NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

ISBN 0-315-53857-0

A POLITICAL SYSTEMS STRATEGY TO ANALYZE POLICY FORMULATION

by

Hanne B. Mawhinney

A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

University of Ottawa
Ottawa, Ontario

Abstract of: A Political Systems Strategy to Analyze Policy Formulation

This study reports on an investigation of a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation. In order to address this problem an extensive review of major theoretical contributions by scholars of political systems analysis was conducted. As a consequence of this review, a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation was developed. Easton's dynamic response model of political systems provided a heuristic focus, that is, a framework to identify the key elements in the policy formulation process. A number of other scholars using a political systems perspective have further developed the concepts essential for a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation. A review of the literature suggested that a political systems strategy for the analysis of the formulation of policy must address a number of elements, including : environment; level of the policy formulation process; type of issue; governmental structures; systemic features; functional stages; system actors; influence relationships; policy communities; assumptive worlds and dominant ideas.

The study applied elements of the political systems strategy to a specific stage of a policy formulation process. The public hearing stage of a process resulting in the passage of an educational bill was chosen. The Standing Committee on Social Development, representing the government of Ontario, held hearings with regard to the final form of Bill 109 (1988). The methodology of content analysis was used to analyze the Government of Ontario Hansards of the hearings in order to address a series of questions generated from elements of the political systems strategy.

The questions posed by this study considered: the level of educational policy formulation involved; the type of issue addressed; the functional stage involved; the systemic features indicated; who the authorities were; what types of individuals and interest groups made inputs; what divisions were created by the issue; which groups were represented by sectors of the policy community; who controlled the policy process; what type of output resulted from the process and what dominant ideas were suggested by the structures and processes.

Based on the political systems strategy for policy analysis, the study responded to these questions. The findings suggested that hearings involved a regulatory stage of a Ministry level policy formulation process characterized by a governmental structure which determined the number and type of participants, and the channels of communication and degree of access to the policy process. The government structure involved was a committee of Members of the Legislature of Ontario which held public hearings to ensure access by interested individuals and groups to the decision making process determining the final form of Bill (109). As the result of their capacity to make allocative decisions regarding the policy being formulated, the members of the Standing Committee on Social Development and the Minister of Education, the Honorable Christopher Ward, represented the authorities. The authorities addressed the issue of educational governance. The issue created divisions based on language, school board support, and level of focus. In converting the inputs into a policy output (Bill 109) the authorities performed a rule or policy making function. The final form of Bill 109, which creates a French-language school board, can be seen as a distributive output in the sense that it involves a distribution of powers and of services. Bill 109 can also be seen as a regulation because, as a law, it regulates the behavior of the French-language school board. The creation of a French-language school board can finally be seen as a symbolic output in that it affirms the rights of Franco-Ontarians in the Ottawa-Carleton region to educational self determination.

Forty-one individuals or groups made inputs into the hearings. Groups included government officials and special interest groups. Individuals included trustees, parents and church representatives. The study found that most of the inputs were made by internal, associational groups, special focus groups concerned with promoting their own interests. Classification of the policy community involved found that the Insiders included the Standing Committee on Social Development, the Minister of Education, and the Assistant Deputy Minister of Franco-Ontarian Education. The Near Circle Players included various ministry officials and a French-language educational planning committee.

One of the questions arising from an analysis of a policy community is who controls the policy process? In the context of the public hearings studied here, the question becomes whether a regulatory stage in provincial level policy formulation process addressing the issue of educational governance is controlled by a small number of actors, particularly professional interest groups. An analysis of the data suggested that this is the case.

The study also found that underlying the structures and processes of the public hearings studied are a number of dominant ideas. The process of holding public hearings implies a recognition of the fundamental democratic principle of the right of individuals affected by the process to have a voice in the determination of the policy. By consulting with the actors in a particular region, in this case the Ottawa-Carleton region, the hearings also suggest a sensitivity to local and regional concerns. The policy itself, the creation of a French-language school board, also reflects one of the basic ideas guiding policy formulation in education, that is the principle of local control and self determination. The policy also reflects the principle of individual rights, implied in the French-language rights guaranteed by the Canadian Charter of Rights. Finally, inherent in a policy creating a French language school board is the idea that Franco-Ontarians are to have equal opportunity for education.

This investigation of a political systems strategy is significant in that it makes a contribution to the theoretical understanding of educational policy formulation. The study is also significant in that it adds to the research base on provincial level policy formulation. The study highlights the policy community involved during a regulatory stage, and illustrates the unique dominant ideas reflected in one province's policy formulation on a particular issue.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The writer acknowledges, with appreciation, the assistance of a number of individuals who contributed to the completion of this thesis.

Dr. Harold Jakes, in his capacity as advisor, provided impetus, direction and guidance.

Insightful suggestions by Dr. Ruth Whitehead and Dr. Ruth Wright clarified the focus of the thesis.

Dr. Robert O'Reilly's understanding and appreciation of the issues involved supported the development of the thesis.

Discussions with Dr. Janice Ahola-Sidaway and Dr. Marvin Boss assisted in addressing various aspects of the research.

Comments by Dr. Ian Dow and Dr. Hal Hansen suggested final adjustments to the thesis.

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to Emily, and especially to Jack, whose unfailing support and assistance made it all possible.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURE PAGE

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER ONE

In his definitive article "Educational policy analysis: The state of the art", Mitchell (1984) noted that "in education as in other policy areas, research and analysis have only recently become formally associated with the formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policy decisions" (p. 131). Despite its recent history, educational policy analysis has become a growing field. During his address to the Fourth International Intervisitation Program in Educational Administration, Harman (1978) stated:

> Never before has there been so much sustained and imaginative interest directed towards the better understanding of policy processes and the solving of policy problems as we have seen over the last ten to fifteen years.(p. 2-3)

Boyd (1988) noted that policy analysis has developed in sophistication and rigor since the 1960s and that education has, particularly in the United States, been a leading area for research and innovation in policy analysis (e.g., Coleman et al., 1966; Coleman, Kelley and Moore, 1975; Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore, 1981; Rivlin and Timpane, 1975; Williams, 1980).

The interdisciplinary character and vast scope of the field makes definition of policy analysis difficult. Illustrating the diversity of approaches, Mitchell (1984) found in his review of the state of educational policy analysis, that the field contained "an avalanche of literature citations...The ERIC system alone contains more than 28,000 entries...and this is only the tip of the proverbial iceberg " (p. 129).

Despite this extensive research the theoretical basis of educational policy analysis is not well developed. Mitchell (1984) noted:

> Disappointingly, the vast literature on the topic of educational policy has produced no standard textbooks, little agreement on the methods or goals of educational policy research, and few classic or exemplary studies for defining the area's central thrust or overall theoretical perspectives. (p. 130)

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to address the demand for a theoretical understanding of how policy is formed within a political system. The study addresses this demand by developing a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation.

Background to the Problem

The policy sciences' literature is replete with definitions of public policy. Following a lengthy examination of such definitions, Stringham (1974) accepted the following, which appears to contain the major concepts included in many of those examined: "a public policy is defined as a major guideline for future discretionary action. It is generalized, philosophically based, and implies an intention and pattern for taking action" (p. 17). Dye (1978) also examined a number of definitions of public policy and concluded that they all reduce to the following: "Public policy is whatever governments choose to do or not to do" (p. 3).

In an enumeration of some of the principal meanings of "policy analysis" and "policy studies" Holden and Dresang (1975) suggested a variety of possible meanings and purposes including:

1. Examination of decision-making and policy systems in order to appraise existing political theory or to generate new theory;
2. Evaluations of whether policies achieved the results they were planned or professedly planned to achieve;
3. Studies of the impact of given polices, whether or not they served the manifest functions; and
4. Attempts to prescribe-within an intellectually responsible framework-what social choices ought to be. (pp. 13-14)

Dye (1978) stated that policy analysis involves: "a primary concern with explanation rather than prescription...a rigorous search for the causes and consequences of public policies...(and) an effort to develop and test general propositions about the causes and consequences of public policy and to accumulate reliable research findings of general relevance" (p. 7). Dye

further noted that: "This involves a description of the content of public policy; an assessment of the impact of environmental forces on the content of public policy; an analysis of the effect of various institutional arrangements and political processes on public policy; an inquiry into the consequences of various public policies for the political system; and evaluation of the impact of public policies on society, in terms of both expected and unexpected consequences" (p. 5). Such a process, according to Dye, contrasts sharply with what he termed policy advocacy which involves advocates prescribing the policies which they feel should be followed. The type of policy analysis undertaken in this study may be classified as Holden and Dresang's (1975) first category of policy analysis, that is, an examination of decision-making and policy systems in order to appraise existing political theory or to generate new theory.

While educational policy analysis has not developed its own theoretical perspective, it has borrowed extensively from other disciplines. This trend can be traced to the significant changes in the study of educational administration which occurred in the 1950s (Moore, 1964). As part of these changes, scholars of educational administration turned to the behavioral sciences to find new methods and new theories. One of those disciplines was political science (Burlingame, 1988). Political science has offered important insights for the study of schools and schooling (Layton, 1982). Evidence of the importance that scholars of the 50s and 60s placed in political concepts is suggested by a number of works including Iannacone and Lutz's (1970) work on the informal organization of schools, as well as in the National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook of 1964 (Griffiths), and the publication of The politics of education in the local community (Cahill & Hencley, 1964).

That educational policy analysis has turned to political science for its theoretical models, illustrates that education is a political enterprise. Interest in the relationship between politics and education is far from a recent phenomenon. Plato and Aristotle both noted the importance of the connection, and since then there has been a long tradition of scholarly concern in political philosophy about the role of education. Despite this tradition of scholarly and practical concern about the politics-education connection, it is only recently that modern political science has explored the inherent connection between the two. In 1957 Easton justly complained: "Over two thousand years ago education occupied a prominent position in

political thought; today, in political science as a whole, attention to the problems of education has all but disappeared" (p. 304). Harman (1974) also noted that until the early 1960s students of education showed little interest in serious investigation of the political aspects of formal education.

Since Easton expressed his dismay in 1957, the situation has changed dramatically. Harman (1974) suggested that the politics of education is now a recognized area of research concentration and is attracting the interest of both political scientists and students of education in many countries. The development of the study of the politics of education began in the United States where, in the 1950s, a handful of individual political scientists and students of education became interested in a number of different facets of the politics of education. Although educational scholars were aware of the important role played by politics in determining Who gets what, when, how, (Lasswell, 1936), the prior half of the twentieth century was, according to Iannaccone (1967), characterized by the "myth" of nonpolitical decision making in educational policy making. A significant landmark for political scientists was a paper published by Easton in the 1957 edition of the School Review. In this paper Easton (1957) demonstrated that schools perform various important political functions. Following the call for expanded research on school politics by the prestigious American Political Science Review (Eliot, 1959), a number of scholars began to give serious attention to the political forces shaping educational policy decisions. Since that time the development of the study of the politics of education has been extensive. This development has been well documented in two major bibliographies (Hastings, 1980; Harman, 1974) as well as in several reviews (James, 1964; Kirst & Mosher, 1969; Iannaccone & Cistone, 1974; Peterson, 1974; and Burlingame, 1978) and also in a number of anthologies and edited conference proceedings (Lutz & Azzarelli, 1966; Rosenthal, 1969; Kirst, 1970; Cistone, 1972, 1975; Wirt, 1975; and Scribner, 1977).

Scribner and Englert (1977), in chronicling the development of the politics of education as a stream of inquiry, noted that the increasing synthesis of politics and educational decision making has coincided with an increase in the kinds of phenomena that might be considered "political." The study of politics, long associated with the analysis of formal government, has expanded to the study of concepts such as conflict and its resolution, struggles to gain and maintain power, pressure and interest group activities, policy

making, the activities of political parties, as well as the nature of influence relationships. With the proliferation of phenomena considered political and the application of these phenomena to the study of educational decision making came the need for unifying definitions and conceptual frameworks.

Dye (1981) suggested that political science has developed a number of conceptual frameworks and models which attempt to explain political life. He emphasized the fact that these models are abstractions or representations of reality. Various writers have examined both the functionality and limitations of models generally and of models of politics specifically. Stringham (1974) stated that: "Models assist in organization of data. A framework is provided in a model which brings the correspondence of elements of the subject matter into focus" (p.22). Dye (1981, p. 19) listed the following five purposes which he felt were served by models of politics:

1. simplify and clarify our thinking about government and politics,
2. identify important political forces in society,
3. communicate relevant knowledge about political life,
4. direct inquiry into politics, and
5. suggest explanations for political events and outcomes.

Dye (1981) further offered a number of prescriptions for models of politics. He noted that although models should simplify and order political life, oversimplification will lead to inaccurate interpretations of reality. A model must draw attention to the significant aspects of public policy, that is, the relevant variables associated with public policy. The variables which constitute the model must have unique and generally accepted meanings, and lastly a model should refer to phenomena that can be observed, measured and verified.

Scholars have attempted to outline the models of public policy which address the important dimensions of political life (Allison, 1971; Kirst, 1977; Harman, 1980; Dye, 1981; Doern and Phidd, 1983). Dye (1981) included among these models; the institutional model, the process model, the group model, the elite model, the rational model, the incremental model, the game theory model, and the systems model (p. 20). Many educational researchers have suggested that systems theory as applied to politics by Easton (1965a; 1965b) and others has provided the main framework for attempts to come to grips with the overall pattern of links between educational policy formulation and

politics. (Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Harman, 1974; Thompson, 1976; Wirt and Kirst, 1972, 1982; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976).

Organization of the Thesis

The study is organized into four chapters. Chapter One has introduced the study. Chapter Two reviews the literature related to political systems analysis in order to investigate a strategy for the analysis of policy formulation. Chapter Three discusses the methodology used in the study. Chapter Four outlines the political systems strategy suggested by the literature review, and reports on the findings of the application of part of such a political systems strategy to the analysis of documents which record a specific stage in a policy formulation process. Chapter Five discusses those findings.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

As a type of analytical research, policy research provides knowledge and understanding about past and contemporary policy-making of the legislative, judicial and executive branches of government. Major ideas and concepts are clarified for meaning. Research questions focus on events, describing how these events occurred as well as interpreting why they happened. However, the phrasing of the research question depends in part on the "conceptual lenses" which the policy analyst adopts. Graham Allison (1971) in his book, Essence of Decision: Explaining the Cuban missile crisis suggested:

> What we see and judge to be important and accept as adequate depends not only on the evidence but also on the "conceptual lenses" through which we look at the evidence.(p. 2)

The conceptual framework or the "lens" that guides an investigation is composed of related concepts, assumptions and questions that appear to be fruitful in attacking a research problem. Essentially the purpose is not to generate a hypothesis that will be supported or denied, but rather, as Lasswell and Kaplan (1950) suggested, to serve the function of directing the search for significant data, not predicting what the data will be found to disclose.

The conceptual framework chosen for this investigation has its foundation in political systems theory (Easton, 1965a, 1965b). The choice of political systems analysis was influenced by the observation that the educational system must continually adapt to environmental disturbances. As an open system, education is subject to environmental inputs from interest groups, individuals and educational organizations. In this context, the proposed research is about the political behavior involved in policy formulation. Lasswell (1968) stated that the study of politics is the study of influence and the influential. As the result of influence, strategies allowing for the allocation of values and decisions about who gets what, when and how are determined.

As the major approach taken to the study of the politics of education, Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems approach has been widely used to provide a framework for understanding the operation of whole political

systems as well as the policy process. Schaefer (1974) noted that most of the empirical studies of specific public policies in the United States have been based on adaptations of Easton's system theory. Often various measures of socio-economic development and measures of characteristics of political institutions and processes are used to explain public policy as measured by the level of expenditures. Dawson and Robinson (1963) and Dye (1966) specified Easton's framework as a theoretical basis of their research.

Zeigler (1970) argued that Easton's (1965a, 1965b) efforts in systems theory, in particular, have been important in directing the attention of political scientists to "non-political institutions" such as schools. The framework has been used extensively in education by scholars as a basis for exploring policy-making in the United States (Eidenberg and Morey, 1969; Meranto, 1967; Coombs, 1968; Scribner, 1966, 1970; Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Thompson, 1976; Wirt and Kirst, 1972, 1982; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986). Milstein and Jennings (1973) and Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) specifically used Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems framework to describe their data. Much of this American research has focused on conceptualizing the arena of state-level politics of education. This research has investigated, for example, the impact of ESEA Title V on state departments of education (Milstein, 1976); determined whether state political cultures accounted for the degree of centralized control over local school district operations (Wirt, 1977, 1978); and identified the communication networks through which policy initiatives move from one state to another (Kirst, 1981).

A number of Canadian theses have also used the political systems framework for analysis of educational issues. Brayne (1978) based his study of the formal demands made on an urban school district upon the Easton (1965a, 1965b) framework, as did Le Moine (1984) in her more recent study of interest groups in educational decision making. Gaffney (1987) used the framework in his study of selected outcomes and political systems characteristics related to a program. More indirectly Sloan (1980) used elements of the political systems model in developing his combined model of policy making.

McGivney (1984) suggested this research has noted the heuristic value of Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems analysis in providing a framework for asking appropriate questions and for finding ways of viewing political activity. Throughout this study political systems analysis is described as a

heuristic theory. In this context heuristic is used to mean that political systems analysis "stimulates and guides the further development of knowledge" (Hoy and Miskel, 1987, p. 2). Heuristic theory contrasts to predictive theory in that its focus is toward providing a framework for analysis or as Wirt and Kirst (1982) suggest "a method of analytically separating and categorizing items in experience" (p. 27).

Political Systems Analysis

The preceding investigation of the development of the politics of education suggested that Easton's (1965a, 1965b) framework has been used extensively as the basis of policy research in education. Basic to understanding political systems analysis is a knowledge of the framework's roots in systems analysis.

Development of Systems Analysis

The development of systems analysis has influenced most fields of study including political science. The following discussion reviews the foundations of systems theory. The basic assumptions underlying the concept of systems are discussed and the various approaches that have evolved from a systems perspective are outlined. The purpose of the discussion is to place political systems analysis in the context of systems theory in general.

While the concept of systems came to political science through the work of other social scientists, systems theory does have important roots in the works of biologists, physical scientists, and engineers. Immegart and Pilecki (1973) suggested that it is difficult to identify precisely when systems thought emerged, however, the systems movement as it is now known is directly linked to von Bertalanffy's early papers dating back to the late 1920s. The greatest development of this movement has, however, occurred since 1950. This development has been stimulated by the works of not only von Bertalanffy (1956), but also by Wiener's (1961) work in "Cybernetics" and as well by the activities of the Society for General Systems Research. Prior to World War II, von Bertalanffy, a biologist, conceived of "general systems theory" as a framework for the unification of the sciences. His post-war writings helped to inspire the founding, in 1954, of the Society for General

Systems Research. After 1956 von Bertalanffy served as editor to the Society's yearbook, General Systems, which acts as the major source of information about the development of general systems theory.

Regardless of the source of particular approaches to systems thinking, all approaches are premised on some basic assumptions about the nature and characteristics of a system. A system can be defined as "a set of objects together with relationships between the objects and between their attributes" (Hall and Fagen, 1956, p. 18). Systems share a number of characteristics. All systems have a unique character that enables them to be distinguished from other systems, as well as from their environment. Systems are characterized by the degree to which they are either open or closed. Open systems exchange matter and energy with their environment, while closed systems are self-contained and unaffected by their environments. All systems, open and closed exhibit certain general properties. These include the first universal characteristic of systems, a tendency toward entropy, or toward a state of inertia, disorder and eventual death. The second universal property of systems is that all systems exist in time-space, and as a result are evolutionary. The third universal systems property is that all systems have boundaries which distinguish what is within the system from that which is excluded from it. The fact that all systems have an environment forms the fourth universal property of systems. The fifth universal characteristic is that all systems have factors that affect the structure and function of the system. All systems also have subsystems, the sixth universal property of systems. The seventh property of systems is that all systems, with the exception of the largest and a few closed systems, have supra systems, or in other words all systems are subsystems to larger and more complex systems.

Open systems have a number of characteristics unique to them. Katz and Kahn (1966) suggested that that the properties of open systems include "the importation of energy from the environment, the through-put or transformation of imported energy into some product which is characteristic of the system, the exporting of that product into the environment, and the re-energizing of the system from sources in the environment" (pp. 14-29). Open systems also share a number of other characteristics including: negative entropy, or the fact that systems survive only as long as they import from the environment more energy than they expend; feedback; homeostasis, or the

ability to maintain a steady state; differentiation or elaboration; and equifinality, or the ability to reach the same state by different paths (pp. 14-29).

While all systems do share general properties, there have been a number of approaches to systems thinking which have developed since the 1950s. Immegart and Pilecki (1973, pp. 9-10) identified eleven major approaches to systems thinking. These approaches include the following emphases: general system theory; cybernetics; holism; operations research; systems design; information theory; systems analysis; systems engineering; output analysis; mathematical programming; and computer science. Immegart and Pilecki (1973) pointed out that the systems movement has prompted a number of specific models, procedures, and techniques that are relevant to the field of educational administration. Some of these models include Ashby's (1956) classic input-output process model termed the "black box" model; outcome analysis schemes; mathematical programming models; simulation models; communications models and Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems model.

Systems theory has also generated a number of specific procedures that are currently in use, including: the critical path method, the planning, programming and budgeting system; computer programming; linear programming; transportation scheduling systems; and cost-benefit analysis. Immegart and Pilecki (1973) suggested that, in addition, a number of specific administrative techniques have resulted from the models and procedures using a systems framework. Examples of these administrative techniques include: flow charts; automated inventory systems; instructional training systems; information storage and retrieval systems; and management information systems.

Systems have been examined and analyzed in a number of ways, none of them mutually exclusive or all inclusive. Immegart and Pilecki's (1973) review of the systems literature revealed five theoretical approaches to conceptualizing systems. Comprehensive systems theories, or theories which focus generally on total or whole system, provide an important point for beginning an analysis of a system. Feedback theories, or theories of open system control, based on the science of cybernetics, are premised on the theory that all systems can be understood through their communication and control activities. Theories of systems properties represent macroscopic analysis of properties and characteristics of open systems. Output theories or output analyses focus on the outcomes or products of systems actions. Finally,

process or subsystems theories, such as Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems framework, focus on the processing of inputs through system activity into system output.

Inherent in process theories is the assumption of an open system. The most fundamental characteristic of the open system is the energy and information transformation process that occurs as the "system exchanges energy and matter with its environment in time-space" (Immegart, and Pilecki, 1973, p. 45). Process theories underline that the central roles of a system are to survive and provide service. These roles are revealed through the processing of inputs into outputs. Immegart, and Pilecki noted that because of this focus, process theories such as Easton's (1965a, 1965b) "provide analytic frameworks that deal with action stimuli (inputs), the subsystems (structures and processes) which act on input, and the output or resultants of system action" (p. 45). Through this theoretical perspective, not only can aspects of a system be examined, but their relationships can be revealed through system activity. Immegart and Pilecki (1973) further suggested that "process theories of open systems provide both a comprehensive and detailed means for understanding systems. The approach is, further, descriptive and evolutional" (p. 46).

Despite the diversity of approaches based on systems theory that have evolved, the general characteristics of a system are transferable to these various approaches. Political systems analysis shares the conceptual foundations of other process theories, which provide analytic frameworks for describing the input-throughput-output relationships.

Easton's Political Systems Framework: An Overview

The following section of the literature review outlines the basic premises and purposes of Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems approach (for an excellent overview see Miller, 1971).

Easton (1965a, 1965b) based his concept of systems analysis on four premises:

1. Political life can be viewed as a "system of behavior";
2. A system can be distinguished from the "environment in which it exists and open to influences from it";

3. Variations in the "structures and process within a system" can be seen as "efforts by members of a system to regulate or cope with stress flowing from environmental as well as internal sources"; and
4. The "capacity of a system to persist in the face of stress is a function of the presence and nature of the information and other influences that return to its actors and decision-makers". (p. 25)

These four premises; system, environment, feedback, and response form the basic concepts underlying Easton's analysis of political life in the systems framework.

Based on these premises Easton (1965a) conceived of general systems analysis as taking "its departure from the notion of political life as a boundary-maintaining set of interactions embedded in and surrounded by other social systems to the influence of which it is constantly exposed" (p. 25). Fundamental to his concept of political systems was Easton's belief that political phenomenon constitute an "open system, one that must cope with the problems generated by its exposure to influences" from other social systems in the environment (p. 25). Easton reasoned:

> if a system of this kind is to persist through time, it must obtain adequate feedback about its past performances, and it must be able to take measures that regulate its future behavior. Regulation may call for simple adaptation to a changing setting in the light of fixed goals. But it may also include efforts to modify old goals or transform them entirely. Simple adaptation may not be enough. To persist it may be necessary for a system to have the capacity to transform its own internal structure and processes. (p. 25)

The central question framed by a systems orientation to political phenomena was, according to Easton (1965 b) "how do any and all political systems manage to persist in a world of both stability and change?" (p. 17). The ultimate purpose, from this perspective was to reveal "those fundamental functions without which no system could endure-together with the typical modes of response through which systems manage to sustain them" (p. 17). In sum, Easton (1965a) viewed political life as an "adaptive, self-regulating, and self transforming system of behavior" (p. 26).

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). Easton, therefore, defined the boundaries of the political system 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. Easton divided the environment into intra-societal systems, or those "sets of behavior, attitudes, and ideas...[such as] the economy, culture, social structure or personalities" (p. 22). The environment also includes the extra-societal, or "all those systems that lie outside the given society itself" (p. 22). The intra- and extra-societal systems, form the environment of the political system. The political system is open to influences from its environment, or as Easton termed them, the "disturbances". In turn, the environment is affected by the actions of the political system. To use Easton's terminology, the political system and its environment are linked by an input-output relationship. Specifically, Easton viewed the influences of the environment upon the political system as exchanges or transactions that cross the boundaries of the political system. Exchanges refer to the "mutuality of the relationship" while transactions suggest the movement of an effect in one direction. (p. 26). Easton therefore considered a transaction or an exchange between systems as a linkage between them in the form of an input-output relationship. The political system itself is conceived as a conversion process, whose work is to convert inputs into outputs and thereby to insure the survival of the system. Easton compared the political system to a gigantic communications network into which one kind of information flows and out of which another kind of information emerges (pp. 72-73).

The input-output exchange between the political system and its environment can be viewed through the interactions with the political system of the two basic kinds of inputs into the political system, demands and supports. In the context of systems terminology these inputs provide the information that the system must process, as well as the energy that keeps it going. The concept of the two major inputs, supports and demands, captures the effect of the many events and conditions in the environment on the

persistence of a political system. Supports and demands are key indicators of the way in which environmental influences and conditions modify and shape the operations of the political system. Demands arise from the fact of the prevailing scarcity in all societies of the wants and values most desired. Human wants become demands, and thus inputs, when proposals are put forth by individuals or groups demanding some authoritative action. Easton (1965b) termed those demands originating within the system from individuals acting in political roles, "withinputs".

Supports, the other form of inputs into the political system, enable the system to perform the tasks of satisfying demands. Supports may involve either overt actions, such as the payment of taxes, or support may be diffuse, involving attitudes which predispose an individual to support the political system. Support is extended to three major objects of the political system: the authorities; the regime; and the political community. Easton (1965b) defined the first object of support, the authorities, as ranging on a continuum from those holding the most inclusive capacity to make decisions, to those at the other end of the continuum, whose range and scope of decision making discretion is considerably less. Easton (1965b) suggested "the continuum would include within its range the President of a modern system at the one extreme and a postman. . .at the other" (p. 213). Easton defined the regime, the second object of support, as comprised of "values (goals and principles), norms and structures of authority" (p. 193). The values provide the broad limits which guide policy making. The norms define the acceptable procedures in processing demands. Structures of authority were defined by Easton as "the formal and informal patterns in which power is distributed and organized with regard to the authoritative making and implementing of decisions" (p. 193). The third object of support, the political community, is referred to by Easton as consisting of the members of a political system, specifically the "group of persons bound together by a political division of labor" (p. 177)

Easton (1965b) argued that no system can persist without a minimum amount of support directed toward the regime, which includes the structures of authority. It is also necessary for the survival of the system, that support be directed toward the authorities, that is those who occupy the authority roles. Support provides the necessary energy for the political system to convert demands to decisions. There are two main ways in which systems maintain a

steady flow of the required support. The system can maintain support through the outputs which meet the demands of the members of the society. The system can also maintain a steady flow of support through a process of political socialization. Political outputs, or the decisions and implementing actions of the authorities, not only influence events in the broader society of which the system is a part, but in doing so, they help to determine each succeeding round of inputs that finds its way into the political system. These outputs may generate support either by satisfying demands or by threatening various kinds of sanctions. Support may also be maintained through the socialization process in which members of the political community learn to view the system as legitimate and its outputs as authoritative.

