provincial autonomy. Quebec separatists argued that the *BNA Act* did not define a true federalism, because it was not founded upon principle of self-determinism. Confederation, in the eyes of Quebec nationalists, "was not established by the express will of the people affected, but imposed by statute by an imperialist mother country," that is, by Britain (Le Ralliement pour l'Indépendance Nationale, cited in Jackson et al., 1986, p. 243). As Quebec nationalism grew during the 1960s and 1970s, Québécois intellectuals became divided. Some, such as Pierre Elliott Trudeau who later became Prime Minister of Canada, proposed a bilingual and bicultural Canada in which Quebec had no special status. In Quebec, however, a growing number of francophones supported separation from Canada. One of these, René Lévesque, formed a provincial political party, the Parti Québécois (PQ), which adopted political independence from Canada as its goal. In 1976, the Parti Québécois won the provincial election with the promise of holding a referendum on "sovereignty-association," that is, political sovereignty and economic association with Canada. The election of the PQ, and its introduction in 1977 of legislation designating Quebec officially unilingual French speaking, increased the French/English tensions throughout the country. The months prior to the May 1980 referendum on sovereignty-association saw these tensions escalate further.

These events had a significant impact on the relations between

francophones and anglophones in a number of small communities in Ontario.³⁸ Throughout Canada, both francophones and anglophones became polarized as the Quebec government, under the separatist Parti Québécois leader René Lévesque, announced that a referendum on sovereignty-association would take place on May 20, 1980. The lack of provisions for Franco-Ontarian educational governance in Ontario was used by the Parti Québécois (PQ) as an example of the treatment of Ontario francophones in contrast to the treatment of Quebec anglophones, who, at the time, had control over their school boards. The PQ emphasized that minorities were better treated in nationalist Quebec than in federalist Ontario (*The Globe and Mail*, April 23, 1982, p. 4).

The events in Quebec forced Canadians to reconsider their vision for Canada. For many the renewed vision meant an affirmation of bilingualism. The federal Liberal party, led by Pierre Trudeau, shared the vision of a bilingual and bicultural country, and during the referendum campaign in Quebec pledged that Canada would begin a process of "renewal," and constitutional change to address the concerns of Quebec citizens if they rejected the sovereignty-association proposal (Jackson, et al., 1986, p. 199). The citizens of Quebec did ultimately reject sovereignty-association. Subsequently, the federal government began the process of renewing federalism by conducting a series of federal-provincial conferences to discuss patriation, that is, formally gaining full decision-making power for the *Constitution* from the British parliament, and the entrenchment of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in the amended *Constitution*.

The rise of Quebec nationalism during the 1960s and 1970s had made the need for an entrenched *Charter* more urgent in the eyes of politicians, such as Trudeau, who adopted a vision of Canada as a bilingual and bicultural nation in which Quebec's status was like that of all other provinces. The Parti Québécois government, in contrast, viewed Quebec as a separate and "distinct" nation, and consequently passed *Bill 101*, defining itself as distinctly and unilingually French. *Bill 101* required that all immigrants into the province place their children in French schools regardless of their first language. This represented a fundamental denial of Trudeau's vision of Canada as bilingual and bicultural. As a remedy, he proposed that the *Charter* include a minority-language educational rights section that provided rights

for parents to have their children educated in their own official language (French or English), where the numbers of students so warranted.

Although Franco-Ontarians welcomed these educational rights provisions, they objected to the limitations imposed by the restriction of numbers contained in the proposed legislation. L'association canadienne-française de l'Ontario (ACFO) presented a brief to the special federal government committee studying the educational rights provisions in which it called for the elimination of the "where numbers warrant" limitation. The limitation did remain in the educational rights provisions contained in Section 23 of the *Charter*, but the provisions were protected against the "notwithstanding" clause that allows provincial governments to override specific rights. For Trudeau, the entrenched minority language rights contained in Section 23 were central to his vision of a Canada where both official language groups would feel at home anywhere in the country.

Quebec's Premier Lévesque, however, remained intransigent in rejecting the *Charter* provisions. The resulting failure of the provinces to reach agreement on these matters led to the federal government's threat to initiate the patriation process unilaterally. Ultimately agreement was reached among nine of the provinces that resulted in the passage of the *Constitution Act*, that was given Royal Assent on April 17, 1982, exactly 115 years after the *BNA Act* established the Canadian Confederation. Despite Quebec's opposition, the *Constitution Act (1982)* includes a *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* that protects fundamental freedoms including those of: conscience and religion, thought, belief, opinion and expression, and of peaceful assembly; as well as democratic, mobility, legal, equality, linguistic and other specific rights.

Quebec's dissent caused grave concern during the next five years, and ultimately led to the Meech Lake Accord in 1987, an agreement among provincial premiers (requiring passage by all the provincial legislatures) that was to intended gain Quebec's support for the *Constitution*. The failure of all the provincial legislatures to ratify the Accord initiated another round of constitutional bargaining that culminated in the Charlottetown Agreement, which would have granted Quebec distinct society status in the Canadian Confederation. The rejection of the Charlottetown Agreement by the Canadian people in an October 1992 referendum, the revival of separatism in Quebec, and the apparent disillusionment of Canadians with the bilingual

and bicultural policies of the federal government, confirm that tensions, which have in the past characterized the Canadian Confederation, continue to be a force of disunity in the country.

Implications of Macro-Level Contextual Impetuses for Agenda Setting

The background description at the beginning of this chapter illustrated that the desires of Franco-Ontarians and of English-speaking Roman Catholics for expanded educational provisions were constrained by the basic constitutional and legal foundation of Canada. In the case of francophones, these constraints stemmed from the lack of explicit guarantees for language rights in the *BNA Act*. The desires of Roman Catholics for educational provisions were facilitated at the elementary level by this constitutional basis. Interpretations of the lack of rights to public support for secondary education implied in the *BNA Act* by the Privy Council in the *Tiny Township* case, however, constrained Roman Catholic aspirations. Until the late 1960s the desires for educational provisions by both groups were stalemated by the stable constitutional parameters of policy making. Extensive lobbying by Franco-Ontarian groups such as ACFO resulted in a series of political decisions which progressively improved provisions for minority French-language education in the province. Expanded provisions for Roman Catholic education were also gained with the adoption of the Foundation Tax Plan, although the basic demand for full funding for separate secondary education continued to be denied by the Conservative premiers who governed the province for an unbroken period of forty years.

In contrast to the contextual forces constraining the educational demands of Ontario's Roman Catholic community, Franco-Ontarians benefitted from the impacts of federal policy changes aimed at addressing Quebec nationalism. As the product of federal-level policy changes the *Charter* signified a change in the basic constitutional structure that had previously constrained the aspirations of Franco-Ontarians for expanded educational provisions. This changed framework established the context, and set the agenda for the policy changes supporting French-language educational governance. The recognition of the right to be educated in English or French now enshrined in the *Canadian Constitution*, Section 23 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*,

had a significant impact on the policy changes supporting French-language educational governance in Ontario studied in this thesis. The following discussion examines how this contextual influence helped set the agenda for *Bill 109*.

Demands for Educational Self Governance

Unlike the Davis announcement of full funding, the announcement in July 1985, of the new Liberal government's intention to create a French-language school board was no real surprise. As the following description of the background to this policy change indicates, the announcement followed years of intense lobbying by Franco-Ontarians culminating in a successful challenge to the *Education Act* on the basis of Section 23 rights in the *Charter*.

Unlike the situation in other communities, the issue that arose in the late 1970s in the Ottawa-Carleton region was not access to French-language schooling; that principle had already been well established.³⁹ Rather, the francophones of the region demanded their own school board. Ottawa-Carleton, the national capital region, has historically had a large francophone population and a bilingual environment. In the region francophone dissatisfaction with educational governance grew during the 1960s and 1970s. Although there had been considerable expansion in French schools and instruction, francophone representation on boards of education decreased after the government's consolidation of local units in 1969. The consequence was that in many areas Franco-Ontarians lost control over their schools. From the 1960s many Ottawa-Carleton francophones had advocated, as a solution to their lack of representation, the creation of a single school board for the French-speaking population in the region. Even though this proposal had not been addressed by previous government reports on French-language education,⁴⁰ the question of an homogeneous French language board had been the focus of much informal discussion. French-language education for the over 20,000 francophone students in the Ottawa Carleton region in the late 1970s was provided in 67 schools under the jurisdiction of the four boards in the region. The programs, and authority for them, were so dispersed that francophone parents felt that they had little control over the direction of their children's education

The first official body to address this issue was the Ottawa-Carleton Review Commission of 1976, with Henry Mayo as Commissioner. The Mayo Commission was mandated to review the operational framework of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton, and although investigations of school board operations were incidental, Mayo did hear a submission by a committee of francophone parents and ratepayers. In recommending the creation of a French-language school board for the region, the group stated that: "we shall see the disappearance of Franco-Ontarians if the dispersal of children in sixty different schools controlled by four school boards keeps on" (Mayo Commission, 1976, p. 132). After undertaking an assessment of the opinions of parents of the region, Mayo recommended that "a Catholic school board for the French-speaking be set up initially, for the whole region" with a public, non-confessional sector to be added later (p. 133).⁴¹

Despite objections by Roman Catholic trustees that a language-based separate school board could not constitutionally exist with other separate school boards, Ottawa-Carleton francophone leaders were encouraged by the Mayo Report recommendations, and increased their pressure on the government for a French-language school board for the region.⁴² The issue that emerged arose because of the close relationship between francophone language and culture and the Roman Catholic religion. One former government official gives the government perception of francophone views on this issue:

The francophone lobby for governance of their own schools and classes had been going on for years. It intensified in the early eighties and I can recall quite a number of meetings between the Minister and various francophone organizations in Ontario where this question arose as to which the francophones considered more important, religion or language, and in my recall, without exception, the answer shot back every time and in some cases they didn't even wait for the question to be asked, that, 'look, what we're here to talk about is language and culture not religion.' In my mind, clearly the priority was on governance of French language schools and classes as language and culture issues, not as religious issues at all.⁴³

For francophones the issue is, however, complex. One francophone

advocate comments: "When *Bill 30* came in, there was a sense, . . . a kind of regret that if this had come 15 years ago, we would have stayed within the Catholic system, and establish French Catholic high schools."⁴⁴

In 1976 the response of the Conservative government to the Mayo Commission recommendations was negative. Premier Davis rejected the recommendations for a separate school board arguing that "Such an action would, in effect, initiate the establishment of a third separated school system in Ontario, a development which the government does not support" (Government of Ontario, December 28, 1979, p.3).

Francophone trustees responded to the government's rejection of their demands by establishing le Conseil francophone de planification scolaire d'Ottawa-Carleton (CFPS) to study and promote the formation of a French-language school board. Continuing to pressure for a French-language board, the planning committee wrote a paper emphasizing the need for continuity in secondary schooling, and calling for a homogeneous French-language school board. Support for a French-language school board was also expressed by l'association française des conseils scolaires de l'Ontario (AFCSO), the Ontario French School Board Association, and by a 1981 report from the Ministry of Education's Secondary Education Review Project.

In 1982, responding to a call for a French-language school board presented in a brief by several Franco-Ontarian groups, Premier William Davis again rejected the concept of a third system of education administration. He did, however, establish the Joint Committee on the Governance of French-Language Elementary and Secondary Education. This high-level committee recommended several alternatives for giving francophones greater governance of their schools within the existing structures which were eventually adopted by the Conservative government. The government indicated that it:

...intended to recognize the right of every French-speaking pupil to an education in the French language, removing the condition "where numbers warrant" in the provision of education for minority language pupils in Ontario. School boards would be responsible for providing the required programs and for ensuring that such pupils had adequate access to the French-language schools or classes which they had the right to attend.

These rights were also extended to English-speaking pupils in a minority-language situation. (Government of Ontario, 1983, p. 5.)

The government also proposed new legislation that guaranteed a minimum of four French-language trustees on boards with at least 500 francophone students, or where francophones made up at least 10 percent of total enrollment. The trustees, who were to be elected by French-language ratepayers under a new enumeration system, had exclusive jurisdiction over spending, teaching, and hiring for their French-language sections. In addition, a formula worked out by the Education Ministry provided for additional trustees where the French-speaking population exceeded more than 10 percent.⁴⁵

There was strong reaction to the government proposal throughout the province. The Association of Large School Boards of Ontario (ALSBO) argued that the proposals would be divisive, and Toronto School Board trustees charged that the government's proposals were "incredibly undemocratic" (*The Globe and Mail*, September 27, 1983, p. 5). The Ontario Public School Trustees (OPST) also opposed the provisions because they felt that the removal of the "where numbers warrant" criteria would put too great a financial burden on the already financially strapped boards. The government also failed to gain the support of the 19 school boards directly affected by the proposals. Some of the boards did not want more trustees elected solely to represent francophone interests and administer French-language schools. The boards were particularly concerned with the provisions which they believed would result in shifts in the balance of power within the boards, and in the administrative complexities resulting from dividing responsibilities among the public, separate and francophone trustees. The chairman of one board called the proposal "an administrative nightmare. . . which would (result in) constant conflict between the French and English trustees competing for limited resources," and the Ottawa and Carleton Boards of Education rejected the government's proposal because it failed to provide the French-language school board that they felt was required in the region (*The Globe and Mail*, September 30, 1983, p. 4).

In response to these, and other concerns of the boards affected, the government indicated, in October, 1983, that it would be prepared to consider

alternatives to its proposal. After a November meeting with the concerned boards, the government indicated that it would not proceed with its plan to guarantee francophone representation before options to the plan were examined by a joint board- government committee. Consequently, a new committee, the Minority-Language Governance Committee (Sullivan Committee) was created to study the governance of French-language schools. The Sullivan committee recommended, in February 1984, that various models of secondary school governance should be considered. One of these models was a homogeneous school board.

These events must be seen in the context of national level constitutional changes that had resulted the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* being enshrined in the Canadian Constitution. The government of Ontario's proposals were intended to bring the *Education Act* into conformity with Section 23 of the *Charter*, and, indeed, in removing the condition of "where numbers warrant" to the right of every French pupil to a French education, the proposal went beyond the requirements of the *Charter*. Despite these initiatives, Franco-Ontarian leaders and organizations felt that the provisions did not deal with their basic demand, the right for educational self governance. As a result, in May, 1983, l'association canadienne française de l'Ontario (ACFO), a Franco-Ontarian special interest group, launched a court action in the Ontario Supreme Court on behalf of parents from four Ontario communities with substantial francophone populations where the local school boards had refused requests to establish French-language facilities.⁴⁶ The francophone groups claimed that the provincial legislation conflicted with their rights under the *Charter* to manage and control French-language educational facilities in both the public and separate school systems.

In 1983, in order to speed up the judicial process, the government of Ontario referred the issue to the Ontario Court of Appeal. In June, 1984, the Court of Appeal ruled that sections of the *Education Act* violated the rights given to Franco-Ontarians under Section 23 of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, with regard to, access to, and availability of education in their mother tongue, and concerning the governance of schools for francophones. The Court of Appeal's ruling, giving Franco-Ontarians the right to manage and control their own institutions, was viewed as very significant for francophone educational rights across Canada. Andre Cloutier, president of ACFO, indicated that the court had imagined a sliding scale of management and services, depending on the size of the francophone community in a

given area. Cloutier suggested that ACFO:

...could imagine the creation of new structures, minority structures which might be independent, and in some places would mean full, independent school boards for francophones (*The Globe and Mail*, June 28, 1984, p. M2).

Francophones also recognized that the Court of Appeal did not make any recommendations on how to implement its rulings and that implementing the decision was a question of politics. This fact became very clear when the proposed legislation to allow Franco-Ontarians to elect their own school trustees was rejected by the newly elected minority Liberal government in July, 1985. The rejection was, however, based on the design of the Conservative legislation, not on the principle of educational self governance because the new Minister of Education, Sean Conway announced a new policy that would guarantee representation for francophones on every school board in the province that operated a French-language school or class. *Bill 75, An Act to Amend the Education Act*, and the *Municipality of Metropolitan Toronto Act* were subsequently passed in July 1986. The legislation was based on several assumptions including: guaranteed and proportional representation; exclusive jurisdiction over French-language/English-language instruction; financial control; and, administrative control. *Bill 75* created minority-language councils within existing school boards with the right to govern their own schools (Jakes, 1988).⁴⁷ *Bill 75* also recognized the unique needs of Metropolitan Toronto by establishing a public French-language school board under the umbrella of the Metropolitan Toronto Public School Board, a federation of public school boards in the region.

Implications of Exogenous Influences on Agenda Setting

At the same time that *Bill 75* was proclaimed in the Ontario Legislature, the Minister of Education announced that the government would support the creation of a homogeneous French-language school board for the Ottawa-Carleton region by 1988. The adoption of the policy change that resulted in *Bill 109*, was, therefore, really part of a broader government support for varying models of French-language educational governance that had begun under the Davis government. One of the interesting aspects of this policy

change is that it remained intact, at least in principle, despite the first regime change that the province of Ontario had experienced in 42 years. Significant changes in system-wide governing coalitions brought about by elections are commonly seen to be one of the set of exogenous forces driving policy change. Although the election of a new Liberal government in July 1985 interrupted the policy change process for French-language educational governance, the principle underpinning the policy idea remained fundamentally unaltered. In part this was because of the influence of constitutional changes at the federal level that resulted in the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* being enshrined in the *Canadian Constitution*.

Liberal support for the policy change was influenced, observers note, by the long term and intensive lobbying of Franco-Ontarian groups such as ACFO.⁴⁸ A long time Franco-Ontarian advocate acknowledges, however, that most of the progress that was achieved came about because "in 1982, Section 23 of the *Canadian Charter* recognized the right to minority French-language education."⁴⁹ The impetuses for Ontario's policy change must, therefore, be linked to the national-level political tensions generated over Quebec's relationship with the Canadian Confederation.

The affirmation of minority-language education rights in the *Charter* represents a federal-level codification of a belief system that supports valuing the collective rights of French-and English-speaking minorities such as Franco-Ontarians. In intergovernmental systems such as the Canadian Confederation policy changes, such as the *Charter*, occurring at one level may have indirect, but complex, influences on other levels of government. The lack of recognition for French-language education rights prior to the adoption of the *Charter* meant that in the many conflicts that occurred throughout the province francophones had to rely on public pressure tactics and the political will of the government to gain the policy changes they desired (Mawhinney, in press). Enshrining the *Charter* in the *federal Constitution* provided a new guidance instrument for Franco-Ontarians to use in seeking policy change. It must be stressed, however, that the *Charter* is a passive instrument that requires legal action on the part of groups such as francophones. One Franco-Ontarian advocate comments that French-language educational rights were not spelt out in *Section 23*, rather, francophones "had to go to court and file an action against the Ontario government."⁵⁰ These conditions underline

the complexity of influences in intergovernmental systems where events at a provincial level are influenced by events at the national level. Events in the external context of Ontario's policy system such as the adoption of the *Charter*, can generate policy changes, but only if such opportunities are interpreted and exploited by policy system actors.⁵¹ One advocate notes that the ability of francophones to exploit the opportunities of the *Charter* was enhanced by the support from federally-funded Court Challenges Programme, which until recently funded court cases on equality issues.⁵² This program is one of the levers used by the federal government to ensure policy changes consistent with fundamental rights, such as those specified in Section 23 of the *Charter*, are enacted in provincial jurisdictions.⁵³ One of the outcomes of this process is the increasing use of the courts as a forum for policy debate. As the discussion on institutional structures that follows this section of the chapter suggests, in this process the role of the courts in the educational policy system has shifted from the interpretation of policies defining rights and duties toward judicial scrutiny of policies themselves (Dickinson & MacKay, 1989, p. 1).

The preceding discussion has identified several influences on the policy change supporting a French-language school board in Ottawa-Carleton that are of relevance to the IF developed here. This analysis suggests that the concept of a distinction between the exogenous and endogenous context of a policy change is problematic in intergovernmental systems. In such systems policy changes at one level provide opportunities and may even generate those opportunities through funding levers for policy actors to influence a policy change at another level. The influences of incremental policy changes, of extensive lobbying by minority coalitions, and of constitutionally defined rights and duties illustrated in that discussion, are evident, with some variation, in the policy change extending support for Roman Catholic secondary education which is examined next.

Differing Perspectives on the Context of a Policy Announcement

To say that the announcement on June 13, 1984 by William Davis that the province intended to extend funding for Roman Catholic secondary education was a surprise, is to understate the "shock" it caused to public and separate school supporters in the province.⁵⁴ Although there was a "rumor

that the government was considering increasing the amounts of government funding to the separate system for grades nine and ten, there certainly was no warning. . . no prior consultations"⁵⁵ A Cabinet Minister at the time indicates that there was no cabinet submission paper, "no policy, it never went through the normal channels of our policy committees of Cabinet."⁵⁶ In fact, Davis has acknowledged:

I don't think that one would say that the policy statement I made in June, . . . was the creature of a lot of updated research and the normal process that you might go through in a decision of that kind. I think it is fair to state, and I will assume responsibility that this was done primarily because I felt we should do it.⁵⁷

The ministry of education, which normally would have been involved in consultation on such a significant issue, had not been involved in the decision. Betti Stephenson, the Minister of Education at the time, indicates that the ministry had concluded that extension "should never happen. . . because it would be opening reasonable requests, on the basis of the *Charter*, from all other groups of religious establishments, who wanted to have their own schools."⁵⁸ In fact, the minister and ministry officials had been working "for about a year on the unification of a system within the province" which she felt would have resulted in a "quality unified system which would make sure that everybody had the opportunity to have their religious education, not within a school program, but added to the school program."⁵⁹

Aside from the widespread debate generated by the substantive change proposed by the policy announcement, the breach in the institutionalized procedures for consultation and debate over proposals raised concerns from diverse groups. Newspaper editorials criticized the "Father Knows Best attitude" of Davis, (*The Spectator*, June, 14, 1984). Even now the announcement is described by former politicians as a process that "began totally illogically, because it was a unique and significant, unilateral decision on the part of the Premier."⁶⁰ Perhaps the most contentious criticism in this vein came from the Most Rev. Lewis Garnesworthy, Anglican Archbishop of Toronto, who became an outspoken critic of the decision to extend funding and is "credited with coalescing opposition to the plan when, shortly before the May 1985 election, he compared the decision to extend fund to a rule by decree in Nazi Germany" (*The Toronto Star*, February 20, 1986, p. A4). One of

the arguments made by these critics was that the Davis decision was an "about-face," or as one newspaper suggested "a squealing U-turn on the very stand he took against full financing of Catholic high schools in his successful 1971 provincial election" (*The Toronto Star*, July 2, 1984, p. A1).

One of the outcomes of the perception that the announcement was a unilateral decision was a widespread speculation about why the decision was taken. Critics such as Malcolm Buchanan, the president of OSSTF charged that "political expediency and vote-catching had more to do with (the announcement) than what will serve Ontario education" (*The Globe and Mail*, June, 13, 1984 p. 7). This charge was elaborated with suggestions that the move would bolster the Tories election chances in the election that was soon expected to be called. Demographic changes in Ontario during the previous decades had increased the Roman Catholic proportion of the population to more than one-third of the province's population.⁶¹ The charge was that the Conservatives wished to tap that support in some crucial areas of the province, such as Toronto where more than 40 percent of the population was Roman Catholic. Some even charged that Davis had been influenced by G. Emmett Cardinal Carter, archbishop of the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Toronto.⁶² Critics suggested that timing of the announcement of the policy change just before the visit to Ontario of Pope John Paul would heighten "the pre-election publicity points the Tories would glean from the visit of the Pope" (*Brantford Expositor*, June 15, 1984, p. 13). One columnist explained Davis's shift from opposition to full funding in 1971 to support by noting "What has changed is the demographic face of Ontario. There are 2.6 million Catholics in Ontario today, many of them having recently arrived, or, more-importantly, gained citizenship and voting rights in the past 13 years. The largest concentration of Catholic students is in Metro Toronto, where the toughest scramble for seats will erupt in the next provincial election" (*The Globe and Mail*, June 13, 1984, p. 7).

Others speculated that the announcement earlier in the month by the Roman Catholic student group called "Ontario Students For Fair Funding," led by Richard Chiarelli, that it was launching a court appeal to the Tiny Township decision, had influenced Davis to take the decision. A number of other issues were perceived as influencing the Davis decision. During the 1980s there was a perception that the separate school system was growing, and

that its schools were overcrowded. Observers have argued, however, that Davis ignored another contextual influence on education at the time; the economic conditions. Within the educational community there was a sense that the province had just come out of a period of scarce resources and was heading into another one.⁶³

Part of the reason for these speculations was that many were not satisfied with the explanation that Davis gave of his decision. Davis indicated to reporters following the announcement that the decision "had nothing to do with the Pope and it has nothing to do with any pressure from Cardinal Carter. . .thirteen years ago, it just didn't seem right, but since then, there is no question the commitment of the separate school system has improved, and I can no longer, in all conscience, continue with funding grades nine and 10, but not grades 11 through 13" (*The Toronto Star*, June 13, 1984, p. A18). Reflecting on the decision recently, Davis reiterated on the logic and consistency of the policy change. Although acknowledging that the announcement was a surprise, Dr. E. Stewart, secretary to the Davis cabinet at the time, points out that it should not have been unexpected because "the thing never went away."⁶⁴ Davis indicates that "this issue was discussed off and on at many of our Cabinet meetings, or certainly at those Cabinet meetings we had once a year where we had some outsiders in."⁶⁵ From the perspective of the former Premier the policy change was an entirely logical step consistent with the incremental policy changes that had begun with the introduction of the Ontario Foundation Tax Plan. As Davis comments "I think there are periods in history where you make certain choices, [that] lead to the inevitability of what happens next."⁶⁶ The possibility that Ontario could have moved toward a single school system started to diminish with the introduction of the Foundation Tax Plan which "reaffirmed the legal and economic position of the public separate school system."⁶⁷ The requests of the separate school boards to become part of the consolidation plan in the 1960s was "another step that made the ultimate decision more likely."⁶⁸ The next logical step toward full funding, according to Davis, came about as the result of "the conscious decision on the part of the government" to move toward total equity for grades nine and ten by equalizing the grants for those grades.⁶⁹ Stewart notes that the government responded to the efforts of the "leaders of the separate schools and the church" to consolidate their position

"to take maximum advantage of the rules that existed."⁷⁰ Davis comments that following the 1981 Conservative majority election there was no public formal request from the bishops such as had been made in 1970. At the same time he suggests:

The desire on the part of the separate school community and the church to have a reconsideration and at least a redefinition of this before the next election was there. And while there was no formal public pronouncement, I did indicate to the leaders of the church and through them the school system, that prior to another provincial general election, that I would either alter or restate or re-affirm the existing policy.⁷¹

The timing of the announcement was not, however, predicated on external events such as the Pope's visit. Rather, Davis indicates that "there was no plot to do it at that precise moment. . . [but] I wanted to do it while the House was in session."⁷² Davis emphasizes that he had discussed the decision in the past with individual members of Cabinet extensively, and when it was finally presented only one minister was in opposition. Davis notes that "it was a government decision to support it."⁷³ The actual decision, was, however, his own, and was one that he felt:

...in conscience and equity, was the right thing to do, . . . [the decision] was not predicted on whether a large percentage of the population would now support it, oppose it or whatever. It was really a case of making a decision that what was presently the situation could not be maintained and something had to be done [and] it was just as much a decision predicated on what the right thing to do for the people very directly involved was, the teachers, the students.⁷⁴

For Davis, then, the decision was one made on the basis his logical and rational assessment of previous separate school policies gained from his long experience, first as Minister of Education, and subsequently as Premier, and his conscience and judgement of the need for equity and fairness in a situation that he believed had to be dealt with.⁷⁵ In contrast, speculations by critics suggest a more political, self-interested set of motivations. As the following discussions suggest, these contrasting perspectives have a number of implications for understanding the politics of policy change.

Implications of Political Leadership and Perceptions of Legitimacy

Chapter Two outlined some of the limitations of the rational actor model to understanding the dynamics of agenda setting. Kingdon's (1984) model was proposed as an alternative that conceptualized agenda setting as occurring when a window of opportunity links a problem and solution stream. Policy entrepreneurs who are able to identify a choice opportunity are seen as crucial to this process. The agenda-setting process described here raises a number of conceptual issues not accounted for by either of these depictions. Key are the role of political leadership and the exercise of power in policy change and the decision criteria brought to bear in its exercise. The notion of policy entrepreneur does recognize the role of proactive actors in a policy change, but does not really capture the kind of political leadership exercised by Davis in this case. In pluralist models politicians are often depicted as "reactive puppets dancing on the strings of an incentives structure manipulated by others" (Mazzoni, 1991a, p. 32). Recognizing that pluralist models underestimate their impact, Mazzoni revised his "arena" model of policy change to differentiate the influence of organized elites, proactive leaders, and idea champions. The analysis here confirms an influence of political leadership akin to Mazzoni's depiction of the proactive leader's policy calculus based on "personal concerns, policy standards. . . and political advantage" (p. 32).

The perspective Davis appears to have brought to his decision making, is, however, also reflective of what Vickers (1965) calls the "appreciative dimension" of political judgement. Fischer (1980) suggests that this normative dimension of political judgement confirms the interpretive character of policy determinations. Political decisions such as Davis made when he announced full funding are rarely free from opposition nor are they the outcome of rational discussion only. Davis comments, for example, "I don't minimize the formal structure that is necessary to develop policy or policy change, there's a little more to it than that. . . I think its fair to state that some of it is instinctive."⁷⁶ Political judgements are based on instinctive assessments of the normative conflicts among a range of groups. The capacity to exercise power and authority in political decision making is required to limit the potential for immobilization because of the disagreement and conflict in a polity. Pluralist systems "grant authority and power to those who

coordinate and direct the activities of political deliberation"(Fischer, 1980, p. 76).

In Ontario's political culture there is the expectation that consultation and debate will be used to generate normative consensus in a process of political deliberation. At the same time there is a recognition that "sometimes governments just have to bite the bullet and do things that they feel should be done, whether they're going to create shorter term difficulties or not."⁷⁷ Evident in these views is the "dialectical conflict between normative consensus and the exercise of political power" which can be viewed as the capacity to make and enforce decisions in the face of major or minor opposition (p. 76). In this process of facilitating decisions, political power also generates conflicts ranging from opposition to revolution. Conflicts arise because of the alienation of those who feel that they have been excluded from the decision-making structure.

Such alienation and ensuing conflict developed in Ontario's educational policy community following the Davis announcement. In their analysis of the extension of funding, Hickcox and Li (1992) conclude that the policy change "was not brought about by the exercise of democratic procedures, by consensus or collaboration. Rather it was the result of the exercise of power by a leader who believed in the move and who had the power to make it come about" (p.30). From the perspective of many critics and some supporters of the policy change, the failure of Davis to follow commonly accepted agenda-setting procedures of consultation and debate was problematic. One public school director reflects on the opposition that emerged by noting: "We felt that to have one person with that kind of power to stand in the legislature and be able to announce the extension of full funding in separate school boards, that now has a price tag of over a billion dollars, that's too much power in one person."⁷⁸ The perception by many alienated critics was, therefore, that the decision had been a unilateral exercise of power from which their input had been excluded.

The dilemma for political decision makers is "how to increase the capacity to act without generating counter-currents so that the very movement forward will not reduce the capacity to move on this and future occasions" (Etzioni, 1968, p. 352). Although the exercise of any kind of political power requires continual effort to minimize opposition, resistance, and alienation,

the exercise of legitimate power is acknowledged to generate less resistance and thus requires less effort. Power is legitimated, according to Fischer (1980) when "those who exercise it seek to justify their decisions and actions in the context of commonly accepted beliefs and values internalized by society's members" (p. 77). In cases where value conflicts are fundamental and ideological, efforts to reach legitimate consensus require the ongoing involvement of political leaders. In the view of a senior policy advisor instances of ideological conflict require concerted efforts to manage the policy issues that emerge.⁷⁹

In the case of the extension of full funding Davis was not around to manage the issue. Davis has indicated when he made the decision on the separate school extension he did it "without knowing at that stage whether [he] would be running again or not."⁸⁰ Nevertheless, within six months he had resigned as leader of the Conservative party and was replaced by Frank Miller, who was to lead the party into a provincial election a few months later in May, 1985. The already limited legitimacy accorded the policy change by critics was further eroded by Davis's retirement. One critic comments "the Bill Davis announcement just prior to his resignation. . . was the epitome of a disaster."⁸¹ Management of political deliberation through ongoing discourse by the political leadership of a polity is required to move toward normative consensus. Such management requires that political leaders make valid judgements about norms and values in conflict, a fact recognized by Davis himself who comments that as a political leader "you're never going to be on the right side of every issue, [but] if you are doing what you think is the right thing, but not necessarily perceived as being politically acceptable, how you deal with it in terms of explanations, discussions with the public, really is every bit as relevant as the position itself."⁸²

The issue here has particular relevance for the IF developed in this thesis. As Chapter Two suggested, rational models of policy based on traditional behavioural science discount the value judgements upon which such management must proceed. The assumption is that there is no logical way of resolving value conflicts because values are not objective, and, therefore, not measurable, being based on opinion, belief and intention. Post positivist critics cited in Chapter Two take issue with this discounting of the reasoned, value-based discourse that does take place in politics. In order to facilitate

analysis and generate understanding of the nature of the normative discourse, the IF must examine the role of ideas in policy debate and argument, a task undertaken in a subsequent section of this chapter.⁸³

The issue of power and legitimacy suggested in this illustration also has relevance to the development of the IF. It can be argued that one of the purposes of an agenda-setting process that incorporates widespread consultation is to legitimate the policy change. Legitimation is particularly crucial in policy changes perceived as ideological shifts. The failure to legitimate an adoption may be a factor in ensuring that the kind of political debate often assumed to occur in agenda setting continues throughout a policy process. Rather than being a functional characteristic of agenda setting as proposed by stages models, political bargaining and maneuvering will continue through the development and implementation of a policy. It may lead, as it did in the case of the extension of full funding, to challenges to the legitimacy of the policy in public, political and legal arenas during the development and implementation of the policy change. The source, nature and impact of the challenges to the policy are described by one observer who notes that the policy change:

...caught so many people unaware and unsuspecting and a lot of those people became immediately opposed to it. They became emotionally, ideologically, administratively opposed to it, right from the very first moment. And a lot of those people were people whose cooperation and assistance would have made implementation of it an awful lot easier. Instead of that, it got their backs up and they opposed it right along the line and as you know it ended up in the Supreme Court of Canada, which is just a symptom in a sense of the kind of opposition that that policy had.⁸⁴

The preceding discussions of the interaction of exogenous contextual forces with the endogenous processes of agenda setting confirm Pal's (1992) argument that the agenda-setting process is influenced by several broad forces including structural pressures such as those that arise from the "historical, institutional, economic and social characteristics" of a political community (p. 123). In Canada, for example, much of the policy agenda has been influenced by the ethnic division between the French- and English-speaking

populations of the country. The federal government's agenda to promote bilingualism and biculturalism in response to conditions in Quebec is manifest in the *Charter*. The influence of this agenda on minority French-language education rights in Ontario highlights the links between the macro- and meso-level political contexts.

The preceding discussions also confirm that agenda setting is influenced by re-occurring institutional processes, such as the requirements that elections and party policy and leadership conferences be held at certain times. As one long time senior policy advisor to the Ontario government commented, "governments are only in power for four and five year cycles at the most, so that tends to dominate the thinking, it tends to take over on the planning process."⁸⁵ Similarly, the timing of budgets and the demands created by parliamentary sessions influence agenda setting. Inevitably agendas are also influenced by unpredictable events that may interrupt or replace a policy development process in progress, as was the case with the proposal for unified school boards that Stephenson's Ministry of Education staff were working on at the time of the Davis announcement.⁸⁶ These influences confirm that the agenda-setting process is at the least "untidy" (Doern and Phidd, 1983, p. 102).⁸⁷ They suggest that the IF must acknowledge that multiple influences and interpretations of problematic conditions during agenda setting will continue to influence the process of policy development and design discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Policy Development and Design

The development and design of a policy to meet the goals set in a government's agenda are depicted as administrative matters in the rational models of policy described in Chapter Two. In the rational model, once a policy direction has been articulated it is assumed that a systematic process of selecting instruments to fulfill the requirements of implementation will be undertaken. In the model of policy development assumed in the cabinet submission, the basic design of a policy will have been developed by ministry officials before the policy is sent to Cabinet for approval. In this idealization, officials will have drawn from four basic instruments in responding to the policy problem that initiated the agenda-setting process. As suggested in

Chapter Two, policy makers can set rules, or they can conditionally transfer money, they can invest in future capacity, or they can grant or withdraw authority (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987). These choices respectively carry the potential for specific effects: compliance, production, capacity or authority.

One senior government official noted that in this idealized version:

you work on implementation as a policy develops; you imagine limitations as the policy develops; you start working with the people who might be responsible for the implementation as the policy develops; so by the time the policy is announced and put in place, implementation can begin. And you sort of cleared a lot of hurdles in advance. That almost never happens, although everybody agrees it should; it almost never does, for a whole variety of reasons.⁸⁸

One of the reasons this depiction of an orderly and systematic process of policy development fails is because it belies the very nature of government intervention through policy making. Viewed from a broader perspective, governments, by virtue of their vested and legitimate authority, are responsible for maintaining or changing patterns of social behaviour on behalf of the public good. In fact, it can be argued that "government itself may be seen as a grand instrument of conscious, collective action" (Pal, 1992, p. 139). Applied to government policy making, the term "instruments" implies the use of devices or techniques, or "means through which the ends of political life are achieved" (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 111). Policy instruments are, therefore, more than techniques, they are imbued with value, and represent ends in themselves. Because they alter the process and content of policy making, they are the focus of some political dispute. Disputes arise over the nature and extent of the responsibility of government, the instruments they use to fulfil this responsibility, and, as the case of the decision to extend full funding to Roman Catholic secondary schools illustrates, over the legitimacy of government policy making. In sum, as the following discussion suggests, the idealization of policy development and design just outlined fails to take into account the contingencies that commonly impose unexpected constraints on the process.

Design and Development Through Political Conflict

The development and design of *Bill 30* has been called "backward," "non rational," and "atypical" by observers and actors who had been involved in these processes. The Davis announcement had provided only the basic principles that the policy would follow. These included:

- the introduction of support for secondary education, one year at a time, beginning in September 1985;
- the maximum use of existing school facilities;
- the protection of secondary teachers against the discriminatory hiring practices of Roman Catholic school boards; and
- the acceptance of universal access to their secondary schools by separate school boards.

In order to facilitate the planning and implementation of this policy the Premier announced the creation of a Planning and Implementation Commission (PIC) "to guide and advise" the government on changes to the *Education Act*. PIC, as the commission became known, was also to receive and adjudicate plans submitted by the Roman Catholic boards wishing to extend and to conduct arbitrations arising out of the sharing or transfer of facilities. Davis also announced the creation of two other commissions: The Commission of Inquiry into Financing Schools, and the Commission on Private Schools in Ontario. The decision to use these commissions was to prove vital to the development and design of the policy. In the face of the challenges to the policy decision's legitimacy in the public, political and judicial arenas these commissions provided some structure and stability. Initial reaction to the announcement was, however, so intense that many observers have suggested it clouded the development and design of the policy.

Challenges in the Public Arena

The initial challenges to the legitimacy of the policy announcement came from the public school supporters, particularly the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF). OSSTF indicated it was "shocked & dismayed" and charged that the announcement was "motivated by political expediency and vote-catching" (*The Globe and Mail*, June 13, 1984, p. 7). OSSTF saw the

policy change as a challenge to the quality of services for students in public schools and called on the government to create single school boards. Other challenges came from private school groups such as Renaissance International, a fundamentalist Christian group who charged that "limiting government financing to schools of one Christian denomination is wrong and in intent, it is just as ugly as discrimination" (p. 7). Trustees from public school boards also challenged the decision. The chair person of the Metro Toronto School Board indicated "I've never believed in public funding for a private system. And if there isn't equal opportunity for access, there shouldn't be public support" (p. A1). Public school supporters such as OSSTF were particularly frustrated by what they perceived to be the real issue, which they saw as "arbitrary decision making and the denial of democratic decision making in Ontario."⁸⁹ Surprisingly, these concerns were shared by some separate school supporters.

Initial reaction to the announcement in the separate school community was also shock and some wariness of the policy change. The former executive director of OECTA warned the separate school community in 1985 that Davis made quite clear in his announcement that the policy change was a "grace and favour decision by himself and no-one else" (Griffin, 1985, p.35). An extremely important issue for some advocates in 1985 was that in his announcement Davis "did not recognize the validity of the Roman Catholics' claim that they were legally entitled to such funding under the *BNA Act*" (p. 35). The fear was that decisions based on political expediency could be easily changed.

Some leaders in the separate school community realized that the policy change would require restructuring OECTA, the Roman Catholic teachers association. The need was driven in part by the model provided by OSSTF's very strong advocacy for secondary school teachers in the province. It was felt that OECTA's structure would have to reflect a similar advocacy if it were to be viewed as an effective association by secondary teachers. Professional development programs would have to be organized, and teacher welfare departments dealing with qualifications would have to be expanded. An issue that arose immediately for the separate school community was the rights of full funding for private and other denominational schools. Some supported the right for other denominational schools to public funding, but

rejected any support for private schools (Griffin, 1985, p. 35).

Other concerns relating to the employment of non-Catholic teachers in separate school boards were to become a major issue in the policy debates that followed. Noting that "the *Charter of Rights* gives Catholic schools the right to insist on the employment of teachers who profess the Catholic faith", an OECTA official argued early in the debate that "Davis cannot compel Roman Catholic school boards to hire non-Catholic teachers in defiance of the *Charter*" (Griffin, 1985, p. 35). For many, this issue went to the heart of the purpose of Roman Catholic schools – to the Catholicity of the system. Responding to critics who proposed that religion could be taught in separate classes, separate school advocates argued that "it is not sufficient, as anyone well-versed in the philosophy of Catholic education knows, to have Catholic teachers teach a 40-minute period of religion two or three times a week" (p. 35). In the view of most leaders, the Catholicity of the system could only be maintained through discriminatory hiring of Roman Catholic teachers. At the same time they recognized that many separate school boards already had non-Catholics on staff, many of whom were there by choice and were familiar with the Roman Catholic philosophy of education.

Another issue of concern for separate school leaders that arose following the policy announcement was the proposal for a unified school board that was revived with some force by critics of extension. Roman Catholics saw the proposal that a joint school board should operate both public and separate school systems as dangerous. Some felt that cooperation among trustees would be impossible and such a structure could only lead to injustice for Roman Catholic schools (Griffin, 1985, p. 35).

The issues of discriminatory hiring and unified school boards were also of central concern to the OSSTF, one of the most vocal groups to become involved in the debate. Within hours of the announcement the president of the 35,000 member federation, Malcolm Buchanan, issued a press release expressing shock and questioning whether "communication exists within the Ontario Cabinet" (OSSTF News Release, June 12, 1984). OSSTF at that time called for a single school board, a theme that it would return to throughout the debates that followed. Within days, the OSSTF had begun to identify key

issues of concern for its members. The federation challenged the policy announcement's stipulation that separate boards must agree to suspend for a 10-year period their historic hiring on the basis of religion. OSSTF called on member associations of the umbrella Ontario Teachers Federation to reject any time limit on a non-discriminatory hiring (OSSTF, News Release, June 18, 1984).

By June 25 the OSSTF position was clarified when Buchanan wrote to Davis indicating that "OSSTF is gravely concerned that your decision will weaken a public school system which is already experiencing acute dislocation caused by declining enrollment and provincially imposed financial restraints. . . . We seek guarantees that our members' job security is protected and that they are not discriminated against on religious grounds."⁹⁰ In a responding letter, Davis reiterated the principles he had announced: "Regarding your concern that the public school system will be weakened. . . I stressed, in the second principle, that we must not undertake a course of action which would cripple or limit the viability of our public secondary school system."⁹¹

The OSSTF also sought the support of their traditional allies, the NDP. Bob Rae, leader of the party, responded to this request by indicating:

Let me say in particular that your continued insistence on the objective of a single public board of education in each geographic area puts you at odds not only with the NDP, but with every political party, as well as with the Constitution of Canada. It is not a question of being bound by 'old positions in history.' It is a question of recognizing the history and Constitution of Ontario and Canada and of coming to terms with the reality of there being two public school systems in the province of Ontario.⁹²

With political avenues closed because of the three party agreement to the policy change, the OSSTF began to explore the possibility of a legal challenge. On June 28, OSSTF asked their legal counsel to seek opinions on "the feasibility and direction that might be taken to challenge the new thrust under the *Canadian Constitution* and/or the *Charter of Rights*. . . [or] if there might be some possibility of proceeding to the Ontario Supreme Court."⁹³ Legal counsel advised that the Attorney General had the prerogative to

initiate a reference to the Court of Appeal and advised that "considering the legal alternatives available and the time for which it takes the Court system to function, . . . the political approach will provide the Federation with better opportunities for protecting its members."⁹⁴ Faced with these political and legal constraints, the OSSTF and all the other stakeholders were forced to turn to the three commissions created by Davis in the extension announcement.

The Commission as an Instrument for Developing Policy

By creating two additional commissions to address some of the concerns about financing and support for private schools that emerged as a result of the announcement of full funding, the Davis government splintered the opposition. This cleared the way for PIC to proceed to develop and implement the policy change without having to address funding issues or the concerns of private school supporters. In addition to their difference in substantive focus, the commissions also differed in their mandate. PIC was given a specific and active mandate to advise the minister on the best means of implementing the policy and to develop, receive and evaluate multi-year implementation plans from Roman Catholic boards wishing to extend services.

In part, the more active role that PIC took in developing, arbitrating and implementing the policy change compared to the other two commissions came about because of this mandate. PIC also became particularly important because of interrelated events in the political arena. Shortly after the policy change was announced, Davis decided to retire from provincial politics. The Minister of Education, Betti Stephenson, by her own admission was not a strong supporter of the decision. Although she selected the Commissioners for PIC, there was little development of the policy within the Ministry during the months following the announcement. By January, Stephenson had been moved to another portfolio, and for the first time in decades the ministry started into a series of rapid turnovers of Ministers. The education portfolio had in the past been held by individuals for years. One former ministry official comments on the impact of these changes:

We had thereafter for the next several months a whole series of ministers of education with very short tenures. They

successively had the job of starting to get legislation going to implement the announcement of the premier. Each of the ministers who came in had a somewhat different political view of how it should go. So we found that we were discussing the issues about how we would go about it with each of these ministers.⁹⁵

Ongoing policy development is clearly linked to stable political leadership. Moreover, policies often reflect the particular political bias of a minister. If a minister does not support a particular policy direction it is possible that a development process may be stalled. When a policy is as contentious as the extension of funding was, the need for stable and committed leadership is compounded. In the case of the extension of funding this rapid change of ministers left the policy "in tatters" by the time the Tories were defeated.⁹⁶

In the vacuum of the twelve months between the announcement and the election of the Liberals, PIC began to develop and design the policy. One official with the commission comments: "In the absence of anything, we just went ahead and started making decisions and started moving, and all we really had was the Premier's statement."⁹⁷ A key factor in the decisiveness of PIC were the commissioners, and the chair person, W. Newnham, who observers credit with moving the process along.⁹⁸ Betti Stephenson comments that she selected the commissioners to ensure there was a "good balance between Roman Catholics and those who supported the public system, and an educator who had a lot of experience in dealing with problematical errors and difficulties."⁹⁹ The choice of commissioners to represent the stakeholders was important for enhancing the legitimacy of the policy change in the eyes of the educational policy community. The actions of the commission were even more important for developing the legitimacy of the policy change. Recognizing the need for the public to have some input the first decision of the commission was to hold meetings around the province to hear representations. The concerns of the community thus were able to find an official focus.

These concerns focused on obvious kinds of problems, such as those of accommodation and funding. Public school teachers identified problems related to job security, and separate secondary school teachers were concerned with being identified in bargaining with elementary teachers. Many

francophones were concerned that the policy change would fragment their community. One of the broader debates concerned the kind of secondary education that might emerge as a result of extension. A former PIC official comments that the existing model for private Roman Catholic secondary schools had been academic. Separate school boards were reluctant to move into technological studies because of the capital costs involved. Public school boards were concerned that broad comprehensive programs for all students would be threatened.¹⁰⁰ Most of these concerns were beyond the powers of the commission to address as they required a political or legal intervention. Nevertheless, they did allow members of the community who felt that they had not been consulted to have some input. One of the more subtle results was that these hearings provided the stakeholders with a first run at clarifying their arguments in support or against policy change.

Consistent with their mandate, PIC also began to develop a submission procedure for separate school boards to request approval to extend services for secondary education. Once these procedures had been established PIC began to develop criteria for approval. One of the requirements was that separate boards consult with their coterminous public boards regarding teacher, pupil and building transfers.¹⁰¹ A former official comments that "as an instrument of policy change, PIC was successful in harnessing the elements necessary to reconstruct a new order out of the chaos created by the Davis announcement."¹⁰² It did this by "writing policy" as it proceeded to learn about elements of the change through a case-by-case analysis. This involved a process of learning and revision. One of the questions that arose in these cases was what constituted a viable school. Confronted by the problem of small schools, the commissioners initially relied on their past experience. Most of the commissioners were from urban centres and were familiar with large systems where the norm for a viable school was a population from 800 to 1000 students. Those commissioners from rural areas brought a contrasting view of viability. Over the period of three years, through analysis and as elements of program delivery and problems of viability were confronted on a case-by-case basis, the commissioners' views changed.

PIC's role in policy development provides a clear contrast to the dominant

policy models which fail to acknowledge the problem-oriented process of policy-oriented learning that can effectively guide policy change. In the absence of strong political direction in the Ministry of Education, PIC proceeded to "lay down some of the ground rules and regulations that would govern extension. . .and to implement the change."¹⁰³ By July 1985 the commission had submitted to the Ministry approvals of plans for extension for several boards with no legislation in place.¹⁰⁴ One former PIC official indicates that part of the problem was that up to that point "there was no one in the Ministry pushing ahead and taking responsibility."¹⁰⁵

The Impact of Regime Change on Policy Design and Development

During the year following the announcement, legislative officials analyzed input from PIC in relation to the requirements of the Constitution and the policy statement by Davis, and produced nine drafts for the various Conservative Ministers of education. Ministry officials confirm, however, that it was not until the election of the minority Liberal government of David Peterson and the appointment of Sean Conway as Minister of Education that the Ministry began to assert control over the policy change process. The speed with which the government announced its plans for the policy change was made possible because of the accord the Liberals had signed with the NDP to vote against the minority Conservative government's Throne Speech.¹⁰⁶ Part of the accord was an agreement to get legislation for the policy change in place before the first year of extension occurred. The three-party agreement on the policy change facilitated this objective. The new Liberal government announced three mechanisms that would move the policy change forward. Responding to the demands by public school supporters, the government referred the draft legislation to the Ontario Supreme Court for judicial review of its constitutionality. The draft legislation was also referred to a Select committee of the legislature which was instructed to undertake a "full, open, fair and unfettered hearing" (*The Toronto Star*, July 3, 1985, p. A1). Finally, the new government announced that implementation of the policy change would begin in the fall as promised in the original announcement.