In the light of the fundamental goal of the political system to insure its own survival or persistence, the inputs become not only raw materials, which are processed into outputs, but are also influences which threaten to change or even destroy the system. Ultimately then, some of these influences from both within and outside the system, change the manner in which the political system operates. Easton (1965b) termed those influences which change the system, "disturbances". Disturbances are "stressful", if they threaten the ability of the political system to sustain itself. Easton argued that stressful disturbances are transmitted to the political system through fluctuations in the input of demands or the input of supports. Stress results when the input of demands becomes too great, or the input of supports not enough to sustain the political system. Easton (1965a) suggested that either excessive demands or insufficient supports can endanger those basic functions or "essential variables" which are required for the persistence of the political system. These essential variables, which distinguish a political system from other systems, include the capacity of the system to allocate values for the society, and its capacity to induce members of the society to accept these allocations as binding. (p. 22-25).

Easton (1965b) suggested that demands may be considered excessive and therefore stressful if their volume is too great for conversion into decisions. This he termed "volume stress". Demands may also be considered stressful if the content of the demands is such that processing requires excessive time, thus "content stress". Easton suggested that the consequence of excessive demands or "demand input overload" is "output failure". Output failure implies that the political system is unable to produce sufficient outputs to

maintain the required support of the politically significant members of the community. This suggests that the content or type of demands as well as the volume of demands can overload the system and undermine its capacity to produce outputs, despite the intention and capacity of the authorities to fulfill the demands (pp. 37-69).

Another major source of stress for the political system could come from the erosion of support for the authorities. Easton (1965b) distinguished between specific and diffuse support. Specific support is the direct consequence of outputs to satisfy specific demands. Easton noted "it flows from the favorable attitudes and predisposition stimulated by outputs that are perceived by members to meet their demands as they arise" (p. 273). In contrast, diffuse support is not directly linked to specific demands, but rather, implies a sense of loyalty for the authorities, the regime or the political community. Diffuse support implies support for the political system for its own sake. Easton suggested that neither type of support is entirely distinct but rather "each kind of support will spill over to the other and influence it " (p. 343). Support stress may arise from a decline in either specific or diffuse support. One of the basic reasons for such decline in support is "output failure". Output failures occur when authorities fail to meet the demands of significant members of the system or when their decisions are regarded as inappropriate or unacceptable responses to the demands. Easton noted that output failure can arise from a number of causes such as "demand input overload" or the indifference of the authorities, or even their incompetence, as well as a lack of resources (pp. 363-364). However, Easton considered the most basic cause of output failure to be "cleavage" or internal dissension or conflict which divides the relevant members of the political system to the extent that they can no longer reach acceptable resolutions of outputs. Diffuse support is particularly threatened by cleavage. Cleavage can be viewed as resulting from conflicts and disputes arising from differences in opinions and attitudes which erode the acceptance of a common interest, or identification with the community, thus undermining the sense of the system's legitimacy (pp. 230-243).

If stress arises from excessive demands and from insufficient support, the political system may cope with stress by reducing demands or by increasing the level of support. Demand stress can occur when either the volume or the content of demands is such that the demands cannot be effectively processed

in a satisfactory time frame. In response to this situation the political system can use various mechanisms to regulate the volume and content of demands. The pressures of demand overload can be reduced by increasing the capacity of the system's channels for processing demands. The entry of demands can also be restricted by reducing or inhibiting the conversion of the wants of the members of the political system into demands. To do this the political system can modify the cultural norms which suggest what types of demands are appropriate to make. The system can also regulate the behavior of individuals, the "boundary gatekeepers", who voice the demands. In addition, after demands have entered the political system they can be combined, modified, or eliminated by "intrasystem gatekeepers" as they move through the channels of the conversion process to the point where binding decisions are made. As a result, only a limited number of initial demands become issues of serious consideration by authorities in the allocation of values (Easton, 1965a, 122-123).

The political system also has several ways of reducing support stress. One of the most immediate responses by the political system will likely be to generate specific support through allocative outputs which meet current demands or anticipate future demands of members of the political system. Easton (1965a) noted that the degree to which such outputs will generate specific support will be influenced by several factors. These include the accuracy of the information upon which the authorities base their decisions; as well as the responsiveness of the authorities to the demands; their timing in response to the demands; the resources available to them, including their own capacities; and the ability of the system to store and retrieve information. The ability of outputs to generate support will also be influenced by the perceptions and expectations of the most influential members of the political system. (pp. 125-127). The political system may also reduce support stress in the long term by acting to create diffuse support. Diffuse support, suggesting a loyalty to the political system, can be generated by authorities in various ways. Diffuse support could be created through political socialization or through instilling a belief in the legitimacy of the established order. It could also be created by generating a sense of the common good and a sense of identification with the political community. Actions such as requiring participation in ceremonies could be viewed as generating diffuse support. Although such actions taken by authorities to create diffuse support are not

strictly speaking allocations, they are nevertheless system outputs (Easton, 1965b, pp. 464-466).

A political system could also cope with support stress, Easton (1965b) argued, through threats or the use of coercion (p. 276). And, if all other methods to gain voluntary or involuntary support fails, the political system can ultimately modify or fundamentally transform itself (Easton, 1965a, p. 124). It is this capacity for self-transformation which makes the political system more adaptable in the face of stress than most other kinds of systems. Thus stress, as the result of excessive demands or insufficient support, can undermine the capacity of a political system to fulfill the functions of making authoritative allocations of values and of ensuring the acceptance of these allocations. Easton suggested that the political system's ability to persist was the result of its capacity to respond to stress. The capacity to respond to stress results from the action members of the political system take to anticipate and prevent disturbances in the system's environment. The members may reshape environmental conditions to alleviate stressful disturbances. Or they may adapt the political systems to changing conditions without changing the system significantly. If the stressful disturbances require it, the structures, processes and even the goals of the political system may be transformed in order to ensure its survival. Easton summed the responsive capacity of the political system as implying a "goal-setting, self transforming, and creatively adaptive system" (p. 132).

It is in the feedback mechanism of the political system that the responsive capacity of the system is illustrated. Easton (1965b) drews a distinction between "information feedback" and "the feedback loop" noting that "strictly speaking and customarily the concept 'feedback' applies only to information" (p. 366). Information feedback is common to various types of systems, including biological, physical, social, and technological systems. It allows the systems to regulate their behavior by monitoring the consequences of their outputs for the environment. Feedback provides political authorities with the information needed to cope with stress. This feedback provides information about prevailing conditions in the system and its environment, as well as about the general support for the system and about whether the outputs have met the demands of politically relevant members. However, Easton (1965a) suggested that there are fundamental differences between political and other systems in the readjustment behavior that occurs as the

result of information feedback. While technological systems readjust outputs within the goals pre-established by external agents, social systems, in contrast, are capable of fundamentally altering the limits of the adaptive behavior within the system itself. New goals may even be selected if existing ones fail to meet the demands on the system. Easton (1965b) argued that this ability to transform themselves makes social systems potentially more adaptive than even biological systems (pp. 68-69, 367-371).

In contrast to the previously discussed information feedback, Easton (1965a, 1965b) used the concept of "feedback loop" in a broader fashion, to identify not only the information that returns to the system, but all the actions taken in response to that information. Thus, the authorities use information feedback to determine outputs, which in turn affect subsequent inputs. Easton referred to this systematic feedback loop as an input-output exchange process that occurs over a period of time as an unbroken cycle in which each phase influences the succeeding phases. Easton distinguished four distinctive phases in this cycle.

One phase in Easton's (1965a) "dynamic response model" of political systems occurs as the authoritative outputs of the political system become output stimuli which influence the environment of the system. In a subsequent phase of the feedback loop, there is a response to these output stimuli by members of the political system. The result may be a change in demands or an altering of support. In the following phase of the feedback loop, this response by members of the political system is communicated to the authorities as information feedback. In response, in the next phase of the feedback loop, the authorities may "react to the response by follow-up outputs and this reaction may be considered the start of another cycle in the flow of effects and information along the systematic feedback loop" (Easton, 1965a, pp. 127-130). Figure 1 summarizes Easton's dynamic response model of the political system.

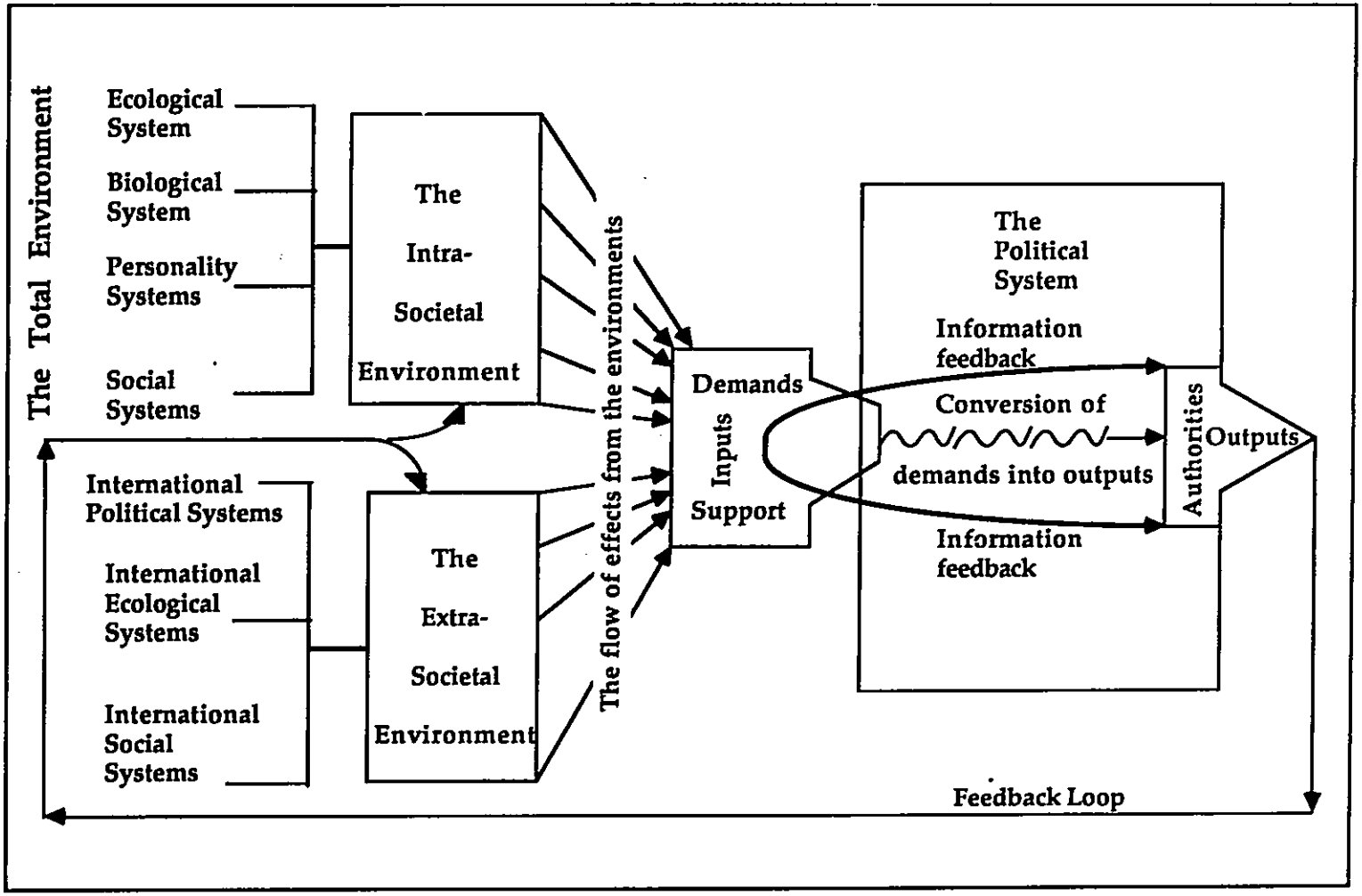

FIGURE 1. Note. From Systems analysis of political life (p. 30) by D. Easton, 1965, Chicago: John Wiley & Sons Ltd.

Conceptual Foundations of Political Systems Analysis

Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems approach has clearly provided the conceptual foundation for much of the research addressing the politics of education. What must be examined are the underlying sources of Easton's thinking. The following discussion investigates these sources and also addresses the basic assumptions Easton made regarding the relationship of political systems analysis to behavioralism.

Few political scientists have turned directly to the writings of the biologists, physical scientists and engineers, rather, there have been important linkages through some of the more widely known sociologists such as Parsons (1951, 1958). Parsons, through his concept of the social system, has influenced several political scientists in their study of politics. Almond (1956, 1966), Easton (1957, 1965a, 1965b) and Mitchell (1962) based much of their conception of political systems on Parson's own work in the area of politics. These political scientists were also influenced by the work of Barnard (1938) and Simon (1957) who provided the basis for "viewing politics in terms of organizations or, more broadly, social systems: [with] inputs, outputs, equilibrium, resources [and] support..." (Mitchell, 1968, p. 474). Easton was specifically influenced by two important figures in the development of general systems theory, the mathematician Anotol Rapoport, who co-edited General Systems, the yearbook of the Society for General Systems Research, and the psychologist J.G. Miller. These men were close associates of Easton at the University of Chicago and later at the Mental Health Research Institute of the University of Michigan. Easton (1965a) acknowledged the influence of these and other individuals noting that "it was the participation in an interdisciplinary group...at the University of Chicago, the Committee on Behavioral Sciences, that helped to hasten my appreciation of the valuable insights offered by the general approach of the systems sciences and that helped to enrich my understanding of it" (p. xii).

In the preface to A framework for political analysis, Easton (1965a) declared that the volume was devoted to an new empirically-oriented theory which was to provide the form within which a "substantive theory of political life" could be cast (p. ix). Easton saw his task to "develop a logically integrated set of categories, with strong empirical relevance, that will make possible the analysis of political life as a system of behavior" (p. x). His focus

was on the "processes in systems, not on the structural forms through which these processes are served" (p. x).

Noting the general connection of the concept of "system" with that developed in sociology and economics, Easton (1965a), however, indicated that the main source of inspiration for his concept of systems came from the "the systems sciences, at times more narrowly characterized as the communication sciences" (p. xi). He suggested that political systems analysis "has gone off in substantially different directions' from the biological and natural science approach to systems" (p. 2).

Easton (1965a) argued that as a product of the behavioral approach, "empirically oriented political theory is often referred to as behavioral theory" (p. 3). He characterized the basic assumptions of behavioral research as recognizing:

> -that there are "discoverable" regularities in political behavior which can be expressed in "generalizations or theories with explanatory and predictive value";
> -that the "validity of these generalizations must be testable...by reference to relevant behavior";
> -that the techniques for acquiring and interpreting data must be "examined, refined and validated" in order to achieve rigor of method;
> -that precision in measurement and quantification are required where relevant;
> -that values and the empirical method or "ethical evaluation and empirical explanation involve two different kinds of propositions that, for the sake of clarity should be kept analytically distinct";
> -that research ought to be systematic, or in other words that "theory and research " ought to be closely intertwined; and
> -that political research must incorporate the findings of other social science disciplines. (p. 7)

Easton (1965a) suggested that these assumptions underline the central thrust of the behavioral approach to develop a "science of p ..cs modeled after the methodological assumptions of the natural sciences" (p. 8). Easton, however, argued that the behavioral approach went "beyond a methodological or merely technical reorientation" (p. 11). The term "behavioral sciences", was "coined to refer to all living systems of behavior, biological as well as social" (p. 12). The term reflected a demand for attention

to empirical theory that could be "reduced to testable propositions", as well as a desire to locate "stable units of analysis which might possibly play the role in social research that the particles of matter do in the physical sciences" (p. 13). Easton noted that the turn to empirical theory also reflected a desire to integrate the social sciences. This desire was based on the "conviction that there are certain fundamental units of analysis relating to human behavior out of which generalizations can be formed and that these generalizations may provide a common base on which the specialized sciences of man in society could be built" (pp. 14-15).

Behavioral research in political science, according to Easton (1965a), reflected a "theoretical search for stable units for understanding human behavior in its political aspects" (p. 17). Lasswell and Kaplan (1950) and Simon (1947) made the earliest attempts to join theory and empirical research. In his major contribution to the study of administration, Simon (1947) introduced the decision as a unit of analysis. Decision-making became a central unit of analysis in political research, along with other units of analysis, such as the concept of the group as proposed by Truman (1951). Almond and Powell (1966) developed a conceptual scheme for comparative analysis and research based on the concepts of system, culture, function, structure, and action. Deutsch (1963) organized a conceptual structure around the message and its networks as the major unit of a theory of political communications. Easton (1957) emphasized the system as the major unit "focusing on political life as a system of behavior operating within and responding to its social environment as it makes binding allocations of values" (p. 21). All of these approaches, while providing different units of analysis, reflect a behavioral approach which addresses a concern for theory building as well as a commitment to the assumptions and methods of empirical science. Easton (1965a) noted that the political research which was committed to both theory and "the technical means of analysis and verification" linked political science to the "broader behavioral tendencies in the social sciences" (p. 22).

The behavioral science approach started to influence educational administration in the 1950s, and by the 1960s a "theory movement" was guiding the study and teaching of educational administration. It was not, however, until the 1970s that the environment was recognized as a

significant influence on educational organizations and that open systems concepts were being more fully explored in educational policy research.

Hoy and Miskel (1987) noted that the great expectations of behavioralism had not materialized and by the 1970s criticisms of behavioralism were and continue to be common. Part of this criticism has been directed at whether the positivist model of natural science is an appropriate one for the social and behavioral sciences. Critiques of the behavioral science approach have their roots in the differing perspectives taken by social positivism and German idealism, the two major intellectual traditions which have dominated social science in the last two hundred years.

Critiques of Political Systems Analysis

There are a number of major critiques of not only political systems analysis, but of behavioralism and positivism as well. These critiques are inherent in the conflicting assumptions about the nature of social phenomena found in the major approaches to understanding organizations as indicated by Burrell and Morgan's (1980) framework.

Philosophical and Sociological Foundations of Critiques

Political systems theories have taken two forms, according to Easton (1965a), functional analysis and systems analysis. Despite their differences, these approaches to the study of political systems share a number of assumptions about the nature of the social world and what is relevant to study. These assumptions, Burrell and Morgan (1980) argued, are "based upon a philosophy of science and a theory of society" (p. 1). Burrell and Morgan developed a useful framework with which to assess the basic assumptions underlying approaches to organizational analysis. The framework is made up of two dimensions, the first dimension being represented by two polar opposite intellectual traditions in social science. Social positivism, represents the objective focus and German idealism the subjective focus in Burrell and Morgan's framework. The second dimension of Burrell and Morgan's analytical scheme addresses the assumptions made by various approaches to organizational analysis, concerning the basic nature of society, that is whether social life can be characterized primarily by order and regulation or by change and conflict.

Political systems analysis, as a part of the behavioral approach shares the intellectual traditions of social positivism, which attempts to apply models and methods of the natural sciences. This approach assumes an external social reality exists that can be objectively observed and explained. German idealism represents the polar position to social positivism. Hoy and Miskel (1987) suggested, that German idealism is based on "the assumption that ultimate reality rests with ideas; hence social reality is merely a product of the individual's mind" (p. 24). German idealism emphasizes the subjective nature of social reality, and as a result rejects the use of models on the premise that it is impossible to identify patterns and regularities in social life. This position forms a critique of social positivism by emphasizing the uniqueness of each individual's efforts to modify the world. German idealism represents the subjective extreme, and social positivism, as reflected in behavioralism and ultimately social systems theory, represents the objective extreme in the Burrell and Morgan (1980) framework.

In their second dimension, Burrell and Morgan (1980) illustrated that two separate sociological perspectives have developed which make opposite assumptions about the nature of society when addressing the question of whether order or conflict are intrinsic to society. The "sociology of regulation" stresses the need to explain why society maintains itself, and therefore emphasizes order, consensus, social integration, cohesion, solidarity, and actuality. Burrell and Morgan suggested that in contrast, the sociology of radical change argues that society can best be characterized by radical change and conflict and as a result emphasizes contradiction, radical change, conflict, modes of domination and deprivation, solidarity and actuality (pp. 10-19). The two dimensions, objective-subjective and radical change-regulation form the four distinct perspectives on organizational analysis identified by the Burrell and Morgan (1980) model. (See Figure 2)

These four perspectives are termed the functionalist, the radical structuralist, the radical humanist, and the interpretive perspectives. The functionalist perspective, taken by most current organizational theory and specifically by social systems theories, is based on the assumption of the existence of an external reality, made up of observable patterns of relationships between elements that are worth studying. Research from this perspective is empirical, cumulative and emphasizes rational explanations of

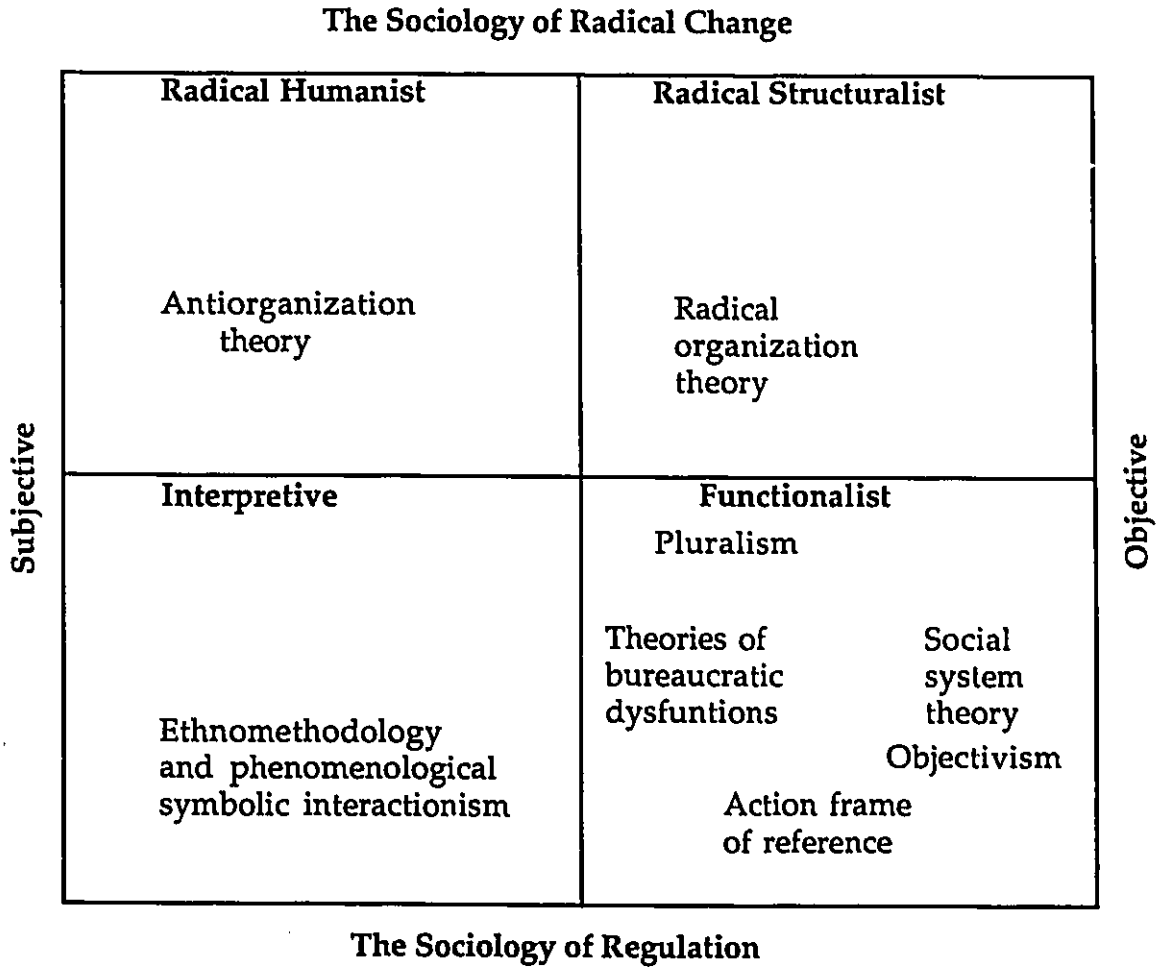

FIGURE 2. Note. From Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis by G. Burrell and G. Morgan, 1980, London: Heinemann.

social reality. Political systems analysis as a form of behavioral research, clearly shares the empirical focus of the functionalist perspective. In contrast, the radical humanist perspective assumes a social reality opposite the functionalist perspective. The radical humanist perspective forms a critique of the status quo in adopting the position that society must be changed. Critical theory, rooted in the early works of Marx, underlines the alienated state of workers and argues from an anti-organizational perspective.

Burrell and Morgan (1980) suggested that the radical structuralist perspective is similar to the functionalist perspective in its focus on regulation, and in its emphasis of the objective nature of social reality. This perspective uses the methods and models of the natural sciences, but like the radical humanist perspective, uses these methods in order to change society. Radical structuralist critiques are essentially Marxist, however, they also stress the use of analytical models and emphasize equilibrium and the status quo rather than the dynamic change and conflict emphasized by the radical humanists.

In contrast to radical structuralism, Burrell and Morgan (1980) suggested that the interpretive perspective takes the opposite view. The interpretive perspective denies the existence of an external social reality. This perspective views social reality as ultimately subjective and as a result attempts to explain the social world from the viewpoint of the individual directly involved. Based on the tradition of German idealism that the individual constructs his social reality, the interpretive perspective is concerned with studying the social world as it actually exists rather than in changing the social world. Consequently, the interpretive school focuses, like the functionalists, on order, stability, and consensus. Burrell and Morgan noted "from the standpoint of the interpretive paradigm, organizations do not exist" (p. 260). As a result the focus of the interpretive approach has been on explaining organizational behavior in terms of individual, subjective reality.

In educational administration, traditionally dominated by positivistic approaches, the subjectivist perspective is gaining acceptance. The acceptance is not without conflict, however, as witnessed by the Greenfield- Griffiths debates (Greenfield, 1978; Griffiths, 1977). In these debates, Greenfield (1978) presented a subjectivist perspective as a challenge to the traditional positivist one used by most educational administration researchers. The critique offered by Greenfield and others is based on the goal of interpretive inquiry to

gain understanding of the meaning of particular contexts, through inductive and qualitative methods of inquiry as well as through reflection. As such, the subjectivist perspective provides a direct contrast and a critique of the underlying assumptions directing functionalist approaches, such as social systems frameworks, which set out to develop general explanations or predictions.

Criticisms of Political Systems Analysis

In addition to the previously outlined critiques suggested by the various approaches to organizational analysis, criticism directed specifically at the political systems framework is extensive. While many of these criticisms relate to differing assumptions about what constitutes an appropriate method of inquiry, some are directed at methodological issues. The following section will outline and respond to these specific criticisms of political systems analysis.

Wirt and Kirst (1972) suggested that the criticisms fall into two categories. The first category of criticisms argue that the political systems framework is ineffective in fulfilling its "claims as an analytical tool" (p. 228). The second category of criticisms suggests that, because of the values of man and society implied in political systems analysis, it is an inappropriate way of viewing the social experience. Wirt and Kirst labeled these categories of criticisms respectively, the "ineffectiveness critique" and the "undesirability critique". The following discussion will use these categories to outline opposition to the use of the political systems framework.

Ineffectiveness critique. Wirt and Kirst (1972) noted that there have been extensive criticisms of the political systems approach based on variations of the ineffectiveness critique (Spiro, 1967; Gregor, 1968; Stephens, 1969). These critic ms take specific directions. Some critiques charge that all models of reality, including political systems analysis are inappropriate ways of analyzing reality. Others suggest that Easton's framework is not new anyway. Still others suggest that political systems analysis does not ask the best types of questions of reality. Another charge related to ineffectiveness is that the concepts developed by political systems analysis are not easily measurable. It is also argued that it is impossible to generate "testable hypotheses" from the approach. Some even suggest that its heuristic uses are questionable (p. 228).

The anti-model critique, as Wirt and Kirst (1972) termed it, is directed at the use of models in general. The argument is that models cannot represent reality, but rather in generalizing from it, models distort reality. In response to this charge, Kuhn (1962) noted that "The transfer of meaning from one context to another serves to introduce new modes of thought, new systems of analysis, which profoundly affect the 'received axioms' of the past. A change in image is a change in method".

The difficulty of not basing research on a conceptual framework is outlined by Fischer (1970) in referring to the Baconian fallacy for the historian who believes he can:

> operate without the aid of preconceived questions, hypotheses, ideas, assumptions, theories, paradigms [etc.]. He is supposed to go a-wandering in the dark forest of the past, gathering facts like nuts and berries, until he has enough to make a general truth. This idea is doubly deficient, for it commits a historian to the pursuit of an impossible object by an impracticable method. The method is a simple induction from the particular to the general. It cannot work, because there is an infinity of particulars in the past. (pp. 4-5)

Wirt and Kirst (1972) recognized the strength of another type of anti-model criticism, which argues that the application of ideas drawn from systems concepts developed in biology and physics to man's social life is inappropriate. Because man has some degree of free will it is possible to break old systemic patterns of social life. The use of physical science based concepts of systems is likely to prove useless in describing social behavior. The argument implies that because men have free will, it is inappropriate to compare them to objects that do not. Easton (1965a), however, clearly pointed out that the source of his conception of political systems lay not in biology or physics, but rather in the newer field of communications studies (p. xi).

The anti-systems model critique focuses on the differing views of what questions should be addressed in the study of politics. Critics of Easton's (1965a, 1965b) framework charge that it focuses on systems of operations rather than on the behavior of individuals and groups, and thus it ignores important aspects of political life, such as issues of control and influence. In responding to this critique, Wirt and Kirst (1972) argued that such criticisms may be premature. As Easton's political systems framework has been used

and further developed, important political concepts such as political socialization, the appropriation process in Congress, have been explored (See, for example: Schubert, 1965; Fenno, 1966; Easton and Dennis, 1969; Eidenberg, and Morey, 1969; Wirt and Kirst, 1972, 1982).

Another anti-model critique suggests that Easton's (1965a, 1965b) emphasis on the the concept of a political systems capacity to persist is misplaced and other emphases should be used in political systems analysis. However, Easton's particular emphasis on persistence as the main goal of political systems analysis does not preclude the use of the framework by others who do not place the same emphasis on persistence as a central goal. For example Schubert (1965), in an analysis of a court system and Wirt and Kirst (1972) in their study of American schools, rejected the concept of homeostasis yet used the logic of the political systems framework in their studies.

Another aspect of the arguments focusing on the ineffectiveness of political systems theory suggests that Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems framework is not really new, but rather an imitation of functional analysis as developed by Parsons (1951). Parson's work is based on a structural-functional foundation which postulates the existence of four basic functions: adaptation; goal attainment; integration; and pattern maintenance or integration. These functions are fulfilled by four analytic subsystems: the social; cultural; personality; and the behavioral organism. The four functions are, according to functional analysis, prerequisite to the maintenance of any society. There are similarities between Parsons' framework and the political systems framework. In addition, Easton (1985) suggested: "I have found his [Parsons] classification of subsystems useful and probably inescapable" (p. 7). However, Easton also noted that " the resemblance between our work is not much more than that. It vanishes upon closer examination as Parsons himself would have been the first to agree. We both deal with systems and subsystems but from divergent view points" (p. 7). Parsons (1951) central criterion for testing the consequences of variations in the systems is the notion of system maintenance, which Easton (1985) argued does not play "any significant part in my analysis of political systems" (p. 7). Wirt and Kirst (1972) dismissed this critique suggesting that "it is not clear to us how demonstrating that one framework is similar in some degree to another invalidates the utility of either for purposes of research and analysis"(p. 232).

One of the most relevant critiques of political systems analysis points to the technical difficulty of measuring its central concepts. This critique asks questions such as "if persistence is important in gauging a system's response to stress-generated demands, what is the range of adjustment which persistence can be said to result and beyond which the system no longer persists?" (Wirt and Kirst, 1972, p. 233). Easton (1965a) did specify general indicators of his concepts. He suggested that in order to speak about some minimal support, which is required for systems persistence, variables must be known. Easton noted that "we have seen that we would have to balance the number of members supporting and opposing a system, their power position, the intensity of their feelings in these respects, their capacity to express these feelings in action, and their readiness to do so under the circumstances" (p. 233). Supporters of the Easton framework, such as Wirt and Kirst (1972), argued that while these criticisms may be valid, it would be more productive if "students of political life would themselves turn to these tasks" (p. 233).

The inexplicability critique centers on the argument that because of the general nature of its analytic scheme, political systems analysis does not really address central concerns of its subject, that is the concerns related to political life. The argument suggested by Gregor (1968) is that the fit between a model, such as Easton's framework, and reality is blurred not only because the model must simplify reality radically, but also because the "explanatory and predictive power can only be the consequence of verification studies conducted on the primary object of the study itself. . . They are, at best 'working hypotheses' always instrumental but never explanations" (pp. 431-32). The essence of this argument concerns how reality can be known. It warns that unless tested against phenomena, ideas about those phenomena become useless abstractions. This argument is valid, however, when applied to political systems analysis, it assumes too much of the framework.

In his recent article addressing the uses and abuses of systems theory, Easton (1985) began by stating:

> There is no systems theory in political science. Nor for that matter do we have any other kind of general theory. . . I must caution that systems analysis has never had pretensions about being a theory. It represents only a way of approaching the study of politics. . . it has devoted itself to the development of systematic conceptual framework. (pp. 1-2)

As the ultimate aim of scientific inquiry, theory has been defined by Hoy and Miskel (1987) as "a set of interrelated concepts, assumptions, and generalizations that systematically describes and explains regularities in behavior in educational organizations" (p. 2). Theory is therefore directed toward prediction and explanation. In contrast the term conceptual framework is applied to Easton's political systems approach to analysis to distinguish it from theory. The term "concept" implies an "abstraction from observed phenomena; it is a word that states the commonalities among those observed objects or events and distinguishes them from other objects or events" (McMillan and Schumacher, 1984, p. 52). The term "framework" is defined as a basic structure or a broad outline plan. Political systems is a conceptual framework rather than a theory. Easton (1985) defined the functions of the conceptual framework of political systems theory as including the following:

> -identification of several classes of variables that require investigation for understanding and explaining how political systems operate;
> -provision of criteria of relevance in data collection; and
> -creation of a coherent perspective for the analysis of political systems. (p. 2)

Easton (1985) suggested that while a logically consistent framework does not exclude the development of "hypotheses or theorems" they are not the primary objective but rather "incidental dividends" (p. 2).

Sroufe (1969), in reviewing the limitations of the model, suggested:

> It can assist us in describing and comparing systems that are important to us; it may help us to understand but it will not lead to a theory of politics of education. We will not be able to explain in the formal scientific sense; we will be able to tell what happened, and [provide] informal speculation about why it happened. (p 21)

The use of systems analysis provides a general method for analyzing political experiences, however it cannot solve problems. Kaplan (1969) noted that "Advice to a political scientist to use systems theory to solve a problem, even when it is the appropriate methodology, would advance him no further than would advice to a physical scientist to use the methods of science" (p. 71).

In response to these critiques suggesting the inexplicability of systems analysis, Wirt and Kirst, (1972) argued that the critiques demand more of the framework than it claims to provide. What political systems analysis can do is provide explanations of political events in education.

Undesirability critique. Wolin (1972) suggested another set of critiques which address the question of values. These critiques are directed generally at behavioralism as an incorrect approach to investigate the political condition of man. Two classes of charges are directed at systems analysis specifically. The first suggests that man is too complex to be fit into the framework of systems analysis. A second argument is that the focus on systems persistence "operates to defend the status quo and hence to oppose desirable social change" (Wirt and Kirst, 1972, p. 236).

The first argument suggests that systems analysis, by studying aggregates of individuals, does not account for man's varied values and how they are achieved. Wolin (1972) suggested:

> The capabilities of a theory are determined by the nature and type of distortion it embodies. In the case of systems theory these distortions are crippling. It enables its exponents to talk about "outputs" but not about distributive justice or fairness; about "steering" but not about statecraft; about "messages" or "inputs" but not about the quality of the citizens or their lives. (pp. 3-4)

In responding to this criticism Wirt and Kirst (1972) accepted that systems analysis does not attempt to pass judgement on "how well or poorly citizens live, clearly a human quality" although it does "pay central attention to how these individual qualities may affect system qualities" (p. 236). Wirt and Kirst rejected this criticism as the fallacy of using values to prove or disprove empirical concepts. They suggested that "one need not accept persistence as the most inclusive question for political analysis. . . yet one may still recognize that analyzing the conditions that maximize and minimize persistence is not a 'bad' or 'good' act but an intellectual one" (p. 236).

Easton (1965b) recognized the criticism of systems theory as failing to address value concerns when he referred to 'historicism' as a major opponent to behavioralism. Historicism in this context, refers to the epistemological view, developed by writers such as Mannheim (1952), that all ideas are historically conditioned and therefore relative to time and place. Easton (1965b) pointed out that this theory of knowledge leads to the conclusion that " there can be no universal truths except perhaps the one truth that all ideas are a product of a historical period and cannot transcend it" (p. 235).

The dispute between historicism and the positivistic social science, which underlies the behavioralism Easton (1965a, 1965b) advocates, has centered around the role of "values" in scientific inquiry. Historicism typically insists that values provide the assumptions and preconceptions that form an individuals "world view". These values are said to vary from one time period to another as well as from one society to another. In other words "men think and perceive differently at different times because their values are different" (Miller, 1971, p. 210). Historicists thus argue that no one set of values can be viewed as more reasonable than another, and as a result there is " no absolute standpoint for obtaining knowledge that is true for all times and places. The observations and interpretations even of scientists are colored by their distinctive values and thus cannot have the status of final or objective knowledge" (p. 211). This position, that a final or objective knowledge is impossible because of the relativity of values, has been refuted by those like Weber who have called for a value-free social science. Miller argued that another approach, which refutes the historicist criticisms, has been followed traditionally by political philosophers who, "before the last century at least, agreed that men can discover the truth about what ought to be as well as what is" (p. 211).

The second undesirability critique is that the preoccupation in systems analysis with the concept of persistence (or maintenance in functional terms) produces a conservative viewpoint which can lead adherents to accept policy views of existing authorities. Goldschmidt (1966) charged that functional and systems analysis tend "to see anything which exists, particularly if it has existed for a long time, as functional and system-sustaining and, hence, good" (p. 7). The underlying bias of the systems perspective, it is charged, is toward a pluralist view of politics which sees change as incremental and occurring as the result of competition among various interest groups in a process which ensures all groups will be heard and none favored.

The criticism that systems analysis deals only with stability in its systems-persistence orientation is denied by Easton (1972) who stated that "this inference has always been particularly difficult for me to grasp fully. It flies in the face of a dominant motivation that appears in my earliest writings. In them my central and deliberate concern, from the beginning, was with political change. . . By settling on systems persistence I sought to raise the question of how societies are ever able to provide for the making and implementing of authoritative decisions, that is for the presence of those activities that I define as a political system" (p. 38). Easton (1965a) specifically distanced his political systems framework from functionalist analysis. While he agreed that for political systems theories, the fundamental problem is to explain the conditions under which a system of political interactions manages to persist at all, Easton (1965b) also distinguished between two form of systems theory; functional analysis, and systems analysis (pp. 473-477). Functional analysis typically concerns itself with the way in which systems maintain themselves in a stable condition. While stability can mean the constancy of an unpredictable change, functionalism tends to assume that it means a constant state of "cohesion, peace and harmony" (Miller, 1971, p. 206). Systems analysis, in contrast, does not assume that a system maintains a given state over time. Rather, a system may adapt creatively and even transform itself as a means of surviving (Easton, 1965b, pp. 19-21). Easton (1965a) does not believe that systems analysis shares the conservative bias which critics charge functional analysis has taken. Easton argued " a system may persist even though everything else associated with it changes continuously and radically" (p. 88).

Easton (1972) continued suggesting:

> The notion of persistence has no reference at all to problems of the stability or change of 'system' types, as some critics have mistakenly argued. Their error arises from the failure to note my painstaking efforts to discriminate between the persistence of some kind of political decision making processes as a societal problem and 'system' maintenance and change as a specific system type problem. . . The persistence of processes for authoritatively allocating values in a society may be contingent either on the maintenance or on the change of the type of political system, that is the type of authorities, regime or political community. . . Through the use of the idea of system persistence I was searching for a way of referring to the overall capacity of a society to provide for the authoritative allocation of values, that is for the existence of some type of system regardless for the moment of the nature of that type. (p. 38)

In summary, there are a number of specific criticisms directed at political systems analysis falling generally into two categories. Some critics suggest that political systems analysis is ineffective, while others argue that it is an inappropriate approach to research.

Utilities of Political Systems Analysis

Despite the previously discussed critiques of political systems analysis specifically, and behavioralism and positivistic science generally, the approach also has utility. Political systems analysis has utility not only as heuristic theory, but in extending the possibilities from comparison across disciplines and in developing methodology. In addition, political systems analysis, has been found to have utility for policy analysis generally, and specifically in the analysis of educational decision making.

Recently Easton (1985) noted that prior to his publication of The political system, in 1953, the term political system was uncommon even in political science. A measure of the acceptance of the term lies "in its penetration of the vocabulary of the lay public itself" (p. 2). A simplified version of Easton's dynamic response model of political systems has migrated into the public domain to such an extent that it is possible to find it unreferenced in current journals (Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986, p. 348).

The utility of the political systems framework for analysis of policy is, argued Wirt and Kirst (1972) that as a heuristic theory, it "enables us to order existing knowledge"(p. 13). This view is shared by Doern and Phidd (1983) who suggested that the framework provides a useful heuristic device with which to assess the input and output process of public policy making. Hoy and Miskel (1987) noted that the utility of an open systems approach for educational administration is in "calling attention to rational and natural aspects of social life as well as the interdependency of the organization and its environment" (p. 23). Specifically, the framework, by integrating data, explains how demands upon a political system can be converted into authoritative allocations of values and resources. At the same time, Campbell and Mazzoni (1976, p. 13) pointed out that the particular significance of a political systems framework is that it emphasizes the relationships among actors within the education policy system, as demands are converted into authoritative decisions. Wirt and Kirst (1972) suggested that "this orientation provides a dynamic view of the political system" and as such, it forces the analyst to see "the political subsystem operating constantly in relation to other social subsystems" (p. 240).

Another utility of the political systems approach results from the concept of the similarities of all systems, which suggests that findings from a number of areas can be incorporated and related so as to extend knowledge of the field of educational administration (Immegart and Pilecki, 1973; Wirt and Kirst, 1972). Immegart and Pilecki (1973) also suggested that the systems approach contributes to research methodology. "Particularly relevant is the adaptation of methodology from one field to another, the refinement of methodologies, the development of more rigorous and sophisticated mathematical and quantitative procedures, and the advancement of models, model building, gaming and simulations" (p. 13).

Scribner and Englert (1977), Kirst and Mosher (1969), Wirt (1970), Mazzoni and Campbell (1970), and Scribner (1966) have all suggested that Easton's (1957a, 1957b, 1965a, 1965b) approach to analyzing input-conversion-output relationships or transactions is applicable to the study of educational decision making for three main reasons. First, educational decision making does involve the allocation of values to a large segment of the population. Second, this allocation is performed by institutions legally authorized to do so. Third, since values are both scarce and a potential source of conflict

among individuals and groups in a population, educational decision making is a possible focus for individuals or groups to influence allocations.

Thus Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems framework, provides the basic input-conversion-output scheme for a political systems strategy for policy analysis. Easton's (1965a, 1965b) dynamic response model of political systems illustrates a vast and perpetual conversion process. It takes demands and supports as they are shaped in the environment and produces outputs. The conversion process involves the authorities, who convert demands into outputs. These outputs in turn, modify the influences that continue to operate on the inputs, and thereby modify the next round of inputs. It is through the return flow of demands and support that the authorities obtain information about the consequences of their previous behavior. Easton argued that it was the continuous flow of effects and information between the system and its environment that ultimately accounts for the capacity of a political system to persist in the midst of change.

Easton (1965b) summarized his framework for the analysis of political systems in the following manner:

> [the] analysis will rest on the idea of a system imbedded in an environment and subject to possible influences from it that threaten to drive the essential variables of the system beyond their critical range. To persist, the system must be capable of responding with measures that are successful in alleviating the stress so created. To respond, the authorities at least must be in a position to obtain information about what is happening so that they may react insofar as they desire or are compelled to do so." (p. 33)

Easton (1965a, 1965b) based his conception of political systems analysis on the premise that political life, as a system of behavior, can be distinguished from the environment within which it is embedded. Inherent in this conception is the premise that this system of behavior involves the efforts by system actors to regulate or cope with stress caused by both internal and external sources. The process of feedback and the capacity of the political system to regulate both demands and supports enable the political system to adapt and transform itself. It is the capacity of the political system to respond by setting goals, and to adapt and transform itself in the face of stress caused

by insufficient support or excessive demands that distinguishes it from other systems.

Easton's (1965a, 1965b) framework identifies the major elements of a political system as (a) the environment, (b) inputs in the form of demands and supports, (c) system actors, including interest groups, boundary gatekeepers, intrasystem gatekeepers, and the authorities. (d) the conversion process, (e) authoritative allocations as system outputs, and (f) a process of feedback. These elements can be seen as providing the underlying conceptual guide for a political systems strategy for policy analysis.

However, the utility of a political systems strategy for policy analysis depends on the capacity of the approach to act as a research tool in identifying the essential elements. As was suggested by a number of critics (Wirt and Kirst, 1972, p. 233), one of the weaknesses of the Easton (1965a, 1965b) framework is that it lacks the required specificity of a good research tool. A number of researchers, have provided increased specificity to a political systems strategy by investigating the nature and functions of the basic elements of the political systems identified by Easton. Such approaches are based on the functionalist perspective of the political system discussed in the following section.

The Functions of a Political System

A functionalist perspective suggests that the political system is created by a society to perform the function of allocation of resources found in the environment among members of the society. In this sense not only are the functions of a political system environmentally determined, but the performance of those functions involves producing a change in the environment. This change requires communication between the system and its environment. The communication process takes the form of information flow or inputs and outputs.

Functionalism

When an analysis of a political system considers the functions of the various elements of the system, it is using some variation of what is known as functionalist theory. Functionalism has come to political science only recently through borrowings from sociology and anthropology. Functionalism applied to political science refers to several types political analysis. Flanigan and Fogleman (1967) identified three types of functionalism, broadly focused functionalism, empirical functionalism and structural-functionalism.[1] In the broadest usage functionalism implies a concern with the functions, or the purposes served, of phenomena. The roots of the functional approach come from the structural-functional frameworks developed by Parsons (1951) and used by political scientists such as Almond (1960), and Mitchell (1962).

In contrast to broadly focused functionalism and empirical functionalism, structural functionalism is a much more ambitious attempt to "provide a consistent and integrated theory from which can be derived explanatory hypotheses relevant to all aspects of a political system" (Flanigan and Fogelman, 1967, p. 76). This approach to functionalism identifies the activities of a viable political system and explains how they help to maintain stability. 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 has applied, in political analysis, the structural functional framework developed by Parson's (1951). Although Almond's (1960, 1965)

frameworks of political analysis are derived from Parson's (1951), they have diverged from Parson's emphasis on the requisite functions for the maintenance of social systems. Almond's (1960, 1978) frameworks are not entirely a "requisite analysis". Requisite analysis specifies a set of functions as necessary and sufficient for the persistence of a system. Almond merely identified a set of functions as recurring in all political systems. 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).

While there are a number of criticisms made of functionalism, similar to those made of political systems analysis,[2] Almond and Powell noted (1978) "the great advantage of an explicitly structural-functional approach is that it enables us to avoid the confusion between the formal goals of structures and the political functions actually performed by them" (p. 55). One of the purposes served by functional frameworks such as Almond and Powell's and Campbell and Mazzoni's (1976) is to "generate a body of ideas with sophisticated insights and observations which will serve as a guide to the more precise defining and restating of political relationships" (Flanigan and Fogelman, 1967, p. 82). The main contribution of the functional approach "is a shift of emphasis from a physical, legal, and historical description of institutions and agencies to an identification of functions-that is, services-and to regard the whole study of political science as a study of a 'system' or 'systems'" (Charlesworth, 1967, p. 7).

A number of scholars taking a structural functionalist perspective have applied Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems framework (Milstein & Jennings, 1973; Campbell & Mazzoni, 1976; Almond & Powell, 1978; Mitchell, 1988). These approaches share both Easton's (1965a, 1965b) and Almond and Powell's (1978) conception of policy decisions as system outputs which serve the function of establishing goals and priorities that govern subsequent choices. Underlying these political systems perspectives is the notion of a process involving functional stages of activity. The idea of a process is inherent in Easton's (1965a, 1965b) basic input-conversion-output scheme. Researchers have extended this notion of political process to suggest that the political system can be characterized by a series of functional stages in a policy process (Agger, 1964; Schneier, 1969; Milstein & Jennings, 1973; Campbell & Mazzoni, 1976; Almond & Powell, 1978; Mitchell, 1988).

Levels of Functioning of a Political System

Almond and Powell (1978) differentiated three levels of functioning of any political system. They termed these simultaneously operating levels, the "system level, the conversion process level, and the policy level" (p. 14).

The system level of functioning, according to Almond and Powell (1978), involves "the system maintenance and adaptation functions" (p. 14). Three system level functions are identified by Almond and Powell which fulfill the system maintenance and adaptation functions. System maintenance and adaptation require recruitment of new members. They also require political socialization which in turn depends on the communication of information between individuals.

At the process level, inputs in the form of demands and supports are converted into outputs of authoritative policies through a conversion process. Easton (1957a, 1957b) distinguished between two classes of inputs into the political system, demands and supports. The most basic form of incoming communication between the political system and the environment is the demand input. Demands are defined by Easton (1965a) as "articulated statements, directed toward the authorities, proposing that some sort of authoritative allocation ought to be undertaken" (p. 120). Van Loon and Whittington (1971) also suggested that demands can be seen in "the inverse sense of information actively sought out by the political decision makers regarding the needs for certain allocations" (p. 10). Almond and Powell (1978) suggested that six types of demands can be distinguished: distributive; extractive; regulative; symbolic; participative; and demands for stability or change. Distributive demands are made for the distribution of goods and services, such as demands for educational opportunities, for new schools or for governance of French-language schools. Extractive demands involve demands related to resource extraction, such as demands for less educational taxation. Demands can also be made for the regulation of behavior, such as for the provision of rules pertaining to health and public safety in the schools. Symbolic demands involve demands for the communication of information, such as the communication of policy intents regarding French-language educational governance. Participative demands can be seen as demands for participation in the political process, for example demands for greater equity of representation of social groups. Demands can also be made for greater

stability and order or "alternatively, for more positive adaptation and response to new values, challenges and opportunities" (p. 10).

The second type of inputs are supports. Supports are the behaviors of individuals or groups that strengthen and afford legitimacy to the political system (Palmer, Sterne, and Gaile, 1974). Easton (1965a, 1965b) suggested that inputs of demands alone will not keep a political system operating. The system also requires supports. Almond and Powell (1978) distinguished between two classes of supports; political resources supports, and subject supports or compliance. The first class involves "political resource supports" or the supports often tied to policy demands. Such inputs involve for example, "efforts to support leaders and groups who are engaged in making policies or who are seeking to gain public office and make public policy" (p. 11). Examples of this type of support would include voting or supporting a given political faction. The second class of supports identified by Almond and Powell are subject supports or compliance. Almond and Powell defined this class of supports as involving "the provision of goods and services in response to authoritative policies of the legitimate political system" (p. 11). Three types of compliance are specified by Almond and Powell: material support; obedience; and deference. Material support involves, for example, the payment of taxes and the provision of such services as jury duty or military duty. Obedience to laws and regulations is another type of material support. The third type of compliance involves deference or respect for the authorities, and the symbols and ceremonies of the political system. Almond and Powell noted that:

> Generally speaking, demands and political resource supports affect the policies adopted in a system, whereas subject supports provide the resources that enable a political system to extract, regulate, and distribute - in other words, to carry out its policies. (p. 11)

Almond and Powell (1978) suggested that the conversion process level consists of four functional stages: interest articulation; interest aggregation; policy making; and policy implementation.[3]

The last level of functioning defined by Almond and Powell (1978) is the policy level. Almond and Powell suggested that the policy level focuses on policy outputs, or "resource extractions, distributions of goods and services,

regulations of behavior, or communication of symbols and information" (p. 15). Almond and Powell also distinguished policy outcomes, or the consequences of the policy outputs, at the policy level of functioning.

The overall stability of the political system is dependent on the dynamic interaction of the system, process, and policy levels of the system. Thus, if the structures of the political system, such as the legislature, interest groups and the competitive parties are to continue performing such requisite functions as interest aggregation and policy making, the system, process and policy levels of functioning must be complementary. The concept of the process level of functioning is particularly relevant for a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation because at this level the various stages in a policy process can be identified. The following discussion focuses on the conversion process level of political system functioning.

The Process Level of the Political System

Underlying the process level of functioning is the concept of the structure of the system, that is the "activities that make up that system - activities that have a certain regularity of behavior, intentions, and expectation" (Almond and Powell, 1978, p. 12). The inherent assumption made when focusing on a policy process is that time is an important dimension in political decision making. According to Mitchell (1981), time shapes the decision process because:

> responding to political pressures and interests takes time. It takes time to sort out the pressures and determine exactly what problems people are asking to have solved. It takes time to determine whether a proposed policy would be damaging to the interests of others or is adequately responsive to the original problem. It takes time to discover how broadly or intensively particular policy options are supported by various constituent groups or the public. And it takes time to determine whether a proposed policy is important enough to justify the expenditure of scare resources on its implementation. (pp. 21-22)

Mitchell (1988) suggested that there are two consequences of the influence of time on educational policy formulation. First, the decision-making process must be conceived of as a flow of activity or a "developmental process that has a beginning and moves toward an end" (p. 461). Related to the concept of

stages of activity is the notion that these stages of activity involve particular functional relationships which provide unique influences on the the policy formulation process. The concept of stages of functional activity in a policy process has long been found in policy research (Agger, 1964; Schneier, 1969; Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Almond and Powell, 1978; Mitchell, 1988). (See Appendix 1)

Most scholars have identified comparable stages in the policy process. For example, the functional stages identified by Campbell and Mazzoni's (1976) including issue definition, proposal formulation, and support mobilization, are very similar to Almond and Powell's (1978) version of the four functional stages in the process level of a political system's functioning. Like Almond and Powell, Mitchell (1988) distinguished a series of functional stages in a policy process including interest articulation, interest aggregation, allocation, regulation, implementation, and evaluation.

Interest Articulation

Almond and Powell's (1978) interest articulation stage is similar to Mitchell's (1988) interest articulation, and Campbell and Mazzoni's (1976) issue definition stage. The stage of interest articulation suggested by Almond and Powell (1978) is based on Easton's (1965a) notion of demands. According to Easton demands arise from the diffuse wants in the political system's intra-societal or extra-societal environment. Easton suggested that the term "wants" represents attitudes, expectations, opinions, motivations, ideologies, interests, and preferences. Demands are those wants that societal members would wish to see implemented through political action. When wants cross the boundary between the environment and the political system as political claims, they become demands. This process of demand making is called interest articulation. Interest articulation may be performed by many different structures, including interest groups, political parties and even authorities, and in many different ways. There are only a few studies of the interest articulation stage of a state or provincial level educational policy formulation process. Two of these studies are of note. Peterson (1976), in reviewing the articulation of issues such as desegregation, suggested that the definition of the issue shapes the decision making process. In another study of the articulation of state interests, Kirst (1981) indicated how informal social networks carry issues between states.