In establishing these mechanisms for generating legitimacy, the Liberals responded to the intense debate over the issue that had continued unabated

since the announcement. Two new arenas for debate were established by the Liberal policy statement, both of which required draft legislation to pass second reading in the Legislature: a political arena of public hearings and a judicial arena for constitutional review. The tradition of Cabinet solidarity and strong caucus control ensured that MPP's who were critical of the policy change would honour the three-party agreement. The announcement of full public hearings was meant to address the demands of frustrated critics who felt that they had been denied access to a full debate in the legislature during the previous year. The three party agreement on the policy direction, and the accord between the Liberals and the NDP ensured support for the draft legislation as it passed second reading, and was referred to the Select Committee for public hearings on July 4, 1985.

The new government was able to produce draft legislation in a short time by drawing from the policies and procedures developed by PIC and drafted by the Ministry. Many of the provisions in the draft legislation were intended to protect teachers affected by the policy change. During the previous year much public debate between OSSTF and the separate school community had focused on the question of whether non-Catholic teachers declared redundant because of the transfer of students from public school boards to separate school boards, would be hired by those boards. OSSTF had estimated initially that "8,600 teachers in the public school system may lose their positions."¹⁰⁷ Although G. Emmett Cardinal Carter stated "I do not see the inclusion of a certain number of non-Catholic teachers on our staffs as being a fatal blow to our convictions" (*CT Reporter*, April, 1985, p. 37). Other bishops had argued, however, that Roman Catholic teachers were required for separate schools, and the numbers of non-Roman Catholic teachers would, therefore, be limited. The draft legislation tabled by the Liberal government forbade discrimination based on religion in the hiring of public school staff that had been declared redundant because of the change.

The legislation addressed another issue that had been widely debated during the preceding year, that was the issue of whether non Roman Catholic students would be admitted to separate high schools if they so desired. For the Roman Catholic community, open access presented a threat to the basic philosophy of Catholicity that guided separate schools. Public funding, however, carried the responsibility for providing access to all. In general, the

view expressed by G. Emmett Cardinal Carter was shared in the separate school community. Cardinal Carter indicated that non-Catholic children may, under suitable conditions, seek education in separate schools (p. 37). The draft legislation outlined those conditions by mandating that "any student can attend a Catholic high school if senior school board administrators certify that there is space available," a similar reciprocal right applied to Catholic students attending public schools (*The Globe and Mail*, July 5, 1985, p. 7).

Although funding had been a concern of all stakeholders, the draft legislation dealt only with transferring the portion of tax revenues that in the past Roman Catholic rate payers had paid to public boards, to the separate boards as soon as the legislation was approved. The government was in the convenient position of having already established the Commission on Finance which was proceeding slowly in its hearings. Hickcox and Li (1992) conclude that "its slow progress diffused much of the concern, or rather made it difficult for either side to use financial arguments as a basis for favouring or opposing the government action" (p. 11).

Support from all three parties in the legislature allowed the draft to move swiftly to second reading¹⁰⁸ enabling public hearings by the Select Committee to proceed. Although the committee drew from all three parties, the general agreement on the legislation reduced the normal conflict that might have occurred.¹⁰⁹ Ministry officials normally attempt to integrate the ideas presented in such hearings into recommendations for the minister. In the case of the hearings on the extension legislation this became difficult because, according to one former political advisor, they stretched on for four and a half months and drew submissions from the many individuals and groups who needed to vent their views.¹¹⁰ The positions of some presenters were so polarized that it was difficult for ministry officials to reconcile them into recommendations. Nevertheless, in assessing the impact of the hearings one former government advisor comments that the hearings served a number of purposes:

...at least one of those purposes was political. People had a great need to get on the record. They needed to show up and state their position on this, pro or con. . . And there is a great benefit to giving people the opportunity to come and speak their

piece.¹¹¹

Some submissions, particularly those of the OSSTF, were complex analyses written with the guidance of legal council. The advantage of those submissions was that they "identified the problems and the situations that needed to be addressed."¹¹² The major stakeholder groups presented briefs and position papers that were useful in the policy development. Ministry officials were meeting with stakeholder groups outside the committee hearings to clarify amendments.

The hearings themselves resulted in two amendments to the legislation, the most important amendment, initiated by NDP member Richard Allen, resulted in section 136 (1a) of the *Education Act* which allows separate boards to engage in discriminatory hiring practices for 10 years before having to conform to human rights protections. The amendment is seen as a piece of unfinished business by the separate school community, which believes that the requirement that they open hiring to anyone that applies for a position after 1995 denies their Constitutional rights.

Legitimizing Policy Intent and Design

While the Standing Committee on Social Development was holding hearings between July 16, 1985 and December 18, 1985, several legal challenges were also under way. Although these challenges had no direct influence on policy development, they did provide a means for the government and the public school community to assess and clarify the legitimacy of the policy provisions in the legislation. The first involvement of the courts came after a year of debate within the educational community over whether the change was constitutional. In January 1985, the Metropolitan Toronto School Board decided to launch a constitutional challenge to the Davis government's policy change. Responding to this decision, in July, 1985, one of the first acts of the new Liberal government was to announce that draft legislation for the extension of funding would be referred to the Ontario Court of Appeal for a ruling on whether it conformed to the *Constitution* and the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. While this case was being heard, the minority government, with the support of the NDP, announced that it would extend public financing by Cabinet decree to Roman Catholic high schools for grade 11,

beginning in September 1985. Public school supporters, led by the OSSTF and the Metropolitan Toronto Board, initiated action in the Ontario Supreme Court to stop the grants arguing that the government did not have the authority to extend its financing to Catholic high schools by Cabinet decree.

In November 1985, the Supreme Court supported the appeal and granted an injunction to stop the provincial government's funding of grade 11 classes in separate schools. Mr Justice J. Potts argued that Minister of Education Conway had "bypassed both the democratic and judicial controls on the exercise of government power" by initiating financing without waiting for a court ruling on the constitutional validity of the scheme (*The Globe and Mail*, November 19, 1985, p. A1). The court called for a hearing before the full Divisional Court on the legality of the government's action. The government responded immediately by requesting a judicial review of the legality of using a Cabinet order to authorize the grants. The three-judge Divisional Court panel heard applications by both separate and public school supporters before deciding that the government could provide the funding through grants because disruption of the educational system was "to be avoided at all costs" (*The Globe and Mail*, December 19, 1985, p. A2). Within hours the Metropolitan Toronto School Board had obtained a court order prohibiting the funding until an appeal court could determine the legality of funding by grant. On December 20, 1985, that appeal was turned down by a panel of the Ontario Court of Appeal, allowing the government to fund the 38 separate school boards who had established grade 11 classes earlier in the fall.

On February 18, 1986, the Ontario Court of Appeal, in a split three-two decision, ruled on the constitutionality of the draft legislation referred by the Liberal government. The majority ruling argued that the legislation did not violate the *Charter* but rather that it attempted to keep the promises made at Confederation which recognized the "special or unequal rights for specific religious groups in Ontario." The two dissenting judges ruled that the legislation was inconsistent with the *Charter*, noting that "If the *Charter's* right to equality without discrimination on religious grounds is to mean anything, it must mean at least that the followers of one religion are not to (receive) greater benefits. . . by law than the followers of other religions" (*The Globe and Mail*, February 19, 1986, p. A1).

The split decision encouraged the Metropolitan Toronto School Board and OSSTF to continue their court challenge by initiating an appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. This court challenge occurred while the Standing Committee on Social Development was holding hearings, and PIC was requesting plans and sending out information to boards in the province. The commissions on financing education and on private schools were also active at this time. In addition, within months of taking office, the Liberal government had passed *Bill 75* requiring that French-Language Advisory Councils be set up in boards with French-language students. The demands of the court actions, the commissions, and the legislation, placed great strain on the policy resources of boards and stakeholder groups throughout the province.

A Classic Policy Development Process

The key implication for the IF that is evident in the development of *Bill 30* is the confirmation that the politics surrounding a policy announcement may influence its design and implementation. Similarly, the design of a policy may also influence the politics of a policy change, as was the case when *Bill 109* was developed. In contrast to the broad concern the announcement of full funding raised in the educational policy community of Ontario, the government recognition of Franco-Ontarian educational governance rights, and particularly the development of legislation creating the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board was of concern to a small minority in the province. Unlike the atypical development of the extension policy, the design and development of *Bill 109* incorporated many of the classic procedures that the literature on change suggests are critical to successful implementation. The policy was designed to meet a generally agreed-upon goal for a specific context by local stakeholders following extensive consultation (Fullan, 1991, Berman, 1981). Despite these procedures, in the three years since it was passed *Bill 109* has come to be seen by some francophones as "an absolutely atrocious model," that has produced a "three-headed beast" of a school board.¹¹³ Observers agree that this product is the result of the design and development of the policy.

Unlike the extension policy which was developed in the vacuum of the transition between Conservative and Liberal regimes, the development of

Bill 109 followed the tabling of *Bill 75*, the legislation creating French Language Education Councils (FLECs) throughout the province. Although there was long-standing support for the idea of a French-language school board by all school boards in the Ottawa-Carleton region, the Conservative government had repeatedly rejected the plan, maintaining that francophones should be accommodated within either the public or separate school systems. It was not until December, 1985 that Liberal Minister of Education Sean Conway announced that the government would create a French-language school board in the Ottawa-Carleton region. In order to plan for the new French-Language School Board, on January 23, 1986, the government created the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language Advisory Committee, chaired by former MPP Albert Roy, to recommend a plan for establishing the board in time for the 1988 municipal elections. Not unlike *Bill 30's* PIC, the Committee was mandated to give advice on setting up the new French-Language School Board (FLSB).

In forming its recommendations, the Committee consulted a wide range of documents, including briefs and reports from groups and associations directly concerned with the creation of the new board, as well as documents from the Government of Ontario, and the reports of related commissions. It also consulted with educators, members of the public and constitutional experts.¹¹⁴ Meetings were also held with the four Ottawa Carleton school boards and other interested groups.¹¹⁵ The Committee was particularly influenced by a paper prepared by Pierre Foucher, a constitutional expert from the Faculty of Law at the University of Moncton, New Brunswick, which stressed the legal and theoretical aspects of establishing a French-language school board. It also referred to the plan for a French-language school board in the Ottawa-Carleton region designed by Maurice Lapointe.

The Committee noted that it had been guided by two constitutional imperatives:

- Section 23 of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* (minority language education rights);
- Section 93 of the *Constitution Act* of 1982 (the rights of Roman Catholics to a religious education). (The Roy Committee, 1986, p. 25.)

Given these constitutional obligations, and in response to the long-standing wishes of the francophone population of the Ottawa-Carleton region, the Government of Ontario decided to bring all francophones together under one board. The Committee's responsibility was to propose a structure for a French-language school board that respected equally linguistic and religious rights (p. 25)

In the context of these guidelines, the Committee made 73 recommendations addressing a broad range of issues. The Committee recommended that the Ottawa-Carleton FLSB have two sections, a Roman Catholic section and a public section; and that the first task of the new board would be to determine the responsibilities of the board as a whole, and those of the sections. In specifying the board's decision-making process, the Committee recommended that the new board's voting procedures for the division of responsibilities should include a provision which ensures that the constitutional rights of the two sections would be respected. The Committee, therefore, recommended that a double-majority vote, or a simple-majority vote of each section of the board, could be used to fulfill those rights. Candidates for the FLSB would have to qualify either as Roman Catholic trustees, or as public school trustees, and that a total of 18 trustees would be elected. The allocation of the trustees to each section, public or separate, would be on the basis of francophone population, with a minimum of five trustees representing the smaller section.

Consistent with the recommendations of the Roy Committee, in January 1987, the Minister of Education established an Implementation Committee headed by Maurice Lapointe and composed of a member of the FLEC's of each of the four boards in the region, and a member of the English section's of each board. The report by this Advisory committee formed the basis for the legislation creating the French-Language School Board of the Regional Municipality of Ottawa-Carleton. In drafting the legislation the Ministry was confronted with the difficulty of reconciling Section 23 *Charter* rights with Section 93 constitutional rights. Because of this complexity, rather than amending the *Education Act*, it was decided to create a free-standing bill.¹¹⁶

By March 9, 1988 draft legislation had been prepared and sent to concerned groups and the Ottawa-Carleton school boards for comment by March 26, 1988. On April 12, the Minister of Education, Chris Ward, tabled *Bill 109*,

establishing a French-Language School Board in Ottawa-Carleton. Ward told the legislature that the creation of the FLSB demonstrated the "historic commitment of this government to the educational rights of Ontario's francophone minority" (*The Globe and Mail*, April 12, 1988, p. A10). The legislation created a FLSB with two sectors, public and separate, that have exclusive jurisdiction in most matters, but share some responsibilities. Under the bill each sector was given jurisdiction over planning, financing, educational matters, hiring and firing teachers, issuing debentures, raising money, and receiving funds from municipalities and the province. The full board was given jurisdiction over establishing and maintaining a head office, its administrative services, and providing and maintaining buildings and equipment.

During the hearing held by the Standing Committee on Social Development following second reading of the Bill, a number of issues were raised that anticipated some of the implementation and impact problems that subsequently emerged. The two main concerns centered on the issues of the constitutional rights of Catholics to govern their own schools and the funding provisions for the new board. One of the issues raised was whether the Bill infringed on the constitutional rights of Catholics to govern their own schools. The Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Board (ORCSSB) and the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association (OECTA) voiced concerns about the unified structure of the board at the hearings. The view of English Catholics was that it would have been better for the French community if two French-language school boards had been established, one public and one separate.¹¹⁷ The provisions for the transfer of school facilities to the new board were seen as likely to cause controversy. Another complexity was the transfer of personnel from the four Ottawa-Carleton boards to the new board. A further issue was that of financing. The legislation proposed that the public and Catholic sectors of the new board would share in grants and would be entitled to a share of local property taxes. Francophone groups expressed fear that there would be insufficient financial support under the new board to maintain the quality of programs and services available to French-language students in the four existing boards in the region.

In responding to the concerns expressed at the Standing Committee

hearings, the Minister of Education discounted English Catholic fears by arguing that the legislation respected the constitutional rights of Catholics while affirming the minority language rights given to francophones in the 1982 *Charter of Rights and Freedoms*. The Minister responded to the concerns of members of the francophone community that there should be financial guarantees by indicating that the government would ensure the same quality by providing special temporary grants (*The Globe and Mail*, April 12, 1988, p. A 10). On June 22, 1988, *Bill 109* was passed by the Legislative Assembly without any of the amendments requested by francophones and Roman Catholics. Although there was general celebration in the francophone community, the concerns over the umbrella structure and financing soon became real problems for the two sectors of the board.

Implications of the Politics of Policy Development and Design

The processes by which the policy that became known as *Bill 30* was developed have been called atypical because the extensive consultation on policy proposals and their subsequent revision followed the policy announcement. Similarly *Bill 109* is viewed as atypical legislation in that it was designed specifically for the unique Ottawa-Carleton context. The very uniqueness of these policy development processes is, however, a particularly useful vehicle for clarifying key elements of the IF developed in this thesis.

Both cases illustrate that government's will rely on special commissions and committees to design policies for unique circumstances. In drawing on the expertise of members of the educational community to undertake this policy development, the government extends its capacity and enhances the legitimacy of the policies developed. The analysis also suggests that instruments such as a commission can provide the flexibility needed to develop complex policies that must take into account the diverse context of boards throughout the province. PIC, for example, began the case-by-case process of developing the policy through a kind of problem-oriented, policy learning process. Lacking a true mandate to formally demand compliance from boards, PIC drew upon the legitimacy which was accorded the commissioners by the educational policy community in moving forward with planning and developing key elements of the policy.¹¹⁸ The IF must, therefore, recognize that leadership and decisiveness are critical as a policy is

developed, just as it is in agenda setting.

The preceding analysis of the development of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* also suggests that in order to understand the dynamics of policy change, the IF must take into account the discontinuities created by changes of Ministers, and regime changes. In the case of *Bill 30* these changes stalled the development that would normally have taken place in the ministry. PIC, in this circumstance effectively filled the vacuum and began to develop the policy. Lacking the legitimate authority of a government to flow funds, PIC could only develop plans and procedures. Without the political will and commitment that was provided by the Liberal government and the Minister of Education, Sean Conway, the policy change could have stalled. Highlighting the political nature of policy change, this suggests that the IF must recognize the saliency of leadership that emerges in the public, the commission and the political arenas. And, as the following discussion of implementation processes suggests, the IF must recognize that in the design of a policy the choice of instruments establishes the context in which the politics of implementation emerge.

Implementation

The review of the literature on implementation in Chapter Two suggests that the implementation gap that existed in models of policy prior to the extensive interest and research on the process in the past three decades has narrowed. Top-down models have provided criteria for effective implementation, such as financial resources, political support, and coherent legal structure, and understanding of the target group's incentive structure (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1983). Bottom-up models describe the local implementation networks involved in a policy area and focus on the strategic interaction among multiple actors in a network (Hjern et al., 1978). Top-down approaches argue that implementation capacity is enhanced when there are few organizations involved, and the administrative structure is hierarchical and well-integrated, rather than being dispersed throughout a number of bureaus. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973), for example, found that the "complexity of joint action" increased the number of clearance points and impeded implementation. Mazmanian and Sabatier (1983) conclude that "one of the best-documented findings in implementation literature" is that a

"degree of hierarchical integration" is crucial to policy success (p. 27). These conclusions appear overly simple in the context of research in the bottom-up tradition which has found that complicated, multi-unit structures may encourage success during implementation (O'Toole & Montjoy, 1984).

These differing perspectives suggest that implementation is influenced by organizational structure. For the IF developed in this thesis, however, the question is how? Much of the ambiguity evident in many of the recent attempts to clarify this question has arisen because process and output have not been distinguished. As the discussion of impact that follows suggests, perceptions of implementation success are interpretive. It is possible to incorporate processes that appear to contribute to successful implementation without achieving that goal in the end. It appears that the capacity to produce action is not necessarily the same as the capacity to achieve results (Goggin et al., 1990). Implementation theory taking a bottom-up perspective explains this apparent contradiction by underlining the importance of "matching implementation structure to the real, practical nature of the policy problem to be dealt with if implementation outputs, and eventually outcomes, are to be satisfactorily achieved" (p. 125). Sometimes implementation may require substantial discretion in order for the policy problem to be addressed effectively.

The conceptual issues raised by these perspectives concern the nature of control, guidance, and complexity in multi-actor policy communities. In describing the nature of control and complexity in educational policy change, Elmore (1983) suggests that education is "bottom heavy and loosely coupled" (p. 357). He elaborates :

It is bottom heavy because the closer we get to the bottom of the pyramid, the closer we get to the factors that have the greatest effect on the program's success or failure. The system is loosely coupled because the ability of one level to control the behaviour of another is weak and largely negative". (pp. 357-358)

Control is difficult because of the loosely-coupled, pluralistic and interactive nature of local-level policy implementation. Large scale policy changes such as *Bill 30* had to provide for circumstances ranging from single secondary school communities, to Metro Toronto with its large specialized and comprehensive high schools. It had to accommodate the contexts where

the relationship between the administration of the public and separate school boards was far from friendly, and the much less difficult counter case where co-operation was the norm. "Third generation" implementation research suggests, however, that the relationship between context and control is not direct (Goggin et al., 1990). From the perspective of the IF, the salient point is that implementation variability arises because multiple actors interpret the constraints and inducements within their unique context.¹¹⁹ Because interpretation is a function of context, a single policy intent may be interpreted in multiple and sometimes conflicting ways. Understanding how and why implementation occurs as it does, therefore, requires a focus on the organization of interests at the local and not just the provincial levels.

Although this discussion seems to confirm Elmore's (1983) conclusion that control in loosely-coupled systems is weak and negative, the following analyses of the implementation processes of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* suggest that this is not always the case. These discussions will suggest that a policy system's capacity for implementation is constrained or enhanced by the interaction of micro-, meso- and macro-level factors. Consistent with the research that calls for links between micro and macro levels, these discussions will focus on the influences on implementation at both levels.

Context-Oriented Learning for Implementation

As previous sections of this chapter have suggested, the vacuum created during the year following the Davis announcement of extension was filled by the Planning and Implementation Commission (PIC). During this time, the Commission developed criteria for approving the extension plans of separate schools boards, and began, on a case-by-case basis to review and approve those plans. By the time the new Liberal government took office in July, 1985, the Commission had developed a board planning model which required separate boards to develop plans and share information with public boards, and public boards to prepare an impact statement and share information with the separate boards. In these procedures PIC attempted to encourage co-operation and sharing. The Commission had also developed an approval process that required the board plans and impact statements to be validated by ministry of education officials, and evaluated by Commission staff. Upon the

recommendation of PIC, the Minister would then approve or reject the plan.

The Commission had also developed key policy criteria related to the admission of non-Catholic pupils, to personnel policies for identification of numbers of affected employees, and protecting their salaries and seniority. Other criteria focused on the breadth of the program that separate schools had to offer. The criteria for accommodation, which required the fullest use of existing facilities based on local decision making proved, during implementation, to be the most difficult to fulfill. In its First Annual Report, the Commission indicated that it had from the outset "encouraged coterminous school boards to consult and co-operate in carrying out separate school extension, thus minimizing any possible negative impact upon the quality of the public secondary education system and the social fabric of Ontario" (Planning and Implementation Commission, Annual Report, 1984-85, p. 9).

Looking back on the Commission's role, observers agree that it was crucial to developing implementation procedures that minimized conflicts in many communities that might otherwise have escalated during that crucial first year. The Commission brought some stability to the uncertainty generated by the Davis announcement.¹²⁰ In the view of former Minister of Education Sean Conway, that uncertainty arose because in that announcement "there was one thing missing, and that was an actual piece of legislation that was going to translate the Premier's commitment, the idea, into a set of specific proposals. In the absence of that, the Commission was left a bit at loose ends. The province was left to imagine any number of horrific possibilities, many of which were supplied by people who felt very strongly opposed to the whole idea."¹²¹ One former official notes that during this year PIC was "a little cyclone in the middle of a big cyclone."¹²² In this context, PIC's activism in identifying and establishing extension criteria and impact assessments clarified the potential problems and impacts, and thereby facilitated implementation. Nevertheless, PIC was constrained by its inability to resolve the fundamental policy questions that had been raised by the announcement; it was not able to issue final approval, or to flow the funds for separate school boards to extend their programs into grade 11. Thus, although 38 board plans had been approved by June 30, 1985, funding for those extensions required political action.

Such action was undertaken by the newly elected Liberal government upon taking office. Recognizing the uncertainty that had been created, the Liberal leader, David Peterson had said during the course of the election campaign that he would move quickly to introduce legislation to give focus to the whole debate. In retrospect, Conway comments that this "was an extremely helpful and useful commitment."¹²³ The problem, according to the former Minister, was that on June 26, 1985 when the new government took office, there was no Bill in place, yet there were "thousands of kids heading to programs that were to open in September of that year." Conway comments "we had two or three months to not just decide the policy, but to provide some kind of policy direction and financing."¹²⁴ In this case, time constraints imposed by the school year cycle, the commitment of the Liberal party to a phased-in implementation process, and the added incentive for the minority government of wanting to show its capacity to handle tough problems, combined to bring the full attention of the Minister to the problem.

Another feature of the policy provided an incentive for the political involvement of the Minister. This was the unique nature of the announcement, which, according to Conway, "wasn't just a policy decision because the implementation was very directly tied to the policy itself, and, in fact, in some cases, the real policy was in its implementation."¹²⁵ Conway recalls that:

having been in the legislature 16-1/2 years, having been in the government 5-1/2, I had personally never been involved with a process of policy formation and implementation that was quite this interesting, controversial and hair-raising. Hair-raising in the sense that we were in court all the time. We were always under attack in court from the very beginning of the Bill's introduction.¹²⁶

One of the first challenges faced by the new government was over its decision to endorse the plans for extension beginning in September 1985, that had been approved by PIC. In endorsing the extension plans, Conway committed the government to ensuring that funds drawn from the General Legislative Grants would be available within weeks for the separate schools. The government intended to provide funding through the GLG by the authority in the *Education Act* granted to the Minister to flow funds to school

boards by regulation.

Members of the public school community rejected this argument challenging that there was "no legislation or regulation" that allowed such an action (*The Globe and Mail*, August 30, 1985, p. A7). Although the legal right of the government to flow funds to the separate school boards through regulation was ultimately upheld by the Ontario Court of Appeal in December 1985, the fact was that implementation of the policy had already begun. Only a fraction of the students who had been predicted to switch to separate school did, in fact, transfer in September, 1985 during the first phase of implementation. Nevertheless, separate schools had established grade 11 classes before the affirmation of the legal right of the province to implement the policy. Implementation of funding through special grants preceded the actual passage of *Bill 30* by the legislature of Ontario.

The policy was still being made as implementation proceeded. Input into the hearings of the Standing Committee on Social Development that were proceeding during the fall of 1985 was used to revise the 13 drafts of the legislation that were ultimately made. One former legislation official notes that the process of drafting the "legislation to create *Bill 30* was just horrendous. . . It involved an enormous number of people - they set up consultation groups within the Ministry to advise the Legislation Branch to make sure the Legislation Branch wrote the legislation the way that the consensus thought it should be written."¹²⁷

The unique nature of the policy required a case-by-case interpretation of local context to determine suitability for implementation. In some cases, PIC was able to provide criteria that made such determinations clear. By 1986 Conway, as the Minister of Education, had become directly involved in political negotiations in communities throughout the province. The need for such direct involvement arose because, in many cases, the decisions required a balancing of the interests of Roman Catholics with the needs of the community as a whole. For example, in some small communities where the requirements of *Bill 30* would have resulted in a small school being split, Conway argued against extension because he believed that the policy was not meant to "destroy the community."¹²⁸ The need for the involvement of the Minister of Education in small, and unique circumstances arises in Conway's view because "you have to be able to make policy work in those difficult cases,

in the marginal cases, if the policy as a whole is going to be seen to have any integrity."¹²⁹ The issue in marginal cases was not the policy, because, in Conway's view "it was quite clear what the policy meant theoretically. It was how would the policy be seen if what we were left with was an implementation of a small, fragile, obviously inadequate program in those cases."¹³⁰

The hands-on political involvement in implementation escalated as the issue of the transfer of facilities became more pressing in 1986 and 1987, when grades 12 and 13 were phased in and the separate school boards' needs for schools grew more pressing. In instances where public school boards had empty spaces created by declining enrollments this created a redistributive policy problem. The possibility of school transfers crystalized opposition by public school supporters in many communities. Although the OSSTF had forcefully placed the issue of teacher displacement and security in the public forum, it was the disputes over the transfer of schools that caused public conflict in communities such as Hamilton, North Bay and Sudbury. Schools were concrete manifestations of the policy change that raised possessory concerns in many communities. Teachers, as one observer noted:

are not treated the same way, and besides, there's an antagonism between teachers and trustees which is endemic. They're not seen with the same sense of warmth as school buildings are. The buildings are all kinds of things: they don't talk back, they don't ask for pay raises.¹³¹

Property transfers became highly symbolic in many cases. In Conway's view the enormous sensitivities around a school facility arise because:

...it has had invested in it all kinds of individual emotion. The other thing about it is a facility symbolizes a commitment, a history, a support, an activity and if you've been an active public school supporter in community X for years, and the collegiate is where your kids went and then somebody comes along and says that the collegiate is going to be transferred to another group of people from a different community? Wow, you are walking on very sacred ground.¹³²

Such conflicts arose when the local contextual factors transformed the

policy into a redistribution of property. There were a number of outcomes of the politics that arose as a result of such transformations that have implications for the IF developed in this thesis. One of the shortcomings of *Bill 30* was that it did not contain provisions for the transfer of facilities, aside from outlining a dispute resolution mechanism. The difficulty of accounting for the range of unique contexts in the province perhaps explains the apparent flexibility in interpreting facilities that this produced. Nevertheless, according to some observers, one of the outcomes of this was that transfer negotiations stressed the capacity of PIC to use ordinary arbitration procedures to resolve conflicts. Political resolutions became necessary, and beginning under Sean Conway, a special "Bill 30 Unit" in the Ministry of Education began to negotiate directly property transfers in communities, sometimes with the assistance of a mediator.

The contradiction between the goal of equity for Roman Catholics and efficient use of existing pupil spaces in the Davis policy intent created a redistributive implementation problem. The transfer criteria outlined by PIC simply did not provide the inducements for public boards to transfer schools. Moreover, according to several observers, after the Minister of Education overturned the ruling of the tribunal appointed to resolve a dispute among Hamilton area boards and negotiated a cash "deal," PIC's transfer mechanisms became redundant.¹³³ For some observers the deal making that followed represents a failure in implementation. For others, however, it is seen as the part of the reality of making implementation work in redistributive policy changes. A former Bill 30 Unit official reflects that "at the time, someone had to make a call that you can stay within the rules which have been established, or you can go to 'let's make a deal' kind of thing."¹³⁴ The implication for the IF is that policy designs clearly place constraints on implementation, and may compel political involvement and the addition of other incentives to extend the capacity for implementation.

Micro-Contextual Influences on the Politics of Implementation

The preceding discussion has outlined some of the provincial-level complexities that arose in the implementation of *Bill 30*. Consistent with the views of top-down perspectives on implementation, the capacity of PIC to structure the implementation process clearly influenced the degree to which

the policy was successfully implemented. At the same time, one of the most evident characteristics of the implementation of *Bill 30* was the powerful influence of local contextual factors on the process. Not only did this require political responses from the ministry, but it also moved politics and policy making down to the community and school board level.

One result of this was that during the implementation of *Bill 30* directors of education became front line actors in the local-level debates that emerged. In some cases public school directors became vocal opponents of the process, working with trustees to lobby against the policy. Other directors took the more neutral stance, advocated by the umbrella association, the Ontario Association of Education Administration Officials (OAEAO). Often the transfer of schools required considerable skills of political negotiation on the part of the senior administrative officials. In some cases the negotiations resulted in "win-win situations where directors were able to resolve the redistributive problem locally before involving the ministry.¹³⁵ The implementation capacity of a system is enhanced by the political will and administrative skills of front line implementors such as directors of education.

Such skill may not be enough to contend with contextual conditions that may stress the capacity of local-level actors to respond effectively. One such contextual factor is the complexity created by concurrent policy changes. A former chairperson of a public school board describes as daunting the stresses created by the simultaneous activities of the MacDonald Commission on financing education, the Shapiro Commission on private schools, the Roy Committee developing the model for the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board, the simultaneous implementation of *Bill 75* and *Bill 30*, along with the implementation of special education legislation (*Bill 82*), and the change in government. This former school trustee comments on the impact of these changes by noting that "as a group of people trying to figure out what to do with all these issues, you'd find out some solutions for one, and then you'd end up figuring out how those solutions related to the other issues. . . It ended up being a very difficult process, . . . very confusing, very demanding."¹³⁶ According to this observer, the "five years from '84 to '89 and '85 to '90 were very tumultuous and very difficult for people to understand and to comprehend."¹³⁷

Policy research is now beginning to acknowledge the impact of the policy space crowding that results from such government activism in a single policy domain. The exact nature of such influences on implementation is, however, not clear. The analysis of the implementation of *Bill 109* which occurred in the midst of all the other policy demands suggests some of those influences. As the following discussion indicates, implementation difficulties encountered in this policy change resulted partly from the complexities in the local context created by other policies, and partly from design flaws in the legislation itself.

The basic framework for *Bill 109* was developed by the Roy Committee using many of the classic principles that are thought to ensure the development of good policies. One of those classic principles, the notion that a local solution is best for a local problem, guided the Roy Commission. In recommending that the public and separate sectors be united into a one-board model, the Roy Commission attempted to fulfill what it perceived to be the wishes of Ottawa-Carleton francophones. This structure has, however, proven problematic. The failure of the two sectors to cooperate during the past three years has aggravated the precarious financial position of the public sector particularly.¹³⁸ A policy change designed specifically for a particular context by the community concerned, that was greeted with celebration, in three years deteriorated to the point where the Minister of Education placed the public sector under provincial trusteeship. This illustration turns on end the classic Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) study on implementation which they subtitled "How great expectations in Washington are dashed in Oakland." In this case the great expectations and plans of Ottawa-Carleton francophones were dashed by policy design flaws that originated partly at the local level, and partly with the financial and constitutional constraints established by the province, and by the Canadian Constitution respectively.

Policy designs are based on theories: "whether stated explicitly or not, policies point to a chain of causation between initial conditions and future consequences" (p. xv). Critics have argued that one of the flaws in the design of *Bill 30* was the theory of an umbrella structure holding together a public and separate sector. They charge that the model of combining both the separate and public sectors reflects the realities of the 1960s when neither the elementary public system nor the separate secondary system existed. At that

point combining separate elementary and the public secondary schools would have created a complete system.¹³⁹ During the 1970s, a complete public French-language system was created, and with the passage of *Bill 30* a complete separate system existed. The implicit theory behind *Bill 109* was that francophone public and separate school supporters wished to be united into a single school board. The problem, according to some observers, is that the theory of a unified school board did not take into account the changed circumstances and ideologies created by *Bill 30* and the *Charter*. One francophone director comments "although the *Charter* was certainly very helpful in attaining French-language school boards, it also impressed on people the fact that they had rights and those who wanted to stay with the public school sector could do so, and the separate school sector was very well protected also."¹⁴⁰ The implication for the IF is that implicit theories in policy designs may be historically derived. Policy theories may also collide with changed conditions and with constraints such as were imposed by the confirmation of the rights to denominational secondary education in Ontario by the Supreme Court of Canada.

Implementation theory suggests that consultation in developing a policy and practice in designing it will enhance the process. In the case of *Bill 109*, the extensive consultation and development that took place for *Bill 75* prepared the community for *Bill 109*.¹⁴¹ Although Ottawa-Carleton francophones did not think that *Bill 75* went far enough to accommodate the need to regroup the 16,000 francophone students in the region into a French-language board, it was viewed as a positive step. The model of two sections with a full board having final approval implicit in *Bill 75* was favoured by the planning committee established to oversee the implementation of *Bill 109*. The issue of Roman Catholic educational rights was, however, a major focus for all the separate school community in 1986 when planning for *Bill 109* was initiated by the Minister of Education's creation of the Roy Committee. Public school supporters, led by the Metropolitan Toronto School Board, undertook an appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada on the ruling upholding the government of Ontario's right to finance separate school education to the end of high school. In that ruling the *Tiny Township* case had not been overturned, and the Roman Catholic community was sensitive to the possibility that the Supreme Court appeal would be successful.

The activism by the separate school trustees association, OSSTA, in pressing for changes to the plans for *Bill 109* by the local planning committee was part of a general concern to protect Roman Catholic educational rights. This activism for separate school rights received legitimacy when the Canadian Supreme Court overturned the Tiny Township decision in February, 1987. Although many separate school supporters refer to their special status as a "privilege,"¹⁴² the emphasis on Roman Catholic educational rights became a significant influence on the development of *Bill 109*. Francophone observers note the OSSTA was particularly forceful in pressuring the government to make changes to the policy to ensure it complied with Section 93 of the Constitution. The main concern of the separate school community was that the full board not have jurisdiction over the Catholic section of the board. The restriction on the powers of the full board was also sought by the smaller group of public sector francophones who felt that they would not be properly protected as a minority.

As a result of these pressures, according to one francophone observer, "before *Bill 109* was passed, many of the articles [proposed by the planning committee] had been changed through the influence of other bodies, mainly the OSSTA."¹⁴³ The potential influence of the changes, which created a virtually powerless full board, were evident to francophones even before the legislation was passed. For francophones, the revised legislation was accepted because "it was a lesser evil," although many felt that they would not be able to make the policy work."¹⁴⁴ Locally-planned solutions to local problems may be modified so extensively by external pressures that the resulting policy becomes unworkable.

During the summer and fall of 1988, the Ottawa-Carleton regional boards went through complex negotiations to transfer their French-language schools to the new board along with a share of other assets. The transfer process was made more complex because there were no precedents for the legislation. The transfer process was also complicated by the incomplete negotiations for the transfer of facilities from public to separate boards required by *Bill 30*, the recent legislation extending full funding to separate school boards.

On January 1, 1989 the new French-language school board began formal operations. Initially, there were a number of complex issues facing the new board. The two sectors had to learn to operate together as a single board. As

one newly elected trustee pointed out: "because we're the first French board, a lot of other boards will be watching us." (*The Ottawa Citizen*, December 5, 1988, p. B1). Besides setting up an entire administration, trustees had to negotiate with staff. Because teachers and staff were drawn from different boards, the new French board negotiated 23 separate union contracts under one umbrella contract. In addition, the board faced some uncertainty with regard to financing. The precise budget and revenue from taxes and government grants had to be determined. The ability of the board to raise its own taxes (determined from tax assessments) was a critical issue. The Ontario Ministry of Education had to work out a funding mechanism for the French board for future years. The new board was initially funded by calculating special grants on the basis of enrollment, expenditures and tax assessments.

The most daunting problems arising in the implementation of *Bill 109*, are related to what many francophones believe is the basic flaw in the legislation, "the under-funding of the government of the policy that they set up."¹⁴⁵ Confirming the argument stated in most implementation literature, that resource support is essential, francophones point out that the government had originally promised special "start-up grants" to undertake the complex process of establishing two sectors of a new board. The need for resource support is connected with the requirements of the legislation. One observer notes that *Bill 109* did not "take into consideration the terms of finance, what it wanted the board to do."¹⁴⁶ The gap between the requirements of the policy and the capacity of the administrators and trustees of the new board to meet those requirements was so significant that it resulted in a stressful, and in the case of the public sector of the board, an ultimately disastrous implementation process.

Several dimensions of capacity are evident in the implementation of *Bill 109* when it is contrasted to the implementation of the policy creating the Metropolitan Toronto French-Language School Board. The director of the Metro FLSB describes the financial aspect of the implementation by noting "we came into a system that was already established and it was established to take into account boards of various sizes and boards of various wealth, because of the Metro public school system and the *Metro Act* . . . So, they worked those problems out and by the time we came in, although we were quite different in language, in mandate, and in size, the structure seemed to

accommodate us very well."¹⁴⁷

The most obvious difference in these two implementation processes relates to the financial capacity of the boards. Ottawa-Carleton public sector francophones were particularly concerned that they would not be able to provide services equal to those that had been offered to francophone students in the wealthy Ottawa-Carleton public boards if financial support was not provided. This group pressured the government for guaranteed financial support within the legislation. Public sector trustees realized that they had to compete for students on the basis of their very small tax base, not only with the larger separate school sector, but with the well-developed French immersion programs in public boards. In response to their pressure the Minister of Education preferred to verbally indicate that the government would ensure the same quality of education that had been available to the francophone students in the four local boards through special temporary grants (*The Globe and Mail*, April 12, 1988, p. A10).

Concern with providing the same quality education for francophones as had been available in the region's public boards influenced the first elected trustees of the public sector to build up a deficit that by 1990 amounted to 21 million dollars.¹⁴⁸ Francophone students in both the Carleton and Ottawa Boards of Education had benefitted from the strong support for French-language education by trustees of those boards. According to R. Léger, the former PIC commissioner and francophone director of education who was appointed by the ministry to take over supervision of the public sector in the fall of 1991, the wealth of the public boards had allowed them to pass on all the special French first-language grants directly to schools. The benefits for francophone students were significant; they created an expectation for programs that was beyond what were even available in English public programs.¹⁴⁹ Regardless of the basis of the expectation, it has continued to influence the actions of public sector francophone trustees and parents. In September 1991, for example, a group of parents of children attending one of the public sector's schools launched a lawsuit charging that the province violated the *Charter* by failing to provide the same quality of education to their children as was available to English-speaking children (*The Ottawa Citizen*, July 5, 1991, p. F3). Implementation is clearly influenced by

stakeholder groups' perceptions of what a policy change means. In the case of the public sector trustees of the FLSB, the perception that *Bill 109* was intended to provide services equal in quality to public boards also led them to appoint administrative staff based on the organizational structures of those boards. Following a review of the operation of the public sector, the ministry-appointed supervisor determined that this administration should be cut from 92 to 34 (*The Ottawa Citizen*, April 29, 1992, p. C3).

The conclusion that many have drawn from the actions of the public sector of the FLSB is that its financial difficulties were less the result of flaws in *Bill 109*, than the result of spendthrift behaviour on the part of the trustees. Others suggest that the implementation of *Bill 109* was not supported adequately by the government. Implementation theory confirms that such support is critical and that it comes in a number of forms. In the case of *Bill 109*, not only was the promised amount of start-up grant for the new board significantly reduced, but the grants were not in place while the two sectors began to set up their organizational structure.¹⁵⁰ One of the trustees who guided the Roman Catholic sector through this critical implementation period notes "we were obliged to set up the organizational chart for hiring administrators not knowing how much money we would have."¹⁵¹ Those grants were not adequate to cover the real costs associated with bringing together personnel from four different boards. A trustee involved in this process indicates, for example, that negotiations brought all teachers up to the highest salary offered by the boards in the region.

Capacity for implementation is also enhanced by providing expertise and administrative assistance. The value of such assistance in the case of the establishment of the Metropolitan Toronto public FLSB is underlined by the director who notes that the new staff were able to overcome the limitations created by their inexperience by drawing from the expertise of the Metro Toronto Board administrators and trustees to facilitate the process of implementation."¹⁵² A number of Ottawa-Carleton francophones suggest that such experience was lacking in the new FLSB. A related aspect of implementation support, that is often identified in the literature, is the provision of a facilitator, or facilitation committee that is able to bring to the

table the concerns of all stakeholder groups. In the case of the Metro FLSB, the implementation process was facilitated by the appointment of a superintendent within the Metro Toronto public board for a period of two years to overlook the transition, and to report to a transition team comprised of not only francophone groups but also of employee groups and other boards.

One of the charges raised by English-speaking trustees of the Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Board was that the implementation and impact committees established to oversee the creation of the FLSB did not adequately take into account their concerns, a view shared by trustees of other boards.¹⁵³ Other critics charge that the impact committee was "an illusion that anglophones would be consulted on the issue."¹⁵⁴ Recognition of the need for viable implementation and impact committees arising from these criticisms has led the Cousineau Committee, which was appointed to examine governance of French-language education in Ontario, to recommend that "whenever there is to be a board created, there has to be a planning and implementation committee, and there has to be an impact committee, and there has to be dialogue between the two."¹⁵⁵

Implications of the Politics of Implementation for Understanding Policy Change

A number of implications for understanding the politics of policy change are evident in the preceding discussion of the implementation of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*. The description of the implementation problems encountered in *Bill 109* confirm much of the research that identifies human and financial resource support as crucial to successful implementation. The argument that implementation problems can be traced to policy design flaws is confirmed in these descriptions. The influence of these factors is evident in the assessment of the difficulties in implementation of *Bill 109* by the former director of the public sector of the Ottawa-Carleton FLSB, who comments that these problems arose because:

of the lack of clear cut definitions within the legislation that we had to work with, the utter newness of the legislation, and the lack of support that came from the outside. The government

created the board and then washed its hands of it.¹⁵⁶

This critique underlines the critical relationship of implementation to policy adoption and design that previous discussions in this chapter have identified as one of the conceptual issues of relevance to the IF developed here.

Chapter Two outlined the critiques of the models which propose a distinction between policy and action (Barrett & Hill, 1984). The two instances of implementation outlined here confirm that the process of formulating problems occurs throughout a policy change as the external conditions that give rise to a problem are selectively defined, classified, explained and evaluated by stakeholders situated at various locations in the process. The process of formulating problems involves not only legislators and their advisors, but also street-level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 1971), and citizens at the "periphery" of the policy-making process (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1983, pp. 149-151). As in the case where public sector supporters viewed *Bill 109* as problematic, stakeholders actively construct, "for their own interest and survival," different representations of policy problems based on "competing sets of assumptions" about external events (Dunn, 1988, p. 123). The analysis outlined here suggests that because actors in a local-level policy subsystem may perceive various local and external contextual conditions as problematic, the IF should incorporate stakeholder perceptions of local contextual conditions such as: student and community characteristics, size, financial status, and priorities; as well as perceptions of external variables such as federal and provincial legislation and regulations, stability of funding, and episodic changes.

The challenge is to meld the contextually-determined interpretations of policy problems into a viable implementation process. The illustrations described here suggest that a number of factors increase the system's implementation capacity. Political factors, for example, can enhance implementation capacity. Regime change is commonly viewed as a constraint to implementation; in the case of *Bill 30* the opposite was the case. The determination to support the implementation of a policy developed by a previous government may not commonly occur, but when it does it can breathe new life into a stalled process. Such political will and support was provided by the Liberal government, and particularly the Minister of

Education who oversaw critical aspects of *Bill 30's* implementation.¹⁵⁷

Political will alone will not ensure implementation success. Current literature, which is beginning to map out the directions for a "third generation" of implementation research, points out that one of the fundamental issues to be confronted arises from the differing views by top-down and bottom-up theories on the degree to which hierarchical integration is a crucial determinant of implementation success (Goggin et al., 1990). Top-down theories emphasize such integration, whereas bottom-up theories outline the advantages of complex variegated implementation systems. The key point is that organizational structure does seem to influence implementation. The illustrations discussed here suggest a number of particular influences on implementation that contribute to this debate.

It is evident from the case of *Bill 30* that implementation of large scale policies requiring changes in complicated, multi-unit structures such as represented by the Ontario educational system, can be successful if the coordinating structures (such as PIC) are flexible and have the capacity for policy-oriented learning. Several features of the PIC process facilitated implementation, including the experience of the commissioners. Sean Conway, the Minister of Education at the time of the implementation of *Bill 30* comments: "the great benefit for me with PIC was that people like Bill Newnham and others had long and good experience, not just in educational policy, but in implementation."¹⁵⁸ One important contribution of PIC was initiating a case-by-case review of the potential for implementation success in communities based on planning and impact data shared between the stakeholders and verified by PIC officials. As a flexible structure, PIC was able to provide the kind of coordination seen to be derived from a highly integrated hierarchical implementation system, while acknowledging the complexity of local contextual influences.

The issues that arose in *Bill 30* underline the influence that contextual factors have on implementation. Confirming the importance of considering context and processes together, the analysis reported here suggests that context cannot be viewed as separate from implementation, any more than it is separate from adoption or impact. One of the implications for the IF is that for policy problems that require adaptive implementation, such as the transfer of facilities between local boards, a complex and variegated

implementation process may not be a disadvantage. One of the key aspects of this process is the development of implementation solutions suited to local contexts. The illustrations given here suggest that in Ontario finding solutions to meet the needs defined by a contextual circumstances is complicated by the constraints imposed by linguistic and denominational rights. Former Minister of Education Conway reflects on the complexity this creates for policy makers, noting:

It was always my worry that you had the two competing rights and [although] there's always a way, it tends to take on the nature of the community. You just wanted to make sure that as you moved carefully towards implementation you didn't do something so laboured or so stupid that someone was going to take you to court.¹⁵⁹

In the two policy changes described here, the complexity of the interaction of local contextual factors with linguistic and denominational rights is further increased by the influence of other policy changes.¹⁶⁰ A previous section of this chapter outlined the redistributive dilemmas in the Ottawa-Carleton region created by the interaction of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* with local contextual forces. Confirming current calls for policy change models to focus on longer time spans, Conway comments: "to facilitate effective implementation of *Bill 30*, was to know something about the cultural and historical context; that was enormously important."¹⁶¹

The implication of these phenomena for the IF is that context is the mediating factor in the cases where "implementation tends to significantly qualify the principle of the policy change."¹⁶² This would suggest that locally determined solutions to local problems would produce effective implementation. Although implementation theory agrees, the case of *Bill 109* warns against a simple interpretation of the need for local solutions. One of the shortcomings of the locally planned policy change was that implementation and impact committees drew from too narrow a constituency. The English-speaking trustees of the OCRSSB felt they were left out of the process, a criticism that has led the Cousineau Committee to recommend that formal implementation and impact structures ensure adequate consultation. The issue here is complex. Although local solutions and locally-directed implementation has the advantage of context sensitivity,

it may also produce overly simple structures (such as the implementation and impact committees) which "may provoke compliance even as they squeeze out valuable information and reduce policy-related learning during the continuing cycles of implementation" (Goggin et al., 1990, p. 126).

In the illustrations given here, implementation capacity is enhanced or constrained by organizational structures and contextual factors. Given the complexity of these factors and the crowded policy space in which the two changes occurred, the capacity for implementation in the Ontario educational policy system is impressive. Both cases confirm Conway's assessment that:

some of the genius of Ontario educational law and administration, [is] that it has been cast with sufficient breadth and flexibility to allow [adaptation to local context] to occur because it will inevitably occur anyway. You cannot impose a certain level of homogeneity across the system, try as you might.¹⁶³

Despite this capacity, the following discussion of impact will confirm the argument set forth by current implementation research that although implementation processes may be thought to be successful, particularly by the governments initiating the policy changes, outputs and outcomes may be viewed less favorably by stakeholders.

Impact

Much of the debate concerning policy changes such as *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* focuses on perceptions of success or failure. One of the problems in these debates is that effects may not be clear immediately. For example in 1988, following the creation of the Ottawa-Carleton FLSB, francophones declared the policy change a solution to their long struggle for educational governance. Just three years later some public sector trustees of the FLSB were calling the board a disaster and a failure. Reflecting this phenomenon, policy researchers now agree that understanding the significance of particular policy changes as well as the relative importance of factors such as changing socio-economic conditions and "policy-oriented learning," requires a focus on longer time spans (Sabatier, 1991a, 1991 b). Similarly, the findings of a number of recent implementation studies highlight the importance of a longitudinal approach

to policy and evaluation studies (Carter, 1984; Kirst & Jung, 1980; Sabatier, 1986, 1988, 1991a). For example, Knapp et al. (1983) conclude:

The short-term result of almost any policy change will be local resistance, confusion, and poorly organized services. Over a few years, things work better, and the true merits of a policy initiative can be assessed more realistically. In the longer term it may be that any initiative will come to be viewed as indispensable at the local level. (p. 254)

A similar argument is raised by Elmore and McLaughlin (1988) who note that "lags in implementation and performance are a central facet of reform" (p. 36). They further suggest that it takes time for reforms to mature into changes in resource allocation, organization, and practice. And time lines are different for policy makers and practitioners. Policy reforms are generated on electoral time, but they are implemented on administrative time and practice time.

Assessing the impact of a policy change requires some measure of the extent to which the goals of the policy have been met. The problem is that public policy goals are necessarily abstract and are, therefore, also often ambiguous. The consequence is that goals generate varying interpretations of their meaning. Moreover, because policies must often address clusters of problems, the goals they pursue are sometimes contradictory. These characteristics of public policy goals make the assessment of the extent to which they have been achieved difficult. Even if a policy's goals are clear, the effect of the policy may still be unanticipated. Interaction with other policies may create complex dilemmas that cloud the true impact of a policy change. In addition to determinations of the content of goals of the policy, assessments of impact also depend on the criteria used for judgement. Policies may be judged, for example, for their direct or indirect, social, economic or political impact. In all cases, the perceptions of impact are context dependent and are largely interpretive. Individuals make assessment of impact based on a calculus of how the policy goal matches with their experience. As the following illustrations suggest these assessments vary not only among individuals and groups, but also across time.

Perceptions of Social Impact

Both *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* address social charter issues. In announcing the extension of full funding, for example, Davis indicated that the policy change had three goals: first to respond to the historical "contracts and obligations" made to the Roman Catholic community; second, to ensure that this response would not "cripple or limit the viability of the non-denominational public secondary system," and third, to also ensure that the resulting arrangement "strengthen rather than fragments the social fabric" of the province (Davis, 1984, p. 74). Similarly, when *Bill 109* was tabled in the legislature, the Minister of Education stated that the creation of the Ottawa-Carleton FLSB demonstrated the "historic commitment of this government to the educational rights of Ontario's francophone minority" (*The Globe and Mail*, April, 12, 1989, A10). In both cases the goal of the policy change was to ensure fairness and equity in educational provisions for a minority, while still ensuring the viability of the provisions for the majority. The extent to which the policy changes are perceived to enhance or constrain the goals of equity and viability depends upon the assessment criteria used.

Although many different judgments of the impact of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* are evident, on the basis of the assessment criterion of scope of impact there is general agreement that:

Bill 30 probably had the most major impact . . . [because it] fundamentally altered the administrative and governance structure of education in Ontario. For that very reason it affected nearly everyone, it affected public boards, it affected separate boards, it affected individual people who were in the employ of those boards, it affected the provincial government, it affected the way programs are offered throughout the province.¹⁶⁴

Although in contrast, *Bill 109* had a much narrower impact on the province as a whole,¹⁶⁵ for the francophones throughout the province it was significant in that it "represented the first French-language school board in the province."¹⁶⁶ *Bill 109* was more than an Ottawa-Carleton issue; it had an impact on the whole francophone community in Ontario, because through it "the government finally accepted the principle that French-language school boards were an entitlement where numbers warranted under the *Charter*."¹⁶⁷

The problematic implementation of *Bill 109*, and its ongoing financial problems have also spread the impact beyond the Ottawa-Carleton region. One francophone observer notes that these problems have limited the desirability of *Bill 109* as a model of governance in other Ontario communities.¹⁶⁸ The implication of this illustration for the IF is that impact cannot be assessed only on the basis of the scope of a policy change, but, rather, the perceptions of impact by stakeholders must be examined. Because impacts are often assessed through ideological lenses, differing interpretations are evident in policy changes that address social charter issues.

Differing interpretations of impact also arise because a policy may incorporate contradictory goals. For example, conflicting interpretations of the impact of *Bill 30* are to be expected, according to some observers, because of the inherent contradiction between the goals of providing secondary schooling for Catholics, but doing this without harming the public school system.¹⁶⁹ Although current assessments of the impact of *Bill 30* reflect the ideological positions that distinguished the Roman Catholic and public school community from the time of the announcement of the policy change, there has been some revision of the impact on the public system originally proposed. Following the announcement of the policy change, the impact on teacher job security and employment rights were the focus of considerable debate.¹⁷⁰ The transfer of students and teachers took place with less impact than had been predicted, but as implementation began, the transfer of facilities became a major concern. Although there are still disputes arising over facilities, the impact of these disputes is dissipating. Current impact concerns focus on financing, and, as the following discussions suggest, the determinations of financial impact are rooted in the differing assessment criteria used by various stakeholders.

In their assessments of the impact of the policy change, separate school supporters typically emphasize the announcement's specified goal of fulfilling an historical bargain and contract. From the perspective of Roman Catholics, *Bill 30* had a significant impact because it involved a "recognition that separate school boards exist and are historically part of Ontario's culture and are now protected in the constitution, [and, therefore,] it was a confirmation of our system. It was a liberating thing."¹⁷¹ Other separate school officials acknowledge that the impact of the policy change was a

realignment of power. The power "that changed hands was buildings, territory and money. . . and you don't compromise on territorial imperative."¹⁷²

It is, therefore, not surprising that public school supporters often judge the impact of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* by the extent to which they perceive the policy to have threatened the territory and viability of the public school system. A common argument is that the fragmentation of the community is the social cost of providing selective benefits for particular collectivities. One public school official notes:

Both policy changes have resulted in a loss in terms of sharing and collective views. This holistic view of social integration, that we are all in this same boat together, well, we might all be heading in the same direction but we have no sense of connectivity.¹⁷³

Critics of the two policy changes argue that "separating people on the basis of religion and language. . . is very divisive and it's having a negative impact on the quality of education."¹⁷⁴ They cite instances in small communities where a separate 150 pupil high school is to be split off from an already small 300 pupil high school. The impact of such fragmentation on programs is significant because "the offering of courses is so restrictive that those kids are not getting the quality of education which they deserve."¹⁷⁵

Francophone and separate school supporters assess the impact of the two policy changes on the quality of education and on the potential fragmentation of the community from entirely different sets of criteria. Francophones, for example, view the *Bill 109* as integrating their collectivity, a value that they believe benefits the whole community in the long run. A long-time advocate of francophone educational governance argues:

We are very happy that we are governing our own schools. We are taking our own decisions, nobody else is telling us what is good for our schools. We are making our own mistakes. But there is a feeling of pride that is growing within the francophone community. We have our own schools, they are wonderful, they are heavily populated. We have high schools with more than a thousand students. Our students are winning awards

from all over. Their programs are second to none. There is a greater cohesion, the francophones of the area feel much closer together.¹⁷⁶

Similarly, Roman Catholics point to the positive impact of *Bill 30* on the ability of secondary schools to cater to a greater range of secondary students than in the past. For separate school educators one of the positive impacts of the policy change is that they have been able to educate Roman Catholic students while they are adolescents. A separate school educator comments:

We have been able to educate our Catholic students while they are adolescents, and that traditionally has been a time of great upheaval within an individual's life. And so, it's an opportunity to try to identify and discuss the relationship between church and school and home during the adolescent years which we didn't have before.¹⁷⁷

The differing perspectives on the impact on students are based on contrasting evaluative criteria. Whereas some public school supporters view the separation of students as potentially fragmenting, and divisive of society, the collectivities who benefitted from the policy changes draw from criteria such as pride in cultural heritage, and strengthening church, school and home relationships to benefit the child. Other perceptions of social impact see *Bill 30* as a threat to the social fabric of Ontario. A common judgment in this vein is that the accommodation disputes that arose during the implementation of *Bill 30* have created scars in the educational community that: "will take many years yet to heal over."¹⁷⁸ From this perspective, one observer assesses these scars as tragic, and believes that: "the major challenge for education in Ontario over the next twenty years is to try to heal those wounds as quickly as possible and get on with life in the most reasonable kind of way, because since 1985, there's been nothing but dispute and rancor and jealousy and anger."¹⁷⁹ Social impact can also be viewed from a micro, or individual, perspective. For example, one of the unexpected impacts of *Bill 109* was the sense of loss reported by public school officials and trustees who had developed strong relationships with the francophone representatives on their board. Assessing the impact of *Bill 109*, a public board official notes:

We are a poorer institution in my opinion because we are now solely English. As an institution, we don't have the richness of

the interaction with our francophone colleagues. The opportunities for interaction are gone. The staff meetings are now all English, the principals meetings are all English. Where at our principals meetings, we had some French principals in there, and there was always the camaraderie and ... a creative flow of juice. That healthiness has just gone.¹⁸⁰

This illustration is a reminder that in the experience of individuals, the impact of a policy change may present an opportunity or a loss. For example, in the case of some of the administrators and teachers of the public sector of the Ottawa-Carleton FLSB, *Bill 109* represented a loss. Prior to the creation of the FLSB many these teachers had been employed by one of the wealthiest public school boards in Ontario. They had benefitted from this association through professional development and opportunities to develop innovative programs. Many moved to the new FLSB expecting that these opportunities would continue. The financial difficulties of the board changed these expectations with the result that for some the policy change is now viewed as a loss in quality of work life.¹⁸¹ For other individuals these policy changes have provided professional opportunities. For example, separate school secondary teachers have had the opportunity to develop a new secondary school system.¹⁸² For trustees and school administrators involved in political negotiations over the transfer of facilities, *Bill 30* provided an opportunity to gain experience handling complex issues, which, for some, has translated into opportunities to move into senior government positions.

The preceding illustrations suggest that assessments of the social impact of policy changes such as *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*, which confront deeply-held values about the proper goals of education, are inevitably interpretive. The implication for the IF is that to understand social impact, an awareness of the phenomenology of policy change is required (Fullan, 1992). As the following discussion suggests, conflicting interpretations are also evident in assessments of the economic impact of a policy change.

Perceptions of Economic Impact

Assessments of the economic and social impact of a policy change are closely tied to perceptions of the goals of a policy change. In the case of

redistributive policy changes assessments of economic impact are often widely contested. This is particularly evident in the assessments of the economic impact of *Bill 30*. Public schools supporters argue that as a result of *Bill 30* there are "are more schools needing more dollars that do not exist, and as a result, . . . the public sector has a reduced share of those dollars that exist."¹⁸³

The Roman Catholic educational community also perceives the most important impacts of both *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* to be financial, but from a different set of assessment criteria. Currently separate school supporters argue that *Bill 30* has yet to be completed because it fails to truly fulfill the goal of equity. One director comments that *Bill 30* is "a statement of an ideal which must provide fair funding."¹⁸⁴ Although the government attempted to address the issue with the passage of *Bill 64* which provided for a pooling of the corporate and commercial tax base between coterminous public and separate school boards, Roman Catholic boards identified a number of problems that undermined the effectiveness of the legislation. The most fundamental problem with the pooling arrangement that provided greater access for school boards to certain corporate taxes, arises from the very uneven distribution of wealth throughout the province. Revisions to this legislation are expected and some separate school officials believe that coterminous pooling "is an interim solution that will not bring to completion *Bill 30*."¹⁸⁵ The issue of equity may require more substantial redesigns such as are being considered by the Fair Tax Commission, appointed to examine the broader issues of taxation. Observers agree that *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* contributed to "the pressure to do something like pooling, to address the financial system."¹⁸⁶

The impact of these two bills reflects the fact that policy changes may create conditions that undermine the goals of other government policies. In this case the equity of financing is undermined. The effect is, however, not simple because equity of financing is also undermined by the ability, and some argue the need, of school boards to spend above the grant ceiling provided through the Foundation Plan. Nevertheless, as one official notes:

As things have evolved with the Roman Catholic boards, and now the French-language school boards . . . wanting to be able to

offer the same kind of programs as the public school system, with the grants over the years being under pressure, and with the grant plan not really having an influence on school boards' expenditures – the grant plan has fallen short of the principles of equity. It can no longer meet the principles of equity in full.¹⁸⁷

Observers agree that the government does not have much choice but to address the financing issue.¹⁸⁸ Separate school officials acknowledge that the "implementation of *Bill 30* in many boards has meant significant deficits, very significant."¹⁸⁹ As a result, a number of Roman Catholic school boards in the province are in financial difficulty. The impact is shifted to the school level, where, because "the monies are not coming to build," portables are becoming a norm.¹⁹⁰

The financial impact of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* encountered by separate school boards and by the Ottawa-Carleton FLSB, arise partly because neither policy change recognized that governance and finance cannot be separated. A ministry official observes that "governance and funding are very much intertwined. Whenever you address governance you have to address funding, and whenever you address funding in a real way you have to address governance."¹⁹¹ The implication for the IF is that, if financing changes are undertaken, they inevitably require changes in governance.¹⁹² An example of this link would be that if changes in financing such as are being considered by the Fair Tax Commission are made, it is likely that changes in governance will follow, such as the introduction of a unified school board. These illustrations confirm that impacts from policy changes that produce stresses in the existing approach to financing education, can produce another round of policy change. Economic impacts also reinforce the political impacts, which are described next.

Perceptions of Political Impacts

Policies may also be assessed for their political impact, that is, how effectively they support the government's political interests, "interpreted as popularity, re-election chances, and partisan support" (Pal, 1992, p. 186). Sometimes political goals may contradict the direct goals of a policy. This

occurs even if policy goals appear clear, because there is always the possibility that the "true goals and objectives may be deliberately hidden behind a rhetorical facade by politicians who fear public criticism" (p. 179).

Governments must be seen to be developing public policies to enhance the public good, at the same time the interest that all governments have in "maintaining popularity, getting re-elected, and rewarding friends may at times eclipse, even if only partly, the stated goals of a policy" (p. 180). Thus, although the direct goals of a policy may not be met, the policy may be valued by politicians for the public support it generates for the government. This phenomenon is evident in Ontario politics, according to one senior government advisor, who suggests that:

if you ask the current government what their priorities are, what their plans are, what their objectives are. . . they will all be very very high-sounding. But at the top of the list, unstated, the first objective of any government is, 'we want to be re-elected'.¹⁹³

Political impact may also be viewed in broader terms than popularity. It may be viewed as the impact a policy has on the legitimacy or stability of a political system and not just the party that happens to be in power. For example, a policy such as *Bill 30* may achieve its direct goal of extending full funding for separate school secondary education, but may fail in generating support for the political system. Observers commented that the way in which the extension of full funding was announced undermined support for not only the Conservative party, but for the political system as a whole. Support and legitimacy are generated from the ideological and symbolic beliefs that members of the political community have. As the reactions to the Davis announcement confirm, governments that fail to acknowledge the deeply held ideological beliefs related to a policy change can generate a legitimacy crisis. A former government official observed this phenomenon when, following the full funding announcement, politicians who tried to explain the legislation away, or calm the waters, or rationalize the change as simply the addition of another three years to the system, were challenged by a public that didn't see it that way. They saw the policy as "a major ideological change, because, up to that point, the government had steadfastly refused to extend

the separate school system any further than grade 10."¹⁹⁴ Legitimate consensus does not involve complete agreement; it does require some attempt to reconcile the conflicting assessments of the goals of a policy change. Failure to undertake such reconciliation can be disastrous for a political party. An observer suggests, for example, that:

many of the [Conservative] members of the House were aghast and feel to this day that that's what lost the election for them. There was no legislation at that point, it was only a policy announcement. But many, if not most of them, at that time felt that's what lost the election for them.¹⁹⁵

The implication for the IF is that the political impact of such a legitimacy crisis may extend beyond the initiating event, particularly if stakeholders in a policy change and segments of the public continue to feel that their concerns are being overlooked. This phenomenon was evident following the defeat of the Conservatives, when, despite calls for a referendum on full funding, the new Liberal government began to speed up the implementation of full funding. Despite the attempts of the new government to generate legitimacy for the policy process by referring draft legislation to the Standing Committee for consideration through public hearings, a number of groups demanded a referendum on the issue. The Coalition for Public Education, a coalition of public school supporters, argued, for example, that the parties had not "heard what the people of Ontario were saying" during the election which defeated the Conservatives.¹⁹⁶ At the time, the response of Sean Conway, the Minister of Education, was negative. He argued that Ontario was a "parliamentarian, not a plebiscitarian democracy." (*Kitchener-Waterloo Record*, July 24, 1985, p.1).

Upon reflection, Conway acknowledges that in the face of a legitimacy crisis, political responses based on such "rational, legal and constitutional criteria were all irrelevant."¹⁹⁷ According to Conway, "the shocks to the Conservative party in Ontario are still reverberating from a premier making so important a decision without any consultation among his supporters. It fractured the Conservative party and that fracture is still there to some extent." It is evident, however, that the legitimacy crisis extended beyond the

Conservative regime. According to Conway, "*Bill 30* had a profound impact on that kind top-down policy."¹⁹⁸ It left a residual distrust of political decision making that was, in Conway's view, a forerunner to public reaction to the politics of the Meech Lake Accord, the failed attempt to resolve Quebec's involvement in the Canadian Confederation. The rejection of policy making by political maneuvering by the public in that case affirms the importance of government actions being perceived as legitimate.

There are a number of implications for the IF that flow from the political impact of *Bill 30* and, to a lesser extent, *Bill 109*. These implications call into question the models of policy which have focused on instrumental actions of government. Unlike the instrumental actions embodied in concerns over resource allocation that have been the focus of the extensive research on policy outcomes, symbolic actions have either been ignored or seen as "part of manipulative efforts to control outcomes" (March & Olsen, 1989, p. 47). Yet the symbolic dimensions of policy, which relate to fundamental, core ideas defining a polity, are central to the policy process. The legitimacy of governmental policy making is established when it supports core ideas and values, such as distributional fairness, equity, and equality. The effect is not simple. One of the key implications for the IF, in the analysis reported here is that a policy change that is perceived by segments of the polity as lacking legitimacy can generate a paradigm shift in public perception of the proper mandate for political decision making.

Summary: The Processes and Context of Policy Change

The preceding discussions have responded to the second and third research questions guiding this thesis, which ask what the processes of policy change are, and what contextual factors influence those processes. The analyses reported here confirm the influence of unique contextual forces, and the interdependence of the processes associated with agenda setting, policy development and design, implementation, and impact. These discussions confirm that the government of Ontario, like other modern governments, is characterized by "complex bureaucratic structures with overlapping mandates" (Pal, 1992, p. 40). The illustrations also suggest that policy making

is often "characterized by crisis response, short time horizons, and uncertainty, rather than by the leisurely pace of dispassionate assessment implied by the rational model" (p. 40). Policy changes such *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* are almost never the single, discrete, unitary phenomenon described by decisionist approaches for at least four reasons (Greenberg, Miller, Mohr and Vladeck, 1977). First, as the prolonged policy development and design of *Bill 30* suggests that the policy process generally takes place over time, often a long period of time. This means it becomes difficult to explain the process as a simple unit with an explainable outcome. The situation arises because, as the policy process proceeds, it can incorporate large numbers of decision points, each of which can generate policy outputs. In the case of *Bill 30*, for example, policy was developed in several arenas: PIC, the Ministry, the Standing Committee on Social Development, and several courts made critical determinations related to the change.

Second, policy outputs or outcomes are complex, and may involve several aspects which make categorization of the whole policy difficult. Both *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* were intended to address social charter issues related to equity, yet the outcomes of both policy changes have been perceived as inequitable by some stakeholders. In the case of *Bill 30*, public school supporters feel that the policy "has changed education and the level of funding in the province. . .the cost of this and what it's done to communities cannot be measured. It has had a lasting negative impact on public education."¹⁹⁹ In the case of *Bill 109*, the great expectations that Ottawa-Carleton francophones held for their new FLSB have, at the least, been revised in the face of the financial difficulties both sectors are now facing. Parents and trustees, who in 1988 greeted the policy change as the solution to developing programs uniquely suited to francophone students, found in September 1992 that many of the programs had been cut or altered, requiring students to be bussed to schools throughout the region. *Bill 109* was seen as the first opportunity for francophones to have complete control over educational governance, yet within three years, self governance had been replaced in the public sector of the FLSB with a Ministry-appointed supervisor who, some trustees charged, gives his orders "directly to the administration. . .eliminating elected trustees from the process" (*The Ottawa Citizen*, September 12, 1992, p. C1).

A third reason why policy making is not the unitary process depicted by the rational model is that it is complicated by the involvement of large numbers of actors whose subjective perceptions of policy problems may vary. The two policy change processes described in the preceding sections confirm the interpretive nature of perceptions of policy problems. Whereas critics of the two policy changes believe that the fragmentation that results from the division of students along linguistic and religious lines creates a number of problems for the community as a whole, Franco-Ontarians and Roman Catholics believe that the public school failed in the past to adequately address their unique needs.

A fourth reason why the policy change process is more complex than is depicted by rational models is because the forces influencing public policy interact in ways that simple additive models do not adequately describe. The interactions of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* with the demographic and economic changes in the Ottawa-Carleton region illustrate this phenomenon well. The conflicts created by these interactions resulted in a redistributive policy problem that could not be resolved by addressing either policy change alone. In proposing a common-interest framework to resolve this problem, the Ministry-appointed Commission of Inquiry recognized the need to take into account the additive effect of the interaction of these factors (Mawhinney, 1992b).

The preceding analyses confirm that the dynamic nature of policy arises because the issues influencing public policy making are rarely well-structured. Rather, policy goals are often ambiguous or unknown with the result that determining goals becomes part of the problem. The policy phases are often "indeterminate" because success in one phase doesn't ensure success in another. For example, adoption does not guarantee successful implementation. Policy phases, linked through feedback and feedforward loops, appear more like a tangled river network (Beer, 1981, p. 30) than a cycle of activity (see Jones, 1977). The policy process, according to one senior government official:

is not a linear process; it's a circular-linear process, in a sense that these stages interact in each other. You go back and forth;

that is, you don't just go neatly from step 1 to step 2.... Sometimes you start with a step, and in an attempt to rationalize the process, to make it acceptable and legitimate, you go back and do a previous step.²⁰⁰

These characteristics of the systemic context of policy change suggest that the IF developed in this thesis must incorporate a dynamic perspective which acknowledges that policy is not always developed at the top, but may develop as the result of a particular innovation, or because of pressures from the bottom (Majone & Wildavsky, 1978). In this context, the focus of the IF is on the dynamics of policy change, or the interaction of forces as a particular issue moves from one type of decision-making arena to another (Chandler, Chandler, & Vogler, 1974, Mazzone, 1991a). Action, in the IF, may precede policy, and it may not be possible to say "whether action is influencing policy, or policy action" (Barrett & Hill, 1984, p. 219). Illustrations drawn from *Bill 30*, for example, suggest that implementation was occurring before legislation was in place. Some policy actors argue "the process got all mixed up because of the challenge to the court that delayed the policy development part and the legislative part, but the implementation was going on in any case."²⁰¹ Moreover, the unique context of different boards in the province meant that "it had to be done that way" in order to facilitate learning from case-by-case investigations of policy problems. Reflecting these phenomena in the IF, policy change is viewed as a problem-solving activity conducted in a number of arenas. Supporting this depiction, a policy actor in the *Bill 30* process observes that in the PIC arena the commission "made policy in response to the problems, and the policy followed the problem and tried to address the problem."²⁰²

The unique influence of contextual factors is illustrated in this problem-oriented policy process, where the speed with which the policy change proceeded made it "impossible to think out all of the circumstances, [and taxed] the ingenuity of people" in solving the problems that arose.²⁰³ In this context, the policy followed the problem, and according to one policy actor, "it sometimes even followed ... the local solution."²⁰⁴ This adaptive orientation was institutionalized in the text of the PIC policy guidelines which stated:

"this policy need only be applied if there isn't already a local solution."²⁰⁵ As developed in the preceding discussions, the *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* policy-development experiences confirm that processes and context are interdependent.

Chapter Four Summarized

Chapter Four has presented the background to the two policy changes studied in this thesis. The interpretive basis for the inquiry was outlined. The governing structure of the IF that emerges from this philosophical base was presented in Figure 4.1. The chapter described the interaction of contextual forces with the overlapping processes of agenda setting, policy development and design, and implementation. It also described the interpretive nature of perceptions of social, economic and political impacts of policy change. The phenomena identified in these discussions suggest that the IF must recognize that the contextual forces, which exert influence on all the processes and at all levels of the policy system, generate a dynamic tension between stability and change. Figure 4.3 illustrates the dynamic tension generated by the contextual parameters of the policy system. The figure illustrates that agenda-setting, policy development and design, implementation, and impact are interacting and overlapping processes. It suggests that unlike policy models which classify, a priori, some external forces as stable and others as dynamic, the IF proposes that a dynamic tension exists between stable forces and forces for change.

The arguments developed in this chapter confirm that policy processes rarely occur in discrete stages. Rather, policy making may occur throughout the policy change as problems are identified and solved in overlapping and interdependent processes. The discussions suggest that when policies follow solutions, they become interpretive guidelines instead of last resorts. The outcome is that the distinctions between bureaucrats and politicians, which according to traditional administrative theory are based on differentiating policy from administration, are less evident. On the basis of the analysis reported here, the IF adopts a conception of "policy in use" (Sergiovanni,

1992, p. 59). Policy is created as the mandated characteristics are weighed in light of contextual factors, and as problems are interpreted by various stakeholders. It is created as "differential priorities are assigned, action theories are applied, and ideas come to life in the form of implementing decisions and professional practice" (p. 59). Rather than depicting the processes of policy making as discrete stages of functional activity, the IF emphasizes that policy is created as policy announcements and guidelines are interpreted. These arguments set the stage for the discussions of the influence of institutional structures and ideas on policy change, which follow in Chapter Five.

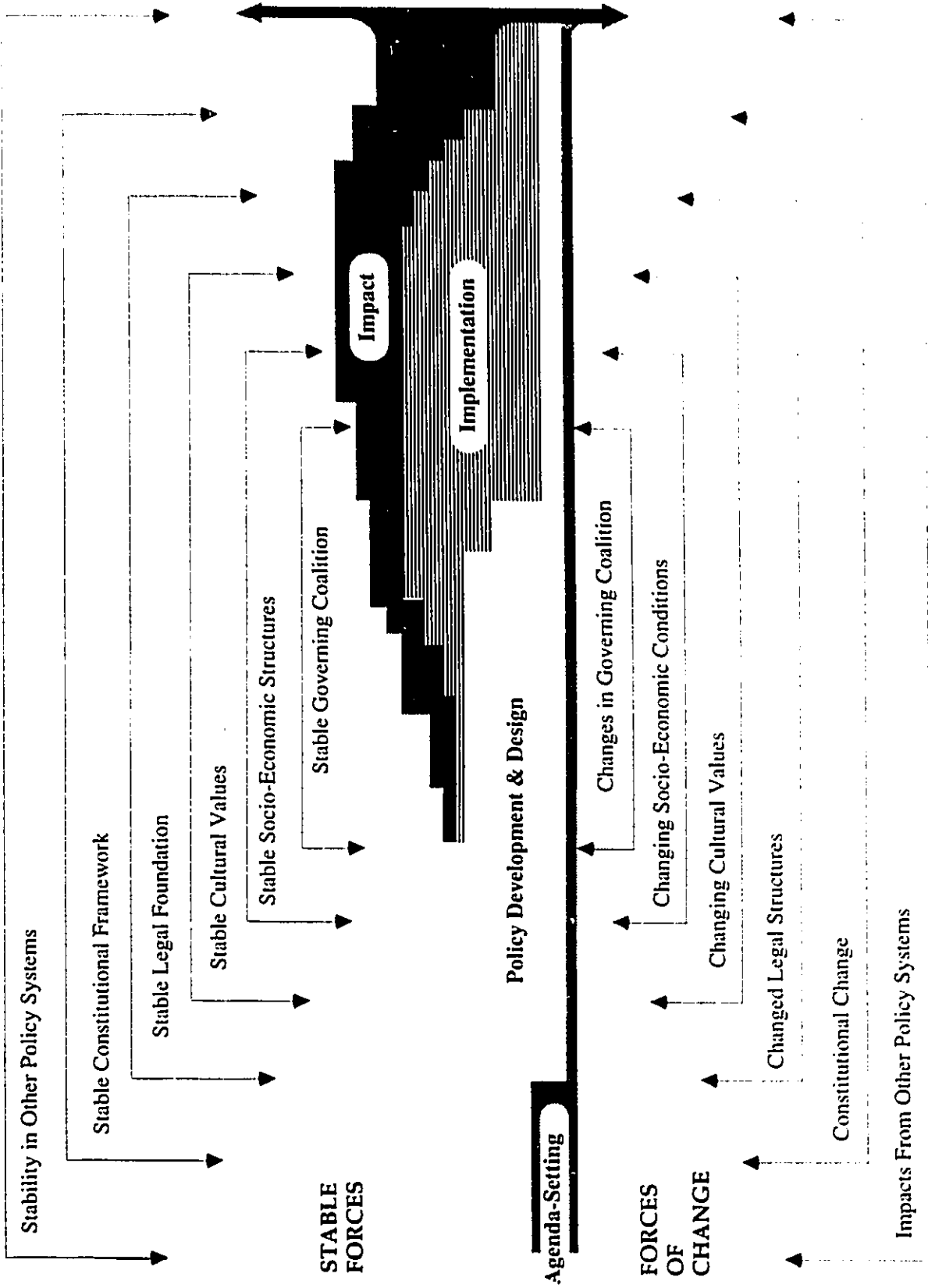


Figure 4.3. Dynamic Tension Generated by Contextual Parameters.

- 1 W. G. Davis, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 2 In 1984, Alberta and Saskatchewan had a two-stream system of private and public schools. Newfoundland had a completely denominational system comprised of three educational systems: a Roman Catholic system; a Protestant system; and a Seventh Day Adventist System. New Brunswick, Quebec, Manitoba, Nova Scotia and British Columbia did not support separate schools. PEI provided only textbook grants if prescribed texts were used.
- 3 R. Anderson, personal communication, December 13, 1991.
- 4 Supreme Court of Ontario (1984, June 26) *Reference re Education Act of Ontario and Minority Language Education Rights*.
- 5 The following discussion draws from research reported in Jakes and Mawhinney (1990).
- 6 Over the years funding was gradually extended to grade 10 and finally completed for secondary education through special legislation in 1986.
- 7 The proportion of students in each grade, from grade 9 to grade 13 (the final year of high school in Ontario), did not change from 1938 to 1948.
- 8 During the 1960s Ontario's population grew by over 20% and its gross provincial product by 122%. At the same time government spending rose by 296%, most of it in education.
- 9 See Jakes and Mawhinney (1990) for an overview of conflicts in Penetanguishene, Essex, and Toronto. Also see Mawhinney (1990) for an analysis of the Ottawa conflict as an ecology of games; also see Mawhinney (1991) for an analysis of the Essex and Ottawa conflicts using the Advocacy Coalition Framework, and Mawhinney (in press) for an analysis of the Penetanguishene conflict also using the ACF.
- 10 Fr. M. Lapointe, personal communication, February 3, 1992.
- 11 W.G. Davis, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 12 Fr. D. Murphy, personal communication, January 9, 1992.
- 13 C. Matthews, J.C., personal communication, February 18, 1992.
- 14 W. G. Davis, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 15 C. Matthews, J.C., personal communication, February 18, 1992.
- 16 Personal communication, January 8, 1992.
- 17 C. Matthews, J.C., personal communication, February 18, 1992.

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- 18 Ibid.
 - 19 F. Clifford, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
 - 20 W.G. Davis, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
 - 21 Dr. E. Stewart, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
 - 22 F. Clifford, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
 - 23 C. Matthews, J.C., personal communication, February 18, 1992.
 - 24 J. Boich, personal communication, March 8, 1992.
 - 25 F. Clifford, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
 - 26 J. Boich, personal communication, March 8, 1992.
 - 27 J. Boich, personal communication, March 8, 1992.
 - 28 As of September 1990, more than 122,000 pupils were enrolled in the 5 school boards in the region.
 - 29 Commissions of inquiry have been the focus of a significant body of research in Canada during the past four decades (Christie and Pross 1990; Doern, 1967; Le Dain, 1973; Macdonald, 1980; Salter and Slaco, 1981; Wilson, 1971). This research, largely focused on particular commissions, has provided understanding of some of the functions of this highly visible instrument in the policy process (see Salter and Slaco, 1981). However, little, if any, research has directly examined the role of commissions of inquiry as policy instruments used to resolve value conflicts that arise during the implementation of educational policy changes. See Ricker (1981) and more recently Mawhinney (1992b) for an overview of such examinations.
 - 30 G. Moore, personal communication, January 27, 1992.
 - 31 Ibid.
 - 32 For example the first page of the cabinet submission explains what the issue is, gives some background, outlines the proposed direction, suggests the pros and cons of the direction and indicates some of the related issues. A second page lists the costs and outlines the consultation that has occurred with other ministries of the government that may be affected by the policy change. A third page lists policy recommendations.
 - 33 Dr. E. Stewart, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
 - 34 Senior government official, personal communication, December 20, 1991.
 - 35 One former policy advisor drew on his experience in commenting on Kingdon's proposal that solutions float around in a kind of soup: "Well,

I think there are problems looking for solutions; there are also problems that [are] unrelated to this primeval swamp which is cooking over here, which decide [that] they may as well jump in if this one starts to bubble. So there are all sorts of great examples, but one interesting example is that in the course of the Sunday closing policy debate, there was a very concerted effort by the Ministry of labour to use this as an opportunity to develop further the bureaucratic infrastructure for assisting workers in dealing with employment problems. So all of a sudden there was whole side show going on on the right to refuse unreasonable Sunday work, and indeed they had a commission to deal with this. The starting point was 'when should stores be open?', and then the next thing you knew there was this whole big "employment equity" issue being played out which I think the fly on the wall might have said was the Ministry of Labour looking for an opportunity saying 'what can we get out of this swamp?' (personal communication, January 9, 1992).

- 36 See Walker (1955, 1976, 1985) for a definitive history of Catholic education in Ontario.
- 37 For a description of the Regulation 17 controversy, see Jakes and Mawhinney (1990). For a comparative analysis of the demands of the Women's Christian Temperance League and Franco-Ontarians as respectively congruent and conflicting with the dominant political ideology of the day, see Mawhinney and Cook (1992). Classic analyses of the conflict are found in Barber (1969) and Choquette (1975, 1984).
- 38 See Jakes & Mawhinney, 1990; Mawhinney, 1991a.
- 39 See Jakes and Mawhinney (1989) for an in-depth description of conflicts in the communities of Essex, Penetanguishene and Toronto over minority French-language education.
- 40 Two important reports had significant impact on provisions for French-language education, the Bériault Commission report (1968) and the Symons Commission report (1972).
- 41 A questionnaire was distributed to 6,000 francophone parents in the region. Only 2,080 replies were received, however, and of those, only 1,242 indicated that they supported a French Catholic school board for the region.
- 42 Among the leaders of this coalition were Gérard Lévesque, Vice-President of the French- Language Advisory Committee of the Ottawa Board of Education; Trustee Lucien Bradet of the Ottawa Board of Education; Pierre De Blois, President of the Ottawa-Carleton chapter of l'Association canadienne française de l'Ontario; and Roman Catholic

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- Archbishop, J. Aurèle Plourde of Ottawa (Roy Commission, 1986, p. 22).
- 43 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 44 Fr. M. Lapointe, personal communication, February 3, 1992.
- 45 Although the government indicated that it believed that the proposal could also apply to separate school boards, it recognized that a division of powers within a separate school board based upon language might be open to legal challenge, therefore, it deferred action on applicability of the governance proposal to the Roman Catholic separate school boards.
- 46 Desroches, Brisson, Bélanger, Godin, l'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario and l'Association des enseignants franco-ontariens vs. The Attorney-General of Ontario.
- 47 These French-Language Education Councils (FLECs) replaced the French-Language Advisory Committees (FLACs) that had previously operated. In contrast to the responsibilities of FLACs, the jurisdiction given to the new FLECs by Bill 75 represented a significant increase in independence for francophones. The minority-language councils and the majority-language trustees were each responsible for decision making with regard to their areas of exclusive jurisdiction, although minutes of the separately-held meetings of each group were shared. They also shared decision making in the areas of common jurisdiction such as centralized services. In the case of both the areas of exclusive and common jurisdiction, a majority quorum of the responsible trustees was required in order to vote on resolutions.
- 48 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 49 G. Lévesque, personal communication, February 10, 1992.
- 50 Ibid.
- 51 This analysis has led to a revision in Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework. See Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith (in press), Chapter Ten.
- 52 Lévesque comments, however: "I am surprised at the amount of time and money that in every province we have to allocate for clarification of language rights in education. And once we have these, the governments don't act rapidly to implement change, they wait for another court challenge or they just do a little bit" G. Lévesque, personal communication, February 10, 1992.
- 53 Lévesque notes that even with the fund, the community still had to provide time and money to go to court. Ibid.
- 54 J. Boich, personal communication, March 8, 1992.

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- 55 M. Buchanan, personal communication, December 19, 1991.
- 56 N. Sterling, personal communication, February 29, 1992.
- 57 W. Davis personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 58 B. Stephenson, personal communication, January 6, 1992.
- 59 Ibid.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 In 1984 approximately 2.4 million of Ontario's 8.6 million residents were Roman Catholic.
- 62 One journalistic account by Claire Hoy (1987), a conservative Toronto Sun columnist claimed that Davis had promised Carter to sponsor full funding by the time he left office.
- 63 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 17, 1992.
- 64 E. Stewart, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 65 W.G. Davis, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 66 Ibid.
- 67 Ibid.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Dr. E. Stewart, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 71 W.G. Davis, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 72 Ibid.
- 73 Ibid.
- 74 Ibid.
- 75 Davis recounts the kind of practical basis of judgement he relied on in making the decision. "I have to say that it was really just as much a decision predicated on what was the right thing to do for the people very directly involved. . . I think I had made up my mind prior to that [decision], but I was cutting my lawn, I used to cut my own lawn. These kids came across from Cardinal Léger [the local separate secondary school]. I don't think I said before the standing committee, so I cannot use the fact that they were Portuguese children, children of Portuguese parents, they knew who I was, they were very respectful and they had not been sent to see me. They had to cut across our front lawn on their way home, and it was at that time of year when the plans for grade 11 were to be made. And they were very polite, and they just asked me,

they didn't know, no one at the school had been blaming anyone, but they had just been asked . . . to start paying fees that coming September, very large fees. And you know, I didn't have an answer for them. There was no point in my explaining to them the history, the tradition, how much we had done for grades 9, 10, etc. because the bulk of the kids were going to stay there and the bulk of the parents were going to put up money. They were just not going to transfer. Some might have out of economic necessity, and this would be true in most of the combined public and private high schools. And you know, I just reached a point where I just felt that there wasn't any logical alternative but to do this. " (W.G. Davis, personal communication, February 19, 1992).

- 76 Ibid.
- 77 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 78 D. Dodds, personal communication, February 19, 1992.
- 79 Dr. E. Stewart, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 80 W.G. Davis, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 81 D. Dodds, personal communication, February 19, 1992..
- 82 W.G. Davis, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 83 Scholars of practical discourse such as Toulmin (1958) have attempted to explicate the "informal logic" of normative reasoning.
- 84 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 85 Dr. E. Stewart, February 17, 1992.
- 86 A former senior government policy advisor reflects on this process by noting: "If I were sitting with a group of civil servants looking back on some of the policy development projects I was involved in, it would be fairly characteristic that there would be a whole lot of stuff going on that would have been of no particular interest to anybody except the people who were doing them. So I think you have to exercise a fairly close judgement before you know exactly what significance to attach to [it]. What do you say, if for example, the Minister says 'I want you to do a policy paper on the extension of funding to separate schools'? So now it goes over to the civil service side, and they do 15 drafts of the policy papers. They say we have five basic policy options and they are a,b, c, d, e. And what may happen in real life is that they work on that for six months. They are basically not talking to anybody. They boil that down to three. It goes to the Minister and the Minister in two minutes says well, a, b. & e and f are stupid so we are not going to do those. And work it up again just looking at c and e. Now if at that point a Minister then

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- goes to some stakeholders and says 'Look, we are looking at these two options, now renumbered a and b, what do you think?' That may be a significant encounter in the development of the process, but it may be a lot shorter than the seven agonizing months the civil servant did something that nobody was interested in" (personal communication, January 9, 1992).
- 87 A government official describes the source of some of this untidiness in this way: "I used to say to people, look, you have a plan here that is going to take us from today through the year 2000, do not ask me to go in there and talk to the Premier about that if today he is faced with some immediate crisis, if some cabinet minister has just screwed up, or some great difficulty has arisen elsewhere, or the Treasurer is coming in to say we are another billion dollars in the hole. Those are the things that tend to take over and dominate, and I think they influence a lot of what goes on in government on a day-to-day and year-to-year basis" (Dr. E. Stewart, February 17, 1992).
- 88 Personal communication, December 20, 1991.
- 89 OSSTF memo to Provincial Executive, August 14, 1984, Buchanan papers.
- 90 M. Buchanan to W.G. Davis, June 25, 1984, Buchanan papers.
- 91 W.G. Davis to M. Buchanan, August 14, 1984, Buchanan papers.
- 92 B. Rae to M. Buchanan, July 25, 1984, Buchanan papers.
- 93 L.M. Richardson, OSSTF to M. Green, June 28, 1984, Buchanan papers.
- 94 M.A. Green to M. Buchanan, August 13, 1984, Buchanan papers.
- 95 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 96 Ibid.
- 97 R. Saunders, personal communication, February 19, 1992.
- 98 The first commissioners of PIC included Chairperson W. T. Newnham; Vice-Chairperson B. E. Nelligan; J.L. Bourdeau; J. A. Fraser; C. F. Gilhooly; T. E. Hendry; W. A. Jones; T. R. Léger.
- 99 B. Stephenson, personal communication, January 6, 1992.
- 100 R. Saunders, personal communication, February 19, 1992.
- 101 The consultation process on teacher, pupil and building transfers resulted in conflicts in some communities, such as North Bay, Hamilton, and Sudbury.
- 102 R. Desjardins, personal communication, January 22, 1992.

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- 103 Ibid.
- 104 R. Saunders, personal communication, February 19, 1992.
- 105 Ibid.
- 106 S. Hanna, personal communication, February 19, 1992.
- 107 OSSTF Media Release, October 3, 1984.
- 108 N. Sterling the Conservative MPP, who had opposed the policy change initially, was the only member to oppose the legislation.
- 109 According to observers, one of the key members was the NDP education critic, Richard Allen.
- 110 C. Beckman, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
- 111 S. Hanna, personal communication, February 19, 1992.
- 112 Ibid.
- 113 R. Desjardins, personal communication, January 22, 1992.
- 114 The Committee heard forty-five briefs and position papers at public hearings. The Committee noted that this information proved most useful. (*The Roy Committee*, 1986, p. 16.)
- 115 These included Le Conseil francophone de planification scolaire d'Ottawa-Carleton; the Planning and Implementation Commission on Bill 30; the Commission on Private Schools in Ontario; the Commission on the Financing of Elementary and Secondary Education in Ontario; The Standing Committee on General Government.
- 116 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 117 P. Lauwers, personal communication, February 20, 1992.
- 118 R. Saunders, personal communication, February 19, 1992.
- 119 Goggin et al. (1990) outline a dynamic model of implementation based on communications theory which acknowledges the key role of interpretation.
- 120 R. Desjardins, personal communication, January 22, 1992.
- 121 S. Conway, personal communication, January 16, 1992.
- 122 R. Saunders, personal communication, February 19, 1992.
- 123 S. Conway, personal communication, January 16, 1992.
- 124 Ibid.
- 125 Ibid.
- 126 Ibid.

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- 127 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 128 S. Conway, personal communication, January 16, 1992.
- 129 Ibid.
- 130 Ibid.
- 131 P. Lauwers, personal communication February 20, 1992.
- 132 Ibid.
- 133 R. Saunders, personal communication, February 19, 1992.
- 134 F. Clifford, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
- 135 In one such case the director of the Toronto public board was able to work out a deal with the director of the Metro Toronto separate board, where the separate board was given a 99 year lease on a school for one dollar, and the Toronto public board received the funds that the separate board would have received at its rate of grant on the funds provided by the Ministry for the construction of a new school (\$14 million). This was less than the original grant of \$18 million, with the result that all three parties benefited. (Dr. E. McKeowan, personal communication, February 18, 1992.
- 136 Dr. Hal Hansen, personal communication, January 17, 1992.
- 137 Ibid.
- 138 R. Léger, personal communication, June 4, 1992.
- 139 Andre Lalonde, personal communication, February 20, 1992.
- 140 Ibid.
- 141 Dr. L. Desjarlais, personal communication, July, 1992.
- 142 For example Basil MacDonald, a separate school trustee, comments: "There was a great deal made about the right of Catholic education that the BNA Act says we should have; that may be true but it hasn't been court tested ... I think it's more of a privilege" (personal communication, January 16, 1992).
- 143 Dr. L. Desjarlais, personal communication, July, 1992.
- 144 Ibid.
- 145 Ibid.
- 146 Ibid.
- 147 A. Lalonde describes the accommodation thus: "When the first language board was created here, it was simply placed under the same conditions as the other boards. Now, we had [fewer] than 1500 students, and we

- were in the same federation with boards that had 40,000 students. There must be some accommodation in the financing of those boards to take into account the difference in size" (personal communication, February 20, 1992).
- 148 R. Léger, personal communication, June 4, 1992.
- 149 The direct transfer of FL1 grants to schools allowed teachers to "take a contingent of kids to Quebec City. . . travel first class and stay in hotels ... while the English kids were brown-bagging it in a yellow bus and going to the Arts Centre here" (R. Léger, personal communication, June 4, 1992).
- 150 Dr. L. Desjarlais points out that the promised \$4.5 million start-up grant finally turned into \$2.7.
- 151 *Ibid.*
- 152 A. Lalonde, personal communication, February 20, 1992.
- 153 R. Anderson, personal communication, December 13, 1991.
B. MacDonald, a trustee for the English sector of the Carleton Separate Board, also comments: "The members of the implementation committee were the francophone trustees (half of the Carleton Separate Board). The matters were conducted in camera. We knew nothing about it; we received no minutes from it" (personal communication, January 16, 1992).
- 154 D. Byrne, personal communication, January 16, 1992.
- 155 T. Cousineau, personal communication, December 12, 1991.
- 156 N. Collette, personal communication, January 28, 1992.
- 157 One senior government official describes the influence of political will on the implementation of Bill 30 thus: "Because the full force of the government was behind it ... [it] is actually happening. Many announcements are made that disappear into thin air. They never happen because the government ... or whoever is announcing the policy, isn't that committed, and the implementation didn't develop. So after a few years, people just forget about it. [There are] lots of examples of that kind: the 'garbage can of announced policies,' like beached whales. . . . But, if it's a really big issue [that] the government is really determined about, they can overcome not having dealt with those things. . . . I think in some sense Bill 109 and Bill 30 are both examples of that" (personal communication, December 20, 1992).
- 158 S. Conway, personal communication, January 16, 1992.
- 159 *Ibid.*

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- 160 S. Conway cites this example of the complexities created by the interaction of rights with contextual factors: "Bill 30 essentially wiped out the secondary panel of the Prescott-Russell board of education. Virtually everybody in high school was transferred over to the separate board. . . Well then along comes Bill 75 and then you're going to divide [the community] again and again. As long as you're in an urban setting where you've got a certain scale then you've got options. . . Then you create the French Language School Board and out of that then drops the English Roman Catholics - who are all over the place. [There are] not very many of them, but they're [located] here, there and everywhere. Does the fulfillment of [the French language] constitutional guarantee then effectively nullify the rights of English Roman Catholics?" (S. Conway, personal communication, January 16, 1992).
- 161 Ibid.
- 162 Ibid.
- 163 Ibid.
- 164 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 165 R. Desjardins, personal communication, January 22, 1992.
- 166 Ministry of Education official, personal communication, January 10, 1992.
- 167 Ibid.
- 168 R. Leblanc, personal communication, January 6, 1992.
- 169 Ministry of Education official, personal communication, December 20, 1992.
- 170 One director of education explains this initial concern thus: "...the initial concentration was upon people, [and that] is very understandable. The educational industry is a people industry. We don't have widgets and gadgets, we have an awful lot of people. So politically, for example, that was a major issue at all the hearings on Bill 30 ... that the rights and the employment rights, and salaries and the conditions and terms of anybody who might be adversely affected by the proposed policy of Bill 30, had to be iron-clad" (D. Byrne, personal communication, January, 16, 1992).
- 171 C. DiGiovanni, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 172 T. Riley, personal communication, January 10, 1992.
- 173 P. Laverance, personal communication, January 23, 1992.
- 174 M. Buchanan, personal communication, December 19, 1991.

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- 175 Ibid.
- 176 Dr. L. Desjarlais, personal communication, July 1991.
- 177 G. Pollock, personal communication, December 17, 1991.
- 178 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 179 Ibid.
- 180 P. Laverance, personal communication, January 23, 1992. This view is shared by a former chairperson of another public board who indicates: "We've lost. Once ... they've gone over there to become "they," and we are "us," we don't have to make those compromises any more, and we're not prepared to make them" (J. Dobell, personal communication, December 10, 1991).
- 181 N. Roy, personal communication, January 31, 1992.
- 182 G. Pollock, personal communication, December 19, 1991.
- 183 Former public school chairperson, personal communication, January 17, 1992.
- 184 D. Byrne, personal communication, January 16, 1992.
- 185 Ibid.
- 186 Ministry of Education official, personal communication, December 20, 1991.
- 187 Ibid.
- 188 One director comments: "I would think the minister would be loath to inherit by way of defaulted bankruptcy and the type of difficulty that is occurring here in Ottawa, [and] across the province, in many boards" (D. Byrne, personal communication, January 16, 1992).
- 189 Ibid.
- 190 T. Mangin, personal communication, December 17, 1991.
- 191 Ministry official, personal communication, December 20, 1992.
- 192 Public concern over the duplication of services during the 1992 school board elections led several candidates to call for a unified school board for the Ottawa Carleton region. The OSSTF continues to promote the concept, arguing that: "the solution to the problem as we see it is the creation of unified school boards. You can develop and we have developed ... general principles. You could develop a system by which the constitutional rights for francophones and separate school supporters ... could be accommodated within a unified system. You would have X number of trustees elected to represent those constituent groups, but

you'd have one school board. You may even want, within a school board, a certain number of schools that would be just for francophones. You may want a couple of schools that are just for the most devout of the Catholic religion. You may have none of those and have classes for all those. You may have denominational religious classes for those who want them." (M. Buchanan, personal communication, December 19, 1992).

- 193 Dr. E. Stewart, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 194 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 195 Ibid.
- 196 The Coalition for Public Education was formed of five church groups, a provincial school trustees association, and OSSTF.
- 197 S. Conway, personal communication, January 16, 1992.
- 198 Ibid.
- 199 M. Buchanan, personal communication, December 19, 1992.
- 200 Senior government official, personal communication, December 20, 1992.
- 201 T. Riley, personal communication, January 10, 1992.
- 202 Ibid.
- 203 Ibid.
- 204 Ibid.
- 205 Ibid.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION II

Institutions, Ideas, and the Logic of Policy Change

Chapter Four presented the background to the two policy changes studied in this thesis and described the interpretive orientation that forms the basis of the inquiry. The processes and context of the two policy changes were described, and a model presented to illustrate the dynamic tensions generated by stable and dynamic contextual forces throughout the processes of policy change. The conception of policy making that emerges from these discussions of process and context lacks the institutional and ideological dimensions that are critical to understanding the politics of policy change. These dimensions are examined in the discussions of the fourth and fifth research questions that emerged from the literature reviewed in Chapter Two. The sections of the chapter that follow respond to these questions:

4. How do institutional structures influence the nature of policy change?
5. How do ideas influence the arguments and debates that generate policy change?

These sections discuss core elements of the IF relating to institutional structures and the dominant ideas and the forces driving policy change. The concluding section of the chapter responds to the final research question:

6. What are the implications of an interpretive orientation for conceptualizing the logic of policy change?

This latter section presents a model of an interpretive logic of policy which is abstracted from the findings of the three-stage theoretical research undertaken in this thesis. In the concluding discussion the elements of policy change and the interpretive probes that they provoke, are presented in the summary table of the Interpretive Framework (IF). The IF is intended to be used in other policy studies which adopt an interpretive orientation as a conceptual basis for inquiry. Finally, the relations among these elements and their attributes are displayed in an interpretive model of the politics of policy change.