Interest Aggregation

Almond and Powell's (1978) second stage in the process level of political system functioning involves interest aggregation, similar to Mitchell's (1988) issue aggregation stage and Campbell and Mazzoni's (1976) stage of proposal formulation and support mobilization. Interest aggregation involves converting demands into major policy alternatives. Demands become major policy alternatives when they are supported by such significant political resources as: the votes of citizens for political parties; the votes of members of a legislature; the support of bureaucratic groups; and the support of interest groups. Mitchell (1988) noted that the nature of power and influence inherent in this stage has been the main focus of politics of education research.

Policy Making : The Conversion of Demands

Policy making is the third stage of the process level of functioning of the political system suggested by Almond and Powell (1978). This stage is pivotal in the political process. The policy-making stage involves activities, performed by the authorities, which convert effective political demands into authoritative decisions. Mitchell (1988) called this stage the allocation stage, because it is during this stage that the allocation of power and resources occurs. During this stage, to be effective, political demands must be made by politically significant members and be backed by resources such as "votes, seats in legislative bodies, influential positions in government or in private life, money, technical knowledge and expertise, control over the media of communication, or means of coercion" (Almond and Powell, 1978, p. 232). Allocation, as Easton (1965a, 1965b) noted, involves the allocation of values, not simply the distribution of money.

The major functions of the political system, according to Parsons (1960), are "the mobilization of societal resources and their commitment for the attainment of collective goals, for the formulation and implementation of public policy" (p. 181). Almond (1965) argued that in order to accomplish this functional requisite, a political system must, through some means, "extract resources from, regulate behavior in, distribute values in, respond to demands from, and communicate with other intra-societal and extra-societal environments" (p. 197). Almond concluded that political systems, in processing demands and supports, perform the following output functions:

1. Extractive: extract resources from the environment;
2. Regulative: regulate behavior in the environment;
3. Distributive: distribute resources and values in the environment;
4. Responsive: respond to demands from the environment;
5 Articulative: articulate or represent interests or demands; and
6. Aggregative: combine interests into policy proposals. (p. 181)

Almond and Powell's (1978) classification of output functions is consistent with the approach to outputs taken by Easton (1965a, 1965b). Easton (1965a) suggested that outputs take the form of "decisions, actions decrees, rules and other explicitly enunciated policies on the part of authorities in the political system" (p. 126). Through the process of feedback, outputs regulate both the volume and nature of the demands on the political system and the magnitude of the support afforded the system. Easton noted that the concept of the circular input-conversion-output nexus "brings us to the core of the political system conceived as a self-regulating, self-directing set of behaviors" (p. 128).

Regulation

Mitchell (1988) identified the fourth stage in policy making as the regulation stage. Once the policies which will be supported have been determined, the policy system must define the regulatory, and budgetary details of the policy decision. In every political system there is a set of political structures which processes inputs, and convert them into outputs (Almond, 1965). In the political structure, the articulated demands are converted into policies, rules and regulations, and are applied, enforced, and adjudicated. The enactment and implementation of authoritative policies requires some set of decision rules, or as Almond and Powell (1978) termed them "rules about rule making - determining who can do what in the enactment and implementation of policy" (p. 232). Almond and Powell suggested that there are three fundamental types of decision rules:

1. Territorial distribution of authority among central and local units;
2. the separation and allocation of decision making to different agencies; and
3. the amount and manner of limitation on governmental powers. (p. 233)

Almond (1965) also suggested a classification scheme for the conversion of demands into outputs. This scheme suggests that, within the context of the decision rules which determine who can do what, authorities may perform any of the following functions:

1. Rule or Policy Making: the conversion of articulated demands into rules or policies;
2. Rule or Policy Application: the application of general rules or policies to particular cases;
3. Rule or Policy Adjudication: the adjudication of rules in individual cases; and
4. Communication: the transmission of information concerning the above three events within the political system and between the political system and its environments. (p. 194)

Mitchell (1988) noted that while the way in which regulations support or fail to support particular programs has been extensively researched, there has been very little attention directed at the "politics of regulation development" (p. 462). However, a number of taxonomies of policy outputs have been developed.

Taxonomies of policy outputs. Various approaches have been taken to developing taxonomies of policy outputs,[4] however, all share the concept of an allocative output developed by Easton (1965a, 1965b). According to Easton, the basic form of outgoing communication from the system to the environment is the allocative output. Others researchers have classified policy outputs (Van Loon and Whittington, 1971; Lowi, 1972; Almond and Powell, 1978; Doern and Phidd, 1983). Almond and Powell's (1978) classification of outputs is consistent with classes of outputs suggested by other scholars such as Van Loon and Whittington (1971) and Doern and Phidd (1983). Outputs can be classified into four classes of transactions initiated by the political system, according to Almond and Powell (1978). In their output classification scheme, Almond and Powell suggested that outputs generally correspond fairly closely to the subject supports previously listed. They also noted that these outputs may or may not be responsive to demands.

Almond and Powell included among types of outputs: extractions; regulations; distributions; and symbolic outputs.

1. Extractions: may take the form of "taxes or personal services";
2. Regulations: of behavior may take many different forms;
3. Distributions: can be made of "goods, services, opportunities, honors, statuses and the like"; and
4. Symbolic outputs: may include "affirmations of values, displays of political symbols, and statements or policies and intents". (p. 12)

Policy Implementation

The fifth stage of the process level of functioning of the political system according to Mitchell (1988) involves policy implementation. Like Almond and Powell's (1978) implementation stage, this stage begins at the point where policy is transformed into practice. Almond and Powell noted that the distinction between policy making and policy implementation is, in some ways, an arbitrary one since "policy making and policy implementation are continuous processes. It is difficult to establish a boundary where the one ends and the other begins" (p. 245). They suggested that for the sake of analytic convenience, the line between policy making and policy implementation can be drawn "somewhere between broad discretionary decisions and narrower ones" (p. 246).

Evaluation

Evaluation is the sixth and last stage of the policy process identified by Mitchell (1988). Although evaluation is not always undertaken with all policies, Mitchell identified this stage as conceptually differentiated from implemention. He argued that "evaluation is a distinctive stage of policy decision making; its procedures and outcomes are politically influenced and they have identifiable consequences for the continuation, modification, or demise of a policy action" (p. 462).

Each stage of the policy process has its own set of key actors, and each has a unique arrangement of social relations between those actors. The notion of systems actors is inherent in a political systems approach.

System Actors

The application of a systems approach requires that the boundary, which sets the system apart from its environment, be specified. The general environment, meaning the physical, socio-economic and political environment that forms the backdrop for policy-making, can be distinguished from the immediate environment which refers to the various individuals and groups with interests in educational policy-making. Within the immediate environment there are a relatively stable group of actors who have a continuing concern with educational policy, who interact on a regular basis, and who taken together constitute the elements of the educational policy system. At the level of provincial policy formulation these actors, would include; the Premier and his office; the Legislature; the Ministry of Education; the provincial courts; and the provincial level educational interest groups. Identifying the key actors in a political system is therefore of central importance in a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation. Interest groups are particularly key actors from this perspective because of their interest articulation and aggregation functions. In order to understand the nature and function of these groups in a political system the following discussion highlights the characteristics and roles of interest groups.

Interest Groups Defined

Robert Salisbury (1975), gave an open-ended definition of an interest group as " an organized association which engages in activity relative to government decisions" (p. 175). Pross (1975) defined interest groups as "organizations whose members act together to influence public policy in order to promote their common interest" (p. 2). Interest groups must organize in order to maintain the continuous interaction with decision makers that is required to have significant influence. Policy-making is a slow process. To influence its direction requires the long term effort of a well-organized group. The group members must share enough of a common objective, so that strategies of pressure can be determined. To be effective in applying pressure, groups must function as organizations, assigning responsibilities and charting a course of action. The organizational capacity facilitates the articulation and aggregation of common interests.

Both interest groups and political parties aggregate common interests and share a desire to act in the political system. The critical difference is that interest groups seek to influence public policy, while declining to accept direct responsibility for ruling the country. Interest groups prefer to influence power rather than exercise the powers and responsibilities of government.

Functions of Interest Groups

As part of a political system, interest groups fulfill the functions of interest articulation and aggregation. According to Pross (1986) in order to fulfill these functions, interest groups must also fulfill the primary functions of communication and legitimation. Secondary functions, which indirectly fulfill the articulation and aggregation functions, involve regulating their own members as well as supplementing governmental administration.

Communication is a central function of interest groups. Interest groups transmit every type of relevant information from technical data to citizens' protests to government. There is a two-way flow of communication, as interest groups also channel communication from government to sectors of the community. This two-way process of communication results in a continuing relationship which provides both parties with information vital to policy making.

The legitimation function is a consequence of interest groups' communication activities. Government can use the interest group community to test policy proposals and to gain support for them. Interest groups can help legislators defend their position on controversial issues. At the same time, interest groups find that government recognition enhances and legitimates their own stature. As a whole, this symbiotic relationship between interest groups and government can function to promote general political stability.

Interest groups also act as agents of government, as in the case of teachers' federations who perform the function of regulation of professional activity. Interest groups can also initiate policies. For example, The Association of Children with Learning Difficulties was instrumental in developing the current Ontario special education legislation (Townsend, 1982).

Classifications of Interest Groups

While there have been many descriptive and historically oriented case studies of interest groups, most studies have lacked a conceptual framework. The problem has been to develop analytical frameworks to explain the behavior of such diverse groups as Renaissance Ontario, a fundamentalist Christian group; the Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation and the Association of Large School Boards of Ontario. In developing typologies of interest groups scholars have generally focused on one or more of three variables: goals and values; organizational characteristics; and methods used to exert influence. Some educational scholars have developed typologies of interest groups, for example, Davis and Zerchykov (1981) developed a taxonomy of parent interest groups. Steele, Working and Biernacki's (1981) classification scheme is based on the relationship of interest groups' permanence, origin and organizational structure. Iannaccone (1967) developed a typology of educational interest group linkage structures. All approaches provide important insights into the role of interest groups in the policy formulation process. The following discussion illustrates the major approaches that have been taken to the classification of interest groups.

Almond and Powell (1978) developed a classification based on organizational structure. They differentiated four classifications. Anomic groups, arising spontaneously, as for example protests to school closures, lack both organization and resources to maintain constant activities. Non-associational groups reflect ethnic, regional, status and class groups. An example is a request for language instruction by an informal delegation of a linguistic group. Institutional groups such as political parties or churches are formal organizations having functions other than interest articulation. Groups like trade unions and ethnic associations are associational groups, specifically formed for interest articulation. While the Almond and Powell typology is commonly referred to in educational pressure group studies, it does not predict the goals and values of the group nor the methods used to exert influence.

Doern and Phidd's (1983) classification scheme, focusing on goals and values, distinguished between producer and collective rights associations. Producer groups sharing a common interest, involving direct economic gains and losses, are essentially concerned with economic policies. Collective rights organizations are often broadly based public interest groups concerned with

with social policy. Many collective rights groups encounter particular difficulty in maintaining cohesion because of the "free rider problem" that arises from the "logic of collective action" outlined by Olson (1965). The logic of collective action suggests that "if others are going to pay to advance your interest in pursuit of their own, why pay the fee?" (Hartle, 1979, p. 66) Hartle suggested that with public interest groups:

> everybody's interest is nobody's interest and association fees are correctly treated as a charitable contribution. These collective rights groups have, for obvious reasons, great difficulty in staying alive, despite the fact that they play an invaluable role. (p. 66)

Pross (1975) developed another typology of interest groups based on organizational structure and methods used to exert influence. Pross's "continuum framework" is currently gaining attention in political science literature. Although it has been used in several political science case studies (Barry, 1975; Kwavnik, 1975), it has not been applied specifically to education interest groups. (See Sackney, 1984, for a general discussion of the Pross typology.). Pross developed Selznick's (1957) concept of the institutionalization of organizations, a process through which an organization , a "technical instrument designed as a means to definite goals," becomes an institution- "a responsive, adaptive organism" (pp. 5-20). Pross related the "type" of interest group to two other variables: the characteristics of the group and the level of communication with government. Group types range along a continuum from issue oriented to institutionalized, with mature groups and fledgling groups in intervening positions.

Institutionalized groups possess organizational continuity and cohesion, stable membership and have concrete and immediate operational objectives. Emphasis is given to organizational imperatives instead of particular objectives. Institutionalized groups have extensive knowledge of sectors of government that affect them (Pross, 1975, pp. 10-11). The Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation and the Federation of Women Teachers' Association of Ontario, as well as the Association of Large School Boards of Ontario, provide examples of institutionalized groups. Put in a social systems perspective, the Pross hypothesis is that institutionalized groups, possessing

continuity and cohesion, will be more able to achieve their goals, develop solidarity and maintain an organizational climate.

Pross (1975) argued that issue-oriented groups at the other end of the continuum have limited organizational continuity and cohesion. With a fluid membership, their knowledge of government and administration is minimal. Issue-oriented groups generally encounter difficulty in formulating and adhering to short-range objectives. Because of their limited organizational base, these groups usually focus on the resolution of one problem, and once that has been resolved the group generally disperses (pp. 10-11).

In the Pross (1975) continuum framework the type of group is also related to the characteristics of the group. Pross defined these characteristics in terms of objectives and organizational features. Objectives can range from single, narrowly defined to multiple, broadly defined collective and selective objectives. Organizational features are defined in terms of membership and human and financial resources.

The type of group is also related to levels of communication with government. Media-oriented communication can range from publicity focused protests to public relations image-building, using ads and press releases. Access to decision makers can involve confrontation with politicians and officials, or regular contact with government through representation on advisory boards, committees and task forces.

The advantage of the Pross (1975) model is that it allows comparison of how different groups respond to different environments, thereby relating their behavior to the policy making process. Thus, institutionalized groups such as Ontario Secondary School Teachers Federation have the resources to participate in sustained collaboration with a policy-making agency. On the other hand, issue-oriented groups such as those protesting school closures, may make up for their lack of size and organization by rallying public opinion. Both groups are valuable to decision-makers. Institutionalized groups provide reliable sources of information and legitimization. Issue-oriented groups, "because they develop extremely quickly and are unencumbered by institutional structures, are excellent vehicles for generating immediate public reaction to specific issues" (Pross, 1975, p. 12).

Another typology of interest groups that attempts to capture more variables was developed by Van Loon and Whittington (1981). Groups are

classified by orientation, structure, origin, and degree of mobilization. Groups can be oriented along a continuum from self-interested, that is economically and politically interested in promoting their own goals, to promotional, or having goals common to the whole community. In terms of structure, groups can range from issue oriented, ad hoc groups with limited cohesion to institutionalized groups with stable, cohesive membership. The origin of groups provides another important dimension. Groups can be autonomous or self-originating and maintaining, or the reverse, initiated by a governing body. In fact, government support is a phenomenon of current interest group formation. Parent advisory committees are examples of such officially-supported groups. Van Loon and Whittington's final classification variable involves the degree of mobilization of the group. This category recognizes that there are latent interest groups in society which may become active only if a pressing issue presents itself. Active groups, such as the Federation of Women Teachers' Association of Ontario, have ongoing activity both internally and with governing bodies. In contrast, a latent or categoric group, Van Loon and Whittington suggested, is one to which people belong by "virtue of some classification into which they fall and which could conceivably coalesce if the right issue presented itself" (p. 303). Although the Van Loon and Whittington (1981) typology includes several important variables, it does not account for the dimension of the methods used to exert influence.

Influence Relationships

While identifying the actors who make up a policy community is the first step in systems analysis, a second step is to determine the relationships among actors that determine education policy. It is these relationships not the nature of the actors themselves that provide the focus for a systems approach to policy analysis.

A systems model can describe how a policy is made, however it can not address the phenomenon of influence, especially when such influence is the dynamic pattern of actor relationships by which "functions are performed, conflicts are overcome, and decisions reached" (Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976, p. 8). The most basic concepts associated with these actor relationships are

power, influence and resources. These concepts are basic to allocative theory in political science.

Power, Influence and Resources

Power can be viewed as a policy actor's capacity or potential to select, modify or achieve outputs of a system (Clark, 1968). Many theorists also draw a distinction between power and influence, Katz and Kahn (1966) suggested that influence is the actual exercise of power by an actor (pp. 218-222). In their comparative analysis of power patterns among Ontario and Michigan educational interest groups, Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland (1985) differentiated power into authority, sanction and influence. School Boards and administrators have authority, or the right to command, when their employees consider such a command to be right and reasonable. Teachers' federations have sanctioning power through their ability to call strikes. Finally, many groups have the power to influence through their regular relationship with policy makers. L'Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens is an example of a small group with both a stable membership and, most important, direct access to the Minister of Education (through an Assistant Deputy Minister and the Council for Franco-Ontarian Education).

Power and influence are dependent on the resources available to the actors. Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) suggested that resources are anything controlled by one actor which can be brought to bear on another actor so as to alter the latter's subjective definition of the advantages and disadvantages in a decision situation. Some that are particularly applicable include; legal authority, information and specialized expertise, social status, wealth, group cohesion, legitimacy and electoral potency. The tactics used by actors to secure influence will depend in part on the resources available to them.

Interest groups, such as those attempting to influence educational policy makers, seek access to the decision-making process through contacts with legislators, administrators, trustees, superintendents, district office staff and principals. The strategies used to exert influence will depend on the size, financial resources, organizational skills and time constraints of the group as well as the nature of the issue. The ability of a group to communicate its demands to decision makers is critical to successful lobbying. The communication tactics used by pressure groups have been classified as either

access oriented or media oriented (Pross, 1975; Van Loon and Whittington, 1981).

Access-oriented communication emphasizes continuous, low key and direct contact through formal and informal meetings between the groups and decision makers. This is the kind of involvement that would be seen between large teachers' federations and ministries of education, as the result of regular private meetings, briefings and consultations as well as shared participation in advisory committees. The resulting relationship is symbiotic, with the groups regularly providing information that the decision makers need to develop policy. Access to decision makers insures that in the long run the groups' goals are heard. Sroufe (1981) suggested that the main objective of interest groups is to gain access to the decision makers it seeks to influence. The strategies and tactics used by interest groups are determined by their understanding of their best opportunities for gaining access. In order to gain access, interest groups may help decision makers carry out their legislative duties by participating in hearings, and by providing information to assist the decision maker's staff (p. 160). In addition, groups must be adaptable. They must be able to shift their points of access as circumstances demand. Thus, groups concerned with French-language educational governance, for example, will shift to use of courts as the result of the Charter of Rights. Reorganization of Ministries of Education and decentralization of school financing both change the interest group gameplan for access to decision makers.

Media-oriented communication attempts to cultivate public opinion. Tactics such as public debates, advertising, publicity stunts, organized protests and confrontation are used to gain the public's attention and hopefully its support. While Pross (1986) argued that media-oriented strategies may endanger a group's long term access to decision makers, others have suggested that a full-scale media campaign will involve simultaneous use of several strategies to back up a continuous contact with authorities (Van Loon and Whittington, 1981).

There are many specific tactics used by groups to gain influence, however, most fall into the categories of access-oriented communication, or media-oriented communication. These tactics depend on the possession of resources, however, the possession of resources does not guarantee influence.

Influence also depends on the intention of the actors, and the willingness and ability to mobilize resources in a particular situation.

Utilization of Influence Resources

Actors differ greatly in their mobilization of resources as well as in their ability to practice the art of politics. Many analysts have explained how resources produce influences. Several studies of educational interest groups have analyzed group power (Duane and Bridgeland, 1980; Townsend, 1982). Kirst and Sommers (1981) investigated two concepts closely related to power: cost benefit and coalition theory. Townsend's (1982) study of the perceived power of educational interest groups operating at the provincial level in Ontario resulted in a "powerscope chart," illustrating the power and scope of the groups identified by his 36 respondents as powerful. Townsend's study provided part of the data for the Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland (1985) comparative analysis of power patterns among Ontario and Michigan educational interest groups. This discussion assumes that the studies share data and conclusions.

The Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland (1985) study is an attempt to provide a multi-dimensional conceptual framework for the study of educational interest groups, encompassing what the authors termed objective-material perspectives and a subjective-values perspectives. These perspectives provide the conceptual rationale for classification of groups as either general-focus or specific-focus, and consequently for the prediction of their degree of perceived power. Objective- material perspectives on the dynamics of interest groups are provided by both Olson (1965) and Riker (1962). Both Olson and Riker's theories rely on the micro-economic interactions of individual decision makers.

Olson's (1965) work focuses on rational, economically self-interested calculation undertaken by an individual in deciding whether to participate in collective action in order to obtain a collective good. A collective good provides benefits which can be shared by everyone, regardless of whether they have contributed toward attaining that good. Olson assumes that individuals join groups only if the benefits obtained by doing so are greater than the costs of contributing to such a group. However, if individuals believe that a collective good will be provided through the contributions of others, then they may choose to act as a "free rider". Olson, and Salisbury (1969) following

him argued that in response to this phenomenon, groups provide "selective incentives" in order to gain membership. Selective incentives can include not only economic benefits, such as insurance plans, but also solidary benefits or the rewards of belonging to the group, as well as expressive benefits such as the satisfaction of helping a particular political cause. Olson's logic of collective action argues that rational economic actors determine whether to participate in a collective action on the basis of a calculation of the costs of joining compared to the selective benefits obtained by doing so. Olson, focusing on internal group dynamics, argued in his cost-benefit analysis, that large organizations may be able to achieve fewer of their goals than smaller groups. Small groups can gain greater support and commitment from their members by providing more immediate "material inducements." Larger groups find it difficult to fulfill the multitude of diversified demands made by their membership. In order to act, these groups must gain consensus, but in so doing find it difficult to provide significant and prompt benefits to their members (p. 55).

In application to education groups, Duane, Bridgeland and Townsend (1985) made a more functional differentiation between what they called "general focus" and "special-focus" groups. This classification is much like the distinction made by Van Loon and Whittington (1981) based on orientation, between self-interested and promotional groups. Duane, Bridgeland and Townsend (1985) suggested general-focus groups such as teachers' federations, while often possessing considerable resources, also are subject to many demands and commitments that may diffuse the effective dispersal of resources. On the other hand, they suggested that special-focus groups, with a more cohesive membership, may be able to "outmaneuver general-focus rivals seeking the same scarce allocations from government" (p. 112).

An alternative concept of interest group behavior is provided by Riker's (1962) coalition theory which helps to explain the inter- and intra-dynamics of educational interest groups. Riker suggested that the successful formation of both individual groups and networks of groups depends on a "minimum winning coalition" that is big enough to win and yet small enough to distribute the largest share of the winnings. He argued that "grand coalitions which include almost everybody against nobody will tend to dissolve in order that members can win something from each other at the other's expense" (p.

69). The hypothesis is that coalitions of educational groups like the Ontario Teachers' Federation will at times divide against themselves, and thus are less effective in attaining their goals.

Riker (1962) based his notion of minimum-winning coalition building on zero-sum game theory. In a zero-sum game the total sum available is static and is "infinitely divisible among the winners" (Kirst and Somers, 1981, p. 240). Riker (1962) explained the formation of coalitions though a set of "sidepayments" which are given by the coalition leaders in exchange for the political support required to win political games. The decision of an individual to participate in a coalition is based on economically self-interested calculations. Riker argued that these calculations are based on the individual having perfect information, however, other scholars have modified this assumption (Adrian and Press, 1968; Murray and Lutz, 1974).

Both Olson (1965) and Riker (1962) argued from an economic, "materials incentives" perspective, while at the same time it is clear that educational lobbying often involves desires for a greater cultural and social good. Wilson (1973) proposed that not only are "material incentives" important for interest group formation and maintenance, but "purposive incentives," or working for some greater good, can provide a powerful inducement for group membership (p. 46). Wilson suggested that some special-focus groups, although driven by very real self-interest, are able to appeal to a broader support based on their perceived goal of achieving a greater social purpose. Those groups championing stirring causes such as Catholic or womens' education may achieve some of their success by tapping additional political energies.

The status and expertise of a group may be another variable explaining the group's power. Groups, whose members have a high socio-economic status, may have a power advantage over lower status groups, just as groups comprised of members possessing educational expertise, such as administrator's groups, may have a power advantage over lower status organizations (Wilson, 1973, p. 43).

With these variables in mind, the authors of the Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland (1985) study assumed that possession of resources such as money, information, and a large group membership are not sufficient to ensure an effect on an educational policy. Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland found that general-focus interest groups such as teachers' federations and trustee groups,

both singly and collectively exercise less influence on policy issues than might be expected, given their size and resources. This is consistent with Olson's (1965) argument that general-focus groups must spread resources and attention across many policy domains. As a result, general-focus groups may have difficulty in effectively distributing selective inducements, which they must do in order to maintain a unified membership and present a cohesive and powerful image.

Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland (1985) suggested that as the result of increasing environmental complexity, "special-focus" groups have entered the policy-making arena. Groups categorized by Townsend (1982) as special-focus include sectarian (predominantly Catholic) groups like the Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association. Townsend also categorized as special-focus, French-speaking school organizations, groups like the Ontario Association for the Mentally Retarded, and the Ontario Association for Children with Learning Disabilities. The argument is that groups focusing on single issues will be better able to mobilize member support. Because their resources are not diffused over a broad membership the groups can provide selective benefits. As a consequence, special-focus groups are able to achieve their goals, maintain stability and member cohesion and thus are perceived as powerful.

The Effective Exercise of Influence

As the result of their investigations into which provincially focused educational interest groups are perceived as the most powerful, Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland (1985) and Townsend (1982) identified criteria for the effective exercise of influence. These include: "cohesion; leadership skills; perceptions of expertise; penetration into the Ministry; referral relationships; high energy levels; education; image; money; and potential for reprisals" or the group's ability to apply negative sanctions (Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland ,1985, p. 128). [5]

The approach taken by Townsend (1982) and Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland (1985) provides a valuable and much needed "powerscope" of interest groups active in Ontario educational policy-making at the provincial level. However, the studies miss many important actors in educational policy making, such as the Federal government and other non-governmental organizations who exert subtle but significant influence. (See Appendix 2)

Power analysis suggests that a group's sources of power stem from its ability to create cohesion among members. Small groups with narrow policy agendas are better able to provide selective and collective member benefits and thus are better able to create group solidarity. This conclusion suggests an important caveat to the Pross (1975) argument that "institutionalized" groups, having multiple, broadly defined, collective and selective objectives will be particularly effective in attaining their goal of influencing government. It is noteworthy that the Townsend (1982) study suggests that at the provincial level, while some educational interest groups may be issue-specific, they are also almost all "institutionalized " to a greater or lesser extent, in the sense which Pross (1975) implied, of having extensive human and financial resources. The Townsend (1982) study suggests some inconsistences in the Pross (1975) continuum framework.

The implication of Townsend's (1982) analysis is that educational policy making at the provincial level is characterized by consensual and co-operative interactions between both general-focus and specific-focus "institutionalized groups." Townsend's analysis does not address this implication. The power analysis approach of ranking interest groups creates the impression of static power relationships. Policy making is a dynamic process, with actors changing with the issue. What is needed is a model that shows the interdependence, and that can be assessed through empirical investigation.

The Policy Community

Pross (1986) developed a model of interest group behavior that takes into account the inter-organizational milieu. Pross proposed that a policy community consisting of a core of lead government departments, several dominant interest groups, individual experts and other governments, surrounded by a sporadically-mobilized "attentive pubic," can more accurately reflect interest group involvement and power (pp. 236-240). The Pross model suggests that cooperation, coalition and competition are all present, but that relative stability is established over time. The literature suggests that many scholars accept sub-governments, policy communities or issue networks as descriptors of the interaction encompassing a particular policy issue.

Based on the Easton (1965a, 1965b) political systems framework, a recent study of state-level policy formation by Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986) offers a fruitful extension of power-analysis into the context of policy-making and policy community. Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt argued that examination of the demands, both from the surrounding environment and from within the system itself, can help assess the effectiveness of interest groups making demands and influencing outcomes at various stages of the policy process. The Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt study classified all state education policy actors into "Insiders","The Near Circle", 'The Far Circle", "Sometime Players" and "Often Forgotten Players." The result is a model of power and influence in educational policy making in a particular institutional setting. (See Figure 3)

In the Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986) study, Insiders, the most influential group in education policy making, included individual members of the legislature who have the knowledge and power to make or break an education policy. The Near Circle actors are those whose full-time occupation is education policy, such as teachers' associations and senior Department of Education staff. The policy groups in the Far Circle were influential but not crucial education policy makers. Sometime Players were intermittently involved at the state policy-making level: they included 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.