Institutional Structures

In the following discussion the fourth research question guiding this thesis is considered. It asks:

How do institutional structures influence the nature of policy change?

Chapter Two documented the important influence on policy change ascribed to environmental context by dominant policy models. During the past five years, the "society-centredness" of contextual orientations have been challenged by the growing recognition of the role that institutional structures play in the policy process. Skocpol (1985), and others, have proposed "bringing the state back in" to analyses of policy change. The state in this sense is conceived narrowly as state officials with their own preferences and capacities to effect public policy. Or, it may also be seen from a macro-perspective as encompassing the organizational configuration of state officials. Neo-institutional scholars such as Skocpol (1985) argue that this approach is important, not just because of the implications of the choice of governing instruments by state officials, but also because:

...their organizational configurations, along with their overall patterns of activity, affect political culture, encourage some kinds of group formation and collective political actions (but not others), and make possible the raising of certain political issues (but not others). (p. 21)

Thus, the design of political institutions is as important to political democracy as are economic and social conditions. Institutions such as legislatures and courts are not only arenas for power struggles, but they also embody "collections of standard operating procedures and structures that define and defend interests" (March & Olsen, 1984, p. 738). In this way political institutions affect the distribution of resources, which, in turn, affects the power of political actors, and, thereby, affects political institutions. Consistent with the model of polis previously outlined, this thesis argues that politics and policy-making have distinct characteristics and dynamics that emerge from the institutional structures in which they are embedded.

In the following sections the role of institutional structures will be examined in the context of the two policy changes studied in this thesis. First the institutional structures and processes of policy making defined by the

cabinet-parliamentary system of Ontario are outlined from a discussion with a Ministry of Education official.¹ This description of an ideal process of policy making provides the basis for an examination of theoretical issues related to the influences of macro-, meso- and micro-level institutional structures on policy change. The description also provides an ideal bench mark with which to compare the actual institutional processes that were adopted in the two policy changes studied here. Subsequent discussions will illustrate that both policy changes departed substantially from the ideal depiction, while at the same time reflecting the influence of the basic institutional framework guiding policy development in the province.

Ontario's Institutional Policy Making Structures and Processes

Institutional structures, or the formal rules and regulations of the political system, reflect "the way in which government is organized, the degree of centralization or decentralization, the way authority is shared, [and] the formal mechanisms for registering decisions" (Simeon, 1976, p. 573-574). Institutions have implications for distribution. In conferring authority, in requiring that certain steps be taken before policy is enacted, and in giving certain authorities the right to make those decisions, institutions influence policy change. In Canada, institutions such as federalism and the cabinet-parliamentary form of government, have policy consequences because they structure the approaches to issues. Institutional factors, such as the number of veto points involved, also influence the means of achieving policy change and of enforcing that change.

The analysis of the two policy changes studied here suggests that Ontario, like many provincial legislatures, shares these characteristics. Ontario, like all provinces in Canada, is heir to the British parliamentary tradition. In the cabinet-parliamentary government evident in Ontario, the Premier and the Cabinet play critical roles in setting the direction of policy and making decisions on specific policy questions. The premier has the power to establish and modify the structure of the Cabinet and its committees. Cabinet ministers are ultimately responsible and accountable for the development of government policy, with the result that the most significant steps in policy making are made by the Cabinet and the bureaucracy before reaching the legislature.

Until the early 1970s, policy decision making occurred in plenary sessions of the Cabinet. Since then, however, such deliberations have become one of the final steps in the policy development process. The substantive considerations of policy proposals now occur within a system of Cabinet committees. The impetus for this development came from the Committee on Government Productivity (COGP) initiated by the Conservative-led government in 1969 to recommend ways to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of the government of Ontario. The need for these changes arose because of the tremendous growth and complexity in government policy which was making the bureaucracy more difficult to manage.²

In response to the growing ineffectiveness and inefficiency in government, the COGP recommended the formalization of the Cabinet committee system along functional lines. At the centre was a Cabinet committee called the Policy and Priorities Board with responsibilities for evaluating all policy proposals in light of government priorities. The Management Board was established to address personnel issues related to government activities. Policy field committees, such as the Social Development Committee, were also established. These committees provide for more detailed examination of issues, and provide "a forum for the confrontation of conflicting interests, or the co-operation of like interests" (Loreto & White, 1990, p. 88). The purpose of the Cabinet committee process is to deal more efficiently with situations such as occur when a policy option is particularly contentious, or when there are conflicting interests between ministries. This process facilitates the resolution of problems that arise in such situations at the Cabinet committee level rather than having to take up the time of the whole Cabinet. Similarly, vetting by Treasury or Management Board committees ensures that fiscal and human resource issues are addressed before the policy proposal goes to Cabinet.

Although Ontario has been governed by three different parties during the two decades since the COGP made its recommendations, the basic institutional structures and processes of the Cabinet committee system have remained essentially intact. At the same time each new premier and new Cabinet put their own stamp on the legislative process and made their own particular set of refinements of it.³ These changes reflect the way in which institutional structures themselves mirror ideas and values. Governments

may have particular directions or strategies they wish to pursue and by restructuring the legislative process they symbolically reflect their concerns.⁴

The basic Cabinet committee system recommended by the COGP currently remains intact, with some variations. The result is that although the Cabinet remains the "de jure" source of policy approval, in most instances Cabinet committees function as the de facto centres of decision-making. The Cabinet committee system structures the policy-making process into several phases. The first phase involves the development of policy alternatives. A policy issue may be identified within a ministry or by the Minister or even by the Premier. Sometimes the impetus for a policy change comes from issues that arise during an election campaign. Once governments are elected, however, institutionalized processes are set in motion which may take on a life of their own.

An initial aspect of this process is the preparation of a three page confidential Cabinet submission which provides direct policy advice to the Cabinet.⁵ This submission is first approved by the Minister and Deputy Minister before being vetted by a Cabinet committee concerned with the respective policy field in a second phase of the policy development process. In the case of education, this is often the Cabinet Committee on Social Policy. After reviewing the recommendations, this Cabinet committee will decide whether or not it will recommend that Cabinet approve the proposal. Commenting on this process, a Ministry of Education official noted: "if the submission doesn't get by the first committee, it's very difficult to take it anywhere."⁶ This point illustrates the way in which institutional processes structure the politics of the policy process. For example, it is at this stage that a minister favouring a particular policy option and facing resistance from other Cabinet members may undertake some political lobbying to bring those members on side.⁷

If the Cabinet submission is cleared by the Cabinet committee and there are financial implications, a third phase is initiated when the policy proposal is sent to the Treasury Board, or, if there are human resource or technological implications, to the Management Board.⁸ These Boards approve the financial and the human resource and technology components respectively, and recommend that the proposal be approved. The policy proposal is then presented to the Policy and Priority Board made up of key members of the

Cabinet. The function of this board is to determine whether the proposal should be a priority, and whether Cabinet time should be taken up to deal with it.⁹ The Board may recommend that the policy proposal be brought forward at a later time. If, however, the policy is approved by the Policy and Priorities Board, a fourth phase of policy development is initiated when the proposal is presented to the full Cabinet.

In the case that the policy proposal presented to Cabinet is accepted and does not require legislative change, the ministry can then implement the policy. If, however, the policy requires legislative changes, then a fifth phase of legislative work begins. Policy proposals are forwarded to the Legislative Committee, and the sponsoring ministry must then submit draft legislation to the Legislative Counsel in the Ministry of the Attorney General.¹⁰ When this process is completed the legislation is approved by the Minister and is then sent to the Cabinet Committee on Legislation and Regulation chaired by the Attorney General. If approved, the draft legislation is sent back to Cabinet, to acknowledge that it should go forward as drafted. After this Cabinet approval, the Minister is free to introduce it in the house as a bill.

The legislative phase brings unique problems. The initial problem, for example, is getting the draft legislation on the agenda of the house. Timing becomes very crucial in this process. The house leaders play a key role here, so that often their co-operation has to be sought. Often it is at this point that the Minister's political staff, with the assistance of the legislation branch and legislative counsel, work to get the legislation on the agenda. One Ministry official commented that at this point:

... if there is anything controversial in the legislation, the ministry usually starts the political lobbying process with the opposition members especially the critics and the house leaders. It always works best to keep them as informed as possible so they can't stand up in the house and say 'this is outrageous, this is the first time we've ever seen it and we need time to look at it,' and so on.¹¹

Legislation must compete for space on the legislative agenda. The priorities for the legislature are often determined by the Premier's office, although the house leader controls the actual agenda. The Premier's

initiatives generally take precedence, unless some unusually pressing matters arise to displace it.

After the draft legislation is on the agenda it goes through the first reading process. In this relatively simple stage, the Minister introduces the policy proposal as dealing with a particular issue, and it is then read into the record and receives a number before it actually becomes a bill. After first reading, ministry officials generally present an information session on what the bill involves for stakeholder groups. Although consultation may have taken place in the early development of the policy, following first reading the draft legislation is made available to examine for wording and intent. Stakeholder groups may feel that the legislation isn't desirable for them. If a group believes that there is a problem with the bill, they tend to lobby the opposition to represent their point of view during the second reading debate.

In the second reading, all members of the legislature have an opportunity to speak to the legislation in rounds of the various parties. Opposition parties may raise their problems with a particular bill, often quoting the groups that identified the problem. This process can present a hurdle to the passage of the legislation because, even in a majority government, there is still the risk that members of other parties will filibuster around the things they don't like. Ultimately, a majority government usually can get second draft of legislation through, but delays, if they occur, can destroy the legislative timetable of other bills. The institutionalized requirement for second reading debate may, thereby, influence the passage of not only the contentious legislation, but of other bills as well. Timing and rules of debate are key influences on the policy processes that emerge from the institutional processes and structures of the parliamentary system.

Another key influence on the policy change at this point is the agreement of the Members of the Provincial Parliament (MPP's). If there is unanimous agreement, then the bill can proceed to third reading. If, however, there is any opposition at all, then the bill is sent to a committee for fuller debate or for a last chance to raise an issue. The government may itself, after the introduction of the first reading bill, realize that there are a few problems, and may want to introduce amendments. Reflecting the influence of institutionalized rules, amendments can only occur at the committee stage.

The Minister introducing the legislation has the choice of sending it to the Committee of the Whole House, or to a Standing Committee of the legislature. Each avenue has its advantages. The Committee of the Whole House is comprised of the members of the legislature, who debate the policy change without input from outside groups. This process takes time from the legislative agenda. If the legislation is referred to the appropriate Standing Committee of the Legislature, it is removed from the legislature. This is a small committee of 12 or fewer MPPs, proportionally representing the parties in the legislature. If the members agree, the public may appear and be heard by the committee. This provides an important opportunity for public input and for revising the legislation because the Standing Committee can amend bills by majority vote. In the case of minority governments, some significant changes can, therefore be made during the Standing Committee process. The final stage of this process involves a clause by clause reading of the bill. If it holds a majority the government generally carries the issue it wishes to put forward in the Standing Committee.¹² Following debate, the Committee votes on each clause of the bill, and on the bill itself, and then reports back to the legislature indicating that they are bringing forth an amended bill, and what they recommend by majority vote or specific vote. The bill is then eligible for introduction and can be ordered for third reading.

Third reading is often a formality, because by the time a bill has gone through all the previous vetting most of the issues have been quite thoroughly aired. The Minister who is introducing the bill often makes a few final remarks that are quotable in a news release when the legislation is passed. Generally there is little significant debate at this stage. After the bill passes third reading, it may be proclaimed,¹³ or sections of it may be proclaimed at various times, or it may be given Royal Assent, which usually means that the whole bill is to be implemented exactly as stated.

As the preceding discussion suggests, the general process of policy development that occurs within the structures of Ontario's parliamentary system is fairly lengthy, taking over a year to complete if there are no short cuts or extended delays. To recap, the "ideal" process may begin with consultation with the stakeholders groups, which leads to a policy idea or a policy refinement. The development of the Cabinet submission is followed by the Cabinet committees process. Because of the requirements for

translation the time needed for drafting the legislation varies depending on how long the bill is. The time requirements for readings in the house also vary, depending on whether the bill is controversial and whether the Standing Committee decides to hold public hearings. The bill may also be affected by other legislation, perhaps being held up by filibustering.

The political calendar may also influence the legislation. Elections interrupt the legislative agenda. The defeat of a government means that the proposed policy change must go through most of the process again. The new government must be consulted, and new Cabinet submissions prepared because the new Cabinet will have to determine whether it wishes to go forward with the policy change. Regime change, can, unless there is significant agreement on the general thrust of a policy, substantially affect the legislative processes of policy making.

As the preceding discussion of the processes involved in the *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* illustrated, regime change occurred during both policy changes. The Conservative government led by William Davis announced its intention to extend full funding for Roman Catholic secondary schools, and under Education Minister Betti Stephenson, established the PIC to oversee the implementation process. It also announced legislation extending educational governance rights to Franco-Ontarians. Both policy changes were supported by the Liberal and New Democratic parties, so the subsequent defeat of the Conservatives did not severely threaten either policy change. The all-party agreement limited the debate concerning the policy changes. One observer notes:

The full funding policy change debate was particularly limited because the opposition parties always had to stop just short of where the concept would be defeated. They could talk about technicalities, about how it was implemented, but they could not really do justice to their own political position and defeat the concept. That doesn't always happen. Most bills don't have that kind of conceptual unanimity around them.¹⁴

The proposal for a French-language school board was supported by similar unanimity, partly because there was local agreement around the wish to have such a structure created. Although the Liberals, who ultimately introduced both policy changes, agreed with the concepts of both initiatives, they desired

a number of alterations in the models being proposed. Therefore, despite unanimity, as subsequent discussions will illustrate the legislative processes of the two policy changes were influenced by the changes in governments.

Implications of Institutional Structures and Processes

The institutional processes just outlined are illustrated in Figure 5.1. The figure shows that although institutions do not have particular policy content, their influence arises from the way they structure political competition and policy debate in a manner that gives advantages to some interests and disadvantages to others. Thus, institutional arrangements can, in themselves, be seen as policies imbued with dominant ideas. Moreover, institutions are also interests capable of exercising influence and power. For example, the likelihood that some decisions are reached and others ignored is influenced by a decision process that requires consultation with particular groups. The requirement that public hearings be held before a process can go ahead may increase the bargaining resources of those consulted. Establishing a French-language section of the Ontario Ministry of Education reflects a recognition of the importance of francophone interests in the province, and provides an avenue which these interest can use to promote favorable policies. Such changes, therefore, represent a process of institutionalizing interests. In this way governmental institutions can be seen to structure political reality, and to define the nature and terms of political discourse. Political institutions, accordingly, take on a life of their own as autonomous political actors; they promote certain ideologies and constrain the choices of individuals. Understanding policy change demands some awareness of the ways in which institutional structures shape the policy-making process.

The review of the literature undertaken in Chapter Two found that at the centre of the neo-institutional perspective is a focus on society-state relations. This perspective is adopted as a basis for the IF developed in this thesis. Based on the recognition of the need to disaggregate the concept of the state, three levels of state-society relations are conceptualized in the IF. The macro-level focuses on the broad state tradition that applies across all institutions within a polity. At the meso-level, state-society relations are evident in the policy communities of policy actors that form with an interest in a specific policy

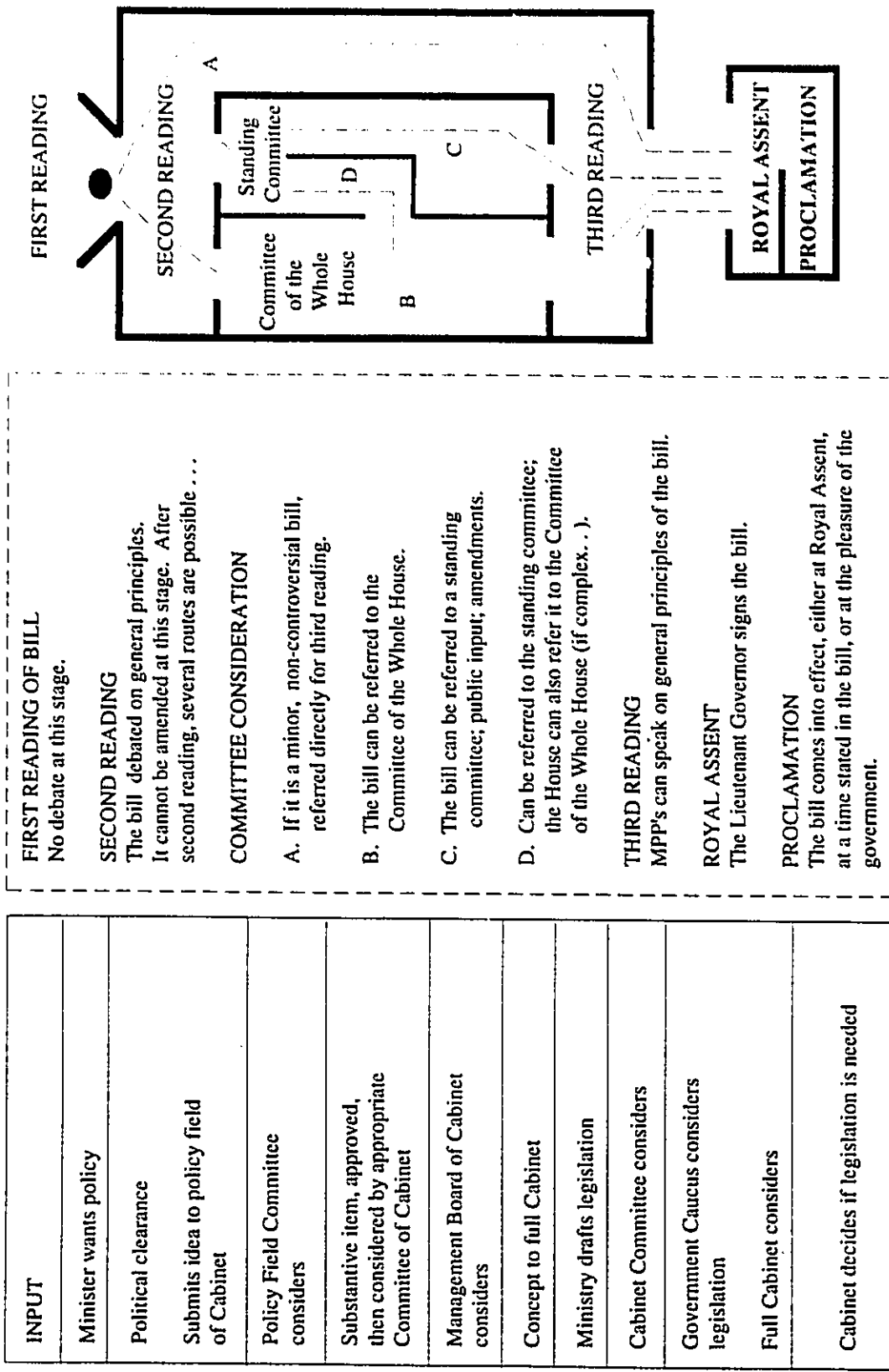


Figure 5.1. Institutional processes of policy making.

domains such as education. The third, micro level of state-society relations occur in policy networks that form around specific policy problems and issues within the broader policy community. In the following discussions the macro-, meso- and micro-levels of state-society relations are examined in relation to the two policy changes studied here.

Macro-Level Institutional Relations

Macro-level state-society relations are encompassed in the state tradition, which defines the nature and locus of power and the attitudes toward accommodation of interests. The state tradition, by defining the meaning and conception of politics, influences the behaviour of all groups in the polity. The policy changes studied in this thesis are embedded in the broader tradition of Canadian state-society relations. There is general agreement that this tradition demonstrates the characteristics of an "adversarial polity" (Atkinson & Coleman, 1989; Coleman & Skogstad, 1990; Pal, 1992). The parliamentary system, with its emphasis on public debate and partisanship, is seen as a fundamental manifestation of the adversarial model of state-society relations. Analysts argue that the parliamentary style of government, founded as it is "on opposition and dissent, and married to discipline and unity on opposing sides," fosters adversarial debate, fractious and bitter fights, and a political style of disrespect" (Pal, 1992, p. 105). Critics conclude that Canada's evidently "weak state tradition" has "yielded a highly disorganized, decentralized, discordant policy style at the national level" (p. 105). This occurs, in part, because in Canada party discipline is more strict than in Britain; and because of the smaller size of the legislature, its members are less likely to develop non-partisan parliamentary investigatory committees. The adversarial character of the Canadian polity is accentuated by federalism, which organizes political conflicts around inter-governmental relations depending upon whether the jurisdiction for a policy sector is "exclusive to one level, shared, or divided between levels" (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990, p. 19).

At the same time, Canada has a number of institutional counterweights to the inherent weakness of parliamentarianism and federalism. The federal

government, for example, was designed as a strong central authority, an authority that it has used in nation-building and national unity policies such as bilingualism and multiculturalism. In addition, the weakness of the parliamentary system is balanced by the party system and by the tendency to generate governments with long tenures. In Ontario, for example, the Conservative party held office for forty-two years. Pal (1992) concludes, therefore, that a better description of the Canadian polity is that it is a "robust" state.

There is general agreement that provincial governments similarly reflect unique state traditions. The analysis conducted here suggests that Ontario can also be seen as a robust state. A defining feature of this robustness is the key role in policy making played by the premier and the Cabinet, supported by the bureaucracy. The Cabinet committee system ensures that the most significant steps in policy making are made by the Cabinet and the bureaucracy before reaching the legislature. In the context of this parliamentary structure, the premier and Cabinet have historically formed the "very heart of the government of Ontario" (Loreto & White, 1990, p. 79). Although constrained by the need to maintain the support of the Cabinet and the electorate, Ontario premiers have not been afraid to use their unrivalled powers to put forward a favoured policy change as William Davis did when he announced the government's intention to extend support for Roman Catholic secondary education. The Conservative party's 42 year tenure as Ontario's government, and the majority the government held in the legislature, supported the Premier's exercise of his powers. A former senior government official comments that "in the case of any majority government the big decisions are not being made in the legislature, they have already been made around the Cabinet table, and to a large extent, follow the directions that the premier of the day wants to take."¹⁵

State Autonomy and Capacity

The autonomy and capacity of Ontario's government to make policy in the face of opposition also distinguishes it as a robust state. Such opposition was particularly evident in the policy change supporting the extension of funding for Roman Catholic secondary education. The issue of funding separate schools had a long history of generating conflict in the province, a

history that was repeated in the years following the announcement of the policy change by Davis. Despite the support of all three political parties, opposition to the change in the general population grew following the announcement. On March 28th, 1985, nine months after the announcement, a TV poll by TV Ontario's "Speaking Out" program asked the public whether or not they supported "the government's decision to fund Catholic schools fully." A majority did not (yes, 3,218; no 4, 110). Two years after the announcement, a Goldfarb poll commissioned by *The Toronto Star* newspaper found that 52 percent of those interviewed disapproved of the plan, while 45 percent approved of it. In his analysis of the results, Goldfarb concluded "this issue has not gone away. . . it is polarizing the population along religious lines" (*The Toronto Star*, May 22, 1986, p. A1). Opposition by public school supporters was organized by powerful associations. The Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation (OSSTF), for example, focused its significant organizational and financial resources on mounting a massive opposition campaign which included disseminating information to the media, lobbying MPPs, supporting candidates in the 1985 provincial election, and organizing a public protest rally. Despite this opposition, the three provincial parties continued to support the policy change. The political necessity of not breaking from a long established party position, the political will of Premier David Peterson and Education Minister Sean Conway, and an institutionalized tradition of Cabinet and caucus solidarity, were influential forces driving the Liberal government that succeeded the Conservatives to formally adopt, develop and implement the policy change.

The capacity of Ontario's government must be viewed in the context of the forces that contribute to the robustness of the state. Capacity is evident in the relation of the state to "particular kinds of socio-economic and political environments populated by actors with given interests and resources" (Skocpol, 1985, p. 19). This relational approach focuses on understanding the capacity of a state to change the behaviour, or oppose the demands, of various interests. It requires examining the "balances of states' resources and situational advantages compared with those of nonstate actors," as well as the features of the state itself (p. 19).

There are still substantial differences in the power of the state in different policy sectors. These differences emerge from the institutional basis of the

organization of the sector. For example, the organization of education in Ontario defined by Section 93 of the *Constitution Act* (1867), established the decentralized system that places the responsibility for financing the school systems in the hands of the provincial government. Ontario's *Education Act* further delegates many of the powers with respect to education to local school boards. One of these is the powers to generate local tax revenues, which, as the discussion of the economic impact of *Bill 30* in the preceding section suggests, constrains the capacity of state to use instruments and financial resources to achieve goals such as equity. There is general agreement that a state's means of raising and deploying financial resources provide the "best general insight into the direct and indirect leverage a state is likely to have for realizing any goal it may pursue" (Skocpol, 1985, p. 17).

A fundamental instrument that has defined the decentralized nature of Ontario's resource allocation system for education is the Foundation Plan approach (Atherton, 1985, p. 110). Developed to address concern for equity in education finance, the Foundation Plan means that school expenditures in Ontario are financed by a combination of grants from the provincial government and monies raised locally by taxing both residential and non-residential properties in the local district. If school boards were totally responsible for raising money from local taxation, the result would be varying levels in the quality of education, given the differences in per capita assessment and income across municipalities (Auld, 1985, p. 185). In response to this inequity, the Foundation Plan was adopted in 1964 to attempt to provide school boards with equitable per-pupil levels of expenditure. The capacity of the Ministry of Education to ensure equity is constrained, because the Foundation Plan provides for the "unregulated access to the local property tax base to support services in addition to the foundation level" (Atherton, 1985, p. 112). As such, it preserves local control and feasibility of local initiatives, but it also limits the capacity of the Ministry to use financial levers to gain compliance of all boards for desired policy changes. On one hand it appears, as an observer commented, that the capacity of the Ministry of Education to ensure its policy initiatives are adopted is enhanced by financial resources because "the most miniscule sum of money will get a board to do almost anything."¹⁶ On the other hand, the variability in tax base across the province means that wealthier boards are not moved to action by

the same financial incentives that poorer boards are. This phenomenon was evident during the implementation of *Bill 30* during the case-by-case negotiations for the transfer of high schools from public boards to their coterminous separate boards. The \$500 per pupil place offered to public school boards to compensate for the transfer provided little incentive for wealthier boards. A policy actor in this process remembers "Metro Toronto would laugh at you at \$500 a pupil. It just didn't mean anything."¹⁷ Thus, the capacity of a state to deal with particular problems or crises is constrained by the range and scope of the financial resources available and the instruments used to distribute them.¹⁸

A state's capacity and its robustness depend upon more than the resources and the instruments available in particular sectors. Robustness is also enhanced by the ability of the state to make autonomous contributions to policy making because of the unique resources of administrative capacity, prior public planning, and the expertise of administrative officials. These characteristics of autonomous state activity were particularly evident during the development and implementation of *Bill 30*. During those processes several structures were created, regrouping specific expertise to address problems that arose. One of these was the Planning and Implementation Commission (PIC), which was established by Premier Davis to work with stakeholder groups and ministry officials in facilitating the implementation of the policy change. During the two years following the policy announcement on June 13, 1984, until *Bill 30* was proclaimed in June 1986, the commission provided some structure, some stability, some reassurance, some mechanisms, and some process for the change to move along in the absence of regulations and of a law. PIC proved to be critical to the policy change process because of the expertise and legitimacy each of the eight commissioners appointed brought to the task.¹⁹ There is general agreement that the credibility of the Chairperson, W. T. Newnham, was critical to PICs success.²⁰ Newnham was perceived to bring "toughness and fairness and determination to the process."²¹ Another policy actor confirms that the success of PIC in reducing the conflicts and overcoming the resistance of many stakeholders can be attributed to:

. . . the fact that on the commission were some very, very able people, some very good people who had been through many

changes in their own career and who had a very good idea on how to manage change and how to do it gradually, and how to proceed with evolution and not revolution. They did not go from extreme position A to extreme position Z, but went from A to B to C to D, gradually and were able to establish a policy on everything that had to do with the implementation of a new system for funding. They took the time to talk to a lot of people, and made themselves available to communicate so that people understood, even though they were not in agreement. These individuals understood the role of the commission and proceeded to provide proper tools to do the work.²²

Although it was formally a structure at arms length from government, PIC was far from a disinterested body. Rather, it extended the capacity of the state to implement the policy change. PIC's activities were consistent with the view that autonomous state activity is never disinterested, but rather tends to take "forms that reinforce the authority, political longevity, and social control of the state organizations whose incumbents generated the relevant policies or policy ideas" (Skocpol, 1985, p. 15). PIC's requests for statistics, for example, were complied with by school boards even though they came from an "organization set up to be at arm's length advising the Minister" that did not have the legal mandate to enforce such requests.²³

Another structure established to assist in the implementation of *Bill 30* confirms that such state autonomy is not a fixed structural feature of a governmental policy system. Rather it is evident that state autonomy can appear and disappear depending upon whether or not crises precipitate "the formulation of official strategies and policies by elites or administrators who otherwise might not mobilize their own potentials for autonomous action" (Skocpol, 1985, p. 14). Reflecting this phenomenon, for few years, a special "Bill 30 Unit" operated in the Ministry of Education to monitor and facilitate the policy change. Observers agree that key to the ability of this unit to intervene in the very political issues that arose during the implementation of the legislation was the appointment of F. Clifford, a former director of a separate school board who had taught in the public school system.²⁴ Because of his background, Clifford was seen as the perfect person to interface with the public and separate school communities.²⁵ The unit itself became an "issue-

focused and minister-directed operation" geared to trouble-shooting difficult negotiations among boards.²⁶

The issues of autonomy and capacity discussed in this section have focused on the state as a set of organizations comprised of collectivities of officials capable of making and implementing policies which are, to some extent, independent of contextual pressures. The influence of the state may also be seen from a perspective of meso-level institutional structures, such as the policy community. As the following discussion illustrates, influence is evident in the ways in which the state incorporates organizational configurations that promote particular patterns of activity in policy communities.

The Policy Community

The neo-institutional approach adopted in this thesis recognizes that macro-level institutional configurations influence the capacity and autonomy of a state. At the same time, variations in the pattern of ad hoc, special interest groups, that some argue are found in adversarial polities such as Canada, require an examination of variables that are evident in specific sectors, such as the Ontario educational policy community. Following is a discussion of the variables operating in that community.

The review of the literature in Chapter Two outlined several conceptions of the policy community that share similarity with the model proposed by Coleman and Skogstad (1990) which guides the IF developed here. In their conception, the policy community is defined as including "all actors or potential actors with a direct or indirect interest in a policy area or function who share a common 'policy focus,' and who, with varying degrees of influence shape policy outcomes over the long run" (p. 25). Following Pross (1986), Coleman and Skogstad (1990) divide the policy community into two segments, the sub-government and the attentive public. The sub-government consists of a core of lead government departments, several dominant interest groups, individual experts and other governments, surrounded by a sporadically-mobilized, attentive public. The notion of the policy community is supported by empirical evidence that most of the time

public policy is the "product of specific sectors that are populated with a relatively stable set of actors" (Pal, 1992, p. 110).

This stability is evident in the fairly large subgovernment of Ontario's educational policy community which is comprised of Ministry of Education departments and teachers' and trustees' associations. An official notes that this "advisory community" from which policy input has historically been sought includes "...the teachers federations, the trustees groups, and perhaps on an irregular basis supervisory officers and home and school associations."²⁷ At the heart of the policy community are the key policy making bodies whose power rests on their legitimate authority to allocate values in the polity. In the tradition of the cabinet-parliamentary system discussed previously, the Cabinet, as the locus of power, is at the centre of the policy community. Although the legislature is part of the policy community by virtue of its power to formally approve policy legislation, in practice the legislature often has little influence. The Cabinet dominates the legislature; it determines which policies will be brought forward and which will not. In Ontario, the Premier, as the first Minister, is the arbitrator, and on major issues such as the extension of funding for Roman Catholic education, the initiator of the policy change. Because of the complexity of policy changes that may impinge on many other policies, Cabinet is dependent on the expertise and knowledge of Ministry officials. Often the senior bureaucracy has significant influence over policy decisions. In the two policy changes studied here, for example, although these traditional bureaucratic lines of power were less evident, Ministry of Education officials played key roles.

Although the locus of power in Ontario's policy making system rests with the Cabinet, and the legislature has a significant influence in this system, MPPs have the capacity to exercise influence on policy changes particularly in situations of minority governments. For example, the NDP and Conservative MPPs on the Standing Committee on Social Development, who reviewed *Bill 30* following first reading of the draft legislation, were instrumental in making certain that two significant changes were made to the draft legislation. The all-party agreement on the policy meant that the potential stalemating effects associated with minority governments were minimized. The result, according to one observer, was that "nobody was going to bring the house down, it was just what could be negotiated, [and] in

many respects everybody was freed to argue for what they thought would be the best policy."²⁸ At the same time political expediency meant that opposition MPP's had to adopt a position that distinguished them from the other parties and served the interests of their traditional constituents. For the Conservatives this translated into pressing for amendments to protect public high schools in single school communities from closure as the result of funding extension. The NDP, traditionally supported by labour groups such as the OSSTF, focused on the issue of discriminatory hiring practices by separate school boards that favoured Roman Catholic teachers. The NDP amendment allowed separate boards to practice discriminatory hiring practices for 10 years before having to conform to human rights protections.²⁹ Although these two amendments did not change the fundamental principle of *Bill 30*, they did confirm that MPP's and political parties generally can exercise influence on policy outputs. One observer of the negotiations that occurred during the debate on *Bill 30* in the Standing Committee on Social Development commented: "you had ministers debating with leaders of the NDP and Conservatives behind the scenes."³⁰

The educational policy community includes an attentive public comprised of groups and individuals sporadically involved in policy issues. There is a consensus among policy actors that the nature of the attentive public surrounding the education subgovernment distinguishes it from other policy sectors. A Ministry official comments, for example:

The one thing that is different about education from almost anything is the degree of public emotion around everything. Everybody has been to school so everybody thinks they're an expert on what should be done in education, and everybody pays a lot of taxes for education that are directly targeted for education so they can see what it is they pay for.³¹

The result is that the attentive public of the educational policy community is very elastic; it can expand quickly in response to particularly sensitive policy changes such as the extension of funding for Roman Catholic secondary schools. The media, another member of the educational policy community, plays a role in this expansion. Major newspapers, such as *The Globe and Mail*, have reporters who focus on education specifically.³² Editors and columnists commonly comment on educational policy changes and

newspapers may take positions for or against an educational policy change, such as *The Globe and Mail* and *The Toronto Star* did in editorials commenting on the announcement of policy change extending full funding for Roman Catholic secondary schools. Occasionally, these individuals become political advisors to MPPs.³³ Sophisticated educational interest groups such as the OSSTF are adept at developing campaigns using the media to promote their positions.

The role of the media in the policy community is not simply one of reporting to the larger public. Educational policy makers communicate with the public through the media, holding press conferences, distributing press releases and giving speeches designed to receive press coverage. Even in the case of more direct contact between the community and policy makers, such as occurs in public hearings, the media are a vehicle for extending the debate to the larger public (Linsky, 1990). This role is, however, not that of a "neutral conveyor belt" (p. 221). Rather, like other members of the policy community, the media "make judgments that, intentionally or not, reflect certain world views and assume certain norms" (p. 221). In the case of the extension of full funding which confronted the basic values and ideologies of members of the public, the interpretive frameworks adopted in editorials and special stories in the press were sometimes clearly supportive of particular values. One of the changes evident in the role that the media plays in the educational policy community is a growing awareness of the potential for fostering two-party communication. The media sometimes treats letters to the editor on issues such as those that arose during the full funding debate, as special topics, and occasionally undertake polls on particularly contentious policies. These characteristics confirm that the media is a key participant in the dialogue around public ideas and the policy changes they generate.

The Role of the Courts in the Educational Policy Community

Courts have also emerged as important members of the policy community during the past decade. There is general agreement that enshrining the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* in the *Constitution* has resulted in a fundamental change in the role of the Canadian courts. The nature of that change is the focus of discussion and dispute in academic, legal and public domains (Eberts, 1991; Mandel, 1989; Morton, 1986; Tarnopolsky & Beaudoin,

1982). The role of the courts in educational policy making has been widely discussed, particularly since the number of *Charter*-related court determinations have accumulated (Dickson & MacKay, 1989; Dolmage, 1991; MacKay, 1991; Manley-Casimir & Sussel, 1986). Much discussion has focused on the use of the *Charter* to obtain judicial support for minority French-language educational rights (Black-Branch, 1992; MacKay, 1991; Tardiff, 1990).

Some argue that because of the *Charter*, the role of the judiciary has the potential of becoming more active in the creation of positive law. This was one of the original concerns of many provincial governments who felt that their powers to amend or adapt the *Charter* would be diminished. Critics fear that the *Charter* has pushed the judiciary to a position similar to that of the American Supreme Court, making it more independent and interventionist in educational matters (Manley-Casimir & Sussel, 1986). From this perspective the *Charter* has fundamentally redefined the Canadian political framework by replacing parliamentary supremacy with constitutional supremacy. Critics who argue that this has resulted in the legalization of politics point out that now the courts, not the legislatures, are the final arbiters of constitutional issues (Mandel, 1989). This empowers the judiciary to make significant constitutional decisions, and enables it to play a more active role in policy making.

Others are less equivocal in suggesting such a role. For example, in the case of educational policy, MacKay (1991) suggests that the Canadian tradition has been to resolve educational issues in the political rather than the judicial arena, and the *Charter* is not likely to change this substantially. Madame Justice B. M. McLachlin (1991) of the Supreme Court of Canada contradicts this argument, acknowledging instead that the *Charter* has resulted in a new, and more political role for the judiciary. In her view, this changed role is required because the *Charter* has brought a whole range of social and moral questions to the courts by specifying the rights and freedoms that laws and government actions may not infringe upon. Traditionally, the difficult value judgments that flow from notions of rights have been made by legislators based on the values of the constituencies they represent. Now, McLachlin suggests, "there is no way to interpret the *Charter* without making value judgements" (p. 340). In making these value judgement, however, courts are guided by two principles. First they "must strive for objectivity, ensuring that

their decisions reflect the collective views of society," and, second, "they must exercise restraint, upholding the *Constitution* but not intruding upon the preserve of the legislature and the executive branches of government" (p. 342). In this latter case, the need to balance the requirements for upholding *Charter* rights, and the need to preserve the legislative authority of governments, reflect the changed role of the courts.

Whereas in the past courts interpreted and applied policies made by government, with the *Charter* the court becomes an "independent arbiter" (p. 343). The judicial role in policy making has shifted away from the interpretation and application of the policies defining rights, toward actual judicial scrutiny of the policies themselves (Dickinson & MacKay, 1989). Courts do not simply interpret legislation to determine wrong doings, "they now have the authority to strike down legislation that violates individual rights and freedoms" (Black-Branch, 1992, p. 5). With the capacity to strike down legislation, the court now requires new criteria for its decisions. Madame Justice McLachlin (1991) suggests that the problem is one of assessing "how much change and what kind of change" when confronted with the "need to strike out unconstitutional legislation"(p. 343). In her view the court must be guided by "respect, tradition, and constitutional convention focusing on political judicial cooperation" (p. 343).

Judicial involvement in the two policy changes studied here illustrates the complex nature of political-judicial cooperation and the influence of the *Charter* on the organization of interests in the policy community. The previous discussion of how the Conservative government of Ontario used the Ontario Court of Appeal to review the constitutionality of the minority French-language provisions in the Education Act illustrated the nature of the political-judicial relations. The Attorney General of the day was well aware of the advantages for the government in using the Court of Appeal, when he commented that the Court of Appeal "is a forum where these issues can be resolved fairly expeditiously" (*The Globe and Mail*, August 18, 1983, p. 4). At the same time, it is clear that the government was under the threat of a court challenge based on Section 23 of the *Charter* by l'Association canadienne française (ACFO).³⁴ As previous discussions indicated, the *Charter* provided a lever for francophone groups to use in the courts "to force policy makers to

implement policy consistent with the aims of the group" (Dolmage, 1991, p. 5).

One of the conclusions to be drawn from these cases is that both the *Charter* and the courts are passive instruments that require the action of minority groups to exercise them. In establishing the Court Challenges Programme to fund equality rights, and particularly Section 23 challenges, the Federal government implicitly emphasized the collective rights of particular groups. The resulting court activism by francophones during the past decade has resulted in the clarification of the meaning of equality for French-language minorities throughout the country.³⁵ It has led observers to suggest that the impact of the *Charter* has been most rapid and dramatic with respect to minority-language educational rights (MacKay, 1991).

The Constitutional- and *Charter*- based litigation the two policy changes discussed in this thesis suggest that as omnipotent structures the involvement of courts is activated through appeals by members of the policy community. The role of the courts is that of adjudication and final determination. The discussion of ideology in policy making that follows will show, however, that such determinations are value-laden, and reflect the unique Canadian political-judicial relationship. For example, in the *Bill 30* constitutionality challenge, the Supreme Court of Canada, in making the final determination rejecting claims based on Section 15 equality rights in the *Charter*, in favour of Section 93 denominational rights in the Constitution, effectively established a hierarchy of rights that critics, such as Eberts (1991), argue has serious implications for minorities who were not part of the political bargain at Confederation.

The policy changes described here also confirm that the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* has contributed to the legalization of policy making and the development of a rights-based paradigm which, in turn, have changed the nature and composition of the educational policy community in Ontario. An official in the Ministry of Education comments, for example: "only... five years ago, we only had one lawyer: now we have eight."³⁶ In this official's view, this has occurred because the public began to bring forward litigation based on *Constitutional* and *Charter* rights.

There are both negative and positive implications for state autonomy and capacity that flow from such litigation. It appears that the *Charter* does

inspire litigation, often aimed at reducing state power, and it "also invites judges to use their powers of interpretation to extend rights, as they define them, to the public and quasi-public spheres" (Pal, 1992, p. 108). Although the *Charter* does stimulate advocacy activity and may fragment state power, the very process of advocacy debate focused on *Charter* interpretations may mobilize citizen participation and may, ultimately, generate support of the polity. Both phenomenon are evident in the involvement of the courts in the two policy changes examined in this thesis.

The Organizational Development of Ontario's Educational Policy Community

The preceding discussion has suggested that Ontario's cabinet-parliamentary form of government ensures that the Premier and Cabinet are the locus of power in the province's educational policy community. The courts, which have become increasingly key participants in the community, are always present to legitimate or circumscribe that power. Ministry of Education officials, forming the subgovernment, are linked to an attentive public. As part of this attentive public, the media plays an important role in public debate and dialogue. According to neo-institutional scholars such as Coleman & Skogstad (1990), policy communities are particularly distinguished by the organizational development of interests within their sectors. Strongly developed associational systems are characterized by associations which are linked "in ways to make the system encompassing in scope and purpose" (p. 22). The Ontario educational policy community demonstrates the characteristics of a strong associational system. As the following discussion suggests, it includes a number of specialized associations that are coordinated internally and that are generally secure in their supply of resources.

Traditionally, these associations have included trustee, teacher, and administrator groups.³⁷ The development of these interests in Ontario has been structured by the organization of education in the province and by the "credentialling" system that supports this organization. Although education is a provincial responsibility, the constitutional basis of this responsibility is permissive, allowing the province to delegate certain powers and responsibilities to local school trustees. The constitutionally supported

recognition of Roman Catholic and minority French-language educational rights creates language and religious divisions among school trustees and teachers, and more recently, among administrators in the province. In addition, Ontario public school teachers are organized by division into elementary and secondary federations. The result is a community of special-focus associations able to provide selective benefits to their members and the groups that they represent.³⁸ This community includes the recently formed Ontario Public Supervisory Officers Association (OPSOA) and the Ontario Catholic Supervisory Officers Association (OCSOA). Among the teachers' associations are the Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation, the Federation of Women Teachers of Ontario (FWTAO), the Ontario English Catholic Teachers Association (OECTA) and l'Association des enseignantes et des enseignants franco-ontariens (AEFO). The trustee groups include the Association of Public School Boards of Ontario (APSBO), the Ontario Separate School Trustees Association (OSSTA), and l'Association française des conseils scolaires de l'Ontario (AFCSO).

All of these groups use their resources to play policy advocacy roles in educational policy making in the province, although some are able to draw on more substantial human, financial and organizational resources than others. Townsend (1982), for example, describes the wealth of the OSSTF as one factor that contributes to its ability to play the strong policy advocacy role it played during the *Bill 30* debate. Most of these groups play a policy participation role as well, although as OSSTF's involvement in developing *Bill 30* suggests this participation is not always successful in changing policy directions. One of the unique features of the educational policy community, is the participation of non-associational groups of individuals, such as trustees and superintendents in school boards, and even individual teachers, who may influence policy decisions, particularly those related to curriculum development through the network of Ministry committees.³⁹ The relations between classroom teachers, schools, school boards, and the ministry are commonly depicted as "loosely linked." At the same time, as a former director comments, the Ontario educational policy community is "the most bureaucratic organization that can be imagined. . .virtually everything goes all the way up to the top of the ministry and all the way back down [to the school boards]."⁴⁰ In addition, various provincial-level ministry officials are often

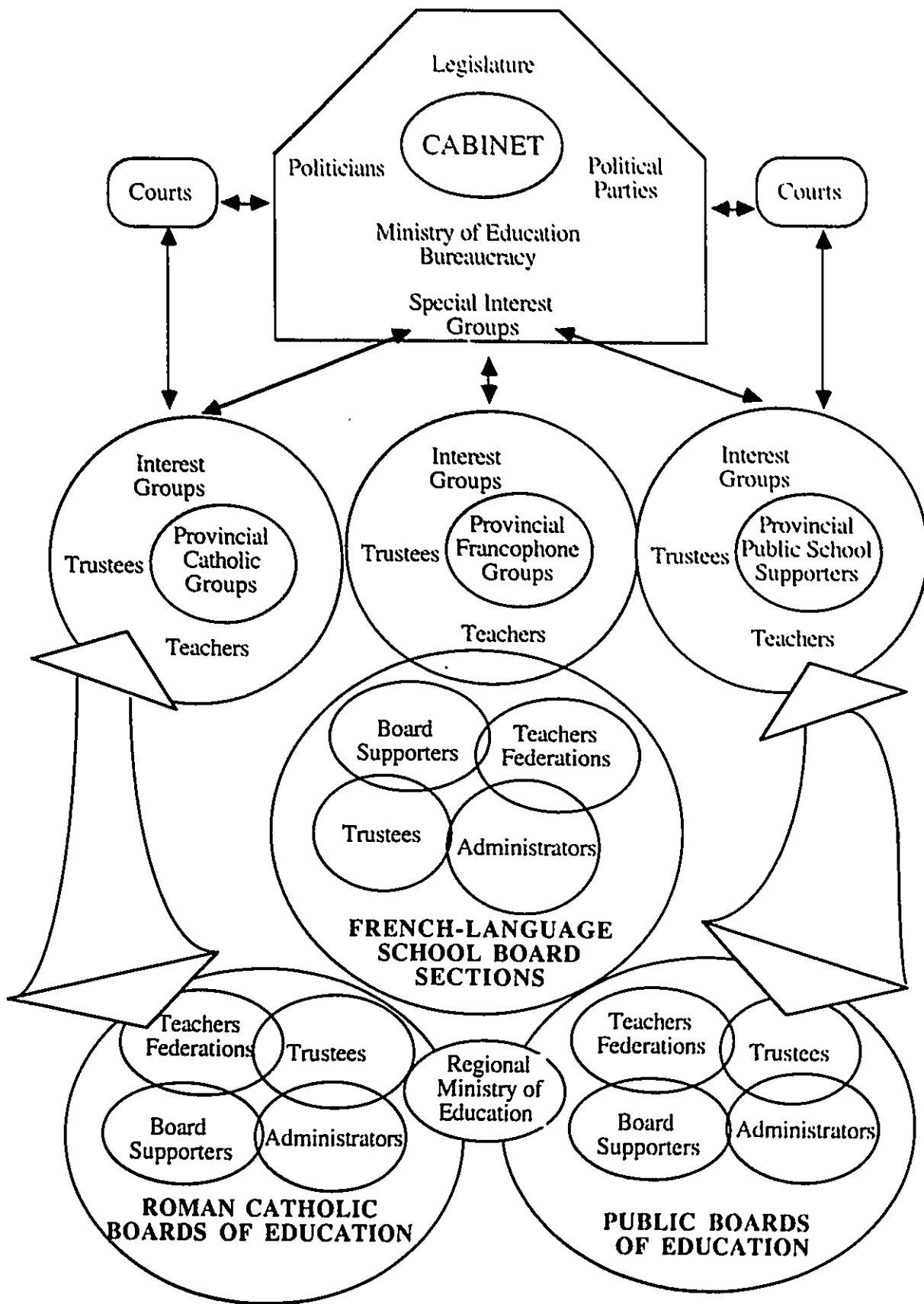
directly linked to specific school boards for curriculum policy development and implementation. The result is a highly integrated, but loosely-linked, web of relations that has tremendous policy participation capacity. Figure 5.2 illustrates the Ontario educational policy community described here.

Policy Networks

The concept of the policy community just outlined, although capturing the basic structure of a policy domain, fails to explain the patterns of relations that emerge around specific issues, such as the extension of funding to separate secondary schools and francophone educational governance. The micro-level institutional arrangements that form around specific issues are better captured by the notion of the policy network (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990). The bases for the organization of pluralist, closed and state directed networks described in Chapter Two, are the capacity and autonomy of the state, and the organizational development of the sectoral interests that form around an issue. Although there has been considerable interest in the concepts of the policy community and policy network, in Canada, accurate mapping of the many policy sectors is just beginning.⁴¹ In fact, the notion of mapping a policy sector is problematic in itself, because it is evident that policy networks "can and do change as a result of macro-political factors, such as external pressure or institutional change" (Pal, 1992, p. 113). Moreover, it seems that different types of policy networks may exist within the same policy community. Coleman and Skogstad (1990) note that: "several types of networks may emerge because different issues will affect the interests of members of the community to varying degrees, shaping, in turn, the particular constellation of actors involved in resolving the issue" (p. 30). For example, Pal (1990) documents how the official minority language network in Canada evolved from a state-directed to a pressure-pluralist network.

The two policy changes studied here did produce unique, though overlapping, policy networks which displayed characteristics of both corporatist and state-directed networks. Corporatist networks arise when a particular group finds its interests threatened by social opponents. In such instances groups will respond by forming "a highly integrated associational

Figure 5.2 ONTARIO EDUCATIONAL POLICY COMMUNITY



system to defend its interests" (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990, p. 28). In situations of conflict, the state may attempt to draw the conflicting interest groups into the policy arena in order to bring about a policy compromise. Interest associations involved in such corporatist networks may find that the price of being drawn into a partnership with the state is the loss of a degree of autonomy. In contrast, in state-directed networks state agencies are strong, coherent, and able to dominate the relatively weak associational system within the policy sector.