Thus, an extension to Townsend's ranking of interest groups by level of influence of policy making would be to assess the involvement of all groups involved in educational policy making, including members of the legislature, ministry officials, school boards, educational and non-education groups. Using the approach suggested in the Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986) study would overcome the narrow focus on perceived interest group power and would reinforce the concept of an educational policy community. Such an analysis would reveal that interest groups function in a complex inter-organizational environment. The concept of a policy system involving a complex set of influence relationships is found in Campbell and Mazzoni's (1976) model of the policy system.

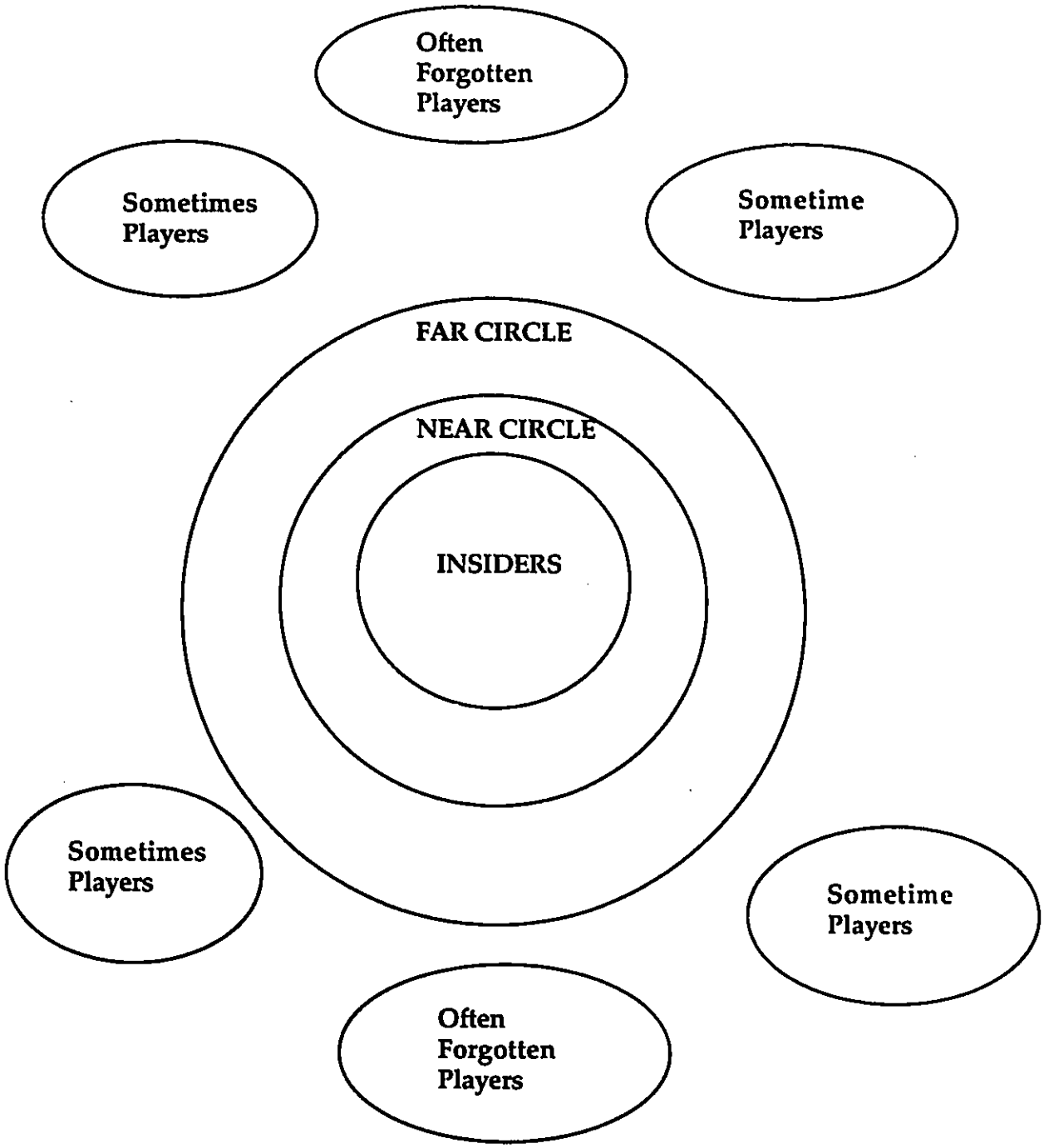

FIGURE 3. From State-Level Policy Formation by C. Marshall, D. Mitchell and F. Wirt, 1986, Functional evaluation and policy analysis, 8(4), p. 351.

A Policy System Model

Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) suggested that influence can be seen in terms of the relationship between several variables including governmental structure, competition between actors for decision benefits, and coalitions affecting decisions. In their model of the policy process, Campbell and Mazzoni noted the importance of the underlying rules of the game, and the role structures as well as established routines in influencing the relationship between actors. Systemic features include the governmental structures which affect the number and type of actors who participate in the policy-making process, as well as the channels of communication and the degree of access open to different actors. The notions of governmental structures and systemic features as determinants of the policy-formulation process are important concepts that deserve further investigation. These notions suggest that a political systems strategy must investigate the nature of the governmental structures which define the number and type of actors who are able to input into the policy formulation process.

As a conceptual framework, the Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) model is consistent with Easton's (1965a, 1965b) political systems framework. In proposing that the policy system involves a series of functional stages, the Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) model is also consistent with notion of stages of the conversion process level of political functioning suggested by a number of scholars. (Agger, 1964; Schneier, 1969; Milstein & Jennings, 1973; Campbell & Mazzoni, 1976; Almond & Powell, 1978; Mitchell, 1988). In essence, Campbell and Mazzoni's (1976) model provides a summary description of the political system, illustrating the input-conversion-output relationships developed by Easton (1965a, 1965b) Figure 4 depicts the concepts illustrated by the Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) policy system model.

The Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) model of the policy system emphasizes the relationships among the actors within the educational policy system, as demands are converted into authoritative decisions. The model illustrates the influence relationships between actors in the policy community at each of the functional stages of issue definition, proposal formulation, support mobilization and decision enactment. The model also suggests the dynamics of the policy process as actors with differing resources skills and intentions

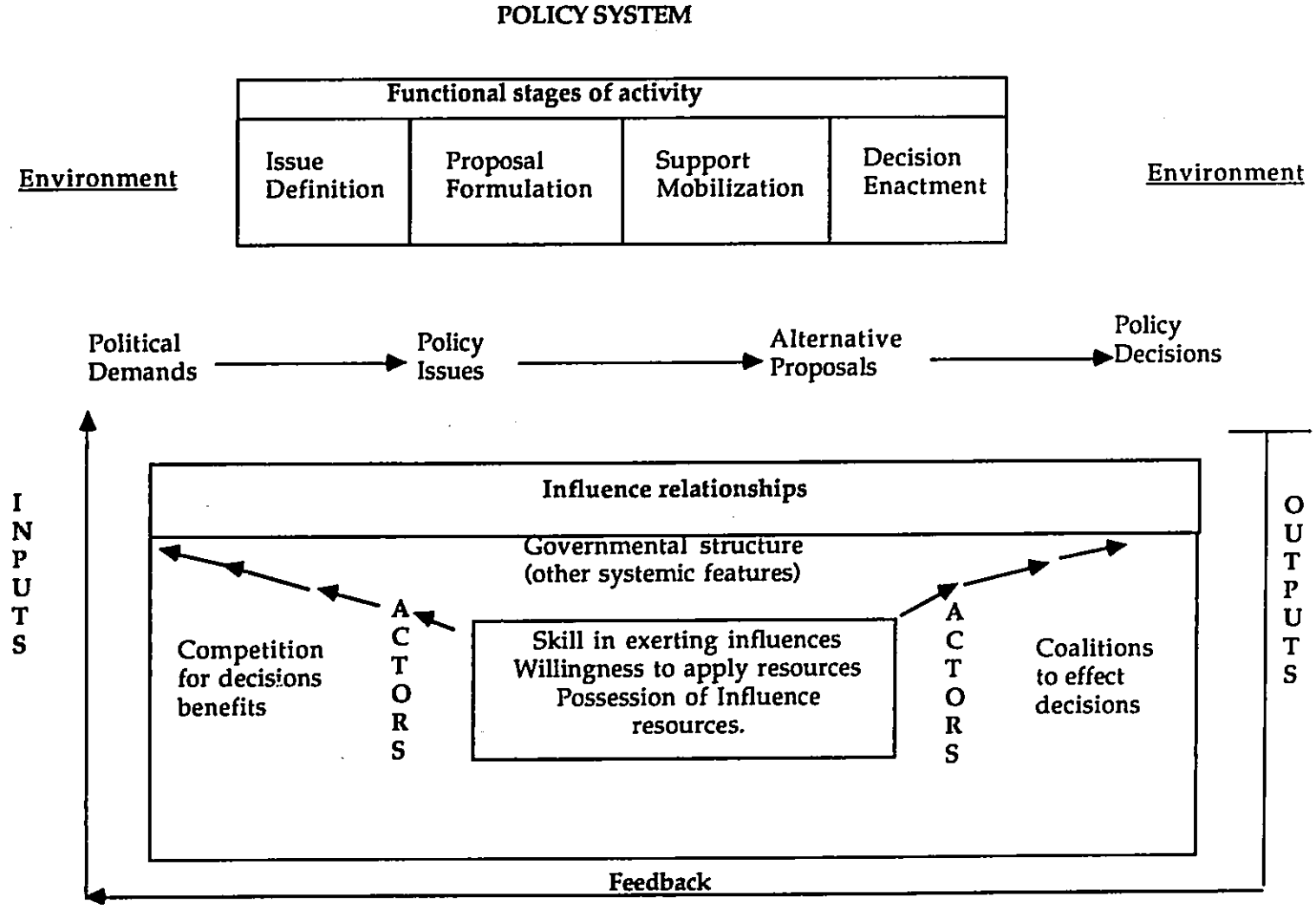

FIGURE 4. Note. From State policy making for the public schools (p. 14) by R. F. Campbell and T. L. Mazzoni Jr., 1976, Berkeley: McCutchen.

compete to have their demands met within the context of a governmental structure.

These governmental structures and their systemic features are defined in part by the level of the policy-formulation process. Research on educational policy formulation has been directed at two distinct levels; the local level and the state level. Since each level is comprised of particular structures and processes a political systems strategy must take into consideration the level at which the policy formulation occurs.

The Level of Policy Formulation

The importance of the internal and external environments of a political system such as an educational policy formulation system is highlighted by political system analysis (Easton, 1965a, 1965b). Those scholars using a political system approach for policy analysis also suggest that the structures and processes inherent in the unique internal and external environment of the policy formulation system are important influences on the policy process (Easton, 1965a, 1965b; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Almond and Powell, 1978). Research on educational policy formulation has implicitly confirmed the notion that structures and processes may be tied to the unique environment within which they occur. The confirmation is implicit because by focusing on either the local level or the state/provincial level of educational policy formulation, researchers suggest that a distinction should be made based on the level of the policy process, with regard to a number of aspects such as structures and processes. This distinction is, however, not explicitly discussed or examined in most literature. Rather the research approach has been to focus on either level and draw specific conclusions about that level of the policy formulation process.

The Local Level

The policy formulation process at the local level has been the subject of much research, because of the highly visible nature of the local school board, and the direct effect of board decisions on many citizens. This research has focused a wide range of issues. In the United States, for example, studies have focused on the influence of local power groups on the composition of the school board (Hunter, 1953). The relationships between school board

officials and trustees have also been studied (Lutz and Iannaccone, 1978; Boyd, (1976). The perceptions of individual trustees have been studied (Zeigler and Jennings, 1974). The manner in which the school board responds to and represents the interests in the community has been investigated (Zeigler and Jennings, 1974). The influence of interest groups on the actions of school boards has also been studied (Peterson, 1974). In Canada, there has also been extensive research focusing on the local level of educational governance. (Cistone, 1972, 1974a, 1974b, 1977; Coleman, 1974, 1977, 1978; Hickcox, 1973, 1974; Housego, 1972, Isherwood, 1983; Jakes, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1987; Lucas and Lusthaus, 1981; Lucas, 1982; O'Reilly, 1981, 1986; Sackney, 1984; Townsend and Craig, 1978, Williams, 1969, 1983).

Much of the research directed at the local level has used political systems analysis to study school board operations. This research has viewed the school system as the focus of inputs in the form of demands from the environment which the school board converts into allocations, which through feedback, influence the local school system (Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Minar, 1966; Scribner, 1966)

Boyd (1976), in his review of research directed at local policy found that two variables, the type of school district, and the type of policy question, directly influenced not only the conflict over community control of the policy process, but the extent to which the community was able to influence professional educators.

Type of community. Communities have generally been distinguished as urban, suburban or rural. Burlingame (1988) noted that the research on policy formulation in urban centers, generally found that urban systems have developed "large, bureaucratic, and unresponsive school systems" (p. 441). In contrast to the studies of urban centers, Burlingame suggested that suburbs produce school systems "that are generally more responsive to the public" (p. 441). According to Burlingame, traditional studies of rural educational politics have depicted the school system as "dominated by the local farmers intent on preserving the rural life and its values" (p. 442). Implicit in these categorizations of communities, are assumptions about such environmental features as "size, degree of urban life style, and heterogeneity of the population on social, economic, and racial lines" (Burlingame, p. 442). These environmental features can be seen as determinants of the nature of the

political processes involved in policy formulation. For example, large urban centers with more people and more diversity may be subject to more conflicts, and therefore will require more mechanisms to solve conflicts than smaller, and more homogeneous communities.

Type of issue. The type of issue is another variable identified by research of policy formulation at the local level, as influencing the conflict over community control of the policy process. Eliot (1959) identified five content issues of importance in a policy analysis of education: curriculum; facilities; district organization; personnel; and finance. Martin (1962) drew a further distinction, based on whether the issue represented perennial, or ever present issues such as the five issues identified by Eliot (1959); or episodic issues. Episodic issues represent fleeting concerns of the community. Of these content issues, financial issues are probably the most important because they can potentially affect most of the members of the educational system. Burlingame (1988) noted that "issues seem intuitively plausible because the notion of the different saliency for various actors seems so reasonable" (p. 443). The notion of episodic vs perennial issues also provides an important distinction. Some issues, such as finance, are of perennial concern, while other issues can trigger episodes of conflict that soon disappear.

Research on school boards has reached two conflicting conclusions about the nature of control and influence over the policy formulation process. One set of studies has found that the public maintains control of the policy formulation system through the school board which acts as the "major force in preserving the community" (Burlingame, 1988, p. 443). In these studies, the school board selects and controls educators with a view to maintaining the community values and goals. These studies suggest that while public control over educational policy formulation is present, control varies by type of community and by type of issue.

The open system thesis. This view of educational governance suggests that the educational system at the local level, particularly in school board operations can be viewed as an open system. In this view the school board, as the local authority of the educational system, is subject to pressures from both the internal and external environments, as it makes allocative decisions. In this view, pressures may come not only from the Ministry of Education, and the provincial legislature, but from interest groups, and administrators and

teachers' groups within the district. For example, taking Easton's (1965a) perspective of the conversion process, Lutz (1977) described the school board as subject to various pressures, which the board then modifies, eliminates, combines, or generally shapes. Ultimately the school board, because of its authority to allocate values, is the decision maker.

Closed system thesis. In contrast to this belief in an open educational system, other studies have stressed the power of educators in influencing the educational policy formulation process. Some studies found school boards were dominated by school superintendents (Tucker and Zeigler, 1980; Zeigler and Jennings, 1974). Other studies of large urban districts found both the school board and the superintendent were controlled by the school bureaucracy (Schrag, 1967; Gittell, 1967; Rogers, 1968). These studies found that educators commonly used their apparent expertise to gain control over the policy formulation process.

Studies such as these suggest that educational governance represents a closed system. Arguments that, relative to other actors in the political system, senior administrators have the greatest influence in educational governance support a closed system view (Kerr, 1964; Zeigler and Jennings, 1974; Peterson, 1974).

Studies of local level educational policy formulation suggest that a political systems strategy must consider the influence of type of community, and type of issue on the policy formulation process. The conflicting conclusions of these studies regarding the relative open or closed nature of the local level policy system suggests the need for further research.

State or Provincial Level

Mitchell (1988) identified two strands of research directed at state-level school politics and policy formulation. He termed these strands, politics of education, and educational policy research.

Politics of education. Mitchell (1988) suggested that the first strand has applied the traditional concepts and methods of political science to educational research. This politics of education research has, according to Mitchell, focused on the "distribution of power among various stakeholders in the system and flowing interactions among these power-wielding groups in order to reveal the processes of decision making" (p. 455). The politics of

education strand of research has considered the "institutional structures, organizational procedures, or the personal actions of individual policy makers" (p. 455). Beginning in the late 1950s, researchers in this tradition began to give attention to the state-level policy setting, providing empirical studies of the political elements influencing the educational policy process. Many of these studies were case studies of particular state policy formulation processes (Usdan, 1963; Masters, Salisbury and Eliot, 1964; Berke and Kirst, 1972; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Usdan, Minar and Hurwitz, 1969). By the early 1970s research on state-level educational policy formulation began to overcome some of the limitations of the case study methodology, by taking more theoretically based approaches (Zeigler and Johnson, 1972; Milstein, 1976; Wirt, 1977, 1978; Kirst, 1981).

Mitchell (1988) suggested that from the politics of education research, five basic propositions can be drawn "regarding how people interested in affecting state policy decisions should direct their attention and actions" (p. 456).

Mitchell's (1988) first proposition is to "look to the organization of professional interest groups" (p.456). It is based on the finding by politics of education studies that organized professional interest groups play key roles in the determination of state-level educational policies (Bailey et al., 1962; Cremin, 1964; Masters et al., 1964; McGivney, 1984, Tyack and Hansot, 1982).

The second proposition is that "informal social networks move policy initiatives across state boundaries" (Mitchell, 1988, p. 457). While the role of the media and various federal-level educational bodies in diffusing educational policies is obvious, research has found that policies related to competency testing, creationism and school finance policy are transmitted between states by a number of informal networks (Kirst, 1981; Pipho, 1981). These informal networks often consist of "scholars supported by foundations or public-sector legal centers" (Mitchell, 1988, p. 457).

A third proposition suggested by Mitchell (1988) is that "state education policy is typically shaped by a very small number of key actors" (p. 457).

In arguing that state-level educational policy formulation is generally shaped by a few actors, Mitchell (1981) noted that legislative decisions:

> are made by a tiny handful of people. At the articulation stage when the content of legislative proposals is being defined, it is rare to find more than a dozen or so individuals with more than a casual understanding of the decisions. Not infrequently, in fact fairly substantial policy decisions will involve only two or three individuals. Although decisions are generally (but not always) exposed to a fairly large group of policy makers as they pass through the four stages of the legislative workflow, most of those involved adopt an essentially passive stance-rendering judgment on the legitimacy or adequacy of policies presented by others. Only a few policy makers actively engage in dissecting an issue, gathering and weighing evidence on its merits, or studying its probable impact on society. (p. 144)

Mitchell (1988) suggested several reasons for the low level of involvement. One reason is that educational policies are complicated by laws and administrative regulations. In addition, because of the nature of the distribution of educational resources, it is difficult for the educational policy maker to reward particular interests. As a result there is little incentive for groups to become directly involved in the policy process. Finally, Mitchell argued that state-level policy systems require specialization of educational policy makers in order to deal effectively with the complexity of particular policies.

A fourth proposition gleaned from state-level politics of education studies is that "state policies are strongly affected by variations in state political cultures" (Mitchell, 1988, p. 457). Lehne (1983) supported this proposition noting that; "each legislature is in some ways unique and each is embedded in a particular state political culture" (p. 45).

Mitchell (1988) noted a fifth proposition that; "state decisions are circumscribed by organizational political, and fiscal stresses within each state" (p. 458). Changing economic conditions and demographic patterns can change the decision-making processes of educational policy makers. As an example, Mitchell cited the court battles over access to education by handicapped students. Another example is the dramatic shift in the United States toward "a conservative political ideology that has elevated issues of parental choice and educational quality while encouraging a broad retreat

from the questions of educational equity that dominated most state policy systems over the past quarter of a century" (p. 458).

Educational policy research. The second strand of state-level educational policy research identified by Mitchell (1988) has shifted away from the process-oriented politics of education strand, to focus more on content-oriented policy analysis. Educational policy research is distinguished from politics of education research by its emphasizes on issues rather than power relationships. Despite the diversity of educational policy studies, Mitchell suggested these studies have produced three generalizations about state-level educational policies. First, a taxonomy of policies is possible because a limited number of types of educational policies are dealt with at the state-level of educational policy formulation. The second generalization from educational policy research is that there are identifiable stages in the educational policy process. The third generalization drawn from state-level educational policy research is that there is a difference between policy making and policy impact.

Mitchell (1988) noted that over the last few years there have been attempts to define the topics of educational policies. Several empirically constructed taxonomies of state level policy actions have been developed (Odden and Dougherty, 1982, McLaughlin, 1981). However, most have lacked a theoretical framework for defining the limits of actions. Mitchell and Encarnation (1984) developed a theoretically-founded taxonomy of state-level policy actions which provided a comprehensive overview of possible domains within which states can act. This taxonomy is based on the concept of the control mechanisms available to state-level policy makers for "shaping the performance of schools" (Mitchell, 1988, p. 460). Mitchell and Encarnation (1984) found that states differed in the extent to which they relied on the particular policy mechanisms. This difference reflected the unique state political culture. Mitchell and Encarnation developed a taxonomy of school policy mechanisms based on the concept of control mechanisms which are available to state level policy makers. These mechanisms include: school organization and governance; school finance; student testing and assessment; school program definition; personnel training and certification; curriculum material development and selection; and school buildings and facilities.

School organization and governance issues are the oldest form of policy research in education. Organization and governance issues such as the

organization of school districts and compulsory school laws have been studied extensively (Callahan, 1962; Fuller and Pearson, 1969; Katz, 1975; Tyack, 1974). Governance decisions are, according to Mitchell (1988) "among the most powerful control mechanisms available to state policy makers" because they are "used to allocate powers and responsibilities among interested groups" (p. 460).

School finance studies have been particularly effective efforts in the United States. Wirt and Kirst (1982) noted that the series of school finance research studies sponsored by the Ford Foundation "provided publicity, grants, travel and recognition as resources" (p. 240). The result was the establishment of what Mitchell (1988) referred to as "a cohesive policy influence network of scholars, lawyers and political officials who pressed effectively for school finance reform" (p. 460).

Student testing and assessment have become a matter of policy in most of the American states since the 1970s. Researchers have investigated the social and academic significance of competency-testing policies. School program definition policies have mandated what subjects students should take and how long they should go to school, as well as what special programs are available to them. A number of important studies have focused on school program policies (Berman and McLaughlin, 1975-1978; Edmonds, 1979; Brookover, Beady, Flood, Schwertzer & Wisenbaker, 1979)

Personnel training and certification policies are directed toward controlling the "quality and size of the teaching workforce" (Mitchell, 1988. p. 461). Neither curriculum material development and selection policies or school buildings and facilities policies have been the subject of a great deal of research according to Mitchell.

Mitchell (1988) suggested that policy research has focused on the importance of time in political decision making. As a result, educational decision making must be conceived of as a developmental process involving a series of functional stages in the policy process including: articulation of interests and policy proposals; aggregation of interests and policy proposals; allocation of power and resources; regulation; implementation; and evaluation (As previously outlined in this chapter). Mitchell noted that each stage of this policy process has its own set of actors who engage in unique types of social relationships. For example, during the articulation stage Mitchell suggested there is an emphasis on "imagination and the

development of intuitively reasonable theories of social action that can serve as the basis for formulating and analyzing proposals" (p. 463). However, as the policy moves into the aggregation stage, with its more politically charged focus, the need is for information and therefore for "technical and problem solving skills" (p. 463). During the allocation stage, Mitchell suggested, there is "no such thing as objective neutrality. When allocation of power and fiscal resources are at stake, everyone is presumed to have an interest" (p. 463). Once allocative decisions have been made, the regulation and organization process begins. The focus during this stage is on "technical information about the consequences of alternative regulatory patterns" (p. 463). During the policy implementation phase, the influence of those who will actually implement the decision is felt. Research has shown that the implementation process often involves the modification of the policy.

Mitchell (1988) suggested that educational policy research has recently given special attention to the problem of policy impact. For example, researchers have investigated the reasons for limited policy impact (Elmore, 1978).

A comparison of studies of local-level policy formulation and state-level policy formulation suggests that there are a number of differences in the structures and processes operant at each level. This suggests that a political system strategy must account for the level of policy formulation in order to address these differences. There are also a number of similarities between the levels. Both reflect a set of assumptions unique to the particular policy community involved in the policy formulation process. Both Burlingame (1988) commenting on the local level of policy formulation and Mitchell (1988) defining the state-level policy formulation process highlight the importance of political culture and local ideology in the process. They suggest that at each level, policy formulation occurs within the "assumptive world" of the policy community.

The "Assumptive World" of Educational Policy Making

The value of a political systems strategy which includes the concept of the structures and processes involved in a policy community, is that it allows for a broader picture of influence relationships in policy making. Such an approach enables the mapping of provincial educational policy communities

and also provides a potential for cross-province comparison of educational policy-making communities. The Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986) study revealed significant cross-state variation in policy-making communities. Each state's policy system presented;

> a complex and varied picture in which history and the present institutions and private groups, politicians, and professionals all interact in regular but slightly differing ways. The regularity speaks to the impact of institutionalizing democratic practices across the nation. The differences speak to the distinctive impact on policy services and decision making systems created by state political culture and the culture of each state capital. (p. 366)

The above observations are clearly applicable to the Canadian context, where provincial political culture has significant impact. Provincial history, current crises, recent power shifts, and pervasive informal rules for action maintain policy groups' power (Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986). These influences create distinctive cultures that provide a set of assumptions underlying the actions of policy-makers. Young (1977) identified the "assumptive worlds of policy makers as (their) subjective understandings of the environment in which they operate . . . incorporating several intermingled elements of belief, perception, evaluation, and intention as responses to the reality out there" (pp. 2-3).

The Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986) study suggested two effects of "assumptive worlds". In order to maintain stability and predictability in policy making, rules of behavior and areas of rights and responsibilities are implicit. The system of rules, roles and proper behavior enforce power maintenance by Insiders who understand this assumptive world. Group cohesion among the diverse and often shifting members of the policy community results from a shared assumptive world. Thus, while communication may be facilitated, dissonant ideas may not be articulated, and people and ideas that do not fit with the local language may be excluded.

The implication of the thesis of assumptive worlds to educational policy making is that interest groups can not be studied in isolation. Nor can the interorganizational context in which they attempt to exert influence be ignored. This context includes the assumptive worlds of provincial educational policy community. By focusing on policy actors' words and their description of interactions, a map of the policy community is created, which

illustrates not only dominant interest groups, but also outlines the assumptive world that governs how policy actors come to a policy choice.[6] Assumptive worlds "glue together. . . the history, values, and role obligations of key actors, the political culture, the formal structure of power and responsibility, the partisan politics, and the informal processes of the policy world" (Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986, p. 377).

Because interest groups operate within the assumptive world of a particular educational policy community, the study of interest groups cannot be divorced from the political and educational system of which they are a part. Much of the theoretical debate in the interest group literature focuses on the larger political arena. The debate addresses the question of what functions interest groups perform in democratic society.

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). The implication of this position is that society produces groups representing all its members, from the rich to the disadvantaged. The competition between groups insures 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 and Baratz, 1963). As a result, Lowi (1969) charged that democratic government in the United States has been replaced by a "special-interest state." 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).