The *Bill 30* Policy Network

The analysis of the two policy changes reported in Chapter Four suggests that the model of the policy network outlined by Coleman & Skogstad (1990) offers a useful heuristic for conceptualizing micro-level organization of interests. At the same time, a number of conceptual issues are raised when the two policy networks are mapped. One of these issues has to do with the notions of state autonomy and capacity. The analysis of the *Bill 30* network confirms that the state is able to draw on a wide range of resources to enhance its capacity to influence the nature of the network that forms. For example, the announcement of full funding for separate secondary schools demonstrates the capacity of the leader of a majority government supported by the tradition of Cabinet solidarity and a disciplined caucus to make a policy change with no formal consultation. The agreement of the two other political parties during a period of minority government, and the tradition of party solidarity on policy issues reinforced the strength of the state in this initial phase of the policy change. The appointment of the PIC to oversee the planning and implementation of the change was crucial to maintaining state capacity to direct the activities of the policy network during the vacuum that was created by regime change. Previous analysis of PIC's activities confirm that, although it formally operated at arms length from the government, it was able to draw on the credibility of its commissioners to reach beyond the associational system and direct the activities of local boards.

Although regime change can disrupt the capacity of state agencies to direct a policy sector, agreement on policy direction can have the opposite effect. The analysis of *Bill 30* underlines that state capacity is enhanced by the

support of political actors, such as Sean Conway the Minister of Education. The discussion of policy development and implementation in Chapter Four confirmed that Conway's support for *Bill 30* enhanced the capacity of the Ministry and PIC to direct the policy network.

These state activities and the policy change itself were instrumental in defining the relationships among the actors in the policy network that formed around *Bill 30*. The educational policy community in Ontario from which the policy networks for both policy changes emerged, demonstrates the characteristics of a strong associational system. The analysis conducted here suggests, however, that a policy change such as *Bill 30*, which redistributes power in the form of resources and clients among members of an associational system, may fracture that system. State control over the network may be enhanced in the process. In the case of *Bill 30*, the policy change itself generated three loosely-coupled coalitions formed from the specialized interest groups of trustees and teachers that operated within the associational system.

Because of its broad impact and the ideological issues it raised, *Bill 30* provoked the development of strong advocacy coalitions comprised of various regroupings of public and separate school supporters. The separate school coalition united OECTA, the English Catholic teachers association; OSSTA, the trustees association; various separate school boards; parents groups; and, the Ontario Roman Catholic bishops and church organizations. One of the strategies of this coalition was to maintain a low key advocacy coordinated by the Completion Office for Separate Schools (COSS).⁴²

The OSSTF and the Metropolitan Toronto School Board, along with public school trustees, church groups and various individuals, formed the public school coalition. The OSSTF, perceiving the policy change as a direct threat, focused the considerable resources generated from the support of its 35,000 members, on challenging the policy change. It organized and conducted an extensive media campaign through television coverage promoting public education. It mobilized its members to support certain candidates for the 1985 provincial election, and pressured MPPs to reject the policy change. When the Conservatives were defeated, public rallies were organized drawing together OSSTF leaders such as Malcolm Buchanan, and United and Anglican church leaders who opposed the policy change. When

pressure on the traditional allies, the New Democratic Party, failed, and the new Liberal government tabled *Bill 30*, the OSSTF joined with the Metro Toronto School Board in first launching an appeal Ontario Supreme Court, and, when that was turned aside supporting the appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada. A number of other groups formed part of the loose coalition of public school supporters. Metropolitan Toronto School Board was particularly active in pressuring the government for changes. Also, drawing on its financial and organizational resources, it was instrumental in the court challenges to *Bill 30*.

Although the advocacy of these actors against the policy change was thwarted, their activity did have the effect of keeping the issue on the public agenda, and, thereby, of fostering the development of a number of special interest groups. One of these, the Coalition for Public Education, regrouped United, Anglican, Baptist, and Presbyterian church members and the public trustees and school boards associations.⁴³ Protestant church leaders, particularly the Anglican primate Archbishop Lewis Garnsworthy, were outraged at what they saw as a unilateral and discriminatory policy change. These Protestant church leaders, who normally form a very distant part of the attentive public of the Ontario educational policy community, were drawn into the public school coalition within the *Bill 30* network. From the time of the announcement until the legislation was passed the members of the public school coalition sustained an energetic level of policy advocacy activity. One of the most important outcomes of this advocacy was the fallout from the appeal to the Supreme Court of Canada on the constitutionality of *Bill 30*. This challenge provided the first opportunity for minority denominational groups to test the strength of the equality provisions in the *Charter* in relation to Section 93 Constitutional guarantees for Roman Catholic denominational education. The value-laden issues that the decision raises will be discussed in the analysis of the role of ideas in policy change, which follows this section.

The implication for the IF from this analysis is that Canadian courts are key members of the policy network, although their role is not simply that of neutral arbitrator. Rather, they embody and reinforce value-laden state traditions that may reinforce or limit the power of policy network actors. Another implication for the IF is that policies may create conditions that fracture existing associational systems. This phenomenon was evident in the

demise of two umbrella associations. The Ontario Association of Education Administration Officials (OAEAO) was one of the casualties of the policy change. The OAEAO had for a number of years attempted to bring public and separate school supervisory officials together and maintained the same stance during the *Bill 30* debate.⁴⁴ The already-existing divisions between these groups were exacerbated by the policy change, contributing to the demise of the OAEAO, which in turn led to the formation a new public school supervisory association (OPSOA), and to the rejuvenation of the Ontario Catholic Supervisory Officers Association (OCSOA) (Hickcox, 1990). A similar phenomenon was evident in the demise of the Ontario School Trustees Council which had attempted for years to unify trustees divided by language, religion and size of school board jurisdiction. The extension of funding to the separate boards contributed to this association's much reduced role.

The preceding analysis suggests that the policy network that formed around *Bill 30* was largely state directed. Although the educational policy community in Ontario includes a strong associational system, in the case of *Bill 30*, the public school part of that system believed that it was closed out of policy participation, despite the extensive resources and organization its members maintained throughout the policy change. One of the outcomes of *Bill 30* is that it weakened and fractured the provincial educational associational system. At the same time, the fact that public school boards derive some of their spending power from their access to the local tax base increases their autonomy and limits the policy making power of the provincial government.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, as Figure 5.3 illustrates, the educational policy network that formed around *Bill 30* was largely state-directed.

The *Bill 109* Policy Network

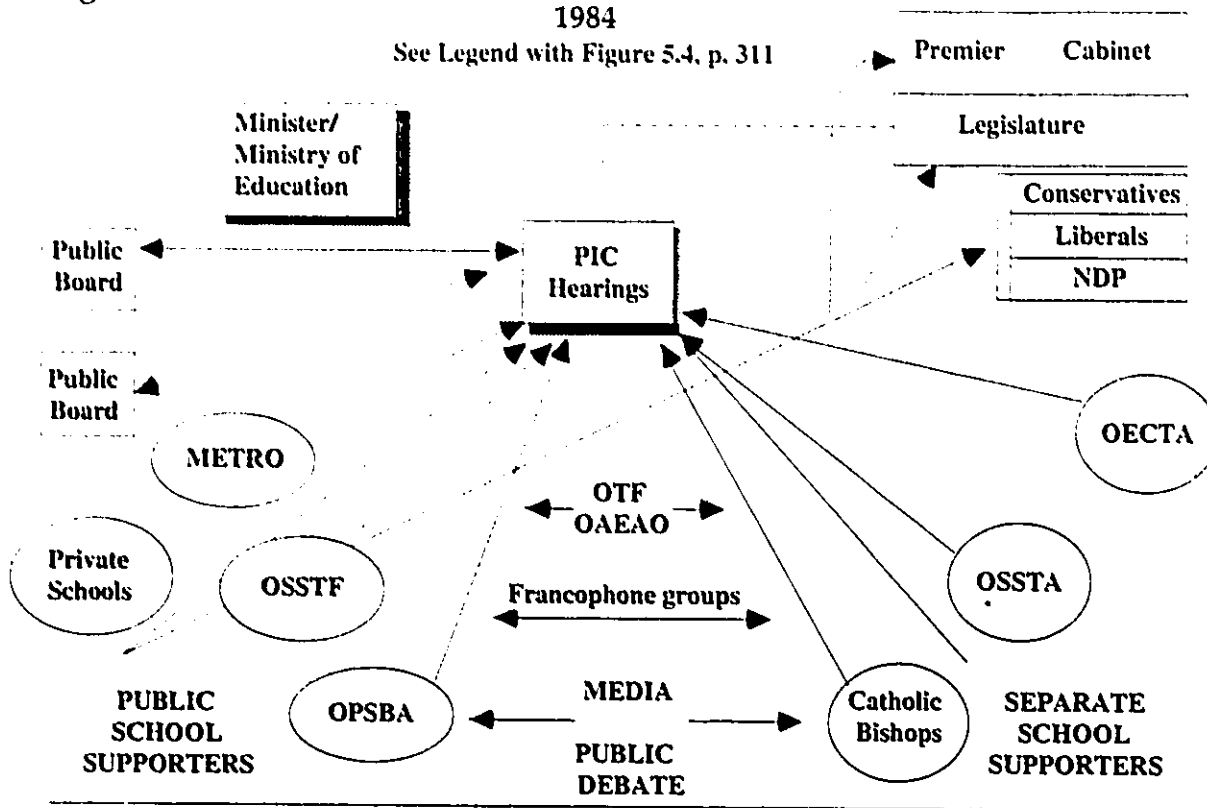
The *Bill 109* policy network was also largely state-directed, although the configuration of actors and the sources of state capacity were quite different. Unlike the *Bill 30* network, regime change was not a significant influence on the *Bill 109* policy network. Because the issue of a French-language school board for Ottawa-Carleton was localized, the trustee and teachers groups in the provincial educational associational system were less implicated. At the

Figure 5.3

BILL 30 POLICY NETWORK

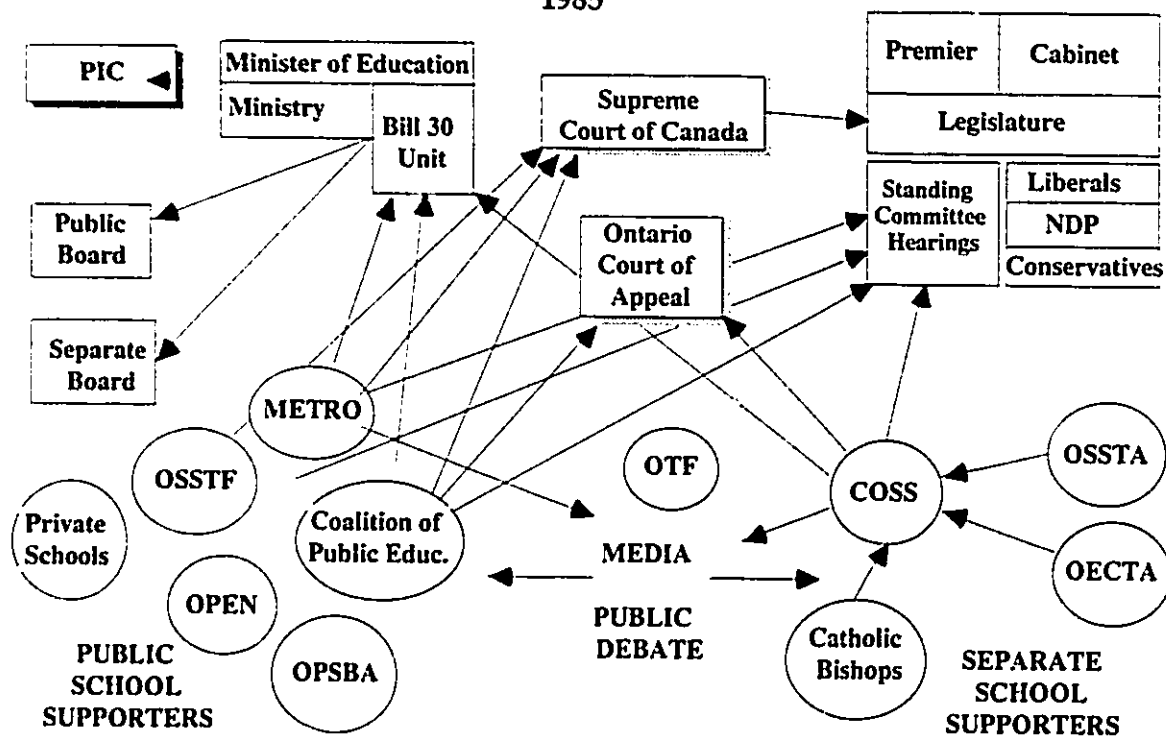
1984

See Legend with Figure 5.4, p. 311



BILL 30 POLICY NETWORK

1985



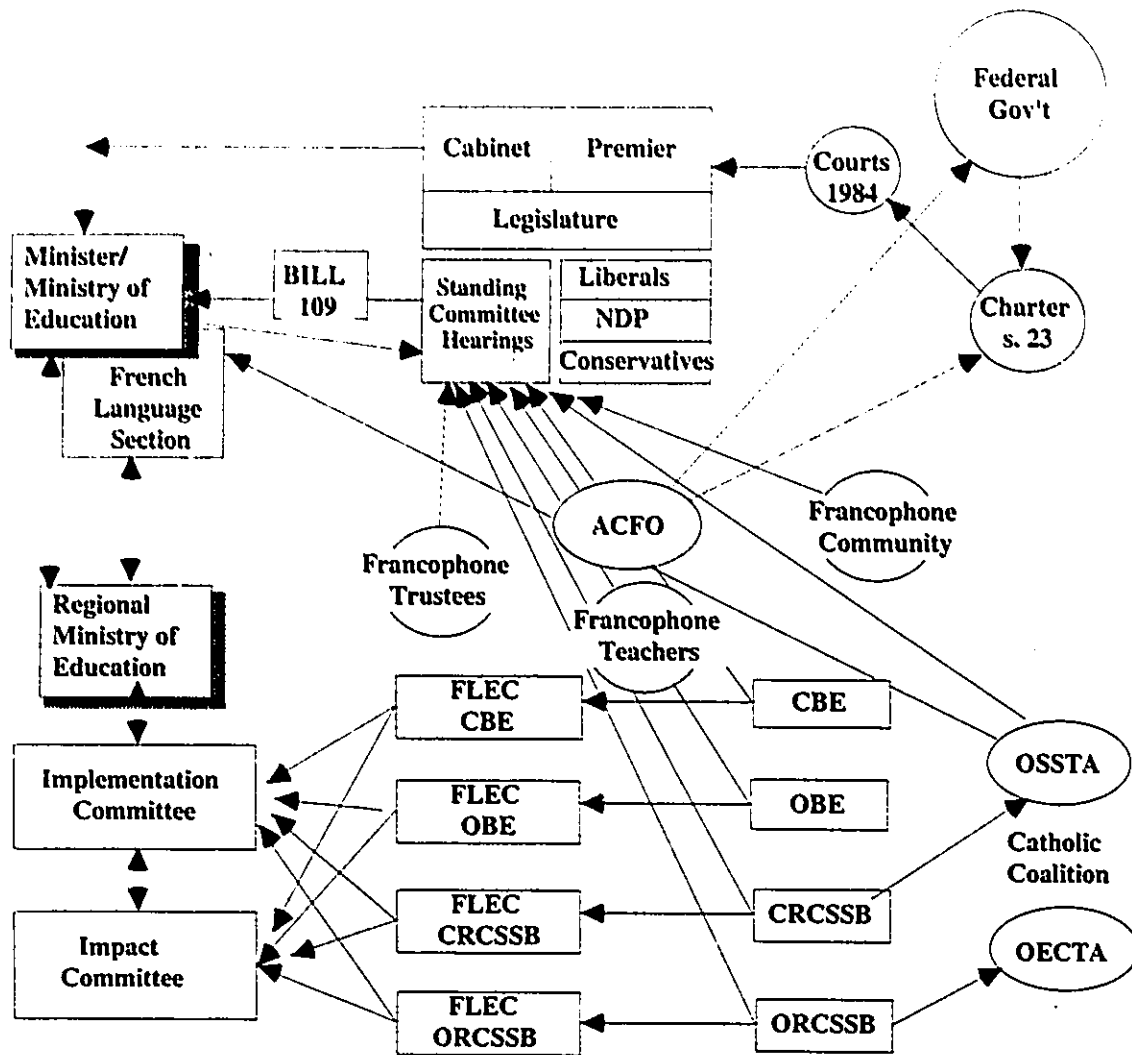
same time, the pioneering nature of the policy change for Franco-Ontarian educational governance ensured the involvement of the umbrella francophone association ACFO, and the various francophone teachers', parents' and trustees' associations. Because the issue was seen as a local concern, the regional office of the Ministry of Education became an important manifestation of state power. Bureaucratic lines of authority linked the Minister of Education through the French sector of the Ministry, to the regional office. The regional office established implementation and impact committees composed of members of the French Language Education Councils of the four stakeholder boards in the region. This link raises an important issue for understanding the nature of state-directed policy development.

The FLECs had been created as the result of the Franco-Ontarian appeals to Section 23 of the *Charter* in challenging the existing French-language educational governance provisions in the province. The federal government enhanced the resources and capacity of provincial and local-level francophone associations through supporting court challenges to the *Charter*. Similar rights-based resources of the separate school community provided provincial and local Roman Catholic groups with the means to participate in the development of *Bill 109*, ensuring that the two sectors of the FLSB remained virtually separate entities. These phenomena suggest that the rights-based resources of both francophone and Roman Catholic groups produced a corporatist network that had a significant influence on this policy change. Figure 5.4 illustrates the *Bill 109* policy network.

The Institutionalization of Meaning

The literature reviewed in Chapter Two outlined the growing interest in the role of the state and institutions in policy development. The neo-institutional perspective that has emerged from this interest has focused on disaggregating the concept of the state. This trend is based on the evidence that there are significant variations across different policy sectors in the degree to which states have the autonomy and capacity to make, and implement, policy changes (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990, p. 15). A disaggregated concept of the state begins with two variables, state autonomy and state capacity, that are closely related to sector or policy community levels

Figure 5.4 BILL 109 POLICY NETWORK 1985



LEGEND (Figures 5.3 and 5.4)

- | | | | |
|-------|---|--------|---|
| OPSBA | Ontario Public School Board Association | ACFO | L'Assoc. canadienne française d'Ontario |
| OSSTF | Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation | FLEC | French Lang. Education Cttee. |
| METRO | Metropolitan Toronto Public School Board | CBE | Carleton Board of Education |
| PIC | Planning & Implementation Commission | OBE | Ottawa Board of Education |
| OTF | Ontario Teachers' Federation | CRCSB | Carleton Roman Catholic Separate School Board |
| OECTA | Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association | ORCSSB | Ottawa Roman Catholic Separate School Board |
| OSSTA | Ontario Separate School Trustees Association | | |
| OPEN | Ontario Public Education Network | | |
| CPE | Coalition for Public Education | | |
| COSS | Completion Office for Separate Schools | | |
| OAEAO | Ontario Association of Education Administration Officials | | |
| OCA | Ontario Court of Appeal | | |
| SCC | Supreme Court of Canada | | |

of state-society relations. The concept of the state encompasses two dimensions, the goal-oriented activities of state officials and the influence of those activities on the policy community. The autonomy of a state is, therefore, linked to its capacity to implement goals derived from financial and human resources.

The support of skilled officials is a primary human resource that is not quickly acquired. For example, the ability of the state to attract skilled officials depends upon "historically evolved relationships among elite educational institutions, state organizations, and private enterprises, that must compete with the state for educated personnel" (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990, p. 16). In specialized policy domains, such as education, trained and experienced personnel are critical to effective policy change. In Ontario, the certification requirements for Education Officers make the pool of acceptable candidates particularly selective. One Ministry official commented: "In Ontario, for the most part, to get to this bureaucratic level you will have been in a faculty of education, you have probably taken a Masters somewhere, and you have qualified for your supervisory officers certificate sometime. All those things create a common base of experience."⁴⁶ The common knowledge base of officials in the Ministry of Education helps differentiate the structure of the educational policy making system from other domains. A political advisor notes that:

Ministry of Education people are atypical in many respects from their colleagues in other portfolios, in other Ministries. For example, rarely do you see a Ministry official from education applying for a posted position in any other Ministry and vice versa, because they all need a Supervisory Officers Certificate. Their progress would be blocked without it. So Ministry officials in the Ministry of Education are unique, too, within the overall public service, and so some of them behave in very atypical and non-bureaucratic ways.⁴⁷

The norm of non-bureaucratic behaviour is derived in part from the traditional movement of teachers, supervisory officers and trustees from school boards into government, and by the close links ministry officials maintain with the local-level educational community. One former ministry official observes that "a lot of people who work for the Ministry of Education

started at school boards in the first place. So they got their grounding with school boards, and then they accepted positions with the ministry and in some cases moved back then to the school boards later on."⁴⁸

Institutionalized linkages within the educational policy community promote common rules of appropriate behaviour that facilitate the movement of individuals, and integrate the network.

This phenomenon suggests that the IF must focus on the interactions within the often loosely-coupled network of organizations from different levels of government. This model of the policy community suggests that, despite conflict and competition among various actors in the sector, they share expertise in, and commitment to, the policy sector. One of the characteristics of a policy community is the shared understanding of the implicit rules that structures discourse in the policy sector. Neo-institutional scholars argue that shared understanding develops because institutionalized networks provide systems of rules that structure the meaning frames of policy actors, and, thus, shape their interpretations of the ambiguous contexts common in significant policy changes.

The Ontario educational policy community illustrates the influence of institutionalized meaning very well. The activities of officials in the Ministry of Education are focused on routinized clusters of appropriate activities, and their actions are guided by rule-bound obligations. For example, the Policy Analysis and Research Branch of the Ministry of Education is responsible for coordinating Cabinet submissions, to make sure that they are in the form that the Cabinet wants. Officials arrange for the scheduling of the various committees and they arrange for the formal part of the consultation process. This requires that they be aware of the appropriate network of actors to contact for specific issues.⁴⁹

The implicit rules also govern the behaviour of political actors in the Canadian parliamentary system. For example, one of the unspoken rules that often creates discontinuities in policy change is that "government protocol means that a new Cabinet does not share documents from the previous government."⁵⁰ The behaviour of senior officials in this system is also governed by norms that support anonymity and circumspect behaviour. These norms "set benchmarks of behaviour" and "shape and structure what people will consider doing" (Pal, 1992, p. 101). One of these norms is that

government officials, regardless of their personal position on controversial policy changes, are guided by norms of impartiality in their policy making actions. One former government official describes the implicit rules that guided the actions of officials during the development of *Bill 30*:

People within the ministry at the time may have thought [*Bill 30*] was a really good idea, or may have thought it was a really bad idea, but they had a job to do. . . and had to find the best way of doing it in the legislation, so as to minimize adverse impact. [They needed to] a) protect people, b) protect public boards so they wouldn't feel entirely victimized; c) make things as easy a transition as possible for the separate school boards.⁵¹

In the IF, the logic of appropriateness illustrates that political action, including action in politically important and novel policy changes such as *Bill 30*, are institutionalized through structures of rules and routines. Institutions create an interpretive order within which political behaviour can be understood.

Institutional Structures Summarized

The preceding discussion responded to the question of how institutional structures influence policy change by examining the nature of the state-society relations that emerged in the two policy changes studied here. A key implication of these findings is that there is little empirical support for "society-centred" models that ignore the dynamics of state-society relations. Bringing the state back in, does not, however, support the "idea that policy processes can be explained in terms of a single set of structural factors" (Pal, 1992, p. 113). Rather, the analysis undertaken here suggests that the IF must disaggregate the concept of the state. Although institutions, such as federalism and the parliamentary system, are important macro-level forces that establish the constraints and opportunities for meso-level policy actors, they do not appear to have uniform effects. In the policy change process for *Bill 109*, activity occurred in fairly tight, well-coordinated and robust clusters of state agencies and interest actors. In contrast, in the policy change process for *Bill 30*, the policy network expanded to encompass many groups that normally would be on the periphery of the attentive public. The implication for the IF is that although the institutional processes of the Cabinet-

parliamentary system result in some convergences in patterns of policy making, it is also clear that policy making is contextual, varying not only by policy sector, but also by policy issue.

The neo-institutional approach adopted by the IF provides a useful means for understanding these differences. By disaggregating the state, it becomes possible to see "where the effects of macro-structures are most prominent, and why and how different sectors vary in their processing capacities" (p. 114). At the same time, the neo-institutional focus on structures, such as policy communities and patterns of relationships that are evident in policy networks, is a relatively static conceptualization of policy making. Policy communities and policy networks are, in fact, central sites for policy change. Mapping policy networks emphasizes the institutional influences on policy and may overshadow the "dynamics of the policy process involved" (Coleman & Skogstad, 1992, p. 29). Policy change emerges from discourse and debates that arise over the value positions taken by members of a policy network. In short, to focus on policy dynamics is to consider the role of ideology in policy change. This role is examined in the next section of this chapter.

The Ideological Basis of Policy Change

The influence of ideas has been evident throughout the preceding discussions of the context, processes, and institutional structures of policy change. The purpose of this discussion is to clarify the role of ideas in policy making, by responding to the fifth research question guiding this thesis:

How do ideas influence the arguments and debates that generate policy change?

In responding to this question, the discussion which follows begins by describing how the broad ideologies defining the Canadian polity are linked, through institutions such as the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* and the *Constitution Act*, to the ideas in the specific policy changes represented by *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*. The discussion then explores how policy ideas such as equity and efficiency both contradict and reinforce each other. The complex influences of ideas on the two policy changes studied here are outlined next. Finally, responding to the need to understand the value-laden and conflicting

arguments that surround and influence a policy change, a schema for interpreting these arguments is presented.

The Embeddedness of Ideology in Policy Discourse

One of the fundamental dilemmas encountered in understanding the politics of policy change is how to account for the preferences evident in those changes. Traditionally political science has explained preference choice as external to politics, reflecting the self interest of individual actors. In this view, interests predominate over ideas as influences on choice. Research has, however, documented that self interest has a weak influence on policy change. Moreover, ideas and values are seen as largely autonomous from self interest (Pal, 1992). An emerging post-positivist critique rejects the distinction between interest and ideology, arguing instead that ideologies and values play a central role in policy change. The literature reviewed in Chapter Two identifies a hierarchy of the normative content of policies that includes conceptions of human behaviour, ideologies, ideas and policy specifics. Previous discussions of the normative content of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* suggest that conceptions of ideologies, ideas and policy specifics are interactive. The following discussion explores these interactions in the context of the two policy changes studied in this thesis.

At the most fundamental level, the new "cultural theory" proposed by Wildavsky (1987) adopts a neo-institutional orientation in acknowledging that perceptions of human behaviour are linked to social relations. Fundamental orientations to human behaviour, such as individualism, egalitarianism, hierarchy, autonomy and fatalism, exist in policy orientations in a dynamic tension. Cultural identity is continually revised and constructed from the tension among ideologies. Political culture is, therefore, not a unitary phenomenon. Rather, the political culture of a polity is embedded in the discourse that surrounds policy making at all levels. Political culture links a political system's past with its future. In the IF it represents the cumulation of previous policies, and, by defining the range of acceptable choices, it reaches into the future of a polity. For example, Canadian political culture emerges from its historical origins in relation to the United States. It is reflected in Canada's rejection of the American revolution and the beliefs in individual liberty and the distrust of

government and authority that sustained that revolution. Instead, Canada adopted the British parliamentary system, and evolved into a liberal democratic state with "a strong adherence to collectivist norms" (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 24). The collectivist tradition has been fostered by the nature of the relationship between French and English Canadians. French Canadians have sought since the "Conquest" in 1759 to preserve and enhance their collective cultural, religious and linguistic independence. The result has been a continual need to seek delicate accommodations with French Canada which has influenced education and language policy in the subtle but important manner in which the dominant ideas such as equality have been interpreted.

Political culture is not a monolithic concept; it encompasses the complex of dominant ideas that exist in dynamic tension in the policy-related discourse within any polity. The IF acknowledges that at least five ideas dominate policy making in Canada. These include equality, efficiency, security, liberty and community. Illustrating the links between broad ideologies and policy-oriented dominant ideas, it is evident that the ideas that generate policy debate in Canada often relate to the "definition of the Canadian nation and views about French-English relations, regional disparities, and the relative roles of federal and provincial governments" (Simeon, 1976, p. 572). Embedded in many of these issues is the tension between the ideologies of liberty and community.

Throughout its history, the Canadian polity has debated between "alternative visions of what the country is or ought to be, conceptions which, if not totally incompatible, have nevertheless helped to polarize political debates" (Vipond, 1991). Vipond characterizes the distinction between the American and Canadian conceptions, by suggesting:

One is built on a liberalism that emphasizes individual liberty, views the state as a means to protecting liberty, and typically looks to the national government for leadership. The other stresses the value of community, is more likely to encourage collective choice, and tends to recognize the importance of provincial governments as the guardians of regional identities.
(p. 2)

The relationship between these two ideas is evident in "Pierre Trudeau's pan-Canadian vision, in which language and other rights would be judicially

protected and nationally enforced, [that] was meant to serve as a counterpoise to the view, popularized by the Former Prime Minister Joe Clark, that Canada is a 'community of communities'" (p. 2). More recently the tension between these ideas has been manifest in the constitutional debates surrounding the failed Meech Lake Accord and Charlottetown agreement. These debates "cannot escape the long shadows" cast by Canadian constitutional traditions which have validated particular claims of community within the framework of Canada's "distinctive (and somewhat communitarian) form of liberalism" (p. 3).

The Links Between Ideologies and Policy Specific Ideas

The embeddedness of ideas of community and liberty in Canadian constitutional tradition confirms Moore's (1990) argument that "ideas that resonate with significant historical experience" become influential in public policy (p. 78). In other words the contextual properties of ideas determine whether they will matter in policy. These properties have to do with how well an idea "fits within the ongoing historical discussion of a particular problem and how it accommodates or challenges the current politics of a given issue and the new interests that are advanced or retarded by the idea" (pp. 78-79).

The interpretation by the Canadian Supreme Court of equality, as defined in s. 15 of the *Charter* in relation to the denominational education rights of Ontario Roman Catholics, illustrates that ideas which fit with the ongoing historical assessments of a particular issue will be influential in policy change. Equality is one of the most complex dominant ideas. Its complexity is compounded when it must be balanced with ideologies such as liberalism and community, as the Supreme Court of Canada was required to do when it was asked to rule on the constitutionality of *Bill 30*. Because equality issues that arise in policy changes, such as *Bill 30*, involve the redistribution of a valued resource, argument and debate inevitably center on the following three questions:

1. Who are the recipients and what are the many ways of defining them?
2. What is being distributed and what are the many ways of defining it?
3. What are the social processes by which distribution is determined?

These questions, which reflect Lasswell's definition of politics as "who gets what, when and how," encompass some of the most fundamental dilemmas that generate political conflict in policy change. Discussions of the *Bill 30* policy processes in Chapter Four outlined the nature of some of the political conflicts that arose over these questions. One of the most far-reaching debates arose over the challenge by public school supporters, that providing equality for Roman Catholic school supporters resulted in an inequity to other groups because it discriminated solely in favour of that group. For example, a legal opinion sought by the Metropolitan Toronto School Board from J.J. Robinette, Q.C., a Canadian constitutional expert, argued that government funding beyond the elementary grades that existed at the time of Confederation constituted "discrimination based on religion in favour of the Roman Catholic school supporters, as against all other persons who are taxpayers and, therefore, under the Charter."⁵²

In the Supreme Court of Canada appeal, *Reference Re an Act to Amend the Education Act (Ont)*, that followed the affirmation of the constitutionality of the legislation by the Ontario Court of Appeal, intervening private school supporters alleged that *Bill 30* derogated from the "equality rights" of private schools under sections 2a and 15 of the *Charter*. Section 2(a) of the *Charter* guarantees the fundamental freedom of "conscience and religion," and section 15 (1) guarantees equality rights whereby:

15 (1) Every individual is equal before and under the law and has the right to the equal protection and equal benefit of the law without discrimination and, in particular, without discrimination based on race, national or ethnic origin, color, religion, sex, age or mental or physical disability.

The basis of the opponent's challenge was, therefore, the criteria for the policy's group-based distribution. Supporters argued that they were entitled to this funding under section 93 of the *Constitution Act, 1867*. The *Charter*, by section 29, reaffirms denominational rights granted under section 93:

29. Nothing in this *Charter* abrogates or derogates from any rights or privileges guaranteed by or under the *Constitution of Canada* in respect of denominational, separate or dissentient schools.

Section 93 of Canada's *Constitution Act, 1982*, and section 15 of the *Charter*, are in apparent contradiction. Pyra and McConnell (1990) state that: "the one [s. 93] selectively guarantees denominational rights, while the other [s. 15] provides for fundamental freedom of conscience, religion and belief, and the nondiscrimination on the basis of religion" (p.14). Analysts suggest that the reference "squarely put at issue the relationship of section 15 and the more long-standing constitutional guarantees of minority rights" (Eberts, 1991, p. 75). In 1987 the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of *Bill 30*, and in doing so indicated the Court's view of the relationship between section 15 of the *Charter* and section 93 of the *Constitution Act*.⁵³ Madame Justice Wilson, writing the reasons for the decision, stated that in the judgement of the Court, it was not intended that the *Charter* could be used to invalidate other parts of the Constitution:

...particularly a provision such as s. 93, which represented a fundamental part of the Confederation compromise. . . [and which is] insulated from *Charter* attack as legislation enacted pursuant to the plenary power in relation to education granted to the provincial legislatures as part of the Confederation compromise.⁵⁴

For the denominational groups not identified in section 93, the decision raised fundamental questions about the idea of equality implied in the *Charter* such as: "how can there be freedom of religion in a society which funds one religion; how can there be equality in a society which funds one religion?"⁵⁵ OSSTF expressed a similar view in its reaction to the decision, arguing that: "the vision for Canada, as expressed by a majority of the members of the Supreme Court of Canada is a narrow one ... it is a vision that does not recognize the pluralistic, multi-cultural vision of a modern Canada."⁵⁶

In contrast, the separate school community views the decision as the affirming that the regulatory powers over education given Ontario through the *Common Schools Act* (1841) had been wrongly used by the province during the previous century and a quarter. A lawyer for the Roman Catholic community explains the decision thus: "if you're given the power to fund the system, you don't use the power to remove the funds ... if you have power in a statute you have to use it for the purposes for which it was designed, not for another purpose."⁵⁷ Thus, in failing to fund separate secondary schools

the province had not used its regulatory powers correctly. Many Roman Catholics acknowledge that the rights guaranteed them in s.93 do extend a privilege that is not available to other denominational groups. One separate school director suggests, however, that the affirmation of s.93 denominational rights reflects "the Canadian belief in diversity in the constitution, and the recognition of the rights of groups other than the majority group."⁵⁸

Analysts see in this decision much wider implications than the resolution of conflicting interpretations of the meaning of equality in a single educational policy change. In this case specific policy ideas are interpreted through the lens of the core ideologies interpreted in the country's Constitution. Pyra and McConnell (1990) argue, for example, the decision contradicts "most rights' charters which define rights and freedoms in a universal sense" (p. 17). In this decision the Court has determined that the provisions flowing from the earlier Constitutional bargain prevail over later constitutional arrangements. The result is that *Charter* rights "lose their universal character" (p. 17). Critics find the Court ruling troublesome for equality rights in Canada because it suggests that there is "a hierarchy of rights in the Constitution as a whole, with the compromises of 1867 taking precedence over the guarantees of 1985" (Eberts, 1991, p. 76). From this perspective the ruling confirms "Canada's nagging, historical preoccupation with the adjustments to minority rights it made in order to secure Confederation in 1867" (Eberts, 1991, p. 66). In doing so it ignores the "legitimate aspirations of other minorities" and, thereby, reinforces the perceptions by governments that "there should be only a limited amount of room on the public agenda for equality, or minority, concerns" other than those that serve the imperatives of history (p. 67).

The reaction of other minorities to the two policy changes providing educational privileges to Roman Catholic and francophone minorities was evident to Minister of Education Sean Conway, who notes that at the time:

the implementation of *Bill 30* and *Bill 75* revealed to me as Minister how deeply felt the hurt was in the multi-cultural community. That there seemed to be special privileges [to Roman Catholics and francophones, that were] not generally accorded ... was seen to be discriminatory.⁵⁹

This reaction is shared by other groups who have found their s. 15 equality provisions placed near the "bottom of the hierarchy of government governs." (Eberts, 1991, p. 66). Critics warn of the potential dangers to the Canadian polity of the failure to politically acknowledge the equality concerns of these groups.

A number of implications for the IF are evident in the issues raised by supporters and critics of the *Bill 30* reference decision. It is apparent, for example, that ideas reflected in provincial-level policy changes such as *Bill 30* contain the dilemmas and contradictions embodied in the fundamental ideologies of the polity. Ideologies and policy ideas are mutually defining and reinforcing. It is also evident that the *Charter* has had a broad impact on focusing public debate on core ideas defining the Canadian polity. Those groups who had hoped that the equality provisions of the *Charter* would provide a means to obtain public support for their own schools saw the failure of the Court to acknowledge their claims as discriminatory. The *Charter* cannot, however, be dismissed as a weak or inconsistent instrument for ensuring equality. The *Charter* not only embodies core ideas such as equality, but it also provides a means of bringing those ideas to a forum for public debate and adjudication. As one lawyer pointed out, "in the absence of the *Charter*, the government would have passed *Bill 30*, and there would have been absolutely no basis on which anyone could challenge it."⁶⁰ The evidence of disputes over the ideas promoted by *Bill 30* contradicts this view. As the following discussion illustrates, that policy change was characterized by an ongoing debate over the apparent contradiction between the goals of equity and fairness for separate school supporters and the protection of the viability of the public school system.

The Conceptual Relations Among Policy Specific Ideas

The analysis of the development, implementation, and impact of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* reported in Chapter Four confirms the findings of research by Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989) which suggests that the ideas commonly acknowledged in educational policy goals can contract or reinforce each other. Similarly, *Bill 30* confirms the evidence from Canadian policy researchers which suggests that specific objectives in a policy domain such as education may be in dispute (Doern & Phidd, 1983; Pal, 1992). The implication for the IF

is that these contradictions are important indicators of the potential for a policy change to succeed.

Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1989) identify four core ideas evident in American educational policy domains: efficiency, equity, quality, and choice. They propose that a number of contradictory and reinforcing relations exist among these ideas. For example, choice and equity are often in opposition in American educational policy because choice is permissive and equity policies are enforced. The analysis of the debates surrounding *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* reported in this thesis confirms that core ideas are indeed often in conflict. The nature of the conflict is, however, more complex and ambiguous than is suggested by the Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt framework. In fact, sometimes ideas are held to be so important in the polity that even though the provisions may complicate a policy change, they will be incorporated without significant conflict. For example, the idea of security is embodied in the provisions for protecting teachers and school personnel in both *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*. A former ministry official comments on the primacy of security as a dominant idea in public policy by noting that "the government always wants to be seen as doing everything it can to grandparent or to protect in one way or another people who very innocently might be adversely affected by this new policy."⁶¹

The analysis reported here warns against adopting a checklist of core ideas and specified contradictions without understanding the underlying ideological base of ideas in a polity. For example, core ideas such as choice, which some suggest is reflected in *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*, carry different meanings in the Canadian polity. The implication is that the IF must take into account the interpretations of core ideas by actors within a particular policy community. The need to examine the broader ideologies from which core ideas emerge is evident in the differences between American and Canadian conceptions of choice in education. In America education choice issues that are linked to strategies to allow families to choose among schools for their children, have gained prominence recently (Cibulka & Boyd, 1989). However, key differences between Canadian and American approaches to choice in education are evident particularly in "the emphasis on collective rights in Canada and on individual rights in the United States" (Lawton, 1991, p. 1). Five parameters distinguishing this difference are evident. First, choice

in Canada implies protecting the group or collective rights of an identifiable subgroup. Second, the key traits of relevance have been religion and language, not race, class or gender. Third, "while these rights operated at the provincial level, it [is] the federal government's responsibility to protect these rights" (p. 2). Fourth, the rights to a particular type of education in Canada are positive rights in that they imply the right to receive some sort of public service. Finally, these rights have for the most part, been obtained on the basis of "political power and pragmatism" rather than being granted through commitment to an ideal (p. 2). It is particularly crucial to clarify these differences between American and Canadian interpretations of this dominant idea because much American educational choice theory is imported into Canadian policy research. The analysis conducted here indicates that many public school supporters take issue with the suggestion that either *Bill 30* or *Bill 109* reflect the core idea of choice. For example, a senior government official observes that an anglophone can't choose to attend a francophone school, and a Protestant can't freely choose to attend a Catholic school. The core value evident in the policies supporting these provisions is not related to choice; rather, it is "built on an entirely different value ground ... [that] has to do with group separateness, and group identity."⁶² The collective rights basis of these policy changes confirms this assessment.

In the policy debates surrounding both *Bill 109* and *Bill 30*, core ideas of equity and fairness were used by proponents as rationales for "group separation." Opponents disputed the meaning of both values. Fairness, in fact, emerged as a key policy idea during the *Bill 30* debate as the meaning of specific provisions in the policy change were assessed by public school supporters. According to former Minister of Education Sean Conway, the notion of restricted student access to publicly supported separate secondary schools was the specific policy provision that offended the idea of fairness held by public supporters. Public school supporters "just could not accept that their money should go to support a system to which they were then being told their children could not go if they wished."⁶³ Fairness in this policy change emerged as a core idea that had nothing to do with "the practical matter" of public supporters actually sending their children to separate schools. Nor could the Minister gain support from the public school community for restricted access to separate schools using "rational, legal or

even constitutional" arguments. The issue opened a "floodgate" of public demand for open access to separate schools that resulted in a change in the bill.⁶⁴ In Conway's view the issue of access is a "very key example of the initial policy statement ignoring a fundamental value that reared its head very quickly and won the day without a fight, and rightly so."⁶⁵

One of the implications for understanding the role of ideas evident from this illustration is that the core ideas embodied in a policy change may only become clear as those affected begin to see the practical impact the change will have on their lives. Ideas do not exist in pristine form in the content of a policy announcement; rather, they coalesce around interpretations and experiences of impact. Moreover, the relative importance attached to an idea changes as the policy is developed and implemented. The conflicting interpretations relating to the idea of community that emerged in both policy changes studied here illustrates this phenomenon. *Bill 30*, for example, was seen by the separate school supporters as affirming the Catholic community's perception of the unique role of education. One separate school representative, a teacher, indicates that: "for the Catholic community ... it is a philosophy of education; it isn't a 30-minute religion period."⁶⁶

In contrast, critics initially viewed the policy change as a threat to the public school community of the province. As the policy was implemented, the requirements for the transfer of public secondary schools were seen as a threat by public school supporters in various communities. Facilities became symbols of the values of these communities. Although *Bill 30* did contain provisions to ensure that single public secondary schools in a community would not be adversely affected, the problem, according to a former ministry official, was that "nobody defined community."⁶⁷ The notion of community in the original policy announcement clearly "meant a small, rural community; a small town with one secondary school."⁶⁸ As the policy change began to be implemented, it became evident, however, that "there are all kinds of communities." The strong reaction by public school supporters against the transfer of high schools in many communities made it evident to PIC and Ministry officials that there are

many different kinds of communities, even within and maybe particularly within, very large urban centres such as Ottawa-Carleton and Metro Toronto. . . . Within those communities you

had schools that had various kinds of reputations, schools [that] for various reasons became so symbolic, and the greater the threat of losing them, the greater the symbolism became. People just started to dig in their heels and say 'hey, we're just as much a community as Georgetown is and we're not going to give up our community's secondary school.' Or, if that school attracted students from the across the urban region, people said 'Look it's a community of a different sense, it cuts across boundaries but it's still a community and that school serves a very particular purpose and we just aren't going to give it up. If you force us to give it up, we'll find ways of filling up the space.'⁶⁹

The idea of community originally conceived in the policy had very little to do with the conception of community that emerged as the meaning of the policy became clear to those it impacted upon. Failure to understand all the potential implications of an idea may produce resistance that complicates the original idea. In the case of *Bill 30*, it was only upon implementation that the ministry recognized that "boards might be devising artificial means of filling classrooms so that they could claim they did not have any surplus space to give up."⁷⁰ The implication for the IF is that, although an idea may be present in a policy intention, it may not be sufficiently developed to preclude the problems that result from implementation. These illustrations underline the complex but central role that ideas play in policy change. Acknowledging this role, the IF confirms that ideas are driving forces in policy debate and change. The analysis reported here confirms that the effects of ideas are complex. It underlines central role of argument and debate in ideological conflicts over a policy change. The following discussion examines this role.

Argument and Debate in Public Deliberation on Policy Change

Doern and Phidd (1983) suggest that the "pre-eminent task of policy analysis is to penetrate the rhetoric and examine the underlying ideas" of policy debates (p. 561). Their view is shared by Majone (1990) who acknowledges that "public policy is made of language and that argument is central in all stages of the policy process"(p. 157). A cornerstone of a democratic system of government is good public discussion. Majone comments:

Such a system of government is calculated to elicit the thought, the will, and the general capacity of each citizen. It does not rest on mere number or quantity, but on the quality of the process it engages and on the value of the process for every participant. (p. 159).

The main task of policy analysis as a means of informing policy making is not to identify solutions but to "raise issues, probe assumptions, stimulate debate, and especially to education citizens to distinguish between good and bad reasons"(p. 158). Previous discussions of the processes developing a common interest framework by the Taman Commission suggested that the quality of public deliberation in policy making is enhanced by a number of processes which ensure that most opinions are heard at the same time that some conclusion is reached. Not only must procedural safeguards be in place but some common ground, some shared values and understandings must be developed in order to ensure that the public debate not degenerate into ongoing disputes. Majone comments "before the dialectic of conflicting positions can unfold, there must be widespread agreement about the nature of the central problems then facing the community" (p. 160). Norm setting and value clarification is ongoing in public deliberation.

Previous discussions in this thesis have argued that values are "neither given nor constant, but are themselves often a function of the policy-making process that they are supposed to guide"(p. 160). Moreover, throughout the policy process value judgements must be constantly made and must be explained and justified. This is why persuasive arguments are used so pervasively in policy discourse. In whatever way policy makers come to their conclusions, they must give plausible reasons that for the policy decision in the various forums of public deliberation which characterize a policy change process. Majone's proposal for seeing policy analysis as argumentation underlines that rhetoric and the art of persuasion are not solely the domain of politicians in the policy change process. The view of policy administration as a process of arguing is shared by Townsend (1991) who observes that:

In a democracy, officials do not simply make policies; if they have reasons, they have to give them. Like politicians who offer constituents justifications for their votes or akin to lobbyists who

represent their causes as serving public interests, elite administrators have to put forward explanations. (p. 44).

The IF acknowledges the key role of argument and accepts that policy making is not simply a process of choosing the best means to a given end, but rather it is a "process of finding acceptable reasons, discovering warrants for one's beliefs or actions"(Majone, 1990, p. 157). Policy making as argument uses different patterns of reasoning than those used by rational economic models. Instead of a logic of choice premised on objectives, preferences, criteria and tradeoffs, policy making as argument uses "categories borrowed from jurisprudence, history, ethics, and rhetoric: evidence, conclusion, context, metaphor, analogy, values, audience, and persuasion"(p. 157). Argumentation is a process of "policy construction, finding good reasons for public actions, helping to bring focus to the behavior of organizational members, projecting identities for his or her guidelines for public action" (Townsend, 1991, p. 44).

Analyses reported in previous sections of this thesis confirm that argument is pervasive in policy change because the goals of policy are seldom clear, unambiguous and incontestable. Rather, significant policy changes inevitably involve broader public debate among players who draw from multiple and often conflicting frameworks for interpreting social reality. Policy makers and policy analysts confront the challenge of understanding and resolving the value conflicts that inevitably pervade public discourse on significant policy changes. This view is supported by a senior Ontario government official, who comments that the challenge facing policy makers when confronted by apparent value conflicts is:

... to try and clarify and work out with people what is a question of difference of opinion about what the facts are, and what is the difference of opinion in terms of what the values are. . . .Most people don't come to these policy discussions with a clear idea of their values, or a clear articulation of them either. They need to clarify their own facts, their own values, and see other people's being clarified at the same time. That sometimes doesn't produce a change in the person, or in a group, but it often produces a willingness to live with a consequence they didn't think they could live with.⁷¹

Illustrations of the influence of conflict over ideas in policy change outlined in Chapter Four and previous sections of this chapter, confirm the need to incorporate the processes identified by this government official in resolving value conflicts. The challenge for the IF is to provide guidance for clarifying the complex, value-laden conflicts that emerge during a policy change. The following discussion outlines a schema that provides a guide for the interpretation of policy arguments. Reflecting the theoretical research path adopted in this thesis the following section focuses on conceptual issues in understanding policy arguments. To illustrate these concepts, the discussion draws from one of the many debates that emerged in the two policy changes, the debate between public and separate school supporters over the economic impact of *Bill 30*.

A Schema for the Interpretation of Policy Arguments

Recent work on the nature of policy arguments has provided an important beginning to the task of developing a schema for the interpretation of policy arguments (Fischer, 1980; Hambrick, 1974; Pal, 1992; Townsend, 1991). In a longitudinal ethnographic study, Townsend (1991) observed and then analyzed the arguments of the chief executive officer of an Ontario school board to demonstrate that policy administration can be viewed as rhetoric. Townsend identified six strategies that individuals use in policy-related arguments (pp. 44-45). Relevant information providing, for example, evidence from policy problems perhaps using statistics can be brought to an argument. Claims can be made suggesting that some result follows from previous elements of the argument. Qualifiers are used to give weights such as "definitely". Warrants are given suggesting the assumptions that enable an argument to "move from relevant information to claim"(p. 45). Backing is often provided for a warrant that may be contested, and finally rebuttals are given anticipating objections to the claim. Townsend illustrates that individuals use different frames or modes in policy warrants and backings.⁷²

Hambrick (1974) also identified a series of interrelated propositional types of arguments which were further developed by Fischer (1980), and more recently, by Pal (1992). Although the nature of discourse on different policy changes varies, most policy arguments can be divided into several components, or, as Hambrick (1974) and Pal (1992) call them, proposals and

propositions. Four general types of propositions are common in policy arguments: factual assertions, hypotheticals, value assertions, and normative calculations. The following schema for interpreting policy arguments is developed from these types of propositions. The illustrations of these concepts are drawn from assessments by public and separate school supporters of the economic and social impact of *Bill 30*. Assessments of economic and social impact are closely tied to perceptions of the goals of a policy change. In the case of redistributive policy changes, assessments of economic impact are often the focus of conflicting arguments. As the following discussions of the elements of the schema will demonstrate, interpretations of the costs of *Bill 30* illustrate this phenomenon well.

Factual Assertions

Policy arguments are based on statements of the facts that are perceived to be relevant to the issue. Such perceptions are filtered by the previous experiences of the policy actor. The multiplicity of actors involved in a policy change ensures that even the simplest policy-relevant facts may be challenged by alternative interpretations. Factual statements, although dependent on judgement, can be distinguished by the limited normative meanings that are explicitly attached to them. Factual assertions may include propositions defining the situational context of the policy, for example, those referring to time-place configurations that provide an empirical basis for support or resistance to the policy change (Fischer, 1980, p. 208; Hambrick, 1974, p. 472).

Factual assertions often include statements about "qualities such as size, scope, breadth, and other measurable things" based on the policy actor's judgement (Pal, 1992, p. 202). Such factual assertions "are usually presented in 'clusters,' which form a self-contained and mutually reinforcing matrix" which are often "deliberately woven together around some theme or directed at some end" (p. 202). If these clusters are carefully constructed they can appear to be cohesive and overwhelming evidence supporting the theme. Propositions supporting factual assertions based on claims of "socio-judicial or institutional status" are sometimes also included (p. 202). For example, claims to special status under s. 23 of the *Charter of Rights* could be included in a factual assertion. The judgmental nature of factual assertions also reflects the way in which "facts have to be constructed and cannot simply be

perceived" (Pal, 1992, p. 203). This may mean that conceptual tools have to be developed which define the problem and which identify relevant classes and types of facts required to inform the policy solutions.

The arguments over the cost of *Bill 30* illustrate the use of facts to support conflicting interpretations of a policy impact. Public school supporters, for example, argue that the requirements for separate secondary schools has resulted in a larger proportion of the capital funding going to the smaller Roman Catholic school system. From this perspective, one former chairperson of a public board argues "here in the province, you have 75% of the rate payers supporting public education, and they're getting one third of the allocation for building schools and renovating schools. Over a six-year period, that is a very significant dollar change as a result of *Bill 30*."⁷³ Although some separate school supporters acknowledge that the Bill "is one of the biggest money Bills to be heard in the Supreme Court," when the ongoing grants for schools are taken into account, others discount the monetary impact of *Bill 30*.⁷⁴ One argument that is often presented by the Catholic community is that separate schools actually save the province money because they operate with lower per-pupil expenditures than do public schools.⁷⁵

Hypotheticals

Hypotheticals are "assertions about the causal relations between facts" (Pal, 1992, p. 203). These assertions specify what will work based on some broader causal theories. They typically specify both the goal(s) and the action(s) in the form of "if-then" propositions (Hambrick, 1974, p. 471). Pal (1992) distinguishes between "first-order hypotheticals," which refer to law-like abstractions of relationships, and "second-order hypotheticals," which "assert a specific causal relationship for a specific set of circumstances" (p. 204). Most policy arguments focus on specific problems and, consequently, rely on second-order hypotheticals. These cause and effect arguments are typically drawn from factual assertions, and, as a result, are often challenged on the basis of differing judgements of those facts.

The use of hypotheticals is evident in the argument by separate school supporters that one of the positive impacts of *Bill 30* is that "it improves [the]

competitive environment which is going to contribute positively to the quality of education and to the rationalization and utilization of resources."⁷⁶ In this argument a causal link is made between competition, and the factual assertion that separate schools are able to provide secondary education at a lower cost, thereby, increasing the cost effectiveness of the entire system. In responding to this argument public school supporters question appropriateness of the means by which they believe separate schools are able to provide lower cost secondary education. One former chairperson responds to the argument that separate schools are more cost effective by pointing out that separate schools do not offer high cost programs in special education, second language and other areas that are required to "satisfy the needs of a very diverse population of students, with many problems."⁷⁷ Moreover, public school supporters charge that the open-access policy allows separate school boards to encourage high cost special needs students to transfer to the public system.

Value Assertions

Factual assertions are real world statements that are filtered by value assertions of how things ought to be. Normative propositions thus "specify the value, positive or negative, attached to goals or actions" (Hambrick, 1974, p. 470). Value assertions reflect the ethical dimensions evident in varying degrees in all policy debates. In policy areas such as education, this ethical dimension dominates policy arguments which may focus on values, such as "freedom, individual rights, [and] the proper role of the state" (Pal, 1992, p. 207). Previous sections of this chapter have identified the dominant ideas guiding policy making in general. Value assertions do incorporate interpretations of the ideas of equality, efficiency, security, liberty and community. However, most policy arguments outlined in previous discussions concerned specific policy problems which confront value clusters such as those proposed by Leys (1962). As Figure 5.5 illustrates, policy arguments may be based on claims for value clusters emphasizing liberty and self-realization, lawfulness and tradition, community and fraternity, happiness and maximum satisfaction, survival and security, or justice and harmony.

Figure 5.5

Basic Value Clusters

Liberty and Self-Realization

Rationality of the Individual
Human Dignity and Integrity

Justice and Harmony

Common Good
Logical Consistency
Order and Plan

Lawfulness and Tradition

Authorizations and Contracts
Customs and Precedents

Survival and Security

Political Power
Friend-Foe Relations
Physical Protection

Community and Fraternity

Cultural and Social Trends
Institutional Loyalties

Happiness and Maximum Satisfaction

Desired Results
Production
Efficiency

From "The Value Framework of Decision-Making" by W.A.R. Leys, 1962,
In S. Mailick and E.H. Van Ness (Eds.) Concepts and Issues in
Administrative Behavior, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, p. 88.

The conflicting interpretations by public and separate school supporters, of the cost of *Bill 30* reflect differing interpretations of values such as liberty and self-realization, and community and fraternity. For separate school supporters, *Bill 30* is a means for preserving the Roman Catholic community and developing fraternity in that community. At the same time some separate school school supporters appeal to the value of efficiency in proposing that *Bill 30* has promoted competition, and, thus, increased the level of satisfaction with the whole educational system. Public school supporters reject the cost effectiveness and competition arguments as inappropriate for education. They base their arguments, instead, on values clustered around the idea of the common good. In rejecting the idea that competition improves the educational system, one public school director argues:

I see that competition means that you are spreading and moving students back and forth, and building structures to meet their needs. I don't see how it is more efficient or more effective, if you really are interested in the good of the students [and] not how large your system is, and how beautiful your buildings.⁷⁸

Normative Calculation

Pal (1992) argues that "while all policy arguments rest on assertions of fact, causal relationships, and values, they also incorporate different conceptions of proper moral reasoning" (p. 208). Individuals may share common values but because their normative calculations differ, they may adopt different policy positions. Pal suggests that two models of normative calculation dominate contemporary policy arguments; "moral absolutism and consequentialism" (p. 208).

Moral absolutism "adopts values or positions on what is right and wrong, and holds these values whatever their consequences" (Pal, 1992). Those whose normative calculations are based on moral absolutism support values regardless of their consequences, arguing that they cannot be "violated simply because they may have unpleasant effects when put into practice" (p. 208). Although less common in policy arguments than consequentialism, absolutist calculations are particularly evident in rights issues. Pal suggests that:

Rights have two characteristics that tend to encourage absolutist reasoning: 1) they are usually considered 'trumps' in the sense that they outweigh considerations of cost or convenience, and 2) there is a strong tendency to consider rights as indivisible and absolute. (p. 209)

In practice, of course, all rights have to be compromised, and consequentialist moral calculations predominate policy making. Consequentialism calculates that "nothing is good or evil in itself," but rather the consequences of a moral principal must be assessed in action (p. 208). Consequentialist moral calculations dominate public policy debates particularly those that seek through consensus to accommodate a plurality of interests. Utilitarianism, the most common form of consequentialist calculation, argues for balancing of preferences and maximizing consensus. Redistributive social policy proposals reflect a consequentialist position in which the "forcible extraction from individuals of part of their property to help the less fortunate is permissible because its consequence is an increase in the total amount of societal happiness" (p. 209). Preceding discussions of *Bill 30* suggest that although many Roman Catholic supporters draw from the s. 93 denominational rights to shore-up absolutist normative calculations for educational provisions, many others are more willing to adopt a consequentialist stance that acknowledges the realities of the politics of policy change.

Hierarchy of Orientations Toward Policy Goals.

In the schema for interpreting policy arguments developed here the factual assertions, hypotheticals, value assertions and normative calculations of propositions just discussed, fall into a general hierarchy of orientations toward policy goals. This policy goal orientation hierarchy has relevance when policies are viewed as "political agreements on courses of action, whether arrived at through political discussion, vote or decree" (Fischer, 1980, p. 184). This frame of reference is consistent with the IF view of policy making as a goal-oriented activity characterized by policy debate and argumentation. Policy arguments commonly focus on "verifying, validating or vindicating" aspects of policy goals (p. 173). These three categories reflect a hierarchy of goal orientations illustrated in the following classification:

- a) policy goal verification through factual and causal information about program objectives, or
- b) policy goal validation through "phenomenologically based situational interpretation," or
- c) vindication of policy goals through evaluations of the relationship of the policy goal to the "larger causal relations of the system as a whole and the search for the ideal system" (Fischer, 1980, p. 173).

Thus, arguments focusing on perceived facts, and on causal inferences related to those facts, reflect the logic of verification of policy objectives. Those arguments which make value assertions based on interpretive understanding reflect the logics of validation or vindication of policy goals. Factual assertions, hypotheticals, value assertions, and normative calculations reflect loose orientations toward verification, validation or vindication of policy goals. For example, according to Pal (1992), both factual assertions and hypotheticals are "critical parts of any policy argument because they define how the advocate sees the world, defines the problem, and understands which solutions will work and which will not" (p. 206). As such, both represent a form of pragmatic problem-solving which emphasizes the technical verification of policy goals. In contrast, value assertions and normative calculations reflect concerns for validation and vindication rather than technical verification of policy goals. According to Fischer (1980) the most fundamental normative concern of policy argument is to vindicate the value judgements that underlie a policy change as supporting what is viewed as the valued way of life in the polity.

Orientations to Discourse

Discussions of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* in this thesis drew from the arguments of a number of policy actors. Arguments, such as those made by Bill Davis described in Chapter Four, reflect unique sets of factual assertions, hypotheticals, value assertions and normative calculations that are used to verify, validate or vindicate policy goals. These elements provide the parameters of the schema for analyzing the components of policy arguments developed here. The rationale for undertaking this effort is the view adopted in this thesis that policy change arises out of the process of discourse in which

"a variety of perceptions, interpretations, claims, and contentions are commonly deliberated" (Anderson, 1987, p. 34). Discourse in this conception connotes "an extended exchange of ideas in which both proposals for action and prospective tests of the merit of such proposals are simultaneously deliberated" (p. 34). In this process arguments, incorporating factual assertions, hypotheticals, value assertions and normative calculations which are oriented toward verification, validation or vindication of policy goals are presented. Discourse, however, requires the interaction of members of a policy network formed around a specific policy issue. Hambrick (1974), for example, suggests that in the process of discourse, "all persons will not use the same evidence or the same reasons in the same way" (p. 475). Similarly, Anderson (1987) argues that discourse "implies advocacy, explanation, criticism, and, in the end, deliberative judgement" (p. 34). The arguments that policy network actors bring to the process of discourse also will reflect their roles as advocate, critic, architect or analyst of the proposed policy change. Although there are obvious overlaps among these roles, they do reflect general orientations in policy discourse. Such orientations are evident in the arguments of the policy actors quoted in this thesis (See Appendix 3.5 for a classification of the orientations of the policy actors interviewed).

One advocate, for example, "indicates a person who is strongly biased in favor of the policy under consideration" (Hambrick, 1974, p. 475). In some cases advocates act as policy entrepreneurs, who compete to win assent for their programs and designs (Anderson, 1987) Their entrepreneurial activities tend to be political in form and may result in policy responses that attempt to suppress these efforts, or instead policy initiatives may be mounted to support and encourage the proposed designs. Entrepreneurial judgement, therefore, starts from projects. This pattern of response to entrepreneurial advocacy is evident in the reactive style of pluralist politics. The advocacy orientation in policy discourse may also reflect a supportive stance toward a policy change which is evident in hypotheticals that state that if a specific policy is undertaken then a particular goal will be fulfilled and in value assertions that suggest that that goal should be undertaken.

Critics have the opposite bias to advocates. In critiquing a policy option they may base their arguments on criticisms of the facts, or the causal relationships presented in support of the policy proposal. For example, critics

may argue that the proposed policy attacks the wrong problem. Criticisms of value assertions may be based on conflicting principles, so that policies promoting equity may be attacked as inefficient. Critics may also challenge the policy proposal on the basis of a conflicting normative calculation. Thus, an absolutist proposal that section 23 rights in the *Charter* are indivisible, may be challenged by utilitarian critics who argue that in practice all rights have to be compromised.

A third role evident in policy discourse is that of the policy trustee or architect, "the person whose job it is to develop a policy strategy for dealing with some policy" (Hambrick, 1974, p. 476). The arguments of the architect reflect judgements of trusteeship which start "from practice" (Anderson, 1987, p. 37). Often these arguments reflect the architect's extensive investment of energy into a policy option. As such they may "turn on conceptions of purpose and authority, duty and obligation" (p. 37). Anderson argues that "if advocacy is the role of the entrepreneur in political discourse, then explanation is the rhetorical function of the trustee" (p. 37). The arguments of architects outline the rationale for a policy change by outlining the factual basis of the choice and the attempts to balance value positions. Normative calculations will often reflect a consequentialist attempts to "develop an approach that steers a middle course through conflicting philosophies and value positions" (Pal, 1992, p. 209). Comments such as "we have attempted to provide an optimum mix of A and B" reflect the architect's orientation.

A fourth orientation in policy discourse is that of the pragmatic analyst, who attempts to take an objective disinterested position in focusing on problems that arise "out of conflicting valuations of existing patterns of activity" (Anderson, 1987, p. 40). The role of the pragmatic analyst in theories of policy making is often taken to be that of the mediator, "the one who would negotiate meaning to the end of collective action" (p. 40). The importance of the role of the pragmatic analyst becomes particularly evident when policy change is viewed as an ongoing process of bargaining and negotiation. In this conception mediators play key roles in attempting to resolve value conflicts arising during policy implementation as the impacts of the change become evident. Commenting on this role, Anderson argues that, in theory, "the pragmatic analyst is the neutral adjudicator, the contriver of consent" (p. 40). Pragmatism in the policy mediator is often associated with

"tough-minded realism" and concern for "what will work in practice" (p. 40). The role of the analyst can, however, also be viewed as part of political discourse on policy change. In this conception the analyst does not assume a neutral stance when confronted by the problem of resolving value conflicts arising over policy proposals or practices. In this depiction, the pragmatic analysis takes "the form of an argument, a case either for reforming practice in the name of principle or for exempting practice from the force of some principled claim" (p. 41). This formulation portrays the pragmatic analyst as working "in the direction of the perfection of the democratic polity" by searching for means for "accommodating principle to practice, for advancing the liberal democratic project without destroying the integrity of existing institutions" (p. 41).

These four stances are not mutually exclusive, nor are they unchangeable. Over time, a trustee may find that a policy change that was once supported as an equitable solution turns out to be inequitable. The trustee may become a policy entrepreneur for reform on the basis of the principle of equity. Rather than reflecting functional roles, these four stances are best seen as forms of political action and argument. As a result, they can be combined with the categories of policy argument and the orientations toward policy goals previously discussed, to form a schema for the interpretation of policy arguments to be incorporated into the IF. Table 5.1 illustrates this schema.

Constrained Relativism as a Rationale for Ethical Policy Analysis

The intent of this schema is to provide guidance for conceptualizing the range of values evident and the actual and potential conflicts among them in the arguments made in public deliberation on a policy change. The schema acknowledges that public debate does not start from a base of hard facts, but rather from points of view that are contested and shifting. Social policy making is inevitably complicated because "it is concerned with choices among competing values" (Kein, 1976, p. 140). Previous sections of this thesis have outlined the limitations of the economic and decisionist models which propose cost-benefit analysis as a viable approach to dealing with the normative issues that arise in making choices among competing values. The key limitation of cost-benefit analysis is that it ignores the intangible, non-quantifiable values such as the idea of community.

Table 5.1 A Schema for the Interpretation of Policy Arguments.

Hierarchy of Goal Orientations	Propositional Type	ROLES			
		Advocate	Critic	Architect	Analyst
Verification	Factual Assertions	Proposes clusters of supportive facts	Challenges veracity of facts	Presents factual rationale for policy	Recognizes facts are constructed.
	Hypotheticals	Asserts causal relations among facts	Rejects "if-then" proposition as attacking wrong problem	Refers to purpose, authority, duty, obligation as basis for argument	Acknowledges judgmental nature of "if-then" propositions
Validation	Value Assertions	Appeals to Value clusters, like "liberty."	Challenges Value assertions	Indicates attempts to balance Value positions	Acts as mediator of conflicting Values.
Vindication	Normative Calculations	May adopt absolutist rationale if appealing to Rights	May present utilitarian challenge to moral absolutism	Reflects a consequentialist attempt to steer a middle course	Links principles and practice to promote democratic polity

In the early 1970s the growing critiques of the rational model of policy making were fueled by the awareness that conventional techniques of choice such as cost-benefit analysis assumed that there was general agreement on societal priorities and values. This assumption was:

inherited from an era when certain basic values and ideals seemed to be more clearly (if tacitly) understood and widely (if not universally) shared. The intellectual and institutional techniques available. . . to *any* policy-oriented research institute seem distinctly ill adapted to the task of helping to reach important decisions in a more fragmented society, a society which, for a variety of reasons, is no longer confident about the priorities among its values, and which is becoming increasingly aware of the inherent difficulty of choosing among values in conflict, coupled with the increasingly unavoidable need to do so. (Tribe, Schelling & Voss, 1976, p. xii)

Scholars such as Rein (1976) blamed the inability of policy analysts to deal with the normative dimensions of policy choices on the fact-value dichotomy that characterized the positivist methodologies that were commonly used. In Rein's assessment the positivist methodologies meant that normative issues could only be addressed in one of two ways. The most common response was the "value neutral" approach in which normative policy questions were ignored. A second alternative approach to analysis was "value committed," in that the analyst used policy analysis to promote a personal value. Rein rejected both approaches and called instead for a third "value-critical approach" to policy analysis. This approach did not ignore values, but rather proposed that values should become a central focus by submitting them to careful analysis. Like a growing number of policy scholars Rein's concern was fundamentally that the ethical dimensions of policy making and analysis be examined.

Rein's arguments were reinforced by other scholars who began to force analysts to confront the need for ethical analysis. A seminal contribution was an essay entitled *Policy Sciences: Analysis or Ideology* by Tribe (1972) in which he argued that policy analysis structures knowledge of the world through the analytic methods used. These methods examine the world in limited ways, including some parts but ignoring others (Amy, 1987). Tribe's observations

underline the ideological biases of analytic methods that make particular assumptions about what issues are worth analyzing, what facts are important, and what criteria should be used in making a decision for the public good. Through these critiques Tribe, and others, highlighted the need for policy makers and analysts to become more "sensitive to normative and ethical issues in analysis" (Amy, 1987, p. 49).

Concern that ethical issues be taken into account in policy making was given impetus by analyses of administrative decisions by scholars such as Janis (1982) who wrote about why administrators were able to make disastrous decisions such as those taken during the Bay of Pigs fiasco and Watergate. Janis argued that these decisions arose because administrators neglected to "systematically explore the moral implications of their decisions" but simply assumed that there were "on the side of right" (Amy, 1987, p. 50). Along with other scholars of public administration he argued that better policy decisions would be made when these moral questions were confronted directly. There was a growing awareness that "investigating ethical questions was not simply a philosophical question but a practical way of improving the quality and workability of policy decisions" (p. 50).

The problem was, however, to demonstrate that ethical analysis that could be relevant and useful in public deliberations over difficult policy issues. The challenge was, and continues to be, to develop legitimate forms of ethical analysis that could be applied to policy decisions. The task is complicated by the difficult philosophical questions that arise in analyzing the conflicting arguments based on value-laden world views that underlie most difficult policy decisions. Recent efforts to develop systematic approaches to ethical policy analysis demonstrate that while policy arguments are value laden, that does not mean that they are "mere rhetoric," outside the realm of rational discourse. Nevertheless, the issues raised are complex and go to the heart of philosophical discussions of the fundamental question: what makes communication among those holding conflicting values possible?⁷⁹

Among the contemporary scholars of policy and philosophy who examine this issue, MacIntyre (1988) provides some philosophical basis from which to reconcile the dilemmas raised by the inevitable value relativism such questions imply. MacIntyre explores the question by examining the history of four traditions of enquiry into what practical rationality is and what justice

is.⁸⁰ He argues that each tradition was or is "part of the elaboration of a mode of social and moral life" producing reasoned arguments that can only be understood, evaluated and accepted or rejected from within the tradition itself (p. 349). The philosophical question is: How can those within one tradition make sense out of what is valued by those arguing from another tradition? MacIntyre notes that those adopting a relativist philosophical stance would insist that because each tradition "provides its own standards of rational justification, [it] must always be vindicated in the light of those standards"(p. 364). In his view the relativist argument is constrained by the need of each tradition to be both internally consistent and to be externally effective. Thus, MacIntyre suggests that the arguments posed from each tradition can be evaluated and criticized from the standpoint of other traditions. MacIntyre proposes that it is possible for value-based positions to be criticized by individuals who:

test dialectically the theses proposed to him or her by each competing tradition, while also drawing upon these same theses in order to test dialectically these convictions and responses which he or she has brought to the encounter. (p. 398).

The kind of "constrained relativism" evident in MacIntyre's arguments also forms the assumptive basis of the cultural theory developed by Thompson, Ellis and Wildavsky (1990) described in previous sections of this thesis. These authors argue that every way of life "is constrained by the real world (and rudimentary rules of logic) (p. 269). The philosophical proposal for a constrained relativism suggested by these arguments provide a rationale for adopting the the older notion of Greek rationality in which "an action is rational if it can be explained and defended by arguments acceptable to a reasonable audience" (Majone, 1990, p. 177). The Schema for the interpretation of policy arguments outlined in a previous section of this chapter is grounded in the assumption that it is possible to develop an approach to understanding policy questions based on analysis of the empirical, theoretical and normative dimensions of those questions as expressed in the policy arguments brought to public deliberations by various participants.

Using the Schema to Generate Policy-Oriented Learning and Consensus

Drawing from the work of Fischer (1980), Hambrick (1980) and Anderson (1987) the Schema provides a means of identifying the nature of policy goal conflicts as expressed in the arguments of various actors. As such it provides important direction for understanding how consensus can be generated. The fact that there are conflicting interpretations of these goals underlines the normative character of the process of public deliberation on policy issues. The IF proposes that any ordering the preferences of goals is, implicitly or explicitly, the result of bargaining among groups with competing values. The IF recognizes that such bargaining is influenced by policy-oriented learning which facilitates a process of mutual adjustment. The very ambiguity of goals in this bargaining context provides the opportunity for consensus building.

The description of the process of developing a common interest framework in previous chapters of this thesis demonstrate that analysts and policy makers aware of value-based preferences can bring groups with competing views together in new ways to generate group learning and consensus. Etzioni (1968) describes the mechanisms underlying the process of consensus building through policy-oriented learning identified in the IF:

The capacity of two or more actors to realize their values is significantly affected not only by the congruence of their commitments but also by their ability to establish the degree to which their goals are complementary or shared and the extent to which their paths toward goal-realization are affected by the degree to which, in the process of such interaction, the goals of the actors are re-specified in the direction of reciprocal or shared projects. (p. 468)

Processes for generating consensus have been outlined in the discussion on a common interest framework for resolving value conflicts. The Schema for interpreting policy arguments provides an additional strategy to enable policy makers and analysts to facilitate consensus-building processes in a manner that acknowledges the moral and ethical dilemmas implicit in normative policy changes.

Summary: The Ideological Forces Generating Policy Debates

In responding to the research question which asks how ideas influence the arguments and debates that generate policy change, this section of the thesis has argued that preferences for particular policy options are endogenous to political life and reflect the shared values that are constructed through policy debates. Rather than depicting policy change as driven by interests, the IF views ideas about the public interest as key motivators. At the most fundamental level ideas are embedded in macro-political institutions that structure the policy processes which emerge from those institutions. Core ideologies guiding policy preferences are based on assumptions about human behaviour. Differing core ideas about human behaviour lie behind the conflicts that are evident in most policy changes. These conflicts among ideologies define the political culture of a political community and the zone of accepted policy action.

Coalitions within policy communities often define dominant ideas, such as equality, efficiency, security, liberty and community, in very different ways. The result is that ideas, and the policies they define, are often contested. Moreover, particular policy domains may develop unique policy paradigms derived from specific theories about appropriate instruments and goals. At the same time policies may incorporate several ideas, which may either oppose or reinforce each other. Although ideas are central to policy change, a conceptual problem arises because there is no simple way of determining which ideas will be important. The challenge for the IF has been to clarify the dilemmas posed by the complexity of ideological influences on policy change.

In responding to this challenge the IF acknowledges that ideas are primary forces motivating and directing public policy actions. Ideas establish the public value and necessity of action. Ideas are interpreted subjectively by policy actors through the lens of their "assumptive world" which intermingles beliefs and values with the structures, history and processes surrounding a policy change. The IF suggests that the contextual properties of ideas, such as their congruence with the historical experiences of an issue, determine whether they will influence policy change. To become active forces in policy change ideas must be linked to interests. This occurs when advocacy coalitions form on the basis of shared beliefs, values, and causal

assumptions about a particular policy problem. Ideas become forces when they form the basis for the debates among competing advocacy coalitions.

Debates and policy arguments are, in fact, a primary force influencing policy change. The problem for policy models is to conceptualize a means of interpreting these arguments. The preceding discussion met this challenge by developing a schema for interpreting policy arguments. This schema recognizes that policy-oriented learning, a related force influencing policy change, may emerge as competing advocacy coalitions draw support for their arguments with contrasting factual assertions, causal statements, value assertions and normative calculations. In the schema, arguments that are made in policy debates are linked to factual assertions and causal statements. Both may be directed towards verifying the value of a particular policy goal. Value assertions may be made to validate the goal and normative calculations may provide the rationale for vindicating a policy choice. The schema proposes that actors involved in the policy network that forms around a particular policy problem may adopt roles as advocates, critics, architects or analysts in these debates. Each role requires a different orientation to argumentation. As a means of interpreting policy arguments, the schema provides the final and key element of the IF. Its role in understanding the politics of policy change is further clarified as the final research question is considered in the next section of this chapter.

An Interpretive Orientation to Understanding the Logic of Policy

The following section of Chapter Five addresses the final research question considered in this thesis:

What are the implications of an interpretive orientation to understanding the logic of policy change?

In responding to this question, the discussion that follows integrates the arguments and ideas that have emerged in response to the research questions considered in preceding sections of the thesis. The most fundamental issue that emerges from this integration is the problem of conceptualizing a logic of policy-in-use. The challenge in developing an interpretive framework was to capture the subjective, interactive, discontinuous nature of policy change in practice. This required bridging the gap between what Toulmin (1958) calls

the "working logic" or logic-in-use, and the "idealized logic" or reconstructed logic of policy making. As Chapter Two documented the idealized logic of policy making has been emphasized in the rational models which have dominated policy inquiry during the past decades. The need to emphasize the working logic of policy change is stressed by the growing post-positivist critiques of rational models. It is also stressed by policy actors such as the senior government official who, upon reflection on the nature of public policy making, stated that:

. . . decision making as described after the decision is made, is quite different than decision making described as it's going on. When people describe a decision they took, they describe it in quite different terms, in very different language than they [would] if they were writing a diary as they were busy trying to make the decision. And that's important, because I think that reconstructive logic tends to over-rationalize. You always have to remember there's a logic-in-use you're trying to get at, if you're really trying to describe what the process is.⁸¹

The problem confronted in getting at the logic-in-use is that, although some policy changes appear to follow the idealized planning and policy making processes, that appearance may be superficial, disguising the more complex processes at work. Former Premier Davis acknowledges, for example, that although some policy making is "all planned and properly done, I think its fair to state that some of it is instinctive. . . so I don't minimize the formal structure that is necessary to develop policy or policy change, [but] there's a little more to it than that."⁸² A similar view of the nature of policy making is suggested by former Minister of Education Sean Conway, who suggests that the politics of policy making is not as rational an enterprise as suggested in some models, but rather, "it is more intuitive and it is more a process of reflecting on historical and cultural conditions."⁸³

Traditionally, models that stressed an idealized logic of policy discounted the kind of logic-in-use reflected in intuitive policy making based on understandings of historical and cultural conditions. More recent conceptualizations of policy making confront the problem of accounting for working logic more directly. In developing the IF, this thesis has drawn from some of the emerging approaches to capturing the logic of the practice of

policy making. Simeon (1976) made one of the earlier attempts to establish the parameters for a policy framework which includes several dimensions that take into account:

. . . the characteristics of the broad social and economic environment, the system of power and influence, the dominant ideas and values in the society, [and] the formal institutional structures. The policy process itself -- the interaction of formal and informal actors such as politicians, bureaucrats, pressure groups, and the media bargaining with each other -- reflects and is shaped by this broader framework, and by the pattern of problem precedents, and policies received from the past.
(p. 555-556)

The analysis of the policy changes for funding separate secondary schools and creating the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board undertaken in this thesis confirms the presence of Simeon's dimensions of policy making. The analysis also reveals evidence supporting more recent conceptions which suggest that policy problems move in cycles or streams (Kingdon, 1984). The logic of policy in practice revealed in these assessments suggests that policy making is an ongoing problem-solving activity. The dimensions of this conceptual perspective on policy logic-in-use are outlined in the following, and concluding discussion of this thesis. The discussion returns to the theoretical literature, placing the trends identified there into the context of the conceptual issues that emerged in this study's analysis of two educational policy changes. In outlining an interpretive orientation to understanding the logic of policy change this section concludes the description of the research undertaken in this thesis. The presentation of the product of this research, the Interpretive Framework for Understanding the Politics of Policy Change, concludes Chapter Five.

Overlapping Policy Logic Relationships

The logic of policy described in this thesis is a holistic conception of the political policy making structure that resolves conflicts resulting from competition over goals in a polity. Public policy is the end product of institutionalized political decision processes in which values are distributed

among conflicting demands. Political decisions "about fundamental values establish a framework or context within which all subsequent reasoning about goals takes place" (Fischer, 1980, p. 73). When defined as a guide to action, policy implies a "hypothetical solution to some perceived problem" (Pal, 1992, p. 7). Policies implicitly or explicitly contain a definition of some perceived problem. The problem, therefore, "constitutes the why of the policy" (p. 7). Problem definition is central to the meaning or logic of policy from this perspective. Problem "sensing," that is its recognition or identification, is often viewed as initiating a policy process. In the rational policy model, the definition of a problem is typically viewed as a "statement of a goal and the discrepancy between it and the status quo" (Stone, 1988, p. 106). The implication is that, through assessing the facts, this gap can be determined. Dunn (1981) argues that this:

. . . naive view of the nature of policy problems fails to recognize that the same facts. . . are often interpreted in markedly different ways by different policy stakeholders. Hence, the same policy-relevant information can and often does result in conflicting definitions and explanations of a 'problem.' (p. 97)

Policy problems, he concludes, exist in the "eyes of the beholder" (p. 7). The evidence reported in this thesis confirms that policy debate is often generated from varying interpretations of what the problems really are. These interpretations of problems emerge from differing conceptions of what the goals of a community are, or should be. Problem definition is, therefore, "inextricably bound to policy goals--what the policy is trying to achieve, its aims, and its directions," and these are themselves often contested (Pal, 1992, p. 9). Both goals and problems are defined by "people's experiences and interpretations" (Stone, 1988, p. 106).

The definition of a problem depends on interpretations of the scope, severity, and importance of a particular issue, and how it is "selectively defined, classified, explained, and evaluated" (Dunn, 1981, p. 99). These interpretations are derived from subjective assessments of the values and needs that should be supported in a political community. They are subjectively experienced, problematic situations that have been represented as public policy problems by groups, such as the Franco-Ontarians studied in this

thesis. Policy problems in the IF are, therefore, the products of subjective human judgement. Dunn states that:

. . . policy problems are, therefore, socially constructed, maintained, and changed. Problems have no existence apart from the individuals and groups who define them, which means that there are no natural states of society which in and of themselves constitute policy problems. (p. 99)

Similarly, Stone (1988) argues that because no "objective" definition of a problem is possible, problem definition is a "matter of strategic representation of situations" (p. 106). These representations reflect "unrealized values, needs" or recognitions of "opportunities" that promote public action in favor of groups, individuals, or government agencies (Dunn, 1981, p. 98). The representation of a policy problem is often designed to win support for the desired policy goal. The dynamic nature of policy problems arises because of this strategic, but subjective, representation by various interests. The ongoing financial problems of the public sector of the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School board confirms that "problems and solutions are in constant flux, hence problems do not stay solved" (Ackoff, 1974, p. 21).

The policy changes examined here indicate that policy problems cannot be easily "decomposed into independent, discrete, and mutually exclusive parts" (Dunn, 1981, p. 100). Important policy problems are rarely well-structured, or even moderately structured. It is not often that problems involve one, or even a few decision makers, and a small set of policy alternatives to address goals upon which there is general consensus, and for which the outcomes are well known or appear to carry little risk. Moreover, as the implementation of *Bill 109* suggests, these conditions may generate problematic policy options. In other cases such as the development and implementation of *Bill 30*, increasingly ill-structured policy problems may emerge that involve many decision makers attempting to address a myriad of conflicts among competing goals. In such cases, the success of alternatives and the outcome of the policy change are difficult to predict.

The analysis of the interdependence of the issues surrounding Roman Catholic and Franco-Ontarian demands for educational provisions suggests that policy problems are often interdependent so that problems in one area affect problems in other areas. Dunn argues that policy problems are often

"parts of whole systems of problems best described as *messes*, that is, systems of external conditions that produce dissatisfaction among different segments of the community" (p. 99). In such cases the whole system of problems are "qualitatively different" than any single problem. The "interdependence, subjectivity, artificiality, and dynamics of policy problems" (p. 100) is mirrored in the ambiguities of clarifying the goals of policy which are discussed next.

The Goals of Policy Change

Problem definition is, in fact, "inextricably bound to policy goals--what the policy is trying to achieve, its aims and its directions" (Pal, 1992, p. 9). Policy goals are the intended endstates, or outcomes of policies. They are clarified and made specific by the problems that are tagged as significant by the policy community. Because they often address clusters of problems, goals are commonly ambiguous, contradictory, and inconsistent. In the most fundamental sense, goals embody the core ideas and values held by any political community. As preceding analyses have demonstrated, ideas and values such as equity, efficiency, security, and liberty are, therefore, implicit in policy goals. These values are, however, themselves widely contested and subjectively defined. Differing definitions of equity, for example, form the basis of disputes over distributive policies such as *Bill 30*. Because distributions concern one of the fundamental issues of politics, "who gets what, when, and how," they "lie at the heart of public policy controversies" (Stone, 1988, p. 30). Disputes arise over differing perspectives on the recipients, on what is being distributed, and on how the distribution is to be decided upon and carried out. Similarly, efficiency is generally agreed to be an important policy goal. Disputes arise, however, over questions of who will benefit, and who will bear the burdens of the policy, and over how the values and costs of a policy are to be measured, and what mode of organizing human activity is likely to yield the most efficient results. As the arguments between separate and public school supporters over the costs of *Bill 30* suggest, attempting to measure efficiency in the context of these questions is problematic because there are often no agreed-upon goals.

Because goals for public policies, like equity and efficiency, are generated through on-going political conflict and debate, they are constantly changing. Like most core ideas, they are contested by those who make differing

assumptions about who and what is important in a policy change. In the model of polis incorporated in the IF, goals are, therefore, seen as not fixed but rather as contested conceptions of policy. The framework also recognizes that although there may be general agreement that an abstract goal such as equity is important, conflicts become particularly acute over selections of the appropriate means or instruments to implement the goal.

The Means of Achieving Policy Change

In the context of the definition of policy as a set of problem-solving processes adopted in the IF, policy instruments, or the means by which governments make and enforce policy choices, are inextricably bound to policy goals and are widely contested. Governments, by virtue of their vested and legitimate authority, are responsible for maintaining or changing patterns of social behaviour on behalf of the public good. In fact, it can be argued that "government itself may be seen as a grand instrument of conscious, collective action" (Pal, 1987, p. 143). Applied to government policy making, the term "instruments" implies the use of devices or techniques, or "means through which the ends of political life are achieved" (Doern & Phidd, 1983, p. 111). Consistent with the neo-institutional perspective adopted in the IF, policy instruments are viewed as more than techniques; they involve strategies for structuring and coordinating behavior to achieve collective purposes. The collective nature of public policy making means that these strategies must incorporate "broad structures and rules that will have a 'multiplier' effect, shaping people's behavior without continuous and specific directions" (Stone, 1988, p. 208). As previous discussions of the francophone use of the Charter to achieve educational goals illustrated, groups within society also use these structures and rules for their own ends.

In the IF, instruments are seen as imbued with value and are viewed as ends in themselves. In fact, one of the most important insights about the means used by governments to achieve policy goals is that these policy instruments are also ends in themselves.⁸⁴ Because they alter the process and content of policy making, instruments are the focus of some political dispute. The protests by the opponents of *Bill 30* that arose in 1985 over the Liberal government's use of grants to flow funds to separate schools before the legislation had been passed illustrate the kind of conflicts that can arise over

the use of a particular policy instrument. The IF, therefore, acknowledges that disputes arise over the nature and extent of the responsibility of governments, and the instruments they use to fulfil this responsibility. These disputes often lead to changes in instruments, and sometimes even to the policies themselves. These phenomena confirm that "the process of choosing and implementing the means of a policy change is political and continuous" (Stone, 1988, p. 208).

Concern with the means, or the instruments, used by governments, has grown during the past decades, particularly as the result of the failure of research on the implementation of policy changes to provide more than limited guidance for policy makers. The reason cited for this failure is that much of the research has focused on relatively narrow programs, and has not systematically specified the "relationships among the problems being addressed, the basic design features of the policies, the implementing organizations, or the political and organizational context in which policy targets must respond" (McDonnell & Elmore, 1987, p. v). Research has found that policy makers developing reform initiatives rarely have detailed information about the range of instruments available, and about the political and organizational contexts required for the instruments to work as intended (Boyd, 1988; Linder & Peters, 1989; McDonnell and Elmore, 1987; Schneider & Ingram, 1989).

As critics of *Bill 109* suggest, policies that are poorly designed produce problematic policy change. Problematic situations, in turn, often must be remedied by subsequent policies. Policy may, thereby, become its own cause (Hogwood & Peters, 1983). As a result, understanding the process of policy change in the IF requires an investigation of the attributes of policy instruments, and the trade-offs that occur in their choice. This involves assessing the assumptions that instruments, such as mandates, inducements, capacity-building instruments, and system-shaping instruments, make about problems and solutions. (McDonnell and Elmore, 1987). Instruments, in other words, are the link between problems and the goals they define, and the solutions conceived and implemented. In the conception of policy logic developed in the IF, instruments are the link between policy intention and policy impact. This thesis argues that understanding the logic of policy change requires a focus on the intentional basis of policy, including goals,

problems and means, as well as the impact of the policy. The focus on impact is explored in the following discussion of the logic of policy.

The Dimensions of Policy Impact

The impact of a policy is often influenced by its scope. At least two interpretations of scope are found in the literature on policy change. One relates scope to the extent of government policy making, or the numbers of policies created. A second interpretation focuses on characteristics of individual policies such as their magnitude and complexity. Both interpretations raise important questions to be considered in understanding the politics of policy change.

The scope of government policy has been interpreted as "the range of matters which are subject to public choice and in which governments are involved" (Simeon, 1976, p. 557). A common observation, which dates from the late 1960s, is that the scope of government involvement in many fields of policy has expanded to the extent that there are few completely new activities possible (Hogwood & Peters, 1983). A related observation suggests that the increasing scope of government activity means that the agenda of policy making is always crowded with several concurrent policy concerns (Doern & Phidd, 1983; Majone, 1989; Wildavsky, 1979). The analyses reported in previous discussions in this thesis confirm that it is almost impossible to study a policy development process in isolation.

Although it is impossible to study all linkages, some are particularly relevant. Majone (1989) introduces the term policy space "to denote a set of policies that are so closely interrelated that it is not possible to make useful descriptions of, or analytic statements about, one of them without taking the other elements of the set into account" (p. 159). The consequence, it is argued, has been a "crowding of the policy space" which, in turn, has resulted in the need for governments to "devote an increasing proportion of their time and energy to concerns arising from existing policies" (Hogwood & Peters, 1983, pp. 2-3).

The notion of policy space suggests a degree of autonomy from the external environment. Wildavsky (1979) argues, for example, that all that has happened within a policy space determines most of what will happen in that

space. As a result "policy becomes its own cause" (pp. 62-85). The main reason for the growing autonomy of a policy space is, according to Majone (1989), ecological. He argues that: "as the population of policies grows relative to the size of the space, individual policies necessarily become more interdependent" (p. 159). One policy often interferes with other policies, and "congestion" occurs as the number of policies, their sizes and complexities increase. As a result, new policies and institutional arrangements are introduced to reduce the consequences of crowding. In an already congested policy space "solutions beget new problems in the form of policy overlaps, jurisdictional conflicts, and unanticipated consequences" (p. 159). Thus, unanticipated consequences arise because policy complexity often generates more complexity. For example, complex regulatory policies create the need for "rule intermediaries" who specialize in the interpretation of ambiguous rules (Kearl, 1983). These intermediaries may have a vested interest in resisting simplification and, as a result, may promote unintended rule complexity (Majone, 1989).

A second interpretation of scope refers to the magnitude and complexity of a particular policy. Research directed at various stages of the policy process has identified the significant impact of complexity on the process of policy change (Berman, 1981; Fullan, 1991; Plank, 1989). Factors such as number of interests involved, the cost, and the restructuring involved in the policy change, have been identified as influences on the dynamics of the process. One of the dimensions of policy complexity that is implicit in much policy research, is the number of interests involved and their relative influence. For example, one of the common explanations offered for the failure to adopt structural policy changes is the predominance of the "status quo bias of pluralist politics" in the United States (Mazzoni, 1991a, p. 2). Plank (1988) argues that the conditions of "bargaining in a pluralist political system have tended to limit reform proposals to those that can win approval of all interested groups" (p. 149). Recent research investigating the initiation of reforms in the United States suggests that relatively few policy changes involving extensive structural reforms which would influence many interests have been adopted. Plank (1988) concludes that "nearly all the reforms that have been adopted in the past five years have left the structure and operation of American schools and school systems largely intact" (p. 143).

In contrast, this thesis confirms that Ontario's educational system has been significantly restructured by *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*. Despite the number of interests mobilized against *Bill 30*, the policy change was adopted and implemented. Analyses reported in preceding discussions in this thesis have suggested that the capacity of Ontario to adopt and implement major structural changes is derived, in part, from the cabinet-parliamentary institutional framework in which those changes were made. The institutional traditions of Cabinet and caucus solidarity enhance the capacity of a political leader holding a majority to make significant structural changes in the face of substantial political opposition. The analysis also suggests that unique institutional arrangements, such as commissions, allow the state to direct, at arms length, significant structural changes. It appears that these institutional arrangements have allowed the various governments of Ontario to overcome the kind of status quo bias of pluralist politics Mazzoni (1991a) identifies as operating in American states when adopting significant structural changes.

It is evident, however, that the complexity of such policies does have an ongoing influence on the change process. The findings of this thesis confirm the results of implementation studies which identify the "primary attributes of the change effort", such as the scope, complexity and cost, as one of the set of factors that influence the change process (Berman, 1981, p. 281). Fullan (1991, p. 71) concludes that complexity, or "the difficulty and extent of change required" is one of the characteristics of educational change that influences the implementation of policy. The implication of these observations is that complexity is necessarily a negative influence on implementation. Analyses of the implementation of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* contradict this judgement. Complex policy changes can create the conditions which require broad input, the accommodation of many perspectives, and, as in the case of *Bill 30*, the provision for many different contexts. Given the capacity for policy-oriented learning from these conditions, implementation may be enhanced by such complexity. A supporting argument often made to the proposal that complexity has a negative influence on policy change is that locally designed and implemented policies will have fewer negative impacts. The analysis of the development and implementation of *Bill 109* adds the proviso that the potential for a positive impact to be produced by a local solution is contingent

on factors such as the power of other interests to influence the nature of that solution.

A problem arises in determining what aspects of policy create complexity. One approach to this problem has been suggested by Hogwood and Gunn (1984). These researchers specify several dimensions of policy, and relate those dimensions to four ideal types of policy change; innovation, succession, maintenance, and termination. Types of policy change are distinguished by whether they involve purposive change, the extent of substantial organizational change, whether legislative changes are involved, and the extent to which budgetary provision is changed. These distinctions are seen as important because each type of change involves unique problems associated with changing organizational, legal, and budgetary provisions. Policy innovation involves entry of government into an activity that it had not been involved in before. Policy succession involves some change in a law and in expenditure. No change in law or purpose is evident in policy maintenance, but, rather, adaptive changes are made, such as increasing or decreasing levels of funding. Policy termination, which occurs when relevant laws are cancelled and expenditures on the policy cut, is rare. In practice, few policies conform to these ideal types of change. Instead, policies often are placed somewhere along continua with the ideal types placed at polar extremes. For example, policies placed along a succession-innovation dimension all involve attempts to make major changes. Although policy succession involves replacing an existing policy, it often incorporates some innovative feature, whereas a policy innovation may partially overlap with provisions that have a long history.

Hogwood and Gunn argue that one consequence of policy crowding is that policy change is often less a matter of innovation or entry into a new activity than it is of succession or replacement of some or all of an existing policy. As a result, policy succession is becoming an increasingly common feature of policy change in most contemporary Western political systems. The increasing predominance of policy succession has implications for policy change because the policies that are replaced are "part of the environment to which future policies must adapt" (May & Wildavsky, 1978, p. 13). Past policies influence the process by which new policies emerge "because of the pre-existing interests of established clientele and service providers and their

political spokesmen" (Peters & Hogwood, 1980, p. 2). Underlying this argument is the assumption that the type of policy change, whether it involves innovation, maintenance, succession or termination, may contribute to the complexity of the process.

Another dimension, that of impact, has relevance to understanding the logic of policy change. The distributive dimension of impact of a policy is commonly assessed as the degree to which a policy has met its goals. The problem is that the direct impact of a policy is often difficult to assess. At the same time the concept of impact embodies the critical distributive dimension of the logic of policy change that defines who gets what. (Simeon, 1976). The distributive dimension forms the basis of Lowi's (1972) often cited typology, and his argument that "policies determine politics", or that the type of policy determines the political conflicts that emerge as it is being implemented. In Lowi's typology, distributive policies which involve gains for everyone are viewed as non-zero sum propositions that create little conflict. Redistributive policies, in contrast, create winners and losers and consequently increase the probability of conflict. Regulatory policies, which can be distinguished as either seeking "public goods," or as protecting specific populations, draw interest groups and create shifting conflicts. The assumption of this typology is that different types of policies will involve different sets of participants and different levels of conflict.

Although the impact of policy type on the degree of ongoing conflict involved during the change process is generally acknowledged, it is also commonly agreed that the effect is difficult to assess because of the technical problems of identifying and weighing the costs and benefits of a policy change for different groups. The discussion of the differing perspectives on the impact of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* in Chapter Four confirm the difficulty of assessing impact. Policy theorists have concluded that given the complexity of measuring the impact of policy changes, the "perception of benefits and costs remains vital, since it is the basis of action" (Simeon, 1976, p. 565). Because actors involved in policy change interact on the basis of their perception of costs and benefits, it is important to "examine what concepts of fairness they employ, what categories of beneficiaries they have in mind, and what rules of thumb they follow in assessing distribution" (p. 565). The analysis of the the ideological basis of arguments over the economic impact of

Bill 30 outlined in a previous section of this Chapter confirms this argument. The implication is that in determining the impact of a policy the IF must take into account the interpretations of costs and benefits by those influenced by the change.

An Interpretive Logic of Policy Change

In addressing the need to capture the endogenous and exogenous forces that interact in the process of policy change, the IF adopts the contextual orientation to policy analysis proposed by Lasswell (1976) in which "the meaning of any detail depends ... upon its relation to the whole context of which it is a part" (p. 218). This holistic stance is consistent with the focus on understanding the dynamics of policy. The framework's emphasis on "cumulative inter-relatedness and temporal irreversibility" moves the mode of analysis adopted in the framework toward the dynamic end of the continuum of change (Hecló, 1976, p. 239).

Policy making at this dynamic end of the policy change continuum can best be described as a significant change in the "appreciative" dimension, that is the way that policy actors think about a situation (Vickers, 1965, 1968). Changes in policy-relevant appreciations occur over time and gradually become diffused to the extent that they become "ideas in good currency" (Schön, 1973). Policy changes occur as both the endogenous and exogenous context of the policy system are re-interpreted in light of changing appreciations. In order to capture these changing appreciations of policy contexts, the IF has extended its frame of reference in historical time, and has focused on "cumulation" (Hecló, 1976, p. 252). Focusing on dynamics means that prior policies and processes tend to accumulate and ultimately interact, presenting novel constraints and opportunities.

From this perspective, the IF proposes that policy responses emerge from the process of actors structuring the problems posed by interaction of exogenous and endogenous forces impinging on the policy domain. Policy problems are, therefore, the products of subjective human judgement, and, as such, are ultimately socially constructed, maintained and changed. The formulation of a problem is influenced by the interpretations of the dominant ideas in a policy that different policy stakeholders, such as

legislators, ministry officials, teachers, trustees, parents, and church groups bring to a given problematic situation. The growing recognition that ideas are important supports the definition of policy as a problem-solving process which guides the IF developed in this thesis.

In this conception policy making has less to do with "formal techniques of problem solving than with the process of argument" (Majone, 1989, p. 7). Problems are defined and solutions proposed through policy debates in which ideas play a central role. Defining a problem requires the "marshalling of facts, values, causal statements, and norms," and because the selection of facts is open to challenge, debate and argument are fundamental to the process of policy change (Pal, 1992, p. 210). The analysis reported in this thesis confirms that the interpretation of ideas plays a central role in virtually every aspect of this process.

Given the interpretive nature and the contextuality of problem definition, the challenge for the IF is to conceptualize the complexity arising from the mutual construction of policy problems. Issues arising in their environmental context are interpreted as problematic by diverse stakeholders in a policy community whose perspectives and actions are interdependent, and continuously altered as a consequence of incremental, problem-focused policy learning. One past chairperson of a separate school board involved in the development and implementation of *Bill 30* confirms the power of policy-oriented learning in her reflection on those processes:

The learning process was enormous, it isn't the kind of opportunity that you have very often to see something from its conceptual stage work its way through to be part of your responsibilities as a local politician and yet have a global impact as well. So it made me think that no step is a small step in policy change. Everything is attached to other implications. That you have to view the reports and information that is coming forward always from the point of view that there is something larger than just what's here on the page. That gives you a scope to making decisions that I wouldn't have anticipated in all my years as a trustee before that. . . In coming up to this policy change, I realized that a change in law at one level has a lot of implications for all the people involved in it, and those of us

who are participating in the process of seeing this through, had a responsibility really beyond our individual decision making, . . . you have to say, 'what are the implications for others who will come after me?' or, 'is this setting a precedent, or are we being responsive to the next generation?' and it keeps you going. It feeds the political will if you see that there is a place for all of this in the way things are unfolding.⁸⁵

These comments confirm the interpretive nature of the working logic that is used when confronting the ongoing problems that emerge during a policy change. Ideas and assumptions about policy goals are implicit in this logic. The complex issues addressed by the two policy changes studied here suggest that policy goals are rarely well-structured. Goals such as equity and fairness for minorities are ambiguous, with the result that determining goals becomes part of the problem. The practice of policy making in *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* indicates that the process of formulating problems occurs throughout a policy change as the external conditions that give rise to a problem are selectively defined, classified, explained and evaluated by stakeholders situated at various locations in the process.