Organized interest groups are the most capable of defining issues through their specialized knowledge, access to decision making and through their claim to represent a special interest. In contrast, the poor and unorganized have no voice, thus their concerns are organized out of the political agenda by an "iron triangle" of administrators, legislators and interest groups. This iron

triangle manages by consensus to define the issues and alternatives put before the public. The process of mutual accommodation and incremental policy formation is very difficult to challenge, especially by the poor and under-represented. Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986) reinforced this position. The implication of a shared assumptive world of educational policy making is that policies may be made by those organized groups capable of entering this world, at the expense of the unorganized who are unable to do so.

The assumptive world of an educational policy community illustrates the nature of the structures, processes and influence relationships active in the policy process (see Figure 5). The nature of the structures and processes may also reflect the level at which the policy process occurs. Much of the literature addressing the educational policy process distinguishes between the local or school board level policy process, and the state level policy formulation process (Wirt and Kirst, 1982; Burlingame; 1988; Mitchell; 1988).

The notions of structures and processes emphasized by scholars taking a political systems approach to policy formulation (Easton, 1965a, 1965b; Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Almond and Powell, 1978, Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986; Mitchell, 1988) are reflected in the work of two Canadian political scientists, Doern and Phidd (1983). Doern and Phidd, also highlight the importance of ideas as important determinants of policy making.

Ideas, Structures and Processes

Doern and Phidd (1983) took a view of public policy which attempted to explain the evolution of public policy over a significant period of time. Doern and Phidd suggested that such an approach "seeks to examine public policy . . . in the broadest sense possible by focusing on the evolution and persistence of dominant ideas and by showing how these often transcend, but at the same time are always represented and articulated by, structures and personalities" (p. 38).

Doern and Phidd (1983) noted that systems theory can be usefully applied at a very general level in comparing policy outputs and inputs. However, they suggested another approach to policy analysis which focuses on the

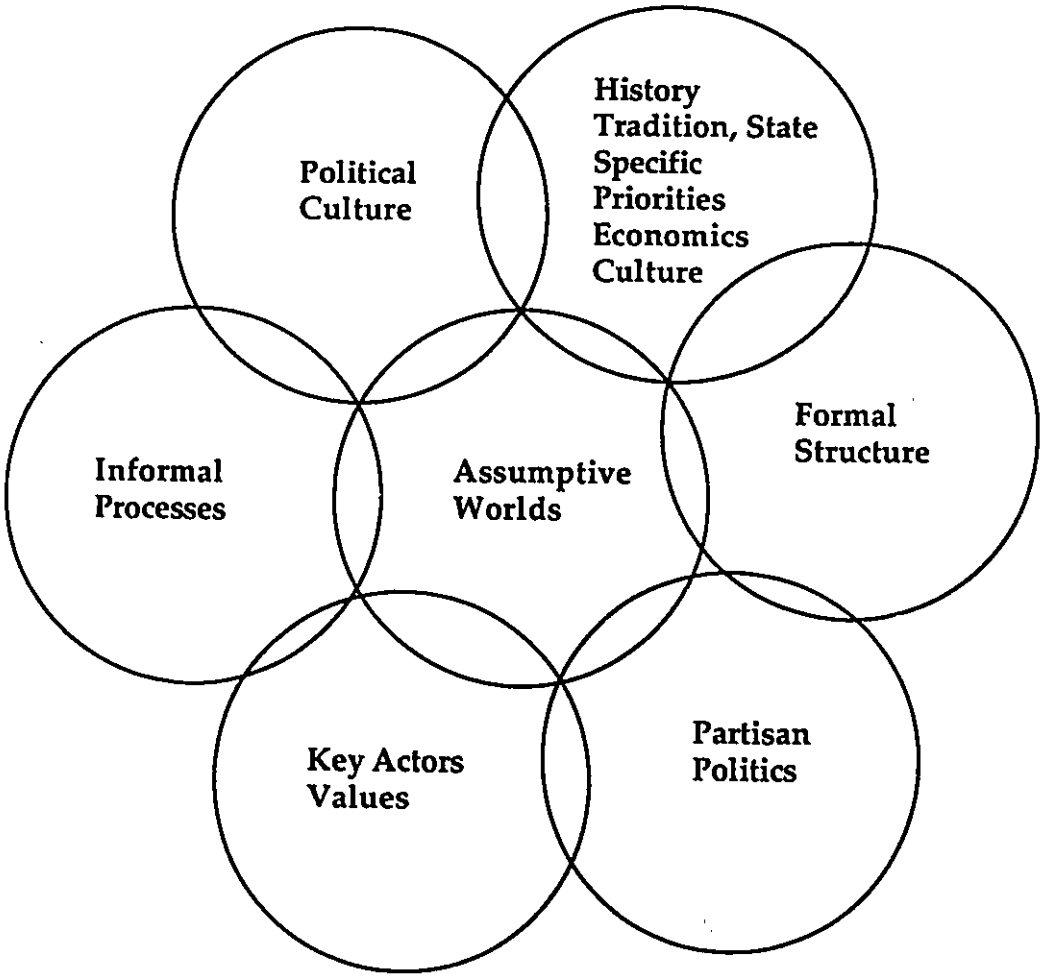

FIGURE 5. From State-level policy formation by C. Marshall, D. Mitchell, and F. Wirt, 1986. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 8 (4) p. 37.

interplay of ideas, structures and processes (p. 41). In drawing on an input-conversion-output framework, Doern and Phidd's emphasis is consistent with the approach taken by other scholars taking a political systems perspective in policy analysis (Easton, 1965a, 1965b; Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Almond and Powell, 1978; Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986; Mitchell, 1988)

The Doern and Phidd (1983) approach is not merely a restating of the concepts previously discussed. Doern and Phidd highlight the importance of ideologies and dominant ideas, and objectives which define the different levels of normative content of public policies. This concept of the importance of normative content is consistent with the notion of regime support suggested by Easton (1965b). Easton argued that the regime defines the sets of constraints on political interaction. The regime, according to Easton, could be broken down into three components: "values which involve goals and principles, norms, and structure of authority" (p. 193). Values provide the broad guidelines of what will be considered acceptable demands and outputs to those demands, in a particular political system. Norms specify the "kinds of procedures that are expected and acceptable in the processing and implementation of demands" (p. 193). Structures of authority "designate the formal and informal patterns in which power is distributed and organized with regard to the authoritative making and implementing of decisions" (Easton, 1965b, p. 193). Doern and Phidd's (1983) notion of ideologies, and dominant ideas can therefore be seen as another phrasing of the Easton (1965b) concept of the sets of constraints, provided by values, norms and structures of authority, on the political interactions of a particular political system.

The notion of the importance of ideology is found in much of the current American research on state-level educational policy formulation. Underlying this focus on ideologies is the belief that state political cultures are influenced by ideologies which define the nature of the policies formulated. Mitchell (1988) argued that state level educational policies are strongly affected by variations in state political cultures. He noted the importance of cultural beliefs and values in determining basic policy decisions. Mitchell believed that the notion of ideology provides a common frame of reference for communities. Burlingame (1988) suggested that at the local level-ideologies may "link community and school board, define policy, and

communicate a mandate to actors. Mitchell (1988) noted that increasingly students of state-level policy making are finding that cultural beliefs are important determinants of policy decisions. Elazar (1972) investigated the nature and origins of different state-level political cultures. Elazar's concepts have been applied to school policy formulation. Wirt (1977, 1980) examined differences in state education codes based on the cultural values identified by Elazar (1972). Mitchell, Wirt and Marshall (1986) found that measured cultural differences were related to differences in the educational policies adopted by various states.

Although there has not been a concerted research focus on unique Canadian provincial ideologies, it is recognized that any educational system is constantly reacting to its unique political, social, cultural and economic influences. The shared assumptions of Canada's unique political culture provide another variable, relevant to explaining the policy formulation process. Canadian political culture has traditionally stressed order and hierarchical authority, allowing considerable power to be assumed by governments and institutions (Presthus, 1974, pp. 3-38). As a result at both the federal and provincial levels of government the cabinet dominates the parliamentary system. This means, for example, that the policy system provides fewer access points for Canadian interest groups to exert their influence than is the case in the American system with its system of checks and balances and a multitude of access points for interest groups. It is important that empirical studies investigating the nature of the ideologies inherent in provincial policy formulation be undertaken. However, such studies must be based on the theoretical foundations of scholars defining the nature of the assumptive world of policy formulation (Elazar, 1972; Young, 1977;. Mitchell, Wirt and Marshall, 1986). Such empirical studies must also consider the notions of scholars such as Doern and Phidd (1983). Doern and Phidd, provide an important extension of the concept of normative content guiding the public policy process. As Canadian scholars, they examine the uniquely Canadian dominant ideas which are apparent in our policy processes and structures and which therefore underlie the assumptive world of policy formulation.

The public policy system is, according to Doern and Phidd (1983), a "subsidiary but central part of the Canadian political system" (p. 34). It consists of:

> an interplay of ideas; numerous structures headed by individual elected and appointed persons who are engaged in ranking, balancing and allocating scarce resources of money, personnel, political energy and time; and processes. Ideas refer to the broad normative content of policy. Structures refer to organizations and bureaucracies and the persons who head them... Processes refer to the changing dynamics which arise when decision makers are required to deal with uncertainty and with a changing environment, an ever present feature of policy making. Both structures and processes are imbued with the key ideas of political life. (p. 34)

Doern and Phidd (1983) argued that the perception of policy as an interplay between ideas, structures and processes is consistent with the main features of public policy and of the policy system. For Doern and Phidd public policy involves:

> -expressions of normative intent and therefore of ideas, values and purposes;
> -the exercise and structuring of power, influence and legitimate coercion;
> -processes, including not only the need to deal with uncertainty but also with equally normative judgements about the legitimacy and fairness of the dynamic process used to develop policy;
> -changing or sustaining human behavior in desired ways, in short, with implementing desired behavior; and
> -a series of decisions and non-decisions. (p. 34)

Doern and Phidd (1983) suggested that "to study Canadian public policy is to inquire into the purposeful nature of democratic political activity or, in other words, its normative content" (p. 50). They argued that the "central tenet of democratic politics, especially in a Cabinet-Parliamentary system, is that political parties offer a program of policies to the electorate and that the victor at the polls, expressed in Parliamentary seats, possesses a majoritarian mandate to carry out its policies" (p.50). Therefore, in examining any public policy it is essential to look for and attempt to differentiate different levels of normative content, that is to look for; ideologies, dominant ideas and

objectives. Doern and Phidd suggested that in order to understand the formulation of public policy, one must first look at the evolution or drift of a policy field over a long period of time, considering what the central ideas are of the policy field, and examining where they conflict and how they have changed. This analysis must also consider how and why "some ideas and proposals gain acceptance and stay on the public priority list of governments, while others do not get there at all, or emerge only for a brief period of time" (p. 51).

An ideology is, according to Doern and Phidd (1983), an "umbrella of belief and action that helps provide political and social identity to its adherents and that serves to integrate and coordinate their views and actions on a wide range of political issues" (p. 51). Doern and Phidd equated ideologies with the "broad 'isms' of Canadian political life: liberalism, conservatism and socialism" (p. 51). Liberalism implies a belief in the central role of the individual in a free society, conservatism encompasses a belief in the need to preserve valued and proven traditions and socialism suggests a collective view of society and a de-emphasis of individualism. Doern and Phidd argued that ideologies are an important element of political life not "because ideologies cause or automatically lead to policy preferences and action by governments in power, but because ideologies can help foreclose certain policy options or reduce levels of commitment to particular courses of action and to particular ideas. They can help screen out ideas which are unacceptable or which will only be used as a last resort" (p. 53).

Doern and Phidd (1983) referred to the second level of normative content as dominant ideas. Any one or all of a number of dominant ideas found in Canadian political life can be part of the normative agenda of a particular policy field. Doern and Phidd specified these dominant ideas as including the ideas of: efficiency; individual liberty; stability (of income and of other desired conditions); redistribution and equality, equity; national identity; unity and integration; and regional diversity and sensitivity (p. 54).

Efficiency is defined by Doern and Phidd (1983) as "an enduring market-based idea which places a high value on the realization of a goal at the least cost, with cost measured both absolutely and in terms of opportunity costs (alternatives foregone)" (p. 54). The idea of efficiency implies an emphasis on change for the purpose of achieving a goal.

Individualism implies a "belief in the social value of self-interest and self-development" (Doern and Phidd, 1983, p. 55). The idea of individualism can be seen in an entrenched Charter of Rights, which suggests "in formal terms a belief that the purpose of the state is to serve the individual and not vice versa" (p. 55). The ideas of individualism and efficiency, are important in the Canadian political system, and can be seen in the issues of minority language rights. However, Canadians can be distinguished from Americans by their lesser emphasis of these ideas.

Doern and Phidd (1983) suggested that another dominant idea, stability of income (and of other desired conditions) over time, is an idea which emphasizes predictability and reliability, as opposed to change. The idea of stability is seen in general appeals "for order and continuity in social relations such as in the call for law and order, energy security, strong defence forces or the right to live and work in one's home region, near family and friends" (p. 55).

The ideas of redistribution and equality, Doern and Phidd (1983) argued, emphasize the "need to redistribute income and power from the rich and powerful to the poor and politically weak" (p. 55).

The concept of equity is reinforced by ideas about the rule of law and equality before the law. In its broadest sense, equity implies a consistent philosophical and democratic concept. However in practice, the idea of equity can create conflict. Doern and Phidd (1983, p. 55) suggested that the idea of equity demands that policy makers not only treat people in equivalent situations equally, but that they treat people who are not in equivalent situations unequally , that is, in a fair and reasonable manner. Thus when formulating policy, decision makers frequently have to "treat people equally" and "treat people unequally" within the framework of the same policy or program. Doern and Phidd suggested that this conflict occurs because rarely are the real objects of a policy directed to the idea of equity, "uniform or homogeneous" (p. 56).

For Doern and Phidd (1983) the dominant ideas of national unity and nationalism are based on the value placed on "decisions that enhance the identity of individuals and groups within Canada as a whole, its traditions, symbols, institutions and collective memory" (p. 56). In contrast to the ideas of national unity and nationalism are the ideas of regional diversity and sensitivity. The idea of regional diversity is particularly important in

Canadian political life and affects the very definition, as well as the administrative delivery, of many public policies (Smiley, 1980).

Doern and Phidd (1983) suggested that these ideas influence political debate and the "evaluation" of public policy regardless of the particular preferences stated in the legislation or the ministerial speech accompanying the particular policy or decision. While each idea is desirable they also totally or partially contradict each other (efficiency versus regional sensitivity or redistribution versus stability of income). As a result, an important aspect of public policy formulation involves the "constant need to rank, balance or otherwise deal with the relations and contradictions among dominant ideas" (p. 57). This process of ranking and balancing of conflicting dominant ideas underlines the very political nature of the public policy process. Politics according to Easton (1965, Chapter 1) is the "authoritative allocation of values"; or as Doern and Phidd (1983) suggested, the authoritative allocation of "dominant ideas" (p. 57). This illustrates the political nature of the public policy system, which must not only continuously rank dominant ideas, but "actually allocate scarce resources among them in a manner which gives meaning to these ideas" (p. 57). The concept of dominant ideas underlying the policy process, must therefore be considered in a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation.

A Political Systems Strategy Summarized

In this literature review investigating a political systems strategy for the analysis of a policy formulation process, several conceptual frameworks have been considered. While these frameworks provide, in some senses, overlapping focuses in policy analysis, they are also both complementary and consistent with each other.

Easton's (1965a, 1965b) dynamic response model of political systems provides the overall framework for a political systems strategy. Political systems analysis provides a heuristic focus, that is, a framework to identify the key elements in the policy formulation process. Of central importance in political systems analysis is the link between the political system and other subsystems. This interrelationship is one in which inputs are generated from stress in the other subsystems of the social environment as the result of excessive demands or insufficient supports. The political system then

converts these inputs into policy decisions or outputs. These outputs or policies, in turn, feedback allocated values into the environment. The political system is unique because it is the source of the authoritative allocations of values. The political system is also distinguished from other systems by its capacity to respond to stress, by adapting, or transforming itself. Easton's political systems framework draws the conceptual boundaries for this study. It identifies the key concepts to be investigated, that is, the inputs in the form of demands and supports and the outputs in the form of policy decisions for the authoritative allocation of values.

A number of other scholars using a political systems perspective have further developed the concepts essential for a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation (Almond, 1960, 1965; Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Pross, 1975; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Almond and Powell, 1978, Van Loon and Whittington, 1981; Doern and Phidd, 1983; Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986; Mitchell, 1988). By providing specific typologies of demands, supports, demand articulation structures, and outputs, these scholars enable a classification of types of demands (Almond and Powell, 1978) and types of groups making demands (Almond, 1960; Pross, 1975; Van Loon and Whittington, 1981) They also allow the classification of the supports offered the political system (Almond and Powell, 1978).

Inherent in the concept of a political system, is the notion of policy as a system output resulting from a series of functional stages as suggested by a number of scholars (Agger, 1964; Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Schneier, 1969; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Almond and Powell, 1978; Mitchell, 1988). These functional stages are distinguished by the nature of the influence relationships between system actors as they compete and form coalitions in order to influence the policy decision-making process (Riker, 1962; Olson, 1965; Campbell and Mazzoni; 1976; Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland, 1985; Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1976). Underlying the political systems perspective taken by these scholars is the notion of the importance of the governmental structures and systemic features of a policy system (Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976). The notion of a political system as involving the concepts of structures and processes is common in political systems literature (Easton, 1965a, 1965b; Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Almond and Powell, 1978; Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986; Mitchell, 1988). The policy system can therefore be conceived of as including a number

of systems actors interacting in a complex set of interrelationships, called a policy community (Pross, 1975, 1985; Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986).

Research has been directed at two distinct levels of the educational policy formulation; the local level and the state level. There has been extensive research on the local level of policy formulation both in Canada (Cistone, 1972, 1974a, 1974b, 1977; Coleman, 1974, 1977, 1978; Hickcox, 1973, 1974; Housego, 1972, Isherwood, 1983; Jakes, 1982a, 1982b, 1983, 1984a, 1984b, 1987; Lucas and Lusthaus, 1981; Lucas, 1982; O'Reilly, 1981, 1986; Sackney, 1984; Townsend and Criag, 1978; Williams, 1983) and in the United States (Hunter, 1953; Lutz and Iannaccone, 1978; Boyd, 1976; Zeigler and Jennings, 1974; Peterson, 1974). This research suggests that at the local level the type of community and the type of issue will influence the policy-formulation process (Burlingame, 1988). Local-level studies have reached conflicting conclusions regarding whether the policy formulation system is open or closed. At the state level policy -formulation research has grown in volume and theoretical sophistication since the first studies in the 1950s (Usdan, 1963; Masters, Salisbury and Eliot, 1964; Berke and Kirst, 1972; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Usdan, Minar and Hurwitz, 1969; Zeigler and Johnson, 1972; Milstein, 1976; Wirt, 1977, 1978; Kirst, 1981; Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986; Mitchell, 1988). Two approaches to state-level policy formulation have been taken. The traditional politics of education approach, has been to apply political science concepts such as power, and influence to study organizational structures and processes. The results of such studies suggest that at the state level a very small number of individuals and professional interest groups determine the policy-formulation process. These studies also suggest that the unique political culture of each state is an important determinant of the policy process. A second approach to state level has developed more recently. This educational policy research approach focuses on issues rather than on processes. These diverse studies do suggest that a few types of policy issues are addressed at the state level. A comparison of state-level and local-level studies of educational policy formulation suggests that there may be differences in structures and processes operating at these levels.

A number of scholars also suggest that the influence relationships and the governmental structures and processes of a policy system are influenced and guided by assumptions based on dominant ideologies of the particular

policy community (Elazar, 1972; Young, 1977; Doern and Phidd, 1983; Mitchell, Wirt and Marshall, 1986). This concept is consistent with Easton's (1965a, 1965b) concept of the political system as unique from other subsystems because of its capacity to allocate values authoritatively. The nature of the allocated values or of public policies are determined by the existence in political life, of a small number of dominant ideas, such as the concept of local control, and the ideas of individualism and of equity.

The literature review has identified a number of elements of a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation. Chapter Three, which follows, reports on the methodology used to develop the political systems strategy, and to apply the strategy to a specific stage in the policy process.

CHAPTER 2 FOOTNOTES

[1] Flanigan and Fogleman (1967) suggested that in its widest usage functionalism takes an eclectic focus, suggesting simply that "in analyzing some phenomena the political scientist will be concerned with, among other things, their functions in the sense of the purposes served by the phenomena" (p. 72). This general focus considers the functions of a political system as one of many considerations to be assessed in comprehensive political analysis. Flanigan and Fogelman identified a second type of functionalism, which takes a more consistently functional standpoint. This type, termed "empirical functionalism" is represented in Merton's (1957) work. Merton suggested that analysis requires clarifying not only manifest functions, or the most obvious and intended purposes and consequences, but analysis also requires an investigation of more covert and unintended consequences. Flanigan and Fogelman (1967) argued that empirical functionalists "show no concern with functional requisites of the system as a whole" (p. 75).

[2] Many of the criticisms directed at the structural-functional approaches are similar to those directed at systems analysis which have been previously discussed. These general criticisms include arguments against the use of models, of the conservative bias of models such as Parson's (1951) social systems model, and the lack of specificity of these models. There have also been a number of specific criticisms directed at functionalism. Charlesworth (1967) noted that the shortcoming of the functional approach is that it may imply that the "functions at the time of observation are adequate, and hence government is adequate if it is performing those functions satisfactorily" (p. 7). Flanigan and Fogelman (1967) suggested a number of specific criticisms of functional analysis such as developed by Almond and Powell (1978) and implied by Campbell and Mazzoni (1976). These criticisms suggest that a major weakness of functional analysis results from the lack of precise criteria

for the identification of functions as well as the lack of "a theoretically sophisticated argument" supporting a particular set of functions (p. 81). Flanigan and Fogelman (1967) also suggested that Almond and Powell (1978) do not provide an elaborate rationale for the functions they proposed. They argued that "the paucity of theoretical structure around these concepts leaves us without detailed hypotheses of the reciprocal relationships among functions, the relationships of groups and institutions to the functions, or the relative significance of the functions" (p. 77). This criticism is similar to one directed at Easton's (1965a, 1965b) framework, and can be answered in the way that Wirt and Kirst (1972) addressed Easton's critics, by suggesting that the critics may be demanding specificity of functionalism which is beyond what may be required. Wirt and Kirst suggested that the focus of such criticism could be better redirected toward extending the concepts developed by the frameworks.

[3] Almond and Powell (1978) suggested that the interest articulation function of the conversion process stage involves the expression of demands for policy changes or continuation by interest groups and individuals. The function of interest aggregation involves the aggregation into a smaller number of alternatives of the demands that are expressed as interests are articulated. Almond and Powell noted that "at this stage the important political contenders appear, defined by their mobilization of political resources, and they bargain with one another and join together to form political coalitions" (p. 14). The third stage of the conversion process involves policy making. The policy making process is defined in part by the "set of ongoing rules that define the sites of political power and the nature of the resources necessary for a coalition to make authoritative policies" (p. 15). The authoritative allocations are enacted according to these rules. The final stage in the conversion process is policy implementation.

[4] Van Loon and Whittington (1971), taking a process focus, suggested that allocative outputs are of two basic types. The first type of outputs, are laws, or "general statements of an allocation" (p. 12). Laws correspond to "rule making or the legislative function" in the traditional classification of

governmental functions. Laws state "who gets what, when and how" in general terms. The second type of outputs applies the laws to individuals. This type of output corresponds to "rule application or the legislative or adjudicative functions" (p. 12). There are also secondary forms of political system outputs which do not necessarily provide allocations directly. Symbolic outputs are, according to Van Loon and Whittington, aimed at "educating, informing, or propagandizing" (p. 12).

Taking another approach, Doern and Phidd (1983) suggested that outputs, as authoritative allocations of resources can be viewed as the governing instruments which are available to the authorities. Their typology of governing instruments included expenditure, taxation, regulation, public enterprise, and exhortation. One of the basic outputs of the political system in response to demands involves expenditures. Similarly a basic form of output from the system involves extraction of resources through taxation. The political system also produces regulations or "rules of behavior backed by direct sanctions and penalties of the state" (p. 302). Doern and Phidd suggested that the creation of a public enterprises such as the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, provides another class of outputs by the political system. Doern and Phidd's final class of governing instruments or outputs, involve what they termed exhortation. Exhortation corresponds to the category of symbolic outputs suggested by Van Loon and Whittington (1971).

Lowi (1972) developed a four-part typology of public policy based on the notion that policy types vary according to the degree of direct exercise of legitimate coercion by the state. The four types of policy identified by Lowi are: constituent; distributive; redistributive; and regulatory policies.

5 Other sources of power include :

-the group's visibility and its legitimacy gained through legislated contact with the Ministry (for example the Association of Large School Boards of Ontario) or through the groups quasi-official status (Ontario Teachers' Federation);

-the capacity of umbrella organizations to arbitrate between member groups (Ontario Teachers' Federation);

-narrow policy agendas that allow groups to gather their resources and apply them with effect (L'Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens, and its affiliates);

-a cost-benefit ratio that allows smaller groups to provide greater benefits for specific members because resources do not have to fulfill diffuse demands (L'Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens and its affiliates, Ontario English Catholic Teachers' Association); and

-the ability to create additional political momentum by identifying a cause to which not only members but the public at large can be ideologically committed (religious {Catholic} associations, cultural (Franco-Ontarian) groups, and small, intensely committed, issue specific groups with a shared philosophy (Renaissance Ontario).

6 Using a form of analysis based on political anthropology, Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986) focused on policy makers' words about boundaries, areas of conflict, and informal rules governing the exercise of power in identifying the domains of the policy makers assumptive world. The four domains identified are represented by the following questions. Who has the rights and responsibility to initiate policy? What policy ideas are deemed unacceptable? What policy mobilizing activities are deemed appropriate? What are the special conditions of the state?

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

The analysis of policy formulation can be described as a type of analytical research. The general methodological characteristics which distinguish analytical research from other kinds of educational research will be reviewed in the following discussion. The type of topics included in analytical research will be described, and the general sources of data for analytical studies examined. The nature of analytical explanations will be discussed, and the kinds of analysis which are found in analytical studies will be suggested. The methodological procedures used in analytical research will be outlined. The standards of adequacy, used to assess analytical research will also be suggested.

Analytical Research

Analytical research describes and interprets the past from selected sources, such as documents and other primary sources. Techniques of criticism are applied to the documents and interpretations made. The validity of an analytical study depends upon the rigor of its methodology including the search for the sources, the criticisms of these sources and the interpretation from the sources. The following discussion outlines the general characteristics of analytical research.

Analytical research includes such topics as comparative and international education. McMillan and Schumacher (1984) distinguished three types of analytical research: historical research; legal research; and policy research such as is conducted in this study. All types share common methodological characteristics which include "a research topic related to past events, primary sources for data, techniques of criticism used in searching for facts, interpretative explanations and types of analyses" (p. 277).

The data sources used in analytical research are often written sources such as documents and quantitative records. These sources may be official or unofficial, published or unpublished records. Particularly relevant to policy studies are: newspapers; court records; official minutes; proclamations; regulations; laws; and in the case of this study, government Hansards. Other documents may be quantitative in character and may include: census records;

tax lists; budgets and voting records. Data sources also include oral testimonies of persons who have witnessed events such as: legal hearings; the passage of an educational law; or the implementation of a policy. Often these testimonies are taped and transcribed verbatim for subsequent analysis. Relics, such as textbooks, charts or any physical object used in policy making are also sources of data.

Analytical research differs from other types of research in that facts are not created by administering an instrument to a population, but rather, analytical research searches for facts. This search involves both primary and secondary sources. According to McMillan and Schumacher (1984) primary sources are "those documents or testimonials of eyewitnesses to an event" (p. 28). Primary sources are more valued than secondary sources which are likened to hearsay evidence. These primary sources are subjected to criticisms to determine if they are trustworthy, that is, accurate statements of the facts. The sources are also criticized to determine if they are authentic, implying that they are genuine documents. Primary sources for policy making research could include records of government action and the oral testimonies of eyewitnesses. The quality of analytical research is determined partly by the selected primary sources such as the government documents and oral testimonies used in educational policy research.

These sources are subjected to both internal and external criticism. External criticism determines the authenticity of the sources by determining who wrote the document and when, where and what was their intention was (McMillan and Schumacher, 1984, p. 291). Internal criticism addresses the credibility of the document or its accuracy by determining, for example, the competence of a witness to an event, as well as his attention and proximity to the event. Credibility can also be determined through confirmation from other sources.

Analytical studies state causal explanations through generalizations. However, while an analytical study may locate facts and interpret the relationship between these facts, the causal explanation is not absolute. In analytical studies, the researcher recognizes that the unique circumstances of an event may never be repeated, thus limiting the generalizability of the explanations. For this reason the validity of analytical explanations differ from the validity of quantitative explanations. McMillan and Schumacher (1984) noted that "analytical explanations are not confirmed or proven by

empirical testing. . . [they] are justified or supported by the facts stated in the study" (p. 281).

Generalizations, or interpretations of facts in analytical research depends on the judgement of the analyst, and the type of analysis conducted. Analyses can differ in complexity of generalizations and in scope. The type of analysis is related to the research purpose. Analytical studies may be directed toward a number of kinds of analysis. The analysis may focus on any of the following: "an educational concept, an edition or compilation of documents, a descriptive narration of an event, a comparative analysis of several events or periods, or a universal theory or philosophy" (McMillan and Schumacher, 1984, p. 282).

Each type of analytical analysis requires systematic application of methodological procedures. Because of the interrelated nature of the research problem, the sources, the criticisms, the analysis and the explanations, these methodological procedures evolve in a circular fashion. Thus the analytical research begins with an initial subject, such as a policy on French-language educational governance. As background information is obtained, the topic is more specifically defined. Background knowledge is obtained through journals, dissertations, textbooks, specialized bibliographies and other reference sources. The background knowledge obtained from such sources enables the analyst to limit and phrase the research problem. However, the process of analytical research is not a sequential movement from the selection of a topic, statement of a research problem, location of sources and criticism of these sources, and analysis of the facts to determine causal relationships. Rather, analytical research involves a cyclical process of constantly returning to the facts to derive meaning. The phrasing and limiting of the problem is a continuing effort only completed at the end of the research when the various sources have been collected and analyzed. The statement of the research problem delimits and focuses the research study by indicating the particular issue or policy, the time period, geographical location and analytical viewpoint of the analysis. Syntheses of generalizations result in the causal explanations which are generally stated as conclusions. According to McMillan and Schumacher (1984), conclusions are "an interpretative summary of the generalizations" (p. 297).

The adequacy of analytical research can be evaluated in the phrasing of the problem, in the selection and criticism of primary and secondary sources,

in the generalizations reached, and in the nature of the causal explanations. As a kind of analytical research, a study of policy formulation serves several important purposes. It clarifies legal and policy discussion by interpreting the past with "disciplined detachment and reasoned historical judgement" (McMillan and Schumacher, 1984, p. 291).

The Research Design

The purpose of this section is to describe how the data for the resolution of the problem were collected, and how these data were analyzed. The research design of this study involved two phases. The first phase of research investigated a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation. An extensive review of the literature including the major theoretical contributions by scholars of political systems analysis was conducted. As a consequence, a political system strategy for the analysis of policy formulation was identified.

A second phase of the study then applied particular elements of the strategy to a specific stage of a policy formulation process. The policy formulation process chosen for this empirical application of a political system strategy were public hearings held prior to the enactment of Bill 109, the establishment of a French-Language School Board in Ottawa Carleton. The political systems strategy and its application to a specific stage of policy formulation are reported in Chapter Four: Findings.

Content Analysis

Content analysis was deemed an appropriate methodology with which to analyze the public hearings in phase two because the hearings were recorded verbatim in government Hansards. The following discussion examines the characteristics of content analysis and describes the stages involved in the use of the methodology.

Krippendorff (1980) defined content analysis as "a research technique for making replicable and valid inferences from data to their context" (p. 21). This implies that content analysis is a method of inquiry into the meaning of messages. Budd (1967) suggested that content analysis allows the

"investigator to observe a communicator's public messages at times and places of the investigator's own choosing" (p. 2).

Content analysis, according to Budd (1967), is conducted in these six overlapping steps:

1. Formulation of the research questions;
2. selection of sample and definition of categories;
3. reading (or listening) and coding the content according to objective rules;
4. scaling of items or developing some way to arrive at scores or measures;
5. comparing scores with measurements of other variables; and
6. interpreting the findings according to appropriate concepts or theories.

The following discussion applied these steps to the particular analysis undertaken by the study.

First Step in Content Analysis

This step involves the formulation of questions to be answered in the analysis. These questions were posed to apply particular elements of a political systems strategy to a specific stage of a policy formulation process.

1. What level of educational policy formulation was involved?
2. What type of issue was the policy formulation process addressing?
3. What functional stage was indicated in the policy-making process?
4. What systemic features were suggested in the policy process?
5. Who were the authorities?
6. What individuals or groups made inputs into the policy formulation process?
7. What types of interest groups made inputs into the policy process?
8. How did the issue divide those making inputs?
9. Which system actors were represented in the various sectors of the policy community?

10. Who controlled the policy process?

11 What functions were fulfilled by the decision makers?

12. What type of output resulted from the process?

13. What dominant ideas were suggested by the structures and processes?

Second Step in Content Analysis

The second step of content analysis involves the selection of sample and definition of categories. Public hearings held prior to the passage of an educational Bill, by a committee composed of members of the provincial legislature were chosen as the sample. The Standing Committee on Social Development, representing the government of Ontario, held hearings with regard to the proposed Bill 109 (1988) on May 12, 25, 26, 30, 31 and June 13, 20 and 21 of 1988.

The definition of categories was based on the elements of a political systems strategy identified in the review of the literature. They included the following categories:

1. Level of the policy formulation process. A political systems strategy suggests that the level of policy formulation influences the particular structures and processes involved. This study classified the policy formulation process as either local level, or provincial level, depending on which authorities made the policy decision.

2. Type of issue. A political systems strategy suggests that the type of issue under consideration by the authorities can be classified according to typologies developed for local level policies, (Eliot, 1959; Martin, 1962) or for state level policies (Mitchell and Encarnation, 1984).

3. Functional stages in the policy system. A political systems strategy implies that the policy system illustrates functional stages in a policy process. This study used the Mitchell (1988) policy process framework to distinguish the particular functional stage illustrated by the public hearings.

4. Systemic features. Implied in a series of functional stages is the notion of systemic features. Systemic features include governmental structures determining the number and type of participants, the channels of communication and degree of access to the policy process.

5. Authorities. The authorities were identified as those who have the authority to make allocative decisions regarding the policy being formulated.

6. Actors making inputs. Another major analysis calls for the identification of those actors making inputs into the hearings. The specific groups of actors making inputs found in the present study were classified as government officials (intra-system gatekeepers), individuals, or interest groups (boundary gatekeepers).

7. Types of interest groups making inputs. A political system strategy recognizes the importance of interest groups as boundary gatekeepers. These groups were classified in various ways. This study classified the groups according to Almond and Powell's (1978) typology of interest groups (institutional, associational, or non-associational). The groups were also be classified according to Van Loon and Whittington's (1981) typology of interest groups, by orientation and origin.

8. Divisions created by issue. The issue can divide the policy community in a number of ways. The study indicated the type of divisions created by the issue according to Baydock, Francis, Osborne, Semotok (1984).

9. The educational policy community. A political systems strategy suggests that analysis of the system actors involved will reveal the policy community active during the particular stage of the policy process studied. This study classified the various actors in this community according to the sectors suggested by Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986). These included; Insiders, The Near Circle, The Far Circle, Sometime Players, and Often Forgotten Players.

10. Control of the policy process. A political systems analysis considers who controls the policy process. This study addressed this question by considering whether the process represented an open or closed system. An open system suggests, at the local level, control by the school board, while a closed system suggests control by professional educators. At the provincial level, a closed system is indicated by control by professional groups. This study assessed the relative open or closed nature of the policy process by assessing the degree to which the policy community was composed of actors internal to the education system.

11. Functions fulfilled by decision makers. Almond (1965, p. 194) suggested authorities may perform any of the following functions: rule or policy making; rule or policy application; rule or policy adjudication; communication. The rule or policy making function involves the conversion of articulated demands into rules or policies. This study suggested the functions fulfilled by decision makers during a particular stage in a policy process.

12. Type of output. This study used Almond and Powell's (1978) classification of outputs. Included among types of outputs are extractions, regulations, distributions and symbolic outputs.

13. Dominant ideas. A political systems strategy recognizes that underlying the structures and processes of a particular stage in a policy formulation process are a number of dominant ideas. Using the basic framework provided by Doern and Phidd (1983) this study identified the dominant ideas reflected in the structures and processes of the hearings.

Third Step in Content Analysis

This step involves reading and coding the content according to objective rules. The data sources were the Ontario government Hansards of May 12, 25, 26, 30, 31 and June 13, 20 and 21 of 1988. These Hansards were read, and the data classified according to the categories previously suggested. A number of the questions focused on the system actors of the hearings. The data to respond to these questions was recorded in a Macintosh Filemaker Data Base.

Fourth Step in Content Analysis.

This step involves scaling of items or developing some way to arrive at scores or measures. Various frequencies of occurrences were determined, such as frequencies of actor groups and the various categories of actor groups.

Fifth Step in Content Analysis

This step involves analysis of data. The various frequencies of actors and actor groups were tabulated and compared. The Filemaker Data Base allowed data to be entered in separate fields, which were retrieved and classified in various configurations.

Sixth Step in Content Analysis

This step requires the interpretation of the findings according to appropriate concepts or theories. The various classification schemes were assessed as the result of the findings.

Limitations

This study is limited in the following respects:

1. It identified and defined a political system strategy for the analysis of policy formulation based on analysis of relevant literature. It also was limited to the empirical application of selected aspects of a political systems strategy.

2. The empirical application of the selected components of the political system strategy was directed at one phase in a policy formulation process.

3. It was limited to the analysis of data found in the Government of Ontario Hansards of May 12, 25, 26, 30, 31 and June 13, 20 and 21 of 1988.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the findings of the investigation of a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation. This study involved two phases. During the first phase of research, a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation was investigated through an extensive review of the literature. A second phase of the study applied particular elements of the strategy to a specific stage of a policy formulation process. The following section of the discussion reports on the first phase of the research, identifying a political systems strategy. The findings of the first phase of the study, a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation appears below.

A Political System Strategy

During the first phase of the study, as the result of the literature review of the major theoretical contributions by scholars of political systems analysis, specific elements required for an analysis of policy formulation were identified. The strategy proposed by this study suggests that certain elements must be considered, and particular questions asked during a political systems analysis of policy formulation. The following section outlines a strategic plan for a political systems analysis of policy formulation. The strategy is based on key elements identified, questions which must be addressed, as well as relevant approaches to answering those questions.

A. Level of the Policy Formulation Process

1. What level of educational policy formulation is involved?

The policy formulation process can be classified as either local level, or provincial level, depending on which authorities are making the policy decision. (See Table 1)

Table 1

The Level of the Policy Process

LEVEL OF POLICY PROCESS	
Local	State/Ministry
Types of Issues	
• Eliot (1959)	• Mitchell and Encarnation (1984)
• District organization • Finance • Personnel • Facilities • Curriculum	• Organization and governance • School finance • Personnel training and certification • Buildings and facilities • Curriculum development and selection • Student testing and assessment • School program definition
Martin (1962)	
• Perennial • Episodic	
Environmental Influences	
Burlingame (1988)	Mitchell (1988)
• Ideology of community • Type of community urban suburban rural	• State/provincial political culture • Organizational, political, and fiscal stresses.

B. Type of Issue

1. What type of issue is the policy formulation process addressing?

The type of issue under consideration by the authorities can be classified according to typologies developed for local-level policies, (Eliot, 1959; Martin, 1962) or for state-level policies (Mitchell and Encarnation, 1984). (See Table 1)

C. The Environment.

1. What are the major dimensions of the local or state/provincial level environment influencing the issue?

The dimensions of the local environment include the type of school district (urban, suburban, rural). The dimensions of the state/provincial level include organizational, political and fiscal stresses (See Table 1). The major parameters of the environment can be defined by answering a series of questions posed by Baydock, Francis, Osborne and Semotock (1984, p. 6):

2. Why is the subject an issue at all?

    a. Who is demanding what?
    b. Why do people (and how many) become interested and concerned?
    c. Is there an incident or an event which acts as a spark?
    d. Do the media draw attention to the subject?
    e. What groups and/or individuals become involved?
    f. Do these groups or individuals act through:
        -letters to the editor?
        -open-line shows?
        -meetings?
        -demonstrations?
        -petitions?
        -advertising campaigns?
        -other forms of publicity?
        -contacting elected representatives?
        -other?

3. What stands are taken on the issue?

   a. What viewpoints are expressed and by whom?
   b. Do 'important' people (i.e. celebrities or 'big names') become involved?
   c. What groups/organizations take a stand?
   d. Does the issue divide people according to:
      -region?
      -language or culture?
      -religion?
      -social class?
      -age?
      -occupation?
      -political beliefs?
      -other?

D. Functional Stages of the Policy Process

1. What functional stage was indicated in the policy-making process?

A policy process goes through a series of functional stages. The Mitchell (1988) policy process framework identifies these stages. (See Table 2)

E. Structures and Processes

1. What systemic features are indicated in the policy process?

   a. What type of government structures are involved?
   b. What type of access to decision makers is available?
   c. What and who determines who can participate?

F. Inputs: Supports and Demands

1. What are the topics or the substantive nature of the inputs into the policy formulation process?

Table 2

Functional Stages in the Policy Process (Adapted from Mitchell, 1988)

FUNCTIONAL STAGES IN POLICY PROCESS	
Interest Articulation	• involves process of transforming wants into political demands.
Interest Aggregation	• involves converting demands into major policy alternatives.
Allocation of Demands	• involves activities by the authorities to convert effective political demands into authoritative decisions.
Regulation	• involves, once the policy has been determined, the definition of the regulatory and budgetary details. of the policy decision.
Policy Implementation	• occurs when policy is transformed into practice
Evaluation	• is an identifiable stage with politically influenced outcomes and significance for the continuation of the policy.

2. What types of support is expressed during this stage of the policy formulation process?

Inputs identified as supports can be classified according to Almond and Powell's (1978) typology of supports. Almond and Powell identified two classes of supports; political resource supports and subject supports or compliance. (See Table 3)

3. What type of demands are made?

Demands can be classified into general categories based on the typology advanced by Almond (1965). The formal demands are classified according to whether they are extractive, regulative, participative, or symbolic demands. (See Table 4)

G. Demand Articulation

1. How does the issue become a demand of the policy system?

2. What groups/organizations act as articulators of demands?

   a. churches?
   b. labour organizations?
   c. business organizations?
   d. political parties?
   e. cultural groups?
   f. single-issue groups?
   g. parent groups?
   h. professional education associations?
   i. school boards?

3. What types of interest groups make demands?

   a. Classified by organizational structure:

Educational interest groups can be classified based on organizational structure (Almond, 1960) as institutional groups, associational groups, non-associational groups. (See Table 5)

Table 3

Types of Supports. (Adapted from Almond and Powell, 1978)

SUPPORTS	
Political resource	• supports tied to policy demands. For example; voting or supporting a particular political faction.
Subject supports or Compliance	
1. Material support	• examples: payments of taxes, jury or military duty.
2. Obedience	• to laws and regulations.
3. Compliance	• involves deference or respect for the political system.

Table 4

Typology of Demands (Adapted from Almond, 1965)

TYPE OF DEMAND	
Extractive	• demands for the provision of goods and services such as educational opportunities, personnel, facilities, and monies.
Regulative	• demands for the regulation of behavior such as procedures, rules and regulations.
Participative	• demands calling for representation or participation in the affairs or decision-making activities.
Symbolic	• demands calling for the affirmation or re-affirmation of norms or communication of procedures and policy intents from the Ministry of Education.

Table 5

Demand Articulation Structures: Typology of Interest Groups (Adapted from Almond, 1960)

DEMAND ARTICULATION STRUCTURES	
GENERAL CLASSES	SPECIFIC ACTORS
Institutional Groups	• Public organizations • Private organizations
Associational Groups	• Administrative officials associations • Teachers' associations • Provincial trustees associations • School- community associations • Others
Non-Associational Groups	• Teacher groups • Individual teachers • Community groups • Citizens

b. Interest Group Classification Along Continua:

Van Loon and Whittington's (1981) interest group continua enables an analysis of other categories of groups. Groups can be classified along an orientation continuum, from self interested to promotional. They can be classified along a structural continuum from issue oriented to institutional. Another classification of groups can be made along along the origin continuum from autonomous to reverse. Finally, groups can be classified along a degree of mobilization continuum from active to categoric. Table 6 illustrates the Van Loon and Whittington typology (adapted by Sackney, 1984).

4. What factors influence how demands are articulated?

Demand articulation strategies depend upon these factors (Sackney, 1984, p.2):

a. characteristics of the group (size, financial resources, organizational skills, and time;

b. the time constraints; and

c. those methods used successfully in the past.

5. How are demands articulated?

Pross (1975) suggested there are two general types of communication used to press demands (See Table 7):

a. Access-oriented communication;

b. Media-oriented communication.

6. What are the criteria for effective exercise of influence?

Duane, Bridgeland and Townsend (1985, p. 128) identified several criteria that would enable the effective exercise of influence. Among the criteria identified were cohesion, leadership, referral relationships, money, and narrow policy agendas. (See Table 8.)

Table 6

Interest Group Continua (Adapted from Van Loon and Whittington, 1981, by Sackney, 1984)

INTEREST GROUP CONTINUA		
ORIENTATION	Self Interested (Special Focus)	Promotional (General)
	• Economically and politically interested in promoting only the group's goals.	• Interest in goals that are seen as beneficial to others or the community.
STRUCTURE	Issue Oriented	Institutionalized
	• Lack cohesiveness and continuity; • Limited resources; • Ad-Hoc groups; • Use of legitimate channels of access.	• Well structured; • Cohesive; • Stable membership.
ORIGIN	Autonomous (External)	Reverse (Internal)
	• Self-originating; • Self-maintaining; • May be a counter pressure group; • May legitimate policies.	• Initiated by a governing body.
DEGREE OF MOBILIZATION	Active	Categoric
	• Ongoing activity both internally and with governing bodies.	• Members belong because of common attributes.

Table 7

Interest Group Communication Tactics With Authorities. (Pross,1975; adapted from Sackney, 1984, p. 2)

COMMUNICATION TACTICS	
Access-Oriented	**Media- Oriented**
Stress direct continuous contact.	Used to ensure favorable public climate.
• regular private meetings with officials (formal and informal); • participation on advisory committees and commissions; • overlapping memberships; • regular consultations; • presentation of written briefs; • organized write-in campaigns.	• public service advertising; • public presentations of briefs; • public debates; • publicity stunts; • organized protests; • confrontation.

Table 8

The Criteria For Effective Exercise of Interest Group Influence (Adapted from Duane, Bridgeland and Townsend, 1985, p. 128)

CRITERIA FOR EFFECTIVE INFLUENCE
• Cohesion;
• leadership skills;
• perceptions of expertise;
• penetration into the Ministry;
• referral relationships;
• high energy levels;
• education;
• image;
• money;
• group's ability to apply negative sanctions;
• the group's visibility and its legitimacy gained through legislated contact with the Ministry.or through the groups quasi-official status;
• the capacity of umbrella organizations to arbitrate between member groups;
• narrow policy agendas that allow groups to gather their resources and apply them with effect;
• a cost-benefit ratio that allows smaller groups to provide greater benefits for specific members because resources do not have to fulfill diffuse demands; and
• the ability to create additional political momentum by identifying a cause to which not only members but the public at large can be ideologically committed (religious associations, cultural groups, and small, intensely committed, issue specific groups with a shared philosophy).

H. The Conversion of Demands

1. Who makes the decisions?

   a What is the role of the elected officials?

   -at the local level the school board.
   -at the state/provincial level, the legislature.

   b. What is the role of the intra-system gatekeepers?

   -What part is played by ministry officials and advisors?

2. What influences the decision-makers? (Baydock, Francis, Osborne, Semotock, 1984, p. 7)

   a. What is their background?

   -education?
   -social class?
   -previous jobs?
   -political beliefs?
   -religion?
   -ethnic origin?
   -other?

   b. How do they get their information?

   -from private sources?
   -from the media?
   -from opinion polls?
   -others?

   c. What factors do the decision-makers have to consider?

   -finances and economy?
   -public opinion?
   -foreign reaction?
   -personal conscience?
   -opinions of colleges?
   -other?

3. What is the decision making process?

a.What are the procedures for making a decision? (Baydock, Francis, Osborne, Semotock, 1984, p. 7)

-What constitutional rules must be observed?

-What steps must be taken to see that everyone is consulted?

-What laws must be taken into account?

4. What are the decision rules?

Almond and Powell (1978, p. 233) suggested that there are three fundamental types of decision rules which determine who can do what:

a. Territorial distribution of authority among central and local units;

b. the separation and allocation of decision making to different agencies; and

c. the amount and manner of limitation on governmental powers.

5. What functions do decision makers fulfill?

Almond (1965, p. 194) suggested authorities may perform any of the following functions: rule or policy making; rule or policy application; rule or policy adjudication; communication. (See Table 9)

I. Outputs

1. What decision is made?

Almond and Powell (1978) included among types of outputs: extractions; regulations; distributions; and symbolic outputs. (See Table 10)

2. What output functions are performed by the political system as a whole?

Almond (1965, p. 181) concluded that political systems, in processing demands and supports, perform the following output functions: extractive; regulative; distributive; responsive; articulative; and aggregative. (See Table 11)

Table 9

Output Functions of the Authorities. (Adapted from Almond, 1965, p. 194.)

OUTPUT FUNCTIONS OF AUTHORITIES	
Rule or Policy Making	The conversion of articulated demands into rules or policies.
Rule or Policy Application	The application of general rules or policies to particular cases.
Rule or Policy Adjudication	The adjudication of rules in individual cases.
Communication	The transmission of information concerning the above three events within the political system and between the political system and its environments.

Table 10

Typology of Outputs. (Adapted from Almond and Powell, 1978. p. 12)

OUTPUTS	
Extractions	• taxes or personal services.
Regulations	• of behavior take many forms.
Distributions	• of goods, services, opportunities, honors, and statuses.
Symbolic outputs	• affirmations of values; • displays of political symbols; and • statements of policies and intents.

Table 11

Typology of Output Functions of the Political System as a Whole (Adapted from Almond, 1965, p. 181)

OUTPUT FUNCTIONS OF POLITICAL SYSTEM	
Extractive	• extract resources from the environment.
Regulative	• regulates behavior in the environment.
Distributive	• distributes resources and values in the environment.
Responsive	• respond to demands from the environment.
Articulative	• articulate or represent interests or demands.
Aggregative	• combine interests into policy proposals.

J. The Educational Policy Community

1. Who are the system actors involved in the policy community ?

Actors involved in the policy process can be classified according to the extent of their influence on the particular policy as: Insiders; The Near Circle; The Far Circle; Sometime Players; and Often Forgotten Players (Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986). (See Table 12)

K. Control of the Policy Process

1. Who controls the policy process ? (See Table 13)

a. Is the local level an open or closed system?

-an open system suggests control by the school board

-a closed system suggests control by professional educators

b. Is the provincial level controlled by professional groups?

L. Dominant ideas

1. What dominant ideas influence and guide the actions of system actors? (See Table 14)

2. What dominant ideas are reflected in the structures and processes involved in the policy formulation process? (Doern and Phidd, 1983)

M. The Assumptive World of the Educational Policy Community (Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986).

1. What is the dominant political culture?

2. What is the socio-economic context?

-history
-economics
-culture
-specific priorities
-tradition

3. What formal structures are involved?

4. What is the nature of the partisan politics?

5. What are the values of the key actors?

6. What informal processes are involved?

Table 12

The Educational Policy Community (Adapted from Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986)

THE EDUCATIONAL POLICY COMMUNITY	
The Insiders	• Groups most influential in determining educational policy.
The Near Circle	• Groups fully occupied in educational policy, (e.g. senior Ministry of Education staff, and teachers' associations).
The Far Circle	• Groups influential, but not crucial to educational policy process.
The Sometime Players	• Various educational interest groups.
The Often-Forgotten Players	• For example the federal government and the courts.

Table 13

The Nature of Control Over Policy Formulation

LEVEL OF POLICY PROCESS	
LOCAL LEVEL	STATE/PROVINCIAL LEVEL
Open Policy System Thesis	
• Community control	
Closed Policy System Thesis	
• Control by educators	• Control by organized professional interest groups; • Policy shaped by small number of key actors; • Informal social networks move policies between states.

Table 14
Dominant Ideas (Adapted from Doern and Phidd, 1983)

DOMINANT IDEAS	
Efficiency	• Values the realization of a goal at the least cost.
Individualism	• Belief in the social value of self interest and self development.
Stability	• Stability of income and other conditions values order and continuity in social relations.
Equality and Redistribution	• Stresses the need to redistribute power and income from the rich and powerful to the less powerful.
Equity	• Implies equality before the law; • Demands policy makers treat people in equivalent situations equally; • Also demands treating people who are not in equivalent situations unequally.
National Unity and Nationalism	• Enhances the identity of individuals and groups within Canada as a whole.
Regional Diversity and Sensitivity	• Recognizes the importance of regional values and traditions.

N. A Political Systems Strategy Summarized

This study suggests that a political systems strategy must consider the following elements:

Level of the Policy Formulation Process;

Type of Issue;

The Environment;

Functional Stages of the Policy Process;

Structures and Processes;

Inputs: Supports and Demands;

Demand Articulation;

The Conversion of Demands;

Outputs;

The Educational Policy Community;

Control of the Policy Process;

Dominant Ideas;

The Assumptive World of the Educational Policy Community.

Table 15 summarizes the political systems strategy.

A POLITICAL SYSTEMS STRATEGY FOR THE ANALYSIS OF POLICY FORMULATION	
LEVEL	Local Provincial
ISSUE	Organization Governance Finance Personnel Facilities Curriculum
ISSUE TIME FRAME	Perennial Episodic
DIVISIONS CREATED BY ISSUE	Language Religion Region Social Class Age Occupation Political Beliefs
ENVIRONMENT	Stresses: -Organizational -Political -Economic Local: -Urban/Suburban/Rural Provincial: -Political Culture
FUNCTIONAL STAGE	Interest Articulation Interest Aggregation Allocation of Demands Regulation Policy Implementation Evaluation
STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES	Government Structures
TYPE OF INPUTS	Type of Support: -Political Resource -Compliance Supports Type of Demand: -Extractive -Regulative -Participative -Symbolic

TYPES OF INTEREST GROUPS	Organization: -Institutional -Associational -Non-associational Orientation: -Special Focus -General Focus Origin: -External -Internal
DEMAND ARTICULATION	Factors Influencing Demand: Articulation: -Group Characteristics -Time Constraints -Experience Demand Tactics: -Access Oriented -Media Oriented Criteria for Effectiveness: -Cohesion -Money -Penetration -Expertise...
DEMAND CONVERSION	Decision Making Authorities Influences on Authorities -Background -Information Sources -Factors Considered Decision Making Process: -Procedures -Decision Rules Functions of Decision Maker -Rule/Policy Making -Rule/Policy Application -Rule/Policy Adjudicatio -Communication
OUTPUTS	Output Decision: -Extractions -Regulations -Distributions -Symbolic Outputs Output Functions of System: -Extractive -Regulative -Distributive -Responsive -Articulative -Aggregative

Table 15. A Political Systems Strategy for the Analy

TEREST GROUPS	Organization: -Institutional -Associational -Non-associational Orientation: -Special Focus -General Focus Origin: -External -Internal
RTICULATION	Factors Influencing Demand: Articulation: -Group Characteristics -Time Constraints -Experience Demand Tactics: -Access Oriented -Media Oriented Criteria for Effectiveness: -Cohesion -Money -Penetration -Expertise...
ONVERSION	Decision Making Authorities Influences on Authorities -Background -Information Sources -Factors Considered Decision Making Process: -Procedures -Decision Rules Functions of Decision Makers: -Rule/Policy Making -Rule/Policy Application -Rule/Policy Adjudication -Communication
	Output Decision: -Extractions -Regulations -Distributions -Symbolic Outputs Output Functions of System: -Extractive -Regulative -Distributive -Responsive -Articulative -Aggregative

POLICY COMMUNITY	System Actors Actor Groups: -Authorities -Government officials -Individuals -Interest groups Degree of Influence: -Insiders -Near Circle -Far Circle -Sometime Players -Often Forgotten Players
CONTROL OF POLICY PROCESS	Local Level Control -School Board -Professional Educators Provincial Level -Professional Groups
DOMINANT IDEAS	Ideas: -Efficiency -Stability -Equality and Redistribution -Equity -National Unity and Nationalism -Regional Diversity and Sensitivity
ASSUMPTIVE WORLD	Dominant Political Culture Socio-Economic Context Formal Structures Partisan Politics Values of Decision Makers Informal Processes

itical Systems Strategy for the Analysis of Policy Formulation.