In examining the implications of an interpretive orientation to understanding the logic of policy change the preceding discussion has proposed that the working logic of policy is evident as goals and problem definitions, linked through means, are translated through implementation, into impacts. In the IF, the logic of policy change emerges as goals are made specific by the problems that the policy identifies. The interpretive model of policy logic-in-use presented in Figure 5.6 is a visual abstraction of the IF developed in this thesis.

Inherent in the interpretive logic of policy illustrated in this model is the recognition that the principle task of a "political system is to function as a decision-making structure for resolving conflicts over desired goals"(Fischer, 1980, p. 72). Policy represents the authoritative decisions which distribute values among the often conflicting elements of a polity. The institutionalized channels of authority depicted in the model reflect organizational relationships that underlie the policy making structure in the democratic state. This political decision-making structure includes roles, expectations and values forming the institutionalized communication

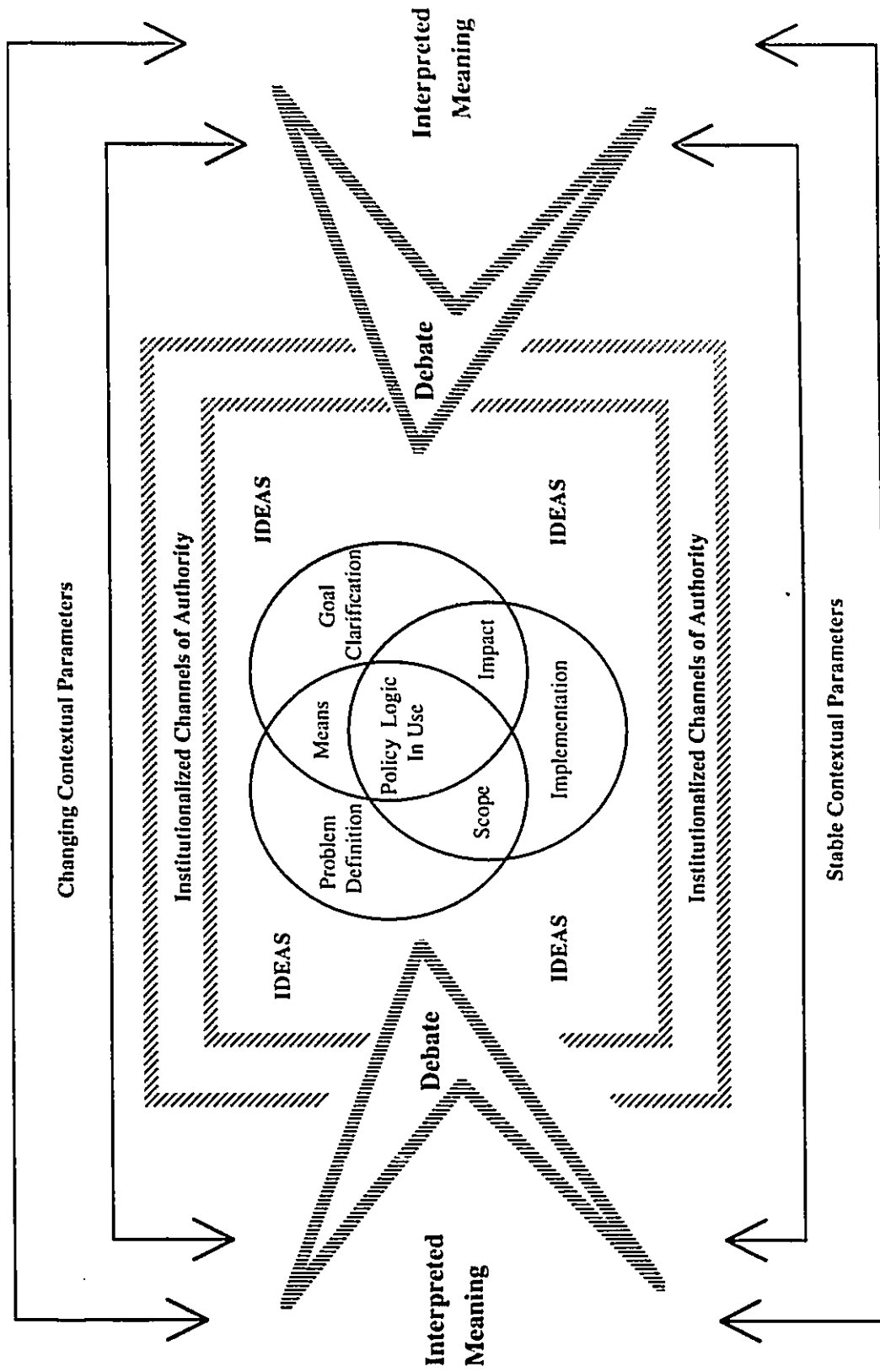


Figure 5.6 Interpretive Model of the Policy Logic-In-Use

processes that establish particular goals. In democratic states such communication processes are idealized as "the interchange and mutual criticism of competing ideas" and by the common acceptance of the idea that wins this competition (Majone, 1990, p. 159). Public deliberation and debate has been institutionalized to protect this fundamental democratic principle. Institutionalized channels of authority specify and direct policy debate in separate but interconnected forums:

in political parties, as they formulate their programs and identify the issues for electoral debate; in the electorate as it discusses issues and candidates, and expresses a majority in favor of one of the programs; in the legislature, where the majority attempts to translate the programs into laws in constant debate with the opposition; in the executive branch, where the discussion of new policies is carried forward to the chief executive and the Cabinet; and in the courts, where the adversary systems provides powerful incentives for agencies and interested parties to present the strongest arguments for their respective positions. (Majone, 1990, p. 159).

The institutionalized channels of authority illustrated in the Interpretive Model represent the codes of electoral, parliamentary, administrative, and judicial procedures that establish the forum and structure the debates over ideas that are constantly interpreted. The IF views policy change as a problem-solving process, in which problems are never defined once and for all. Rather, policy players, often adopting different world views, are active throughout the process to ensure that their perspective of the problem is elaborated along the way in choosing instruments and in implementation. Problem definition, from the perspective of policy-in-use, is important in every phase of the policy process as various stakeholders actively construct different representations of policy problems based on competing sets of assumptions about external events.

In focusing on the logic-in-use, the IF, therefore, acknowledges the holistic nature of the multiple interactions, both micro and macro, both vertical and horizontal, that occur as problem definitions are debated and revised over time. In this holistic interpretation, the logic of policy emerges as policy analysts, advocates, and policy makers continue to argue over

problem definitions, as problems are introduced, evidence considered, solutions debated, decisions made, programs implemented, and policies evaluated.

Table 5.2 presents the actual Interpretive Framework. As a product of an exploration of the conceptual issues raised in emerging policy inquiry, examined in the context of the perceptions of policy actors involved in two significant educational policy changes, the Interpretive Framework develops a series of Interpretive Probes which can be used in other policy studies to capture some of the dimensions of policy logic-in-use. The Probes are based on the arguments presented in this thesis that are reflected in comments by Moore (1980) on statesmanship in making policy decisions. Moore notes:

Within the world of policy decisions that depend ultimately on judgment, experience, intuition, and guesses, decisions nonetheless differ in terms of how carefully and completely they are structured, how well informed they are, and how systematically alternatives have been considered. (pp. 26-27)

The Interpretive Probes provide a means of systematically examining the nature of policy change that acknowledges the ethical questions raised in confronting the moral dilemmas arising in normative decisions. The Schema for Understanding Policy Arguments and the Interpretive Probes are grounded in an interpretive social science which "construes human behaviors, social relationships, and cultural artifacts (or dramas or rituals) and then seeks to uncover the meaning that those whose texts have to the agents who constitute them and to others located spatially or temporally outside them" (Jennings, 1987, p. 143).

The Schema and the Probes are intended to assist in three key foci of interpretive policy study. First they assist in making sense of individual actions in terms of the actors intentions for that action. Second, these actions are examined in the cultural context of the conventions, norms and rules within which they were formed. The IF offers a frame of reference for reconstructing the practical reasoning brought to a policy change process. Jennings argues that "the interpretive reconstruction of practical reasoning seems closer to the kinds of political, psychological, and sociological judgements that policy makers and most experienced policy analysts actually make"(p. 145). A third feature of interpretive social science emphasized in

the IF is that each policy relevant event is placed in "an ever-widening network of relationships; it seeks to transform thin particularity into thick particularity" (p. 145).

The Probes emphasize that interpretations of inherently value laden and contestable policy goals. The evaluative criteria for choice among competing interpretations of the proper goal for a policy change are more imprecise than those proposed by economic models of policy. The Probes require insight and creativity to be of value in understanding policy change. The kind of post-positivist objectivity proposed by the IF as essential to both understanding the politics of policy change and to providing counsel for such change, is based on practical rationality that is drawn from a "common, intersubjectively meaningful set of cultural norms, traditional values, and serviceable commonsense understandings of what human beings need and how they react in various circumstances" (p. 146). The IF acknowledges that individuals are makers of social meaning, who inhabit "symbolically constituted cultural orders, and who engage in rule-governed social practices" (p. 148). Well-being is acknowledged as depending on the structures of social life which provide the context for human agency and self realization.

The ethical evaluative criteria for making policy decisions that flows from this interpretive basis is based on a view of individuals as active, self-directing agents who seek subjectively meaningful goals. Although goals may conflict, the Interpretive Framework proposes that common interest can be fostered by bringing individuals who will experience the policy change into a deliberative process in which the goals and values of policy are formulated. The Interpretive Probes encourage an interpretation of what the public interest requires that can survive a collective process of rational public deliberation. In this way the Interpretive Framework encourages an ethical orientation to policy analysis in keeping with the ethos of democratic citizenship.

Table 5.2. An Interpretive Framework for Understanding the Politics of Policy Change.

INTERPRETIVE ORIENTATION		What are the elements and attributes of an interpretive orientation to understanding the politics of policy change?
Attributes	Interpretive Probes	
Holistic Orientation • Fact/value links	How are values embedded in facts?	
Interpretation • Value judgements • Meaning disputed & negotiated	What value judgements guide the interpretation of the meanings of policy change?	
Indeterminate Information • Incomplete • Interpretive • Strategic	How is information conveyed strategically in a policy change?	
Interactions • Horizontal relations • Community • Responsibility • Multiple decision points • Long time frames	<p>What are the web of interactions within a policy network that reflect community and responsibility?</p> <p>What are the key decision points in a policy change process and which actors are involved in them?</p>	
Balance • Compromise • Negotiation • Accommodation	How do policy processes of compromise, negotiation, and accommodation support the public interest?	

PROCESSES		What are the processes and configurations of policy dynamics?
Attributes	Interpretive Probes	
Dynamics of Policy		
• Cumulative interrelatedness • Temporal irreversibility	How are the processes of a policy change influenced by events in historic time?	
Agenda Setting		
• Structural forces • Institutional processes • Unpredictable events	What principles or forces reduce the range of alternatives to a manageable agenda?	
Windows of Opportunity Provide impetus for convergence: • problem stream • solution stream • political stream	<p>What information about policy problems and past interventions characterizes the problem stream?</p> <p>Who are the specialists floating around in the solution stream?</p> <p>What are the legislative events and other politics in the political stream?</p>	

continued

Table 5.2. An Interpretive Framework for Understanding the Politics of Policy Change.

Processes <i>cont'd</i>	
Attributes	Interpretive Probes
Agenda Setting (cont'd): Maintenance on Agenda: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Policy entrepreneurs • Macro-level forces • Inertia 	What forces operate to keep a policy problem or solution on the agenda?
Development and Design	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context sensitivity • Support dominant values & ideas • Take into account human factors 	Is the policy design sensitive to context? Does the policy design support the dominant values and ideas in the policy change? Are human factors taken into account in the policy design?
Policy Instruments: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Means • Generate disputes • Forms of legitimate coercion 	How do instruments alter the process and content of policy and thereby generate disputes? How does the degree of coercion evident in a policy change influence the politics of the process?
Instrument Inventories: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Multiple instruments used • Instruments added 	Does the policy change incorporate several instruments? Are instruments added as the policy context changes?
Policy Choice: Calculus of tradeoffs: Political feasibility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • resource requirements • political risk Technical feasibility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • targeting capacity Ideological feasibility <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • coerciveness 	How does the resource intensiveness and political risk relate to the political feasibility of the policy instrument? How does the targeting capacity reflect technical feasibility? What dominant ideas influence the acceptable limits of coerciveness in policies? Does political or technical feasibility carries greater weight in instrument choice?
Implementation	
Influences creating complexity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Joint action • Multiple clearance points 	What is the underlying causal assumption of the policy? Does the policy create implementation complexity by increasing clearance points because of requirements for joint action?
Concerns: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • clear objectives • causal theory • legal structure • skilled officials • stakeholder support • stable socio-economic context 	Does the policy have clear and consistent objectives, adequate causal theory, a legal structure enhancing compliance, skilled officials, support of stakeholders, and a stable socio-economic climate?

continued

Table 5.2. An Interpretive Framework for Understanding the Politics of Policy Change.

Processes *cont'd*

Attributes	Interpretive Probes
Policy Impact	
Interpretive <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Intermediate • Ultimate • Political <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - re-election - popularity - legitimacy & support for system 	What do stakeholders perceive the impact to be? What are the intermediate and the ultimate impacts of a policy change? Do political impacts contradict direct goals of the policy? Do symbolic actions generate system support?
Re-conceptualized Policy-Action Relationship	
Policy-Action <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • interdependent 	What is the relationship between policy development and policy administration?
Policy Change as Evolution <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • no discrete stages • policy learning • amendments • incremental change 	Does policy change appear more like evolution than control? Does the policy change offer an opportunity to learn and to amend?
Beyond Stages Comprehensive policy changes involve: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • changes in appreciations • accumulation of prior policies • cumulative growth of interdependency • cumulative forces 	How do prior policies accumulate and interact, thus presenting novel constraints and opportunities? What adversities arise because a large number of factors not reducible to single causes influence the change?
Expanded time frame: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical evolution of policy 	What patterns are evident in the evolution of a policy change over time?

CONTEXT	
How do contextual factors influence policy change?	
Attributes	Interpretive Probes
Stable Parameters: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • constitution • legal foundations • cultural values • socio-economic structures 	What contextual conditions provide constraints and resources for advocacy coalitions engaging in policy debates?
Dynamic Parameters: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • external triggers • economic conditions • nature of governing parties • interest coalitions • other policies 	What external events trigger policy change processes?

continued

Table 5.2. An Interpretive Framework for Understanding the Politics of Policy Change.

Context *cont'd*

Attributes	Interpretive Probes
Contextual Influences on Policy Development & Design <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • systemic context • political culture • instrument visibility • organizational context • population context • problem context 	Do the social cleavages present in a political culture influence the choice of less visible policy instruments? Does the institutional context predispose choices towards some policy instruments? Does the nature of the policy community influence instrument choice? How does the scale, collective nature, certainty, predictability, and independence of the problem influence instrument choice?
Characteristics of Policy Makers: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Professional socialization • ideological or value-based biases 	Does the professional socialization of policy makers influence choice? Are policy makers biased toward particular instruments?

INSTITUTIONS How do institutional structures influence the nature of policy change?	
Attributes	Interpretive Probes
Institutionalize Action and Meaning	
Value Laden: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reflect dominant ideas • Promote ideas • Constrain choices • Allocate values • Resolve conflicts 	How do institutions structure political competition and policy debate? What role do institutions play in resolving conflicts?
Are the Mechanism of State Influence: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rule-bound actions • Routines • Roles 	What rules of obligation influence state officials' actions?
Promote Obligatory Action: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appropriateness • Norm-based 	What criteria of appropriateness of actions are used by policy makers?
Institutionalize Meaning: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interpretations structured by institutions 	What kind of interpretive order governs policy making in an institution?
Institutional structures are reflected in State Autonomy and Capacity	
Autonomy: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Administrative capacity, expertise • Prior planning • Reinforces state organizations 	When, how, and why are policy changes made that reflect state autonomy?

continued

Table 5.2. An Interpretive Framework for Understanding the Politics of Policy Change.

Institutions <i>cont'd</i>	
Attributes	Interpretive Probes
Autonomy & Capacity (cont'd): Capacity: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Financial and human resources • Instruments and context 	What resources influence the state's capacity in a policy change?
Macro-Level Patterns of Politics	
Political Culture: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conceptions of political authority • Historical tradition of the meaning and methods of politics 	What is the nature and locus of political power? What are the common perceptions of what can be attained in politics and how?
Adversarial Politics: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promoted by parliamentary system • Debate and partisanship • Opposition & dissent • Jurisdictional overlaps 	How does the parliamentary system reflect an adversarial model of state-society relations? What role does adversarial debate and partisanship play in policy change? How do jurisdictional overlaps between levels, influence the adversarial character of state-society relations?
Meso-Level Policy Communities	
Policy Community <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Define norms of policy discourse 	What shared understanding of the terms of debate structuring policy discourse is evident among members of the policy community?
Policy Advocacy <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Requires policy knowledge • Generates information • Mobilizes support • Maintains cohesion 	What factors influence an association's capacity to influence the nature and content of policy?
Policy Participation <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Resources to develop policy positions • Broadly based associational system • Institutionalized resource base 	What factors influence the policy participation capacity within an associational system?
Micro-Level Policy Network	
Policy Networks: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • State coordinating capacity • Resources • Expertise • Organizational development of interests 	How does state coordination ability, resource availability, and expertise influence network relations? How does the organizational development of interests influence network relations?
Network Types <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pluralist • Closed • State-directed 	What type of network emerges in a policy change, and how is it transformed?

continued

Table 5.2. An Interpretive Framework for Understanding the Politics of Policy Change.

IDEAS		How do ideas influence the arguments and debates that generate policy change?
Attributes	Interpretive Probes	
Policy Preferences		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Endogenous to politics • Reflect shared values • Constructed through policy debates 	<p>How are core values constructed through policy debates?</p> <p>Are shared values evident as forces in policy change?</p>	
Relations Between Values and Interests		
Public Interest <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideas are autonomous from interests • Ideas reflect public interest • Public discourse focuses on public interest 	<p>Does the public discourse on a policy change concern the public interest over self interest?</p>	
Ideologies		
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political culture • Define zone of action accepted • Conservatism • Liberalism • Socialism 	<p>What underlying ideologies are supported by a policy change?</p> <p>Do different ideologies support the same policy preference for different reasons?</p>	
Dominant Ideas		
Dominant Ideas: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Present in the structure of policies • Are contested 	<p>What ideas are present in the structure of policies?</p>	
Equality: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • raises conflicts over criteria for distributions 	<p>What conflicts emerge over equality definitions of who gets what, when and how?</p>	
Efficiency: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • costs, outputs and benefits contested 	<p>Do conflicts over efficiency arise over who benefits and who bears the costs; how values and costs should be measured; and the most efficient modes of organization?</p>	
Security: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • primary human need • definition of need is subjective 	<p>How do multiple definitions of need result in different perceptions of a policy change?</p>	
Liberty: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • constrained by restriction on harming others • definitions of harm contested 	<p>How do different definitions of harm create conflict over the idea of liberty?</p>	
Community: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • collective benefits 	<p>How well does the policy change support the collective life of the polity?</p>	

continued

Table 5.2. An Interpretive Framework for Understanding the Politics of Policy Change.

Attributes	Interpretive Probes
Policy Specific	
Paradigms <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • provide a framework for policy options 	What ideas are evident in specific policy domains? How do ideas such as equity, efficiency, quality and choice reinforce or oppose each other in a specific policy domain?
Forces Generating Policy Change	
Ideas as motivating forces <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Establish the public value of the policy change 	What ideas provide the context for policy debates among various interests? What ideas influence the direction of policy-oriented activity?
Assumptive Worlds as Constraints <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural meanings • Ideological basis of actions 	What meanings do policy actors ascribe to their own actions?
Advocacy Coalitions <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Core values & assumptions • Policy positions & strategies • Instrumental policy choices 	What are the policy core positions and strategies adopted by competing advocacy coalitions in the policy change?
Policy Oriented Learning: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • changes policy values 	Are policy positions changed through policy-oriented learning brought about by participation in political and analytical debates?
Policy Change Function of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • exogenous factors • analytical debates among opposing coalitions 	Does debate produce learning and change when core values are not in conflict and when the debate occurs in a prestigious forum?
Policy Arguments	
Policy arguments are: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Primary forces driving policy change 	What are the underlying logic and the core ideas in policy debates?
Factual Assertions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Context 	What clusters of factual assertions are made regarding the situational context and measurable qualities of a policy change?
Hypotheticals <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • if - then assertions 	What cause and effect and "if - then" assertions are used in policy arguments?
Value Assertions: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Normative propositions relating to core values. 	What are the ethical dimensions of policy arguments that focus on value clusters?
Normative Calculations Absolutism: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Irreversible position 	Are absolutist arguments proposing that rights are absolute, indivisible and apply regardless of costs evident in arguments?
Consequentialism: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Utilitarianism • seeks consensus 	Are consequentialist arguments reflecting support for balancing preferences and maximizing consensus evident in policy arguments?

continued

Table 5.2. An Interpretive Framework for Understanding the Politics of Policy Change.

Ideas *cont'd*

Attributes	Interpretive Probes
Orientations Toward Policy Goals	
Verification • Factual and causal assertions verifying policy goals	What factual and causal assertions are made to verify policy goals?
Validation • Situational interpretations validating policy goals	What phenomenologically based situational interpretations of value are made to validate policy goals?
Vindication • Normative calculations of relations of goals to ideals	What normative calculations focusing on the relation of the policy goals to larger causal relations of the whole system are made to vindicate policy goals?
Orientations to Discourse	
Advocates: • Arguments supporting a policy option	What hypotheticals and value assertions supporting particular policy projects are made by advocates?
Critics • Arguments used to reject a policy option	What factual, causal, or normative arguments are used by critics?
Architects • Explanations from practice • Consequentialist	How does the architect frame explanations of policy choices made?
Analysts • Mediators resolving value conflicts	What arguments are made by mediators in resolving value conflicts?

Attributes	Interpretive Probes
POLICY LOGIC-IN-USE	
What are the implications of an interpretive orientation for conceptualizing the logic of policy ?	
Policy Logic Relationships: • Interactive	How do the interaction of goals, means and impact demonstrate the policy logic-in-use?
Policy as Problem Solving • Debate, Argument	How does the logic of policy emerge from the debates among members of a policy network throughout the policy process?
Problem Definition	How do the interdependence, subjectivity, and dynamics of policy problems influence the process of problem definition?
Goal Clarification • Contested, changing	How does the ambiguous, contradictory, inconsistent nature influence goal clarification?
Means • Imbued with value & disputed	What are the attributes of the instruments of policy change, and what tradeoffs have been made in their selection?
Impact • ambiguous, subjective	What concepts of fairness are used in assessing costs and benefits of a policy change?

- 1 Ministry of Education official, personal communication, December 19, 1991.
- 2 This was a period of intense reflection on the organization and administrative practices of both the federal and provincial governments, because, as government increased in scope and size, the "interdependence of public policies and programs forced more horizontal relationships, at least among related departments" (Simeon, 1980, p. 103).
- 3 For example, under the Liberal government of David Peterson, the economic and competitiveness agenda was very high on the list. He established a cabinet committee on education training and adjustment because he saw education as a way of contributing to the labour adjustment and to the economic agenda. Under the subsequent NDP government of Bob Rae, education again became associated with the Cabinet Committee on Social Policy, although when policy proposals have particular economic impact they are referred to the Cabinet Committee on Economic and Labour Policy (Ministry of Education official, December 19, 1991).
- 4 For example, because the integration of services has been on the agenda of the NDP government, it has begun to restructure the legislative and bureaucratic processes of the provincial policy making system
- 5 The first page of this cabinet submission explains what the issue is, gives some background, outlines the proposed direction, suggests the pros and cons of the direction and indicates some of the related issues. A second page lists the costs and outlines the consultation that has occurred with other ministries of the government that may be affected by the policy change. A third page lists policy recommendations. Attached to these three pages may be some background information.
- 6 Ministry of Education official, personal communication, December 19, 1992.
- 7 Sometimes the policy proposals presented to these cabinet committees appear to have some impact on another ministry. Ideally, these impacts are identified by political and administrative staff who routinely scrutinize new policy proposals that may effect their ministry. Should a potential impact on a ministry be identified, the minister responsible would be invited to participate in the cabinet committee hearing on the policy option.
- 8 Under a 1991 restructuring by the NDP government, the existing management board was split into a treasury board, dealing with financial

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- matters, and a management board, dealing with human resources and technology issues.
- 9 Sometimes the Policy and Priorities Board will turn back a proposal, even though it is an entirely valid proposal, because at that particular time there are too many items on the Cabinet agenda.
 - 10 In this process there is close collaboration between an individual ministry and the Legislative Counsel so that the policy intent of the legislation is legally interpretable. This phase will also involve examining whether there is a conflict with other legislation.
 - 11 Ministry official, personal communication, December 19, 1991.
 - 12 The opposition still has, however, options for voicing resistance. If the Bill is seen to contravene basic principles of the opposition parties, they can filibuster to prevent the passage, or delay some other items if they can't effect this particular bill.
 - 13 If there are potential problems with implementation, sometimes a ministry may have the legislation proclaimed, so that they can have policy approval but are still able to work on the policy to put it into place. This might occur if the legislation required re-tooling a whole computer system or hiring a lot of people.
 - 14 Ministry official, personal communication, December 19, 1991.
 - 15 Dr. E. Stewart, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
 - 16 C. Beckman, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
 - 17 F. Clifford, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
 - 18 Skocpol (1985) suggests that the US state lacks instruments such as "directly administered national welfare programs," for dealing with urban crises, that are available in most European countries (p. 18).
 - 19 The first commissioners of PIC included Chairperson W. T. Newnham; Vice-Chairperson B. E. Nelligan; J.L. Bourdeau; J. A. Fraser; C. F. Gilhooly; T.. E. Hendry; W. A. Jones; T. R. Leger.
 - 20 R. Saunders, personal communication, February 19, 1992.
 - 21 F. Clifford, personal communication, February, 21, 1992.
 - 22 R. Desjardins, personal communication, January 22, 1992.
 - 23 F. Clifford, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
 - 24 J. Boich, personal communication, March 8, 1992.
 - 25 One observer commented: "Frank was the right person at the right time whose heart as a Catholic was with the Catholics, but whose mind understood that the system had to continue, and he played this amazingly incredible role of trying to neutralize the excesses on both sides."

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- 26 F. Clifford, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
- 27 Ministry official, personal communication, December 17, 1992.
- 28 C. Beckman, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
- 29 The amendment resulted in Section 136 la, which allows discriminatory hiring by Roman Catholic school boards until 1995. It is considered by the Roman Catholic community to be a piece of unfinished business that will likely be challenged in the courts.
- 30 F. Clifford, personal communication, February 21, 1992.
- 31 Ministry official, personal communication, December 17, 1992.
- 32 R. Matas, a well-respected reporter with *The Globe and Mail*, covered much of the full-funding debate.
- 33 S. Hanna, a former Ottawa Citizen reporter who covered education, was appointed policy advisor to Sean Conway, the Minister of Education responsible for the development of Bill 30.
- 34 Contained in these Section 23 are two important directions for minority language rights in education, the right to minority language instruction, and the right to manage and control that education. The Charter recognizes the right of citizens of Canada to have their children receive primary and secondary school instruction in either English or French, whichever is the minority language of the province in which they reside. The difficulty of this provision for francophones has been the addition of the "where numbers warrant" clause, restricts the constitutionally guaranteed rights.
- 35 Significant s. 23 litigation include *Reference Re Minority Language Education Rights (Ont.)* (1984); *Lavoie v. A.G. Nova Scotia* (1989); and *Mahe* (1990).
- 36 Ministry official, personal communication, December 17, 1991.
- 37 For a comprehensive analysis of the role of teacher and trustee associations in developing educational policy in Ontario from 1945 until 1975 see Ricker (1981).
- 38 For an analysis of the power of educational interest groups in Ontario see Townsend (1982) and Duane, Townsend & Bridgeland (1985). For a discussion of the exercise of influence by special-focus groups see Mawhinney (1989).
- 39 School trustees are also linked directly to local communities, and, as a result, are often front line interveners between the community and the educational system. The difficulties this poses are discussed in Hansen (1988).

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- 40 Ministry of Education official, personal communication, December 20, 1991.
- 41 Coleman and Skogstad (1990) provide an excellent start to mapping various Canadian policy sectors.
- 42 Observers have credited the success in bringing these often partisan actors together to the leadership of Tom Riley, who headed COSS during the *Bill 30* debates.
- 43 A letter from the Coalition dated May 29, 1985 lists among those represented: The Anglican Church of Canada, The Baptist Convention of Ontario and Quebec, The Presbyterian Church in Canada, the United Church in Canada, The Association of Large School Board in Ontario, The Ontario Public School Trustees' Association, The Northern Ontario School Trustees' Association, The Federation of Women School Teachers' Associations of Ontario, The Ontario Public School Teachers' Federation, The Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation. (Buchanan papers).
- 44 John W. Boich the Executive Director of the OAEAO is credited with attempting to keep the organization together (Hickcox, 1990, p. 18).
- 45 The provincial pooling of commercial and industrial taxes could shift the balance of power to the province, as it did when British Columbia instituted such a policy in the 1980s.
- 46 Ministry official, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 47 C. Beckman, personal communication, February 21, 1991.
- 48 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 49 Ministry official, personal communication, December 19, 1991.
- 50 C. Beckman, personal communication, February 21, 1991.
- 51 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 52 J.J. Robinette, Q.C., to C. G. Brown, December 12, 1984. Buchanan papers.
- 53 A lawyer intervening in the Reference indicates that Ontario Attorney General Ian Scott used this reason in his argument, that the Charter cannot be used to nullify the Constitution, and that Section 93 amounts to a "self contained Charter of education rights for Ontario" (personal communication, January 9, 1992).
- 54 Madame Justice Wilson, in *Reference re An Act to Amend the Education Act*, (1987) 1S.C.R., 1197-1198.
- 55 Personal communication, January 7, 1992.

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- 56 Press conference by R. Albert, President of OSSTF, June 25, 1987. Buchanan papers.
- 57 P. Lauwers, personal communication, February 20, 1992.
- 58 T. Riley, personal communication, January 10, 1992.
- 59 S. Conway, personal communication, January 16, 1992.
- 60 Ibid.
- 61 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 62 Government official, personal communication, December 20, 1991.
- 63 S. Conway, personal communication, January 16, 1992.
- 64 Conway describes the fairness criteria used by public school supporters thus: "There is a real sense of fairness in Ontarians. . . [that argues] ' don't tell me I have to pay for something that I can't access- I'll pay for it but I want to know that if I want to go that I can go under certain circumstances'." Ibid.
- 65 Ibid.
- 66 R. Charland, personal communication, December 2, 1991.
- 67 W. Mitchell, personal communication, January 7, 1992.
- 68 Ibid.
- 69 Ibid.
- 70 Ibid.
- 71 Senior government official, personal communication, December 20, 1991.
- 72 Townsend (1991) identifies seven modes or frames that are used in policy warrants and backings: method-centered, intuitive, ethical, causal, motivational, parallel case or comparative and authoritative (p. 45).
- 73 The argument of H. Hansen, a former public school chairperson, personal communication, January 17, 1992.
- 74 T. Riley notes that when grants are considered at stake were the "billions of dollars that would go to one system or the other" (personal communication, January 10, 1992).
- 75 One separate school director cites this example: " If we are teaching a student at \$2,400 per student, less than the public school system, how is it costing the people to have these students attend our schools? How can it possible, whether it's provincial money or local taxes, it's people's money" (D. Byrne, personal communication, January 16, 1992).
- 76 Ibid.

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- 77 Dr. Hal Hansen, former public school chairperson, personal communication, January 17, 1992.
- 78 R. Gillett, personal communication, February 11, 1992.
- 79 See Thompson, Ellis & Wildavsky (1990, pp. 267-269) for a discussion of how rival ways of life communicate.
- 80 MacIntyre (1988) outlines a narrative history of the Aristotelian and Augustinian traditions, the Scottish blend of Calvinist Augustinianism and renaissance Aristotelianism, and liberalism.
- 81 Senior government official, personal communication, December 20, 1991.
- 82 W.G. Davis, personal communication, February 17, 1992.
- 83 S. Conway, personal communication, January 16, 1992.
- 84 This insight is based on Lowi's (1972) proposal that political behaviour varies according to policy types. Although criticized, the argument that distributive, regulative, and redistributive policies produce different political behaviour has focused attention on the important role played by the instruments of government in the process of policy change.
- 85 C. DiGiovanni, personal communication, January 7, 1992.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This concluding chapter presents a summary of the study and indicates the conclusions that emerged from the research. The first section of the chapter reviews the study by outlining the conceptual issues which provided the impetus for the study, and by describing the conclusions of the analysis of the substantive inquiry conducted. The key parameters of the Interpretive Framework (IF) that was developed from this analysis are outlined. The contributions of the study are described, and the implications of the IF for policy theory, for the practice of policy making, for the education of policy analysts, and for the methodology of policy inquiry are presented. Suggestions for further research are identified, and, finally, a summary discussion concludes the thesis.

Review of the Study

The impetus to develop a framework for understanding policy change came from concerns expressed by many policy researchers about the nature and effectiveness of the activism in policy making which has reformed or restructured education in jurisdictions throughout the world during the past decade. Observers have identified distinctive policy shifts in many of these "reforms" away from equalitarian educational goals to an emphasis on efficiency, accountability and equity goals (Allison & Paquette, 1991). For example, equity for denominational and linguistic minorities dominated the policy agenda for education in the province of Ontario during the 1980s. The equity agenda resulted in two policy changes that have "redrawn the structure of Ontario education" by extending full funding to Roman Catholic secondary schools, and by creating minority French-language school boards (Lawton & Leithwood, 1991). Some critics argue that the policy making that produced these changes has not been conducted with adequate conceptualizations of policy development and implementation. Other critics question the normative assumptions upon which the policy changes were based. The critiques have led policy analysts to view the impact of these changes with

some concern. The equity policy changes in Ontario have, for example, been cited as producing a "policy crisis in schooling"(p. 1).

Despite an explosion of policy research during the past decade that has focused on reform-related issues, the link between theoretical research on policy and the practice of policy making remains weak. One of the reasons cited for the failure of policy research and theory to inform policy making is that policy researchers have tended to study those issues "that are politically hot," and have rushed "from one subject or program domain to another without developing a clear rationale for selecting particular topics for study" (Mitchell, 1988, p. 459). Many of these educational policy studies have ignored the larger normative issues evident in educational reforms, and have focused instead on specific issues and narrow time frames. The result is that much educational policy research has failed to provide guidance for policy development and policy change.

Critics argue that this failure arises because policy inquiry has been guided by models which reconstruct an idealized and rationalized logic of policy that has little to do with the logic-in-use that occurs in policy change. A growing number of critics propose that the problem lies with the positivist foundations of existing policy change models. Models of policy making that are based on positivist assumptions of linear causation are problematic in that they do not take into account the uncertainty, and interpretive nature of policy making. The value-neutral claim that is evident in positivist policy inquiry has been called into question by the growing recognition of the value bias inherent in the ideology of "instrumental rationality (Fischer, 1980, p. 194). As a result, the positivist paradigm of inquiry that "emphasizes prediction and control of the physical world is being replaced with a model stressing contingency and chance and interpretation" (Gregware & Kelly, 1990, p. 36). Although the parameters of this reconception of policy making have been identified by a number of post-positivist scholars, there is a need to develop the dimensions of this interpretive orientation. The Interpretive Framework (IF) developed in this thesis responds to the need to develop a conception that reflects the practice of policy making, by examining the interaction of the many factors that influence the policy change process.

Organization of the Research

The Validity Network Schema (VNS) (Brinberg & McGrath, 1985) was used as a guide in designing a study to develop a conceptual framework for understanding policy change. The research design guiding this study emphasized the development of conceptual elements of policy change through a review of current policy literature and through the examination of two substantive educational policy changes: the extension of full funding to the Ontario's Roman Catholic secondary schools, and the creation of the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board. A methodology of theoretical sampling was used to develop a conceptual framework grounded in the phenomenology of change. In the first of the three-stage theoretical research path that was adopted, a review of the literature on policy change identified a number of problematic issues and themes. These formed the basis of the six research questions which provided the framework for the second stage of the study, which involved an empirical inquiry into the two substantive policy changes. During this stage interviews were conducted with 70 policy actors, identified through a network sampling process, and documents and newspaper coverage of the policy changes were gathered. Analysis of the taped and transcribed interviews and documents provided the empirical basis for the third and final stage of the study. In this final stage the conceptual issues identified in the literature were analyzed in the context of the findings of the investigation of the two policy changes. The Interpretive Framework was developed from this analysis.

The Conceptual Parameters of the Study

The policy literature reviewed in the first stage of the study was presented in Chapter Two. As the following discussion suggests, this literature identified a number of theoretical issues in conceptualizing policy change. These theoretical issues suggested the conceptual parameters of the IF, and provided the basis for the research questions that guided the subsequent empirical investigation and analysis. The following discussions outline the nature of the issues that gave rise to these questions.

A large body of current policy literature examines the basic assumptions of positivist inquiry. This literature suggests that number of theoretical issues

arise from these assumptions. For example, post-positivist perspectives on policy inquiry criticize as inaccurate the assumptions made by the dominant rational models that policy action is guided by complete information and value-free decision making. This literature argues that interpretation is fundamental to policy change because meaning is always in question. Rather than being value-free, information is seen as interpretive and strategic. Ambiguity is evident because multiple meanings abound. The assumption of linear causality made by rational models is also rejected by critics who support a relational orientation to policy inquiry. In the relational orientation, policy change is seen as involving an interconnected and dynamic web of relations. Models that adopt the market as a central paradigm are criticized as over-emphasizing individual self-interest and ignoring the fact that policy making occurs in communities that are motivated by political processes of compromise, negotiation and accommodation. Although these critiques suggest some alternative conceptions of policy making, the need to further define the nature of an interpretive orientation led to the first research question:

1. What are the elements and attributes of an interpretive orientation to understanding the politics of policy change?

A related set of critiques reject as overly deterministic and static the traditional depiction of the policy-making process as a series of distinct stages. Instead, there are calls to focus on policy dynamics, and to emphasize the cumulative interrelatedness of policy events in current and historic time. A key implication of this research is that understanding policy change requires a focus on time frames long enough to capture the interdependent and overlapping processes of agenda-setting, policy development and design, and implementation. Current research on agenda-setting suggests that the "dominant stages" model of policy fails to capture the untidiness of the process. Alternative conceptions suggest that agenda-setting involves the convergence of problem, solution and political streams of activity when a window of opportunity opens. In this depiction, policy entrepreneurs ensure that favored policy changes stay on the public agenda. There is a growing recognition that the politics that emerge during the process of agenda-setting continue to generate conflict, bargaining, and compromise throughout the

policy process. In defining the problem to be addressed, the process of agenda-setting sets the parameters for the development and design of the policy.

The recent emphasis on design in the policy sciences literature suggests that this often overlooked activity is crucial to the success of a policy change. Policy design proponents argue that this process involves developing a course of action to resolve a policy problem. In designing policies, governments use various combinations of instruments that mandate, induce, build capacity or change the system. Current research on instruments of government suggest that such categories are not mutually exclusive, and a policy change may incorporate several instruments. This research also suggests that contrary to the arguments of the rational model, choice of instruments is governed by assessments of political, not technical, feasibility. It also suggests that the design of a policy is a critical influence on the implementation of a policy change. The explosion of research during the past two decades that has focused on filling the implementation gap that had been identified in the dominant policy models developed in the 1950s, has, in fact, been instrumental in redefining the nature of the policy process.

The early models of implementation, which viewed policy as a "top-down" progression from intention to action have been challenged by more recent findings which suggest that policies often have multiple, and conflicting goals that make the process far less discrete than the top-down models would suggest. Critics question the assumption in top-down models that policy making and the administration and implementation of policy are separate. They point to the evidence of a convergence in these activities in public policy making during the past decades. The debates generated as a result of these differing views led a growing number of policy theorists to reject the depiction of policy stages as lacking adequate causal theory. These theorists propose that policy models need a more dynamic focus that emphasizes adaptive processes. They draw from evidence of incrementalism in policy change to call for models that focus on longer time spans, and on the historical evolution of policy problem. Reinforcing the post-positivist critiques that call for models that stretch back and forward in time, these policy theorists suggest that such models must incorporate a focus on policy impact. The debates that have been generated from these conceptual trends in the policy inquiry literature suggested the need for this thesis to examine

the dynamic nature of policy making by responding to the second research question:

2. What are the processes and configurations of policy dynamics?

Until recently much of the literature on policy making reflected the influence of the open systems models of policy, and pluralism, both of which emphasized the interaction of a political system with its environment. Systems models view policy as a function of various environmental forces, and pluralism depicts the functions of interest-articulation and aggregation as processes linking the environment with the system. Recently, these conceptualizations have been criticized as reflecting a society-centred bias which portrays political institutions as mirrors of social forces. These critiques suggested the need to critically examine the influence of contextual forces on policy change and led to the third research question:

3. How do contextual factors influence policy change?

The critiques of the society-centred bias of open systems models have largely come from proponents of a new focus on institutions. Emerging neo-institutional critiques argue that dominant policy models have paid too little attention to the manner in which the state patterns behaviour. Political theorists writing from the neo-institutional perspective call for bringing the state back into policy models. They support this call by pointing to the variation in state autonomy and capacity evident in different policy changes. In order to understand this variability, the state must be disaggregated so that macro-, meso- and micro-level patterns of state-society relations can be examined.

At the macro-level, neo-institutional research suggests that the state is more than a system of norms. It is a set of institutions that are founded on conceptions of political authority supported by historical traditions. Neo-institutional scholars re-conceptualize the nature of meso-level state-society relations to take into account the fact that policy change in a sector involves numerous agencies and groups that form part of a policy community. They argue that such policy communities are distinguished by the organizational development of interests in particular sectors. Micro-level patterns of state-society relations also identified by neo-institutional researchers. The policy

network is a micro-level conception of the relations among policy actors that form around a particular policy issue. Implicit in the neo-institutional perspective is the assumption that the policy-relevant actions of the policy actors in state institutions are based on rules, routines and norms. From the neo-institutional perspective individual actions in institutions depend upon calculations of rule-bound obligations. These arguments suggested that the study of policy change undertaken in this thesis incorporate research responding to the fourth research question:

4. How do institutional structures influence the nature of policy change?

Implicit in many of the current critiques of rational policy models is a concern for examining how policy preferences are made. The dominant policy models imply that policy preferences are determined by forces external to political systems. The dichotomy between ideas and interests evident in rational models of policy has been questioned by ongoing research which has documented the weak influence of self-interest in policy change. A growing body of research emphasizes that ideas and values are autonomous and central forces in policy change. Ideas are embedded in key political institutions, and they are present in the structure of policies. Researchers have identified a hierarchy of the normative content of policies that includes, at the broadest level, conceptions of human behaviour. Ideologies coalesce into a political culture which defines the zone of appropriate government action. Dominant ideas are seen as related to broader ideologies, but reflect the normative preferences in a policy domain.

A third level of normative content is evident in specific policy domains where ideas establish the assumptions, the purposes and the means for public action. Researchers acknowledge, however, that the relations among dominant ideas, such as equity, efficiency, security, liberty and community, are complex. It is evident that ideas can contradict or reinforce each other, and, in so doing, become the focus of the arguments and debates that drive policy change. The role of policy argument and debate has been ignored in rational models and pluralist conceptions of policy. Although there is growing recognition of the role of ideas, arguments, and debates in policy

change, the acknowledgement that the nature of that role requires examination, led to incorporating a fifth research question into this study:

5. How do ideas influence the arguments and debates that generate policy change?

The review of the emerging literature confirms a convergence toward a view that attempts to move beyond the reconstructed and rationalized logic of policy action evident in the rational models that have depicted policy making as a technical value free series of discrete stages of activity. The challenge is to conceptualize policy change in a way that emphasizes the working logic or the logic-in-use that guides policy actors involved in a change process. This challenge led to the final research question that guided this study:

6. What are the implications of an interpretive orientation for conceptualizing the logic of policy change?

The emerging conceptual trends evident in current research on policy processes identified the core elements of the IF developed in this thesis. Together, these trends suggest that policy change involves a dynamic interplay of ideas, institutional structures and political processes that are embedded in an historical-political context, which emerges from the ecology of interactions within policy communities and policy networks. These elements formed the basis of the study's theoretical orientation, and established the direction for the research undertaken to develop the IF.

Contributions to Understanding the Politics of Policy Change

In responding to the questions that emerged from the exploration of conceptual concerns in the current literature on policy change, the study analyzed two educational policy changes in Ontario: *Bill 30*, which extended full funding to Roman Catholic secondary schools, and *Bill 109* which created the Ottawa-Carleton French Language School Board. The analysis of these two changes undertaken in answering the six research questions is reported in Chapters Four and Five. The only intention here is to make brief and concluding observations about the contribution of these analyses for understanding the politics of policy change.

Indeterminacy and Interpreted Meaning In Policy Change

The rationale for the interpretive orientation taken in this study emerges from the critiques of the rational model of policy which question that model's assumption of the potential availability of complete information. The assumption of determinacy allows the rational model to propose that policy problems can be analyzed into constituent parts, that goals can be determined, and that from this analysis the most effective and acceptable means of achieving the goals can be determined. Critics reject the assumption of determinacy, pointing instead to the "fundamental indeterminacy of social knowledge" (Eisenberg, 1992, p. 169).

These arguments led this study to focus on the implications of indeterminacy on the process of policy change. At the same time, the study acknowledged the goal-oriented activities and processes of policy making that are based on the belief, expressed by one senior government official, that more informed decisions are better decisions. In the investigations of the two policy changes, evidence of indeterminacy and of attempts to come to better informed decisions existed in a dynamic tension. Because information is indeterminate in policy changes, it becomes the central focus of political activity. As the debates surrounding the costs of *Bill 30* illustrate, information is used strategically and, therefore, must be constantly interpreted.

Reflecting this phenomenon, the study adopted an interpretive orientation to policy inquiry. In doing so, the study acknowledged the argument that in policy change meaning is always in question and is continually negotiated and interpreted. This "interpretive orientation" is fundamental to the entire study. It reflects a critique of the assumption of a distinction between facts and values. The IF represents, however, an attempt to move beyond a critique. The IF outlines a way of thinking about policy that is interpretive, critical and reflexive. The Interpretive Probes provide a guide for critical reflection on policy change. Such critical reflection can ultimately facilitate reflexive action, allowing policy analysts to interpret their own value judgements and assumptions. In this effort, the IF makes a small contribution to Lasswell's (1951b) call for a contextual policy orientation "concerned with explaining the policy-making and policy-executing process,

and with locating data and providing interpretations which are relevant to the policy problems of a given period" (p. 14).

Understanding the Interactions in Policy Dynamics

One of the key conclusions that can be drawn from the current literature is that policy models must move beyond conceptions of discrete stages to encompass a focus on policy dynamics. The understanding of the dynamic processes creating cumulative change was facilitated by this study's examination of two policy changes adopted at about the same time (1984-1986), addressing the same issues of organization and governance, both generating unanticipated complexities during their implementation, in part, because of their interdependent effects. The substantive focus on *Bill 30* and *Bill 109*, was particularly suited to this study of the dynamics of policy because of the interactive and complex nature of the processes surrounding these policy changes. Both are described as significant policy changes whose origins are linked to the earliest development of education in the province. The historical dimension of these policies allowed the study to investigate the arguments made by those challenging the discrete stages model. These critics argue that understanding policy change requires a focus on a time frame that allows for the analysis of the influence of the cumulative interdependences of events.

Both policy changes studied here confirmed the critical influence of prior policy making, and thus, reinforced the need for the IF to incorporate an historical dimension. The evidence in these policy changes is that this dimension is a critical aspect of the policy logic-in-use that politicians incorporate in their decision making. The reflections of former Premier William Davis on the influence of prior policies, which he indicates made full funding inevitable, confirm the weight that policy makers place on past decisions. Similarly, former Minister of Education Sean Conway emphasized the importance of understanding the historical context when adjusting policy to diverse communities. These analyses contribute weight to the importance of focusing on the dynamics of policy, and of examining "the historical continuity, persistence and drift of public policy" over several decades (Majone, 1989, p. 42). The implication is that in order to understand the

meaning of policy change, a time perspective must be adopted that allows judgements about evidence and causality to be made.

From Stages to Iterative Processes

One of the key conceptual issues addressed in this thesis emerged from the growing criticism that the depiction of the policy process as a series of discrete stages fails to capture the dynamics of the overlapping and interacting processes. The analysis of the two policy changes confirms that policy is rarely made by a single decision maker at the top of the policy system. Even in cases, such as the Davis announcement of full funding, where a decision is taken by a political leader, the actual process of policy making may follow the solution. Moreover, because time frames are often long and there are large numbers of decision points involving many different actors, discontinuities in the processes are common. This study contributes to the theoretical literature on the policy process by demonstrating the need to focus on time frames long enough to capture the effects of leadership changes, elections, court challenges, and implementation delays created by the interaction with other policies.

The influence of prior policy making is often critical to the process of agenda-setting, as the two policy changes studied here indicate. The difference in the manner by which they were announced provided this study with a valuable vehicle for examining the role of agenda-setting activities in policy change. The perception that the Davis announcement of full funding had not followed the accepted agenda-setting procedures led to challenges to the legitimacy of the policy in the courts, and, some argue, to the ultimate defeat of the Conservative party following the 1985 provincial election.

Fundamental issues relating to the role of political leadership and the exercise of political power arise from the *Bill 30* announcement. Although Davis viewed the policy change as an inevitable conclusion to a series of incremental changes, neither he, nor his successors, have been able to overcome the lingering distrust of arbitrary decision making by politicians that this announcement generated. A number of conceptual issues are raised here that contribute to understanding the interpretive character of the political processes involved in policy change. The exercise of political

leadership, requires more than the fact-based assessments of costs and benefits; it requires judgement of the potential for normative conflicts arising from a policy change. Where it appears that the ideological positions of members of the polity are fundamentally at odds and policy change is stalemated, the exercise of leadership may require the application of political power in making a change. The problem is that failure to develop some degree of normative consensus can create a crisis in legitimacy that will spill into all the phases of a policy change. It is evident that one of the functions of agenda-setting activities is to develop a degree of normative consensus. Failure to generate consensus will ensure that the political bargaining and negotiation characteristic of agenda-setting will continue throughout the policy change.

The analysis the two policy changes studied here confirms the critical importance of the development and design of a policy change. A number of implications for the understanding these processes emerged from the analysis of the development of *Bill 30*. These suggest that a policy development process may be disrupted by changes in political leadership. Moreover, the political will of a minister is instrumental to providing the impetus to develop controversial policies. Policy development may be enhanced by the guidance of an arms-length structures, such as the Planning and Implementation Commission (PIC). The development of complex policies that must address the needs of diverse settings is facilitated by the guidance of a broad range of experience and interest. In cases where the policy addresses core ideas, the capacity to gain support of those affected is increased by the legitimacy with which the policy developers are viewed. One of the key findings of this study is that flexible structures that bring together diverse ideological perspectives and experience have the capacity to encourage learning from a case-by-case assessment of policy problems. The development of regulatory policy changes must, however, go through the institutionalized policy making processes of the cabinet-parliamentary system. This means that the support of key political actors, such as the minister responsible, is crucial. It also means that other members of other political parties can, in the standing committee stage, have some influence on the development of the policy.

The analysis reported in previous chapters suggests that the design of a policy, including the instruments it adopts, the structures it develops, and the resources it attaches to the change, influence the implementation process. Assessments of *Bill 109* suggest, for example, that the failure of that legislation to clarify the exact financial resources of the Ottawa-Carleton French Language School Board has contributed to the ongoing problems of the public sector of that board. That policy implementation also confirms the importance of providing guidance and expertise to assist complex change processes. The need for such assistance is increased in situations where there are many interests involved in a change.

Much of the research on implementation suggests that the scope of a policy, commonly defined the number of interests involved, influences the policy change process. The assumption is that a change that incorporates many decision points and actors will be more likely to encounter difficulties in implementation. This argument has led to the prescription that policy changes focusing on narrow sets of interests using locally determined solutions will produce the best results. The findings of this study present important provisos to these arguments. It is evident that the implementability of large scale policy changes is enhanced by the flexibility and capacity for policy oriented learning of implementing structures. Political will to adapt to local circumstances adds to this capacity. On the other hand, policy changes that, on appearance, seem to focus on relatively narrow sets of interests, can encounter difficulties even if solutions are locally developed and implemented. A key factor here seems to be the extent to which such changes can be manipulated by other interests. At the same time, local solutions may lose the benefit of the policy-oriented learning that can occur when diverse stakeholders must be accommodated.

Rather than reflecting discrete stages of policy making, the policy changes examined in this study involved overlapping and discontinuous processes. This study suggests that policy development can successfully follow implementation. The institutional requirements for policy making in the cabinet-parliamentary system can be stretched and constrained by discontinuities created by elections and changes in government. This study confirms that political negotiation and bargaining occur throughout a policy change, particularly when the legitimacy of the policy is questioned. Rather

than representing a formal and final end determination of objective costs and benefits, impact is assessed throughout the policy process. Impact assessments, based on interpretations of the ideas embodied in a policy change often conflict, and form the basis of debate and conflict among the various interests involved in a policy change.

The analysis reported in this thesis reconceptualizes the traditional depiction of the policy development/policy implementation relationship as a series of discrete stages of functional activity. This reconceptualization focuses on policy change as a discontinuous and iterative process. Policy making continues throughout a change process as guidelines are interpreted and implemented. The related distinction made between policy making and policy administration also blurs. Although the cabinet-parliamentary system confers significant policy making powers on political leaders, a close examination of policy changes such as *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* reveals the significant influence of the broader policy community.

Dynamic Tension Generated by Stable and Changing Contextual Parameters

The analysis conducted in this thesis suggests that contextual forces which exert influence on all of the processes and all of the levels of the policy system exist in a dynamic tension of stability and change, as shown in Figure 5.6. This conceptualization departs from models of policy which specify some contextual parameters, such as the constitution and cultural values as stable, and parameters such as economic conditions as dynamic. In the IF, these parameters are seen as potentials that are interpreted by policy actors. The diversity of interpretations means that contextual parameters reflect potential for change and potential for stability.

The most significant observation that influenced this reconception arose from the analysis of the impact of the *Charter of Rights and Freedoms* on the capacity of francophones to challenge the government of Ontario's provisions for French-language education. The *Charter* signified a change in the basic constitutional structure which had previously been silent on francophone educational rights. Section 23 of the *Charter* can be seen as a reflection of a belief system that values minority rights. It can also be seen, as Eberts (1991) suggests, as part of the ongoing Canadian preoccupation with the

adjustments to minority rights made at Confederation in 1867. In whatever way it is assessed, the *Charter* must be seen as a passive instrument. In the case of francophone rights it required the initiative of members of that minority to challenge existing educational provisions for francophones. The analysis reported in Chapter Four suggests that a significant impetus for that initiative came from the funding support provided by the federal government's Court Challenges Program. This program allowed the federal government to influence provincial policy to incorporate the ideas contained in the *Charter*.

These actions underline the complexity of contextual influences in intergovernmental systems where events at the provincial level are influenced by national level policy changes. They also call into question the assumption made by political systems models of a distinction between the exogenous and the endogenous context of a policy system. In intergovernmental systems, changes at one level provide opportunities for policy actors to influence policies at another. The analysis undertaken here suggests that such contextual potentials must be perceived as opportunities by policy actors. The varying perceptions by members of the policy community of the contextual forces that influenced Davis to take the decision to fully fund separate schools confirms that contextual factors become influential in policy change when they are perceived by policy actors as opportunities or constraints.

Institutionalization of Meaning and Action

One of the themes that emerges from this analysis of policy change processes is the pervasiveness of institutional forces. The previous discussion of the complexity of defining context in intergovernmental systems underlines the difficulty of determining the boundaries between endogenous and exogenous forces on policy change. Institutional forces on policy change are evident throughout the analyses reported in Chapters Four and Five. The findings of the study placed the IF among neo-institutional approaches that question the society-centredness of political systems and pluralist models of policy. These models have depicted the state as an abstracted conversion box. This study confirms the need to disaggregate this conception of the state and to recognize that it includes a set of institutions

reflecting a system of norms that are founded on conceptions of political authority supported by historical traditions. Drawing upon this authority, institutions of the state structure political competition and policy debate.

The analysis of the complex influence of the *Charter* on francophone educational aspirations confirms the pervasive manner in which such institutions define salient issues and identify the zone of acceptable policy debate and demand. It is clear that the Canadian state is not simply a neutral converter of societal demands for rights into a *Charter* that can be used to secure those rights in practice. Rather, state leaders, such as former Prime Minister Trudeau, have goals for the polity. Those goals exist, however, within an "existing network of established policies linking state and society" (Cairns, 1986, p. 58). The cases described here confirm that previous decades of policy activism create conditions which constrain or make inevitable political action. Thus, for Davis, the Foundation Tax Plan acknowledged separate schools in a way that ensured they would survive and become special interests within the educational policy community. Similarly, the creation of public French-language high schools created the conditions for developing a community of francophone public school supporters.

In creating policies which create interests, the state becomes linked to society in innumerable overlapping ways. As Cairns (1986) argues this produces "a politicized society caught in webs of interdependence with the state," and an "embedded state tied down by its multiple linkages with society" (p. 55). The fragmented but tightly linked nature of Ontario's educational policy community, outlined in Chapter Five, reflects this phenomenon well. Teachers', trustees' and administrators' associations formed from the divisions created by previous policies underline the diversity of multiple links among actors and state institutions. In this policy community the capacity of each actor to influence a policy change is the product of past policy debates and changes. The notion of the policy community, thus, makes explicit the nature of the fusion of state and society.

The balance of power between state and society in a policy community depends upon the salient issue. According to neo-institutional scholars such as Pal (1992) micro-level policy networks form around specific issues in unique patterns of relations with the state. The nature of these patterns is defined by the capacity and autonomy of the state in comparison to the degree

of organizational development of the interests. The analysis of the *Bill 30* policy network in Chapter Five suggests that despite the extensive resources of public school interests, and the larger public disquiet over the legitimacy of the adoption process, the capacity of the Ontario state ensured that it could act autonomously from the demands of those groups. One of the contributions of this study is the clarification of the range of resources that enhance the capacity of the state to act. In the case of *Bill 30* the expertise, perceived legitimacy and ability for policy-oriented learning of arm's length government officials enhanced the capacity of the government to implement a very contentious policy change. This case illustrates the profound way in which institutional structures, such as the cabinet-parliamentary form of Ontario's government, structure debate and constrains societal demands. The institutionalized traditions of cabinet and caucus solidarity enhance the capacity of a political leader to take difficult decisions. Traditions of caucus support for party policies constrain the capacity of interests to obtain political leverage for stopping a policy change. At the same time institutionalized powers, such as the authority of select committees to hold public hearings on contentious policy changes, provide means for enhancing the legitimacy of those changes.

The analysis reported in Chapter Five illustrates the depth of the influence of institutions on individual actors that make up the policy community. The reflections of government officials are replete with accounts of the rules, routines and norms that define the interpretive order that governs educational policy making in Ontario. This policy community is unique in the degree of integration of its members. The accounts in this study confirm the view that this community is "in-bred, with an iron-fisted certification policy and an informal set of career pattern norms which prevent anyone from outside of Ontario, or anyone who has not served a socializing apprenticeship, from gaining a position of responsibility" (Hickcox & Li, 1992, p. 18). As a dimension of institutional behaviour, this integration enhances the capacity of the state to act autonomously. This capacity was evident during the *Bill 30* policy change when, observers noted, administrators throughout the province diffused potentially explosive local conflicts. These

arguments underline one of the key conclusions of this thesis, that institutions have a pervasive influence on the nature of policy change.

The Power of Ideas

The most fundamental conclusion that can be drawn from the analyses reported in previous chapters is that ideas cannot be separated from the institutions and processes that give rise to policy change. This conclusion is inevitable given the ideological nature of the two policy changes studied in this thesis. These two changes offered a significant opportunity to analyze the nature of the links between ideas, institutions, and processes. One of the challenges was to examine how these two policy preferences were linked to the fundamental orientations to social relations evident in the Canadian political culture. It is evident from the analyses reported in Chapter Five that political culture is not separable from the discourse surrounding the ideas embedded in a policy change. This thesis argues that political culture embodies the past policy making, and by defining the zone of acceptable preferences, it links to the future.

These phenomena of political culture are evident in the deep roots that both policy changes studied here have in the historical accommodations from which the Canadian Confederation formed. The cumulative nature of political culture is manifest in the institutional norm that values the historical bargains Canada made at Confederation. Ontario's Roman Catholic population benefitted from that accommodation just Franco-Ontarians have benefitted from the more recent attempts to accommodate Quebec in the Canadian Confederation. Critics of *Bill 30* view the bargain that legitimized public support for denominational schools as political accommodation that should not be given weight in the changing Canadian mosaic. Viewed from the perspective of cultural theory, denying the legitimacy of the bargain would be denying the weight of history that gives meaning to a political culture. That is not to say that political culture is static. The ideologies and ideas surrounding the issue of support for denominational schools at Confederation carried quite different meanings than they do today. It is also evident that ideas, such as support for the collective rights of linguistic and

denominational groups, become institutionalized norms for future policy determinations. Political culture is also linked to the policy ideas that emerge in specific policy domains. As the analysis of *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* suggests, policy specific ideas that are rooted in historical accommodations are more likely to become influential forces for policy change. The past links to the future through political culture.

Such links are, however, not unchallenged, because political culture reflects the dynamic tension among a number of ideas that may contradict or reinforce each other. The analysis of the Supreme Court of Canada appeal on the constitutionality of *Bill 30* illustrated that the dominant idea upholding a political bargain evident in s. 93 of the *Constitution Act (1867)* came into conflict with the more recently codified idea of equality in s. 15 of the *Charter*. Interpretations of the Supreme Court decision confirm the pervasive links between specific policy ideas and the fundamental ideologies that define the ways of living in a polity. *Bill 30* did resolve the long standing aspirations of Ontario's Roman Catholic community. In the view of some critics it had a side effect of providing the first means for one of Canada's prime institutions to determine the weight that should be placed on provisions for equality in the *Charter*. For some, the Court's determination established the precedent for the concept of a hierarchy of rights, with historical rights taking precedent over more recently defined equality rights. One of the potential outcomes of such a hierarchy of rights, is that groups excluded or not present at the time of the historical arrangement, will question the fairness and legitimacy of the ideological underpinnings of the Canadian polity.

The broad implications of interpreting ideas in the context of the constitutional rules of the polity provide support for examining the normative content of policies. Such support is also provided by the analysis of more specific policy ideas that became the focus of the disputes that arose during each of the policy changes studied here. The various interpretations of the policy ideas of equity and fairness embodied in both policy changes became the focus of ongoing dispute and argument. One of the conclusions that can be drawn from these debates is that the relative importance attached to an idea changes as the policy is developed and implemented. Moreover, the various interpretations of the meaning of ideas such as community

ensure that argument and debate will continue throughout a policy change process.

The problem for policy makers confronting such ongoing debate is to clarify the complex and value-laden nature of the conflicts that arise when the meaning of a policy idea is in dispute. One of the contributions of this thesis is a schema to interpret the policy arguments that arise as ideas are disputed in the process of policy change. The schema is based on the assumption that arguments are based on four general types of proposals or claims: factual assertions, hypotheticals, value assertions, and normative calculations. These latter claims are particularly relevant in debates surrounding linguistic and denominational rights-related issues such as were studied in this thesis. Rights promote a mode of absolutist thinking in which rights are thought to be indivisible provoking stakeholders to challenge any policy change that might impinge on those rights. At the same time, this analysis confirms that in the politics of policy change, consequentialist calculations of appropriate action often prevail, even in a rights-related policy change. The schema argues that these proposals reflect orientations toward the policy goals in question. Thus, factual assertions may be used to verify a policy goal, and normative calculations to vindicate the goal. The schema also acknowledges that policy debates occur through the interaction of members of a policy community. Several orientations to the issue being debated are evident, each reflecting the role or interests of the actor. The schema suggests that these include: advocacy, explanation, criticism and deliberative judgement. This schema forms a key element in the IF, providing a means of understanding the role of ideas in generating policy debate and change.

Understanding the Logic of Policy-in-Use

Previous discussions in this thesis have outlined the rationale for adopting an interpretive orientation to understanding policy change. The impetus for this effort comes largely from the need to move beyond the reconstructions that have produced idealized models that have limited relation to the practice of policy making. Policy makers and policy scholars alike call for approaches to understanding the subjective, interactive, and

discontinuous logic of policy-in-use. The IF developed here emphasizes this working logic. The IF draws direction in analyzing the interpretations and reflections of members of two educational policy networks from current developments in policy theory. The result is a conceptualization of overlapping policy relationships that emphasizes a logic of practice.

In this conception, policy is viewed as a guide to action. Implicit in this guide is the definition of some problematic condition and some goal that will overcome that condition. Perceptions of policy problems emerge from different conceptions of what the goals of a community should be. As such they are subjective interpretations of complex and often interdependent issues that are related to some desired value or end. Policy problems are, therefore, inseparable from policy goals.

Goals reflect the dominant ideas and values perceived to be a desirable end. Ideas such as equity that are dominant in policy making are themselves subjectively defined and often contested. Goals change as a result of the debates that emerge over interpretations of the values perceived in those ends. Goals are also inextricably linked to the means used to achieve them. The means that governments use to achieve public policy goals are contested, particularly if they are perceived as lacking legitimacy. In the conception of overlapping policy relationships developed in the thesis, goals are linked through the means used to the impact of the policy change. As discussions in Chapter Four confirm, impact is interpreted on the basis of differing assessment criteria. The interpretive definitions of problems, goals, means and impact by members of a policy community suggest that a policy change is often characterized by debate and conflict.

These arguments outline a conception of the links between problem definition, goals, means and impact which define a logic of policy in use. The conflicting interpretations of ideas are central forces in this conception of policy logic. Unlike the dominant stages model, which describes policy making as a linear and step-like process, the interpretive model of policy logic-in-use is a holistic conception of the dynamic tensions created as the meaning of problems, goals, means, and impact are negotiated. Policy change

in this conception is ultimately a transformation of the appreciative dimension, which defines how people think about a problem.

Acknowledging Divergence and Convergence in Policy Debate

The IF departs from the typical systems models of an input-throughput-output process that reflects a single, optimal equilibrium. Instead of the policy making models that "make survival or maximizing utility the criterion for individual choice" the interpretive model reflects the "multiequilibria" identified in cultural theory as reflecting the various "sustainable solutions to every problem" (Thompson, Ellis, Wildavsky, 1990, p. 270). Fundamental to the IF is the acceptance of the essential pluralism of value-laden "ways of life" and the often conflicting interpretations of ideas that result from these different world views. The IF acknowledges the possibility of divergent outcomes, and of unresolved, and ultimately destructive, conflict. Unlike the self-correcting invisible hand of market and other equilibrium models, the IF recognizes the possibility that things can fall apart and that the center may not hold in some ideological policy debates.

At the same time the thesis has argued that the ideological conflicts within the educational policy community arising from different world views are also constrained by some powerful forces that enable convergent outcomes to emerge. The IF shares the assumptions of cultural theory that "convergence of outcomes may be achieved through overlap, complementarity, and integration" (p. 271). Different world views may share assumptions about the value of redistribution as a solution to the policy problem created by inequitable conditions. Value positions may also be complementary, and more rarely a policy problem may be resolved through a solution that integrates policy preferences that are valued by all members of a community.

The IF confronts the fundamental questions of how different value positions can be brought together and what makes communication between them possible. In doing so the framework acknowledges the relativist proposition that arguments are necessarily conditioned by the world views or fundamental values held by those putting forth those arguments. Following the arguments put forward by MacIntyre (1988) the thesis rejects, however,

the relativist argument that because each world view "provides its own standards for rational justification, [it] must always be vindicated in the light of those standards" (cited in Thompson, Ellis, Wildavsky, 1990, p. 268). Instead the IF accepts the assumptions of constrained relativism adopted by cultural theory which argue that:

every way of life is constrained by the real world (and rudimentary rules of logic). . . and it is possible for adherents of each way to criticize the others and for interested people to overhear these arguments. There is no transcendental way of life, superior to all the others in all respects, but there is the possibility of mutual criticism under which no single way is sacrosanct. Bias is inevitable, but failure to learn about biases is not. (Thompson, Ellis, Wildavsky, 1990, p. 269)

The analyses reported in this thesis illustrate that although convergence toward a common interest in value conflicts is possible, it exists in a dynamic tension with divergence. Values conflicts seemingly resolved in one arena may resurface in another. The IF, therefore, proposes that the dynamic tension between convergence and divergence is fueled by argument and debate.

Ethics and Morality in Policy Making

In acknowledging the dynamic tension generated in public deliberation over policy goals, the IF highlights the moral dimensions of policy choices and underlines the fundamental ethical dilemmas that inevitably arise in such political activity. The thesis has confirmed that the classic distinction between politics and administration cannot be sustained. Public officials, just as politicians initiate policy and are inevitably parties to the broader process of public debate among competing interpretations of the goals of policy. The interpretive orientation adopted in the thesis has emphasized that the theoretical interpretations of social reality that underlie orientations to policy goals are multiple, conflicting, and ultimately have normative implications.

Public officials confront ethical issues because policy analysis inevitably involves a clarification and ordering of values guided by some conception of

desirable public purpose. Fundamental to the liberal democratic tradition implicit in the Canadian polity, in such circumstances ethical action is presumed to require "that which can be subsumed under universal, impartial principles"(Anderson, 1987, p. 26). It seems self-evident that morally right or politically justifiable decisions should be made on principle. Yet such principles are far from self-evident given that fundamental concepts such as right, freedom, equality, public interest are contestable. The contradiction between the need for principled policy making and the contested nature of ideas and values in public policy provide the challenge for the current attempts to develop procedures for normatively-informed policy analysis.

The IF has contributed to such a normative orientation by developing a Schema for Understanding Policy Arguments and by developing Interpretive Probes. These conceptual frameworks move the thesis beyond a critique of the value-neutral approach to policy making and analysis adopted in economic models. They reflect instead a value-critical approach which acknowledges that policy analysis inevitably rests on value judgments. The Probes and the Schema allow a policy analyst to make clear the contested trade-offs among values in a given change. As a vehicle for self-reflection the Probes and Schema provide a means for analysts to identify their own commitments, and, thus, to acknowledge their role as protagonists in public deliberation and debate on policy change. The IF, thereby, offers the vehicle for undertaking a kind of value clarification in which the ethical implications of adhering to certain value commitments in a wide variety of situations can be examined.

The Schema and Probes may be used to facilitate the kind of reflective equilibrium proposed by Rawls (1971, pp. 48-51) in which individuals move back and forth between intuitions gleaned from practice, such as those identified by Davis; and principles or theories related to concepts such as equality. The goal is to generate agreed upon principles among members of a policy network that will guide, inform, and justify policy choices. The procedures for developing a common interest framework outlined in this thesis contribute to developing this ethical basis for normative policy analysis. Similarly the Schema and Interpretive Probes provide reflective

guides that enable policy makers and analysts to vindicate the value judgements that underlie policy changes, and to show their relevance to a valued way of life consistent with the shared moral convictions within the polity.

Contributions Summarized

The previous discussion has outlined some of contributions of this study to the understanding of the politics of policy change. Because this study has taken an orientation to inquiry that focuses on the logic of policy in use, many of the contributions of the study apply to both the theory and the practice of policy making. The thesis contributes one approach to understanding the politics of policy change from an interpretive perspective. As such, it attempts to move beyond criticism of rational models and to offer an alternative conception based on the emerging understanding of the requirement for more dynamic and interpretive perspectives on policy change. The analysis of the processes of policy in the study contributes weight to the arguments for adopting a longer time frame in conceptualizing a policy change. Contributions to the "third generation" of implementation theory flow from this study. The finding that large scale policy changes involving diverse contexts and many decision points may provide the conditions for policy-oriented learning to improve implementation, contradict conventional theory. The analyses of the resources that enhance the capacity for policy-oriented learning moves this finding beyond a critique to suggest alternative dimensions of effective implementation.

The study contributes to the current debate on the nature of the influence of contextual forces. The analysis of the role of the federal government, through the *Charter* and the Court Challenges Program, in setting the agenda for Franco-Ontarian educational governance has contributed to a revision of one of the hypotheses guiding Sabatier's (1988) Advocacy Coalition Framework (ACF). According to Sabatier and Jenkins-Smith (in press), "Mawhinney's analysis of educational policy in Ontario indicates that conceptualizing subsystems in intergovernmental terms does not mean that everyone should be thrown into an undifferentiated, multi-level,

subsystem." Another revision of the ACF has been made from the analysis reported in this thesis that exogenous events such as the *Charter* do not, by themselves, affect policy change. This thesis has argued that such events must be interpreted by groups such as francophones. This analysis contributed to a revised ACF hypothesis that "makes it clear that, while external events provide opportunities to make changes in the Policy Core, those opportunities must be interpreted and exploited by the minority coalition if change is to be realized" (Sabatier & Jenkins-Smith, in press).

This thesis also contributes to the development of neo-institutional conceptions of policy making. The analysis of the Ontario educational policy community and the *Bill 30* and *Bill 109* networks meets the need, identified by policy theorists such as Pal (1992), to develop mappings of different Canadian policy networks. These mappings support the argument that the state and society are caught in webs of interdependence. In analyzing the nature of this interdependence, the thesis confirms the argument that Ontario's educational policy community is highly integrated. This study also contributes to the understanding of the nature of the policy-making process institutionalized in Ontario's cabinet-parliamentary structure. The evidence from these analyses contribute weight to the argument made by neo-institutional scholars that the state must be brought back into models of policy making.

In taking an interpretive orientation to understanding the politics of policy change this thesis contributes to emerging cultural theories of policy. The analysis of the links between the ideologies in the Canadian political culture, and the ideas that become embodied in specific policies, adds to the growing body of research that examines the role of ideas in policy change. The exploration of the role of ideas in the study also contributes to the practice of policy making. As this thesis has documented, policy makers are constantly confronted with conflicting interpretations of the ideas embodied in problems, goals, means, and impact of policy change. The Schema for Understanding Policy Arguments provides a means of clarifying the bases for these arguments and the orientations taken by various members of the policy community. The common-interest framework outlined in Chapter Four

suggests the way in which the principles of such a schema can be applied to resolving difficult value conflicts within a community.

Finally, in explicitly linking the theory and practice of policy making the IF developed in this thesis provides policy makers with a set of theoretically integrated Interpretive Probes. These Probes can be used as a practical guide by policy makers and policy analysts in the policy change process, which Kingdon has characterized as "creating intellectual puzzles, getting into intellectual binds, and then extracting people from these dilemmas" (Kingdon, 1984, p. 132). In focusing on the working logic evident in the practice of policy making to conceptualize the Interpretive Model of the logic of policy-in-use, the study links theory to practice. As a vehicle for reflection on policy making, this model can challenge prospective policy analysts to think about policy as it occurs in practice.

The educative dimension of the IF implicit in the reflexive nature of some of the Interpretive Probes can also facilitate the professional development of policy analysts. The IF outlines a way of thinking about policy that is interpretive, critical and reflexive. The interpretive probes provide a guide for critical reflection on policy change. Such critical reflection can ultimately facilitate reflexive action, allowing policy analysts to interpret their own value judgements and assumptions. In this effort the IF makes a small contribution to Lasswell's (1951b) call for a contextual policy orientation "concerned with explaining the policy-making and policy-executing process, and with locating data and providing interpretations which are relevant to the policy problems of a given period" (p. 14). The IF contributes a Schema and set of Interpretive Probes that can enhance principled argument in policy discourse and practical political judgement, and can facilitate normatively informed policy analysis.

Implications for Policy Theory, Practice and the Methodology of Inquiry

These contributions have implications for policy theory, for policy practice, for the training of policy analysts, and for the methodology of policy inquiry. Because the preceding discussion identified some of these implications, the following comments briefly highlight critical implications.

There are a number of implications of the analyses undertaken to develop the IF for policy theory. It is evident that policy frameworks must be developed that take into account the interdependent and overlapping policy-making processes that occur under different contexts. Policy theory must move beyond the stages heuristic to take into account the problem-solving nature of policy change which reflects the ongoing interpretation of meaning. Policy theories must examine the nature of state-society links. The evident embeddedness of state-society links suggests that new conceptions of community must be found.

A number of implications for policy makers and political leaders follow from this study. It is clear that the exercise of political leadership is critical to policy change. Such leadership requires an appreciation of the potential for value conflicts to arise from a policy goal. More important leadership is based on the capacity to reduce such conflicts by generating normative consensus. This requires a principled approach to developing a common interest framework to promote constructive debate and policy-oriented learning among interests in the policy community. The implications of this study are that failure to generate a degree of normative consensus on policy changes which confront core values in a political community can have long term impacts on the legitimacy with which the government is viewed.

These implications are particularly relevant for the education of policy analysts, and educational administrators. The growing emphasis on problem-based approaches in educational administration move towards the kind of logic-in-use orientation this study has promoted (see Bridges, 1992; Mawhinney, 1992c). The analyses of the pervasive value conflicts in policy change suggest that problem-based approaches must encourage the development of a critical and reflective stance to problem solving. The Interpretive Probes in the IF, the Interpretive Schema for understanding Policy Arguments, and the common-interest framework for resolving value conflicts developed in this thesis provides some means for encouraging this stance. Many more approaches must be developed.

A number of implications for methodology arise from the approach to policy inquiry taken in this thesis. In order for policy studies to adopt the dynamic, interactive, and holistic perspectives that current policy theory suggests is required, qualitative methodologies must be refined. Some

promising developments are evident. For example, the interpretive orientation to theory development taken in this study required a research design that facilitated the development of theory grounded in the phenomenology of policy practice. The VNS provided a useful framework for this undertaking. Conceptual issues require, however, congruent methodologies. In this study, theoretical sampling was linked to a snow-ball interviewing process that was congruent to the concepts developed in the study.

Conceptual policy studies have unique methodological requirements. One of the most significant is the requirement to gather narratives from policy actors, many of whom are political elites. Little work has been done on the process of elite interviewing since Dexter's(1970) seminal contribution. The elite interviews conducted in this study confirm the relevance of many of Dexter's recommendations. Another dimension of elite interviewing became evident in this study, however. Such interviews provided a means for both the researcher and the policy actors to reflect on a conceptual issue. The results of such reflection provide powerful glimpses into the perceptions of logic-in-use. Methodologies to enhance this kind of policy-oriented reflection should be further developed.

Suggestions for Further Research

A primary goal of this thesis has been to link policy theory to policy practice by focusing on the dimensions of policy logic-in-use. The intention has been to develop a framework that encourages that link in a way that allows policy makers to engage in reflection and action research. This educative dimension of the IF is embodied in the Interpretive Probes that form a key part of the framework. Because they are derived from theoretical issues, the interpretive Probes provide not only a guide to the practice of policy making, but they also outline a program for further research on conceptual issues related the politics of policy change. The following comments, therefore, highlight only a few of the directions for further research indicated in the IF.

- There is a need to examine policy changes directed at issues other than governance over longer periods of time to identify patterns of continuity and change.
- The influence of complex intergovernmental links in educational policy change must be examined.
- The role of political leadership in policy change must be explored. Such explorations should assess the dynamic tension between normative consensus and political power.
- The evidence that the manner by which a policy change is adopted influences subsequent processes must be assessed in other cases where policies were adopted without wide consultation.
- The body of literature on policy design emphasizes the importance of this aspect of policy development. In practice, policy appears to be less formally designed, reflecting instead a process of policy-oriented learning. This apparent discrepancy between emerging theory and practice should be explored in a number of policy issues.
- There is a need to explore the resources that enhance the capacity of the state to implement large scale policy changes. Other studies should assess the relevance of resources such as the expertise and the capacity to learn from case-by-case judgments of those who plan implementation processes.
- The finding that locally designed and implemented changes can produce problematic solutions should be examined in other studies in order to refine the conceptions of implementation capacity.
- This study has confirmed that assessments of impact are highly interpretive and depend on ideas of the proper goals of education. Conflicting interpretations emerge because different criteria for assessment are brought to judgements of impact. There is a need to identify some common ground upon which impacts of educational policy changes can be made.
- This study outlined the parameters of a common interest framework for resolving value conflicts arising from problematic policy implementations. Getting agreement on facts, and developing agreement on a principle of assessing a good result appear to be critical to

successful resolution of such conflict. Other studies must examine resolutions of policy conflicts to assess these findings.

- The findings of this study suggest that the influence of contextual forces is much more complex than is depicted in pluralist and political systems theories. Context appears to be a subjectively interpreted influence. At the same time, it appears that in intergovernmental systems policy changes at one level may provide opportunities for policy actors to promote policy changes at another level. These phenomena should be examined in other policy changes where such intergovernmental links are evident.
- This study has confirmed the influence on policy change of institutional structures such as the cabinet-parliamentary system. The influence of the institutionalized flow of government activity in other policy changes can be examined to determine the influence of timing, of competition for agenda space, and of other factors.
- In mapping the Ontario educational policy community this study has added to the small body of research that is developing some understanding of the dimensions of state capacity that influence policy change. Other state and provincial policy communities should be defined.
- The two policy networks mapped in this study suggest a strong bias toward state direction. In one case the organizational capacity and extensive resources of interest groups opposed to the change resulted in only minor participation in the direction of the policy change. A number of factors, including institutional norms and rules converged to block policy participation by these interests. Other studies should examine instances of blocked policy participation.
- This study has confirmed assessments that the Ontario educational policy community is tightly knit with well defined sets of assumptions and norms. Certification and experience requirements appear to contribute to this assumptive world. The influence of certification and experience requirements on developing such integration should be assessed in studies of other policy communities.

- Interviews with female trustees and politicians suggest that an "old boys network" is pervasive and exclusionary in the political community that influences educational policy change. Despite this assessment, the contribution of female politicians and trustees in directing educational change appears to be significant. This observation should be assessed.
- A common assumption is that the integration of members of the educational policy community produces an inward, conservative bias in policy making. The findings of this study suggest this integration may increase the capacity of the educational system to overcome resistance to controversial policy changes. These findings can be further explored.
- This study has argued that check lists of ideas in policy do not capture the complexity of the process by which ideas come to have meaning through implementation and perceived impact. Other studies should trace the evolution in the understanding of ideas.
- The role of argument and debate in driving policy change has been documented in this thesis. The interpretive schema for understanding policy arguments was developed to assist in understanding the interplay of propositions and orientations to an issue. This schema could be further developed in studies which examine the role of argument and debate in policy change.
- One of the important directions for further research that flows from this study is the need to incorporate a broader perspective that includes an understanding of the normative content of policy. Research on planned educational change must move beyond a focus on specific change efforts, to question the value assumptions upon which the direction for those changes is based. These studies must respond to questions such as: How do policy preferences reflect value-based policy orientations?

Concluding Comments

The intent of this study has been to develop a framework for understanding of policy change in the face of the multi-faceted nature of modern government. This required an orientation that would allow a "wide variety of determinants of policy" to be grouped, and, thus, to be clarified (Simeon, 1976, p. 555). The goal of the thesis has been to to render complex

phenomena understandable by encompassing both the small picture, or what Fullan (1991) calls the "phenomenology of change," and the big picture, or the broad patterns of policy change. In the former case, the perceptions and interactions of those involved are crucial; in the latter case, those perceptions are seen as being constrained by the operation of broader forces.

The IF developed in this thesis encompassed both requirements by placing the perceptions and interactions of those involved in the policy changes into the context of the constraints and opportunities established by various characteristics of the broad social and economic environment, the system of power and influence evident in formal institutional structures, and the ideologies of the polity and dominant ideas of specific policy domains. In this thesis policies are seen as infused by a broad system of power relations which blur the policy/action distinction regardless of the intentions of policy makers. The IF, therefore, recognizes that the political processes by which policy is formulated do not stop when initial policy decisions are made, but continue to influence policy during implementation in terms of the behaviour of those implementing policy, and those affected by policy. The forces creating ambiguity, and the conflicts arising during the initial phases of the change, will likely continue to have some impact throughout the process. The emphasis of the IF is, therefore, on policy change as an ongoing process, rather than as a series of discrete stages. This approach allows patterns of continuity and change over time to be discerned. It also recognizes that conflicting interpretations of the normative content of policy set the agenda for continuity and change. The Interpretive Framework developed in this thesis, therefore, emphasizes the force of ideas and values in driving policy debates and in influencing the politics of policy change.

* * *

APPENDIX 3.1

ATTENTION:
Respondent

RE: Interview as a data source for a doctoral dissertation on the Government of Ontario's policy changes for minority French-language educational governance, and for the extension of full funding for Catholic secondary education.

As a doctoral candidate in the Department of Educational Administration, Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa, I am conducting research on the policy making process in education. My dissertation will develop a theoretical model of policy change through analysis of two recent policy changes in Ontario. Bill 30, enacted by the government of Ontario in 1986, extends full funding to Roman Catholic separate schools to the end of secondary schools. More recently Bill 109 (1988) created the Ottawa-Carleton French-Language School Board.

The study explores the dynamics of these changes through in-depth interviews with members of the educational policy community who have been involved in policy making for minority French-language educational governance, and for funding Catholic secondary education. Specifically, representatives of groups identified through analysis of theoretical literature, and through analysis of government documents pertaining to French-language educational governance, and full funding of Catholic education, will be interviewed. The interviews are semi-structured and focus on perceptions of the scope, means and impact of these two policy changes.

I am seeking help from knowledgeable people like yourself in order to understand these policy changes. I would like to interview you, as a representative of one of the stakeholder groups, for the purpose of obtaining data for my study. There are a number of general themes that I would like to discuss with you that will allow me to develop a theoretical model of policy change. I will be telephoning you next week, and if you agree we can arrange a convenient time for the interview.

Thank you.

Hanne B. Mawhinney



EVALUATION OF THE UNIVERSITY
HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (UHREC)

In accordance with the Terms of Reference established by the Senate of the University of Ottawa, the University Human Research Ethics Committee (UHREC) examined the project "A Theoretical Model of Policy Change", submitted by Hanne B. Mawhinney, student in the Faculty of Education, and working under the supervision of Dr. Harold Jakes, professor in the Faculty of Education.

This project meets the ethical standards set out by the University of Ottawa.

MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE

NAMES	Position held	Discipline
Keith Arnold	Chairman	Philosophy
Edmond Rossier	Membre	Microbiology
Roger Gauthier	Membre	School of Human Kinetics
Nicole Kean	Membre at large	Law
Jean Farrall	Ex-Officio	Research Services
Marie-Claire Pommez	Secretary	Research Services

SIGNATURES

29 nov 1991
Date

Keith Arnold
Chairman

Lene Lupina
University Representative

UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA
RESEARCH SERVICES
115 SÉRAPHIN MARION, OTTAWA, ONTARIO, CANADA K1N 6N5

APPENDIX 3.3

INFORMED CONSENT

A study by Hanne B. Mawhinney
 conducted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
 Doctor of Philosophy.

Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa

Studies involving human subjects require the written consent of the participants. It is understood, that this does not imply that the project described below carries any risk or embarrassment; it is simply the respect to which the individuals involved are entitled that has prompted the University of Ottawa and the granting agencies to make this type of agreement mandatory. I therefore agree to take part in the study entitled:

A Theoretical Model of Policy Change

under the direction of: Dr. Harold Jakes
 Educational Studies
 Faculty of Education, University of Ottawa
 Ottawa, Ontario, K1N 6N5
 (613) 564-7725

As such, I consent to answering questions from my experience relating to the government of Ontario's policy change processes for Bill 30, and/or Bill 109 during a tape recorded interview which will last no more than 2 hours. I understand that I may indicate at any time during the interview that I wish to stop the recording. The recorded material will help the researcher in her analysis and may be quoted by her. I, therefore, relinquish my rights to this material.

It is understood that the data obtained through this interview will be treated in the manner specified below:

1. I agree to be identified as the interview subject _____
2. I agree to be identified as the interview subject beginning on the date shown hereafter _____
3. I do not want to be identified as the interview subject _____

I may reconsider this commitment and change it as I see fit; I may also withdraw from this study at any time. It is understood that all questions concerning this study, and additional information, can be addressed to the researcher, or her supervisor, Dr. Harold Jakes. This has been approved by the University Human Research Ethic Committee (UHREC), and questions concerning this approval or the ethical conduct of research can be addressed to this Committee, c/o The Secretary of UHREC, Research Services, University of Ottawa (613-564-4297).

 Researcher

 Participant

 Date

Please initial to indicate that you have received a copy of the form for your records

APPENDIX 3.4

Interview Questions

1. Would you characterize Bill 30 and Bill 109 as significant policy changes ?
2. Did the manner by which each policy change was adopted influence the implementation process?
3. The processes of policy change for both pieces of legislation have been characterized as complex. What factors made the changes complex, and how did this complexity influence the process of adoption and implementation for each policy?
4. Policy researchers argue that policy making is becoming more difficult because policies are increasingly interdependent. For example, some have argued that the interdependence of Bill 30 and Bill 109 created unanticipated complexity in the implementation of both pieces of legislation in the Ottawa-Carleton region. Can you comment?
5. Some policy analysts suggest that the design of a policy, that is the regulations it employs, the incentives it adopts, and the mandates it uses, has an influence on the process of policy change. For example, adopting legislation to support a policy change, but failing to provide the mechanisms for adequate funding to ensure implementation of that change will likely result in problematic or failed implementation. Can you comment on this argument in the context of Bill 30 and Bill 109?
6. Much research on policy notes that contextual factors such as demographic and economic variables, as well as political changes in other levels of government influence the process of policy change. Could you identify contextual variables that have influenced the two processes of policy change?
7. The political organization of education in Ontario supports a system of local governance within a framework of provincial fiscal control. It is proposed that this structure of governance influences policy change processes. Can you comment in the context of Bill 30 and Bill 109?
8. Three core values are often cited as fundamental in educational policies: quality, equity, efficiency. Quality is equated with excellence, or proficiency, and is often mandated through minimum standards. Equity usually means using public resources to satisfy disparities in human needs and is often seen in compensatory educational programs. Efficiency is seen as an effort to minimize costs while maximizing goals in order to optimize program performance. In Canada other values, those codified in the Canadian

Charter of Rights, have become particularly powerful forces driving educational policy change. It is also evident that these values embodied in various policies often contradict each other. For example, policies supporting equity in education may conflict with policy goals of efficiency. Can you comment on the core values embodied in Bill 30 and Bill 109 and the conflicts resulting?

9. The reconciliation of conflicting values is often problematic for policy makers. Commissions of Inquiry have sometimes been used to discover and explore policy options and to reconcile competing interests. The Taman Commission, for example, was mandated to study the impact of Bill 30 and Bill 109 on the Ottawa-Carleton region by the government of Ontario. In the context of your participation in the commission hearings what value conflicts established the context of this inquiry? What function did this inquiry perform? Which specific procedures used by the commission helped to resolve value conflicts, and which hindered their resolution? Did participation in the commission change your view of the problems being considered?
10. A common model of the policy process depicts a series of discrete stages including agenda setting, adoption, implementation and evaluation. In practice the process of policy change is far more complex. For example, conflicts that emerge during the adoption of a policy may continue throughout the policy change process, and implementation may be less an administrative matter than an issue of political bargaining. How would you characterize the processes of developing adopting and implementing Bill 30 and Bill 109 in the context of these observations?
11. Policy analysts propose that policy change involves the interaction of numerous agencies and interest groups. As a result, it is argued that the appropriate unit of analysis in analyzing policy changes such as Bill 30 and Bill 109 is the subsystem comprised actors who are linked on the basis of shared interest and concern for effecting the process of each policy change. The linkages among members of a policy subsystem are both horizontal and vertical. Horizontal linkages may be formed among school boards and groups interested in a particular policy change in a community such as the Ottawa-Carleton region. At the same time, the boards are also linked vertically to the provincial ministry of education. Could you identify members of Bill 30 and Bill 109 policy subsystems in the Ottawa-Carleton region?
12. One of the key dimensions of policy change is its impact. What do you perceive to be the costs and benefits of Bill 30 and Bill 109?

APPENDIX 3.5
CHRONOLOGY OF SAMPLING IN THE STUDY

DATE	RESPONDENT	FOCUS			NETWORK
		BILL 30	BOTH	BILL 109	
15/05/91 Ottawa	Dr/ L.Desjarlais			ADVOCATE • Local Trustee ARCHITECT • Provincial Bériault Commission	J. Comtois G. Levesque
23/09/91 Ottawa	Taman Commission representative		ANALYST • Mediator		W. Davis
09/10/91 Ottawa	J. MacFadden		ANALYST • Taman Commission official		Ministry Officials
26/11/91 Ottawa	J. Comtois		ARCHITECT Director of Eastern Region, Ministry		• Ministry Officials •Sean Conway • T. Cousineau
02/12/91 Ottawa	R. Charland	ADVOCATE Ottawa OECTA President			• R. Anderson • N. Sterling •B.MacDonald • J. Dobell • L. Jones • Y. O'Neill
10/12/91 Ottawa	M. Loughrey	CRITIC OBE public trustee		ADVOCATE	
10/12/91 Ottawa	Public School Board official	CRITIC			
10/12/91 Ottawa	J. Dobell	CRITIC OBE public trustee		ADVOCATE	P. Moss B. Stephenson
12/12/91 Ottawa	T. Cousineau			ANALYST Chairperson Commission on French- Language Governance	N. Collette J. Comtois R. Desjardins A. Lalande G. Levesque P. Rouleau M. Lapointe R. Anderson
13/12/91 Ottawa	R. Anderson	ADVOCATE • Trustee ORCSSB		CRITIC of Bill 109	C. DiGiovanni G. Moore

DATE	RESPONDENT	FOCUS			NETWORK
		BILL 30	BOTH	BILL 109	
17/12/91 Toronto	T. Mangin G. Pollock	ADVOCATE • Officials with provincial OEETA			W. Davis T. Reilly E. Clifford
18/12/91 Toronto	Ministry of Education Official		ARCHITECT legislation		
18/12/91 Toronto	Ministry of Education Official		ARCHITECT policy development		
19/12/91 Toronto	Ministry of Education Official		ARCHITECT legislation		
19/12/91 Toronto	M. Buchanan	CRITIC • OSSTF official			W. Davis B. Stephenson S. Conway M. Wilson J. Fraser R. Perry
20/12/91 Toronto	Ministry of Education official		ARCHITECT finance		
20/12/91 Toronto	Ministry of Education official		ARCHITECT policy analyst		
20/12/91 Toronto	Senior Ministry Official		ARCHITECT policy development		
06/01/92 Toronto	R. Leblanc			ADVOCATE OSSTF official for French- language teachers	R. Desjardins T. Cousineau R. Leger
06/01/92 Toronto	Dr.B.Stephenson	CRITIC Former Conservative Minister of Education		ADVOCATE	W. Mitchell M. Wilson N. McKeowan P. Moss J. Fraser D. Dodds
07/01/92 Toronto	C. Di Giovanni	ADVOCATE former Chairperson Metro Toronto Separate Board			C. Matthews P. Lauwers T. Reilly D. Murphy

DATE	RESPONDENT	FOCUS			NETWORK
		BILL 30	BOTH	BILL 109	
07/01/92 Toronto	W. Mitchell	ARCHITECT former education legislation official			
7/01/92 Toronto	Ministry of Education official		ARCHITECT legislation		S. Hanna W. Mitchell C. Beckman F. Clifford
08/01/92 Toronto	Dr. E. Hickey	ANALYST	CRITIC of Ministry policy making		J. Boich D. Dodds J. Fraser R. Leger
08/01/92 Toronto	Separate School Trustees Association Representative	ADVOCATE Separate School Trustees			
09/01/92 Toronto	P. Moss	CRITIC • former official of public school trustees Assoc. (ALSBO)			
09/01/92 Toronto	M. Wilson R. Bauman	CRITICS Officials with Ontario Teachers Federation			
09/01/92 Toronto	L. Taman		ANALYST Constitutional Lawyer familiar with educational issues		
09/01/92 Toronto	Fr. D. Murphy	ADVOCATE Official with Institute for Catholic Education			F. Clifford P. Lauwers
10/01/92 Toronto	Ministry of Education Official			ARCHITECT francophone affairs	

DATE	RESPONDENT	FOCUS			NETWORK
		BILL 30	BOTH	BILL 109	
10/01/92 Toronto	T. Reilly	ADVOCATE former official with Completion Office for Separate Schools (COSS)			
10/01/92 Toronto	J. Fraser	CRITIC Former official with public school advocacy group (OPEN) Former PIC commissioner			B. Davis B. Stephenson S. Conway F. Clifford M. Buchanan T. Reilly
16/01/92 Ottawa	S. Conway		ADVOCATE former Liberal Minister of Education		
16/01/92 Ottawa	D. Byrne B. MacDonald	ADVOCATES Director & Trustee for Carleton Separate Board (CRCSSB)			F. Matthews Y. O'Neill
17/01/92 Ottawa	Y. O'Neill		ADVOCATE Liberal MPP for region former Catholic trustee		
17/01/92 Ottawa	H. Hansen	CRITIC Former Chair of CBE		ADVOCATE of FLSB public sector	P. Moss P. Laverance B. Stephenson
22/01/92 Ottawa	R. Desjardins		ANALYST Former PIC official Assistant to R. Léger, appointed Trustee for FLSB-public sector		E. Saunders A. Lalande
23/01/92 Ottawa	P. Laverance	CRITIC Secretary to the CBE		ANALYST of policy process	

DATE	RESPONDENT	FOCUS			NETWORK
		BILL 30	BOTH	BILL 109	
24/01/92 Ottawa	Official for FLSB Catholic sector			ADVOCATE	Dr. Desjarlais
27/01/92 Ottawa	G. Moore	ADVOCATE Director of OCRSSB		CRITIC of policy process	C. Matthews OSSTA official
28/01/92 Ottawa	N. Collette	CRITIC of Bill 30 policy process		ADVOCATE Director of FLSB-public	H. Paquette
29/01/92 Ottawa	Francophone educational governance rights supporter			ADVOCATE	W. Davis M. Lapointe
30/01/92 Ottawa	L. Jones	CRITIC President of Ottawa OSSTF			N. Roy FLSB-public Teachers' representative
31/01/92 Ottawa	N. Roy			CRITIC FLSB-public secondary teachers rep.	L. Sylvestre
03/02/92 Ottawa	M. Lapointe			ADVOCATE Former interim director of FLSB	L. Desjarlais
05/02/92 Ottawa	R. Duhamel			ADVOCATE Liberal MP for St. Boniface	
06/02/92 Ottawa	FLSB-public teachers' rep.			ADVOCATE of Franco- Ontarian rights	
07/02/92 Ottawa	J. Schryburt			ADVOCATE Executive Director of AEFO	
10/02/92 Ottawa	G. Levésque			ADVOCATE former ACFO Director	
10/02/92 Ottawa	Y. Boileau			ADVOCATE President AEFO FLSB Catholic	
11/02/92 Ottawa	S. Plouffe			ADVOCATE Principal FLSB-Catholic Former ACFO President	

DATE	RESPONDENT	FOCUS			NETWORK
		BILL 30	BOTH	BILL 109	
11/02/92 Ottawa	R. Gillett		CRITIC Director of OBE (public)		
12/02/92 Ottawa	L. Sylvestre			CRITIC Representative of FLSB Catholic secondary teachers	
17/02/92 Toronto	P. Rouleau		CRITIC Lawyer for Francophone Catholic educational community		
18/02/92 Toronto	W. G. Davis		ARCHITECT Former Conservative Premier of Ontario		
18/02/92 Toronto	E. Stewart		ARCHITECT Former Secretary to the Cabinet of Ontario		
18/02/92 Toronto	Dr. N. McKeowan	CRITIC Director of Metro Toronto School Board			A. Lalonde W. Mitchell D. Dodds
19/02/92 Toronto	S. Hanna		ARCHITECT Former Assistant to Liberal Minister of Education Sean Conway		F. Clifford W. Mitchell E. Stewart N. Sterling S. Conway S. Plouffe
19/02/92 Toronto	C. Matthews, J.C.	ADVOCATE Editor of the Catholic Register,			
19/02/92 Toronto	D. Dodds	CRITIC Director of East York Public School Board			B. Stephenson
19/02/92 Toronto	E. Saunders	ARCHITECT Former Official with PIC			

DATE	RESPONDENT	FOCUS			NETWORK
		BILL 30	BOTH	BILL 109	
20/02/92 Toronto	P. Lauwers	ADVOCATE Lawyer for Catholic school boards Bill 30 Supreme Court appeal.			T. Reilly
20/02/92 Toronto	A. Lalande			ADVOCATE ARCHITECT Director of Metro Toronto public FLSB	
20/02/92 Toronto	R. Parry	CRITIC Official of OPSBA			
21/02/92 Toronto	F. Clifford	ARCHITECT Former Ministry of Education official in Bill 30 unit			
21/02/92 Toronto	C. Beckman		ARCHITECT Former political advisor to Liberal Minister of Education.. Sean Conway		
25/02/92 Ottawa	H. Paquette			ADVOCATE/ CRITIC Secretary to the Ottawa- Carleton FLSB public sector	
28/02/92 Ottawa	N. Sterling	CRITIC Conservative MPP who voted against Bill 30			
08/03/92 Ottawa	J. Boich		ANALYST Former Director Ontario supervisory officers assoc.		S. Hanna F. Clifford C. Beckman

DATE	RESPONDENT	FOCUS			NETWORK
		BILL 30	BOTH	BILL 100	
04/06/92 Ottawa	R. Leger		ANALYST Former PIC commissioner Ministry appointed trustee to oversee the Ottawa- Carleton public sector FLSB		

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