An Empirical Application of a Political Systems Strategy

The second phase of this study applied selected components of the political system strategy for the analysis of policy formulation to public hearings held prior to the passage of an educational bill, by a committee composed of members of a provincial legislature. The Standing Committee on Social Development, representing the government of Ontario, held hearings with regard to the proposed Bill 109 (1988) on May 12, 25, 26, 30, 31 and June 13, 20 and 21 of 1988. Subsequently, on June 29, 1988, Bill 109, establishing a French-language school board in the Ottawa-Carleton region of Ontario, Canada was passed by Members of the Ontario Legislature and given royal assent. Bill 109 created a French-language school board with two sectors, public and separate, each having exclusive jurisdiction in most matters, but sharing some responsibilities. The hearings held by the Committee represented the final opportunity for public input into the policy formulation process of Bill 109.

This phase of the study classified data from the Ontario government Hansards according to the categories suggested by a series of questions. The following discussion presents the questions and the findings which respond to the questions.

1. What level of educational policy formulation was involved?

In Canada, education is a provincial responsibility. The creation of a new governance structure, such as the French-language School Board created by Bill 109, is the responsibility of the Province of Ontario. As a result the policy formulation occurred at the provincial level.

2. What type of issue did the policy formulation process address?

Bill 109 created a new French-language School Board, therefore the policy formulation process, based on the categorizations developed by Mitchell and Encarnation (1984), addressed the issue of educational governance.

3. What functional stage was indicated in the policy-making process?

The intent of the Hearings, was to obtain final public reaction to the draft version of the proposed legislation. The policy had already been determined and the Bill drafted. As a result, based on Mitchell's (1988) policy process framework, the public hearings represented the regulation stage of the policy formulation process. This stage involves the definition of the regulatory and budgetary details of the policy decision.

4. What systemic features were indicated in the policy process?

Implied in the notion of systemic features are the governmental structures which determine the number and type of participants and the channels of communication and degree of access to the policy process. In this case the government structure is a committee of Members of the Legislature of Ontario. Also implied in the notion of systemic features is the type of processes involved. In this case, the process involved public hearings to insure access by interested individuals and groups to the decision-making process on the final form of Bill (109).

5. Who were the authorities?

Authorities are those who have the authority to make allocative decisions regarding the policy being formulated. Based on the definition of authorities as those who determine the policy decision, this study found that the authorities represented in the Hearings on Bill 109 were the Standing Committee on Social Development composed of members of the legislature and the Minister of Education, the Honorable Christopher Ward.

6. What individuals or groups made inputs into the policy formulation process?.

Forty-one individuals or groups made inputs into the hearings Included were advisors, school boards, French-language education councils, parent-teacher associations, teachers' associations, and trustees' associations. Eight of these actors were government officials, that is intra-system gatekeepers. These gatekeepers included legislative, legal and

educational advisors. A number of individuals also made inputs, these included 2 trustees, a parent, and a priest. In addition 29 groups made inputs. These groups can be considered interest groups in the sense that they acted as boundary gatekeepers, by aggregating and articulating the interests represented by their members. (See Table 16)

7. What types of interest groups made inputs into the policy process?

Another analysis called for the identification of the types of interest groups making inputs to the hearings. The 33 interest groups, excluding the authorities and advisors, were classified in several ways.

Classification by organizational structure. Based on Almond and Powell's (1978) typology, these groups were classified as institutional, associational, or non-associational. Table 17 indicates that 23 of the 33 inputs made by interest groups were made by associational groups, that is groups specifically formed for interest articulation. Only 6 institutional interest groups, or groups having functions other than interest articulation made inputs, and 4 non-associational individuals made inputs. Individuals were classed as non-associational because they represented ethnic, regional or religious groups. Figure 6 provides a histogram of the types of groups making inputs.

Classification by origin . Van Loon and Whittington's (1981) scheme enables an investigation of the origin of the groups making inputs. Origin is concerned with whether the groups are autonomous or reverse. Autonomous groups, as self-originating and self-maintaining, can be viewed as external actors. In contrast, reverse groups, are created by governing bodies, such as the Ministry of Education. These actors can be seen as internal actors. The study found that analysis of the groups by orientation revealed that 21 of the inputs were made by internal actors while 12 were made by external actors. (See Table 18)

Table 16

Actors Making Inputs into the Hearings on Bill 109 (1988)

ACTORS MAKING INPUTS		
ACTOR	**GROUP**	**NUMBER**
Government Officials (n=8)	• Advisors:	8
	- Legislative	3
	- Legal	2
	- Education	3
Individuals (n=4)	• Trustees	2
	• Parent	1
	• Priest	1
Interest Groups (n=29)	• Church Group	1
	• French-Language Advisory Committee	1
	• Associations of French School Boards	2
	-Regional	1
	-Provincial	1
	• Associations of Franco-Ontarians:	2
	-Regional	1
	-Provincial	1
	• French-Language Education Councils:	5
	-Public	3
	-Separate	2
	• Parent Advisory Committee (English)	1
	• Parent-Teacher Associations (French)	4
	• Principals' Association (French)	1
	• School Boards:	5
	-Public	2
	-Separate	3
	• School Board Association (Provincial)	1
	• Superintendents' Association (French)	1
	• Teachers' Associations:	4
	-English	3
	-French	1
	• Trustees' Association: English, Catholic	1

Table 17

Classification of Groups Making Inputs into the Hearings on Bill 109 (1988), by Organizational Structure (Based on Almond and Powell, 1978)

INTEREST GROUPS MAKING INPUTS (n=33)		
GENERAL CLASSES NUMBER	SPECIFIC ACTORS	
Institutional (n=6)	• School Boards	5
	• Church	1
Associational (n=23)	• French-language advisory committee	1
	• Associations of French School Boards	2
	• Franco-Ontarian Associations	2
	• French Principals' Association	1
	• French-Language Education Councils	5
	• Parent Group	1
	• Parent- Teacher Associations	4
	• School Board Association	1
	• Superintendents' Association	1
	• Teachers' Associations	4
	• Trustees' Association	1
Non-Associational (n=4)	• Trustees	2
	• Parent	1
	• Priest	1

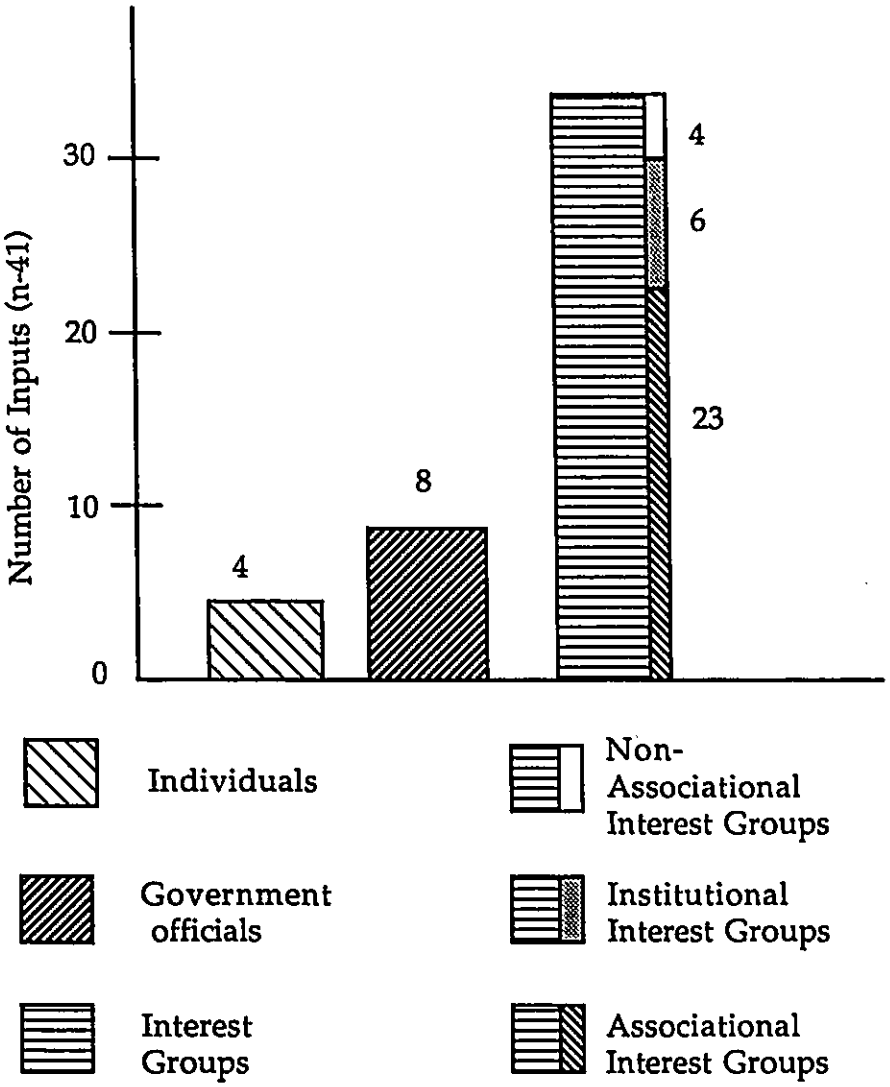

FIGURE 6. Histogram of Individuals and Groups Making Inputs.

Table 18

Classification of Interest Groups Making Inputs into the Hearings on Bill 109 (1988) Based on Origin of Actor (Adapted from Van Loon and Whittington, 1981)

ORIGIN OF ACTORS (n=33)			
Internal	No.	External	No.
• Advisors	8	• Church	1
Education	2	• Franco-Ontarian interest	
Legal	2	groups	2
Legislative	3	• Individual parent	1
Deputy Minister	1	• Parent group	1
• Advisory Planning Committee	1	• Parent-Teacher Assoc.	3
• French Assoc. of School Boards	2	• Priest	1
• French Principals' Association	1	• Individual Trustees	2
• French Language Educational		• Trustees' Association	1
Councils	6		
• School Boards	5		
• School Board Association	1		
• Superintendents' Association	1		
• Teachers' Associations	4		
Total	**21**	**Total**	**12**

Classification by orientation. Those actors articulating demands on the political system were classified by Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland (1985) as either general focus or special focus. The classification relates to the orientation continuum suggested by Van Loon and Whittington (1981). Groups may be self-interested, that is interested in promoting their own goals and thus they may be considered special focus. In contrast, they may be promotional or interested in goals benefiting the whole community and in that case the interest groups could be classed as general focus. The analysis of the groups making inputs into the public hearing found that, 26 were special focus and 7 were general focus. (See Table 19)

Classification by organizational structure, origin and orientation. The analyses of groups by organizational structure, origin and orientation suggested that most of the inputs were made by associational, special interest groups who were part of the internal environment of the educational system. By relating the organizational structure to orientation and origin it was found that 15 groups and individuals making inputs were associational, special focus groups within the educational system (See Table 20). Figure 7 provides a histogram of the groups classified by organization, orientation and origin, who made inputs to the hearings.

8. How did the issue divide those making inputs?

Analysis of the individuals and groups making inputs suggested that the issue created divisions based on language, school board support, and level of focus.

Language Divisions. The issue divided groups on the basis of language into French or English. Excluding the government advisors, 19 French-language groups made inputs, and 14 English-language groups made inputs. (See Table 21)

School Support Divisions. The issue also suggested a division of groups on the basis of support for schools, into public school supporters, or Catholic or separate school supporters. While the majority of inputs (14) were made by Catholic school supporters, 11 groups were not directly tied to school board support, another 7 inputs were made by public school supporters. (See Table 22)

Table 19

Classification of Interest Groups Making Inputs into the Hearings on Bill 109 (1988) Based on the Origin of the Actors (Adapted from Van Loon and Whittington, 1981)

ORIENTATION (n=33)			
SPECIAL FOCUS	No.	GENERAL FOCUS	No.
• Advisory Planning Committee	1	• Church	1
• Assoc. of French School Boards	2	• Public Parent-Teacher Assoc	2
• Separate Parent-Teacher Assoc.	1	• Public School Boards	2
• Separate School Boards	3	• School Board Assoc.	1
• French Principals' Assoc.	1	• Provincial Teachers' Assoc.	1
• French-Language Education Council	6		
• Parent (French, Catholic)	1		
• Parent Group (Catholic)	1		
• Priest	1		
• Superintendents' Assoc.	1		
• Teachers' Assoc.	3		
• Individual Trustees	2		
• Trustees' Association	1		
Total	**26**	**Total**	**7**

Table 20

The Relationship of Groups by Organization, Orientation, and Origin

	ORIENTATION			
ORIGIN	Special Focus	No.	General Focus	No.
ASSOCIATIONAL GROUPS (n=23)				
Internal	• French-Language Education Councils	6	• Teachers' Assoc.	1
	• Teachers' Assoc.	3		
	• Assoc. French School Boards	2		
	• Advisory Planning Committee	1		
	• French Principals' Assoc.	1		
	• Superintendents' Assoc.	1		
	• School Board Assoc.	1		
	Total	**15**	**Total**	**1**
External	• Franco-Ontarian Assoc.	2	• Parent-Teacher Assoc.	2
	• Parent-Group	1		
	• Parent-Teacher Assoc.	1		
	• Trustees' Assoc.	1		
	Total	**5**	**Total** **2**	
INSTITUTIONAL GROUPS (n= 6)				
Internal	• Separate School Boards	3	• Public School Boards	2
	Total	**3**	**Total**	**2**
External	• None		• Church Group	1
	Total	**0**	**Total**	**1**
NON ASSOCIATIONAL GROUPS (n=5)				
Internal	• None	0	• None	0
External	• Trustee	2	• Parent-teacher Assoc.	1
	• Parent	1		
	• Priest	1		
	Total	**4**	**Total**	**1**

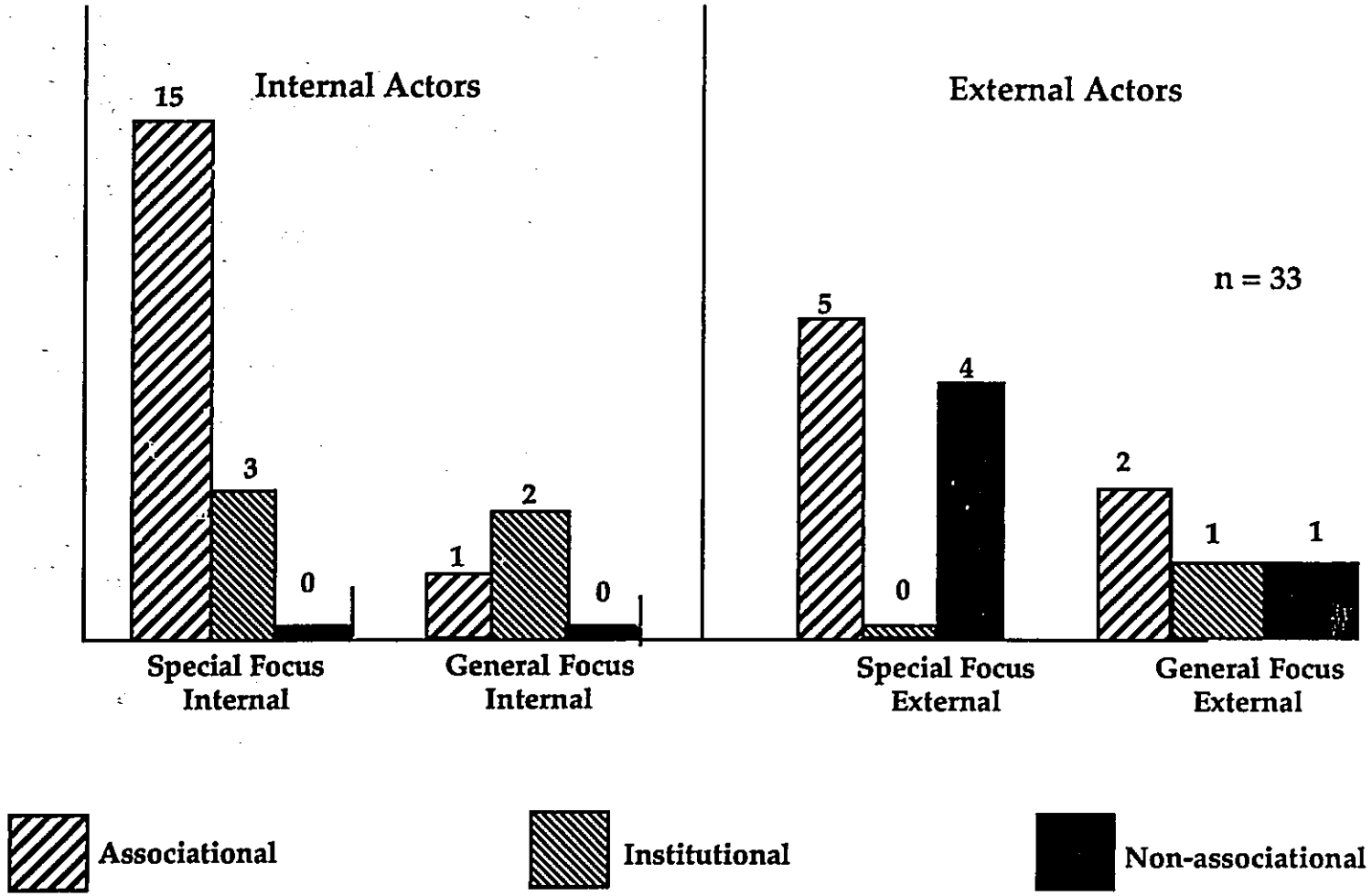

FIGURE 7. Inputs by groups classified by organization, orientation and origin (n=33).

Table 21

Language Divisions Created by the Issue

LANGUAGE DIVISIONS		
LANGUAGE	GROUPS	No.
French	• Advisory Planning Committee	1
	• Association of French School Boards	2
	• Franco-Ontarian Association	2
	• French Principals' Association	1
	• French-Language Education Councils	6
	• Parent	1
	• Parent-Teacher Association	3
	• Superintendents' Association	1
	• Teachers' Association	1
	• Trustee	1
	Total	**19**
English	• Church	1
	• Parent Group	1
	• Priest	1
	• School Board	5
	• School Board Association	1
	• Teachers' Association	1
	• Trustee	1
	• Trustees' Association	1
	Total	**14**

Table 22

School Support Divisions Created by the Issue

SCHOOL SUPPORT DIVISIONS		
SUPPORT	GROUPS	No.
Catholic	• French-Language Education Councils	3
	• Parent	1
	• Parent Group	1
	• Priest	1
	• School Boards	3
	• Teachers' Associations	2
	• Individual Trustees	2
	• Trustees' Association	1
	Total	**14**
Public	• Church	1
	• French-Language Education Council	3
	• Parent-Teacher Association	1
	• School Board	2
	Total	**7**
N/A	• Advisory Planning Committee	1
	• French School Boards Associations	2
	• Franco-Ontarian Associations	2
	• French Principals' Association	1
	• Parent-Teacher Associations	2
	• School Board Association	1
	• Superintendents' Association	1
	• Teachers' Associations	2
	Total	**11**

Classification based on organizational structure, language and school support. Analysis of the groups based on organizational structure, language, and school support suggested that most (10) of the inputs were made by Associational French groups not specifically defined by religion. However, the divisions created by Bill 109, based on language and school support were apparent in the rest of the groups. There were 3 French Catholic associational groups, and 4 associational French public school supporters making inputs. Four English Catholic associational groups and 2 English associational groups not defined by support, made inputs. Three English Catholic institutional groups made inputs as did 3 institutional English public school supporters. Two non-associational French Catholic supporters made inputs, as did 2 non-associational English Catholic supporters. (See Table 23) Figure 8 provides a histogram indicating the groups classified by organization, language, and school support.

Divisions based on local or provincial support. Finally the issue also suggested a division based on local or provincial level focus. In this case both authorities and government advisors were included in the analysis. There were 20 inputs from locally focused individuals and groups and 23 inputs from provincially focused groups. The locally focused groups included an Advisory Planning Committee, a church, and the 4 local school boards, as well as the 5 French-Language Education Councils and a number of individual trustees. The provincially focused individuals and groups making inputs included the authorities, the 8 advisors, and several provincial level French groups as well as an Association of Large School Boards, a Teachers' Association, a Parent-Teacher Association, and a Trustees Association. (See Table 24)

Table 23

The Relationship of Groups by Organization, Language, and Support

	LANGUAGE			
SUPPORT	French	No.	English	No.
ASSOCIATIONAL GROUPS (n=23)				
Catholic	• French-Language Education Councils	3	• Parent-Group	1
			• Teachers' Assoc.	2
			• Trustees' Assoc.	1
	Total	**3**	**Total**	**4**
Public	• French-Language Education Councils	3		
	• Parent-Teacher Assoc.	1		
	Total	**4**	**Total**	**0**
N/A	• French Principals' Assoc.	1	• School Board Association	1
	• Assoc. French School Boards	2		
	• Advisory Planning	1	• Teachers' Assoc.	1
	• Superintendents' Assoc.	1		
	• Parent-Teacher Assoc.	2		
	• Teachers' Assoc.	1		
	• Franco-Ontarian Assoc.	2		
	Total	**10**	**Total**	**2**
INSTITUTIONAL GROUPS (n=6) • No cases of N/A support				
Catholic			• School Boards	3
	Total	**0**	**Total**	**3**
Public	None	0	• School Boards	2
			• Church Group	1
	Total	**0**	**Total**	**3**
NON ASSOCIATIONAL (n= 4) • No cases of N/A support				
Catholic	• Trustee	1	• Trustee	1
	• Parent	1	• Priest	1
	Total	**2**	**Total**	**2**
Public	• None	0	• None	0
	Total	**0**	**Total**	**0**

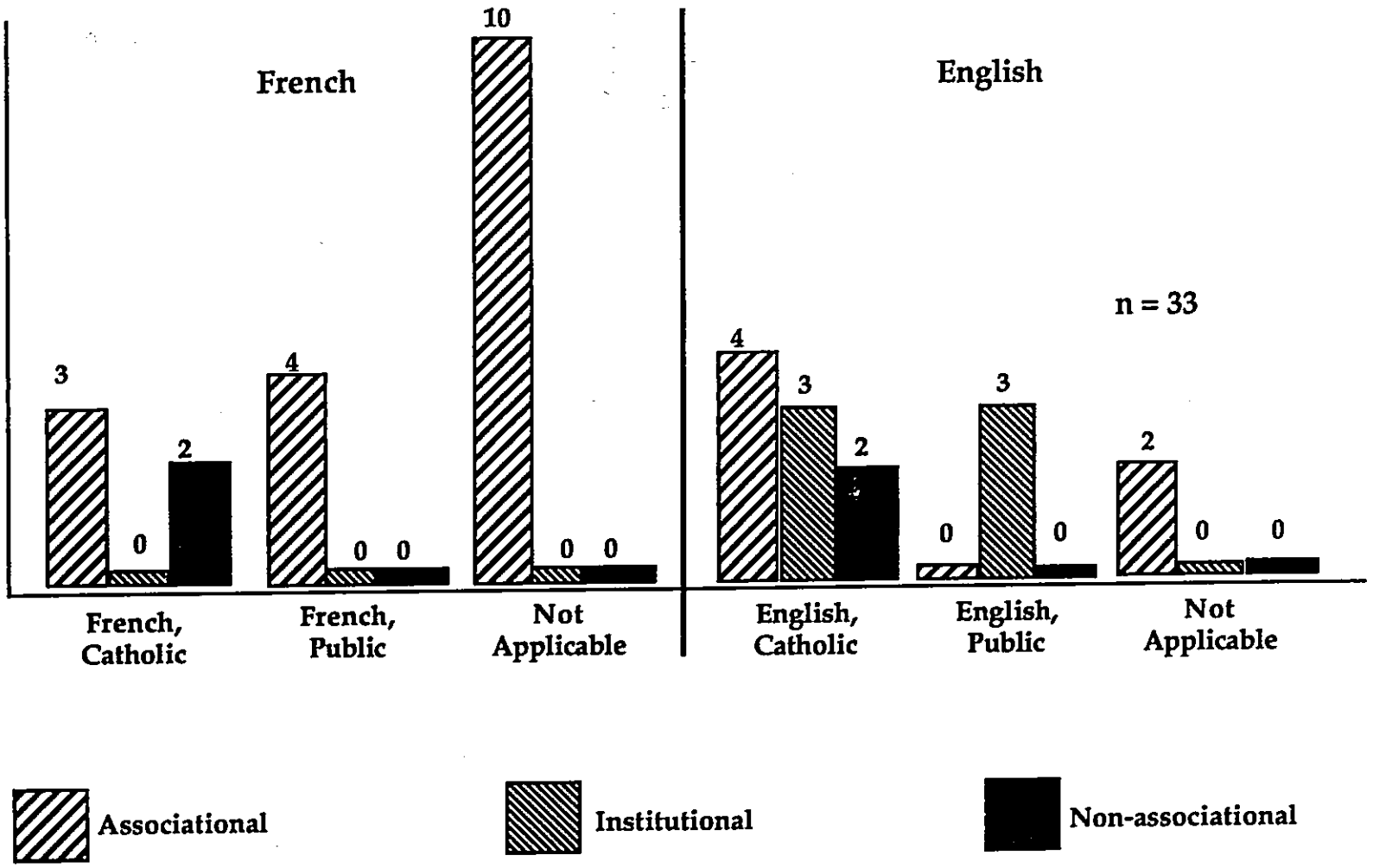

FIGURE 8. Inputs by groups classified by Organization, Language and Support (n=33).

Table 24

Level of focus (local or provincial) of groups making inputs

LEVEL OF FOCUS			
Local		Provincial	
• Advisory Planning Committee	1	• Advisors	8
• Church	1	• Parent-Teacher Assoc.	1
• Franco-Ontarian interest group	1	• Assoc. of French School Boards	1
• Parent-Teacher Assoc.	2	• Franco-Ontarian Assoc.	1
• French Principals' Assoc.	1	• French School Boards Ass.	1
• School Boards	4	• Provincial Teachers' Ass.	3
• Teachers' Assoc.	1	• French-Language Education Council	1
• French-Language Education Council	5	• School Board Assoc.	1
• Parent (French, Catholic)	1	• Superintendents' Assoc.	1
• Parent Group (Catholic)	1	• School Board	1
• Individual Trustees	2	• Trustees' Assoc.	1
		• Priest	1
		• Authorities	2
Total	**20**	**Total**	**23**

9. Which system actors were represented in the various sectors of the policy community?

Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986) classified actors in a policy community according to their influence on the policy formulation process into Insiders, The Near Circle, The Far Circle, Sometime Players, and Often Forgotten Players. This study used the criteria identified by Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt to classify the actors in the hearings. According to this classification the Insiders consisted of the authorities plus the senior Ministry of Education official responsible for Franco-Ontarian Education. The Near Circle players included Ministry advisors and a French-Language Advisory Committee established to study and make recommendations on the proposed legislation. The Far Circle players included the school boards and French-Language Education Councils involved as well as Teachers', Principals', and Superintendents' Associations, and a Franco-Ontarian Association. The Often Forgotten players included legal and legislative advisors, a church and individual parents, and trustees. Included among the Sometime Players were a parent group and Parent-Teacher Associations, a Trustees' Association and Teachers' Associations. (See Table 25)

10. Who controls the policy process?

In his review of studies on state-level educational policy formulation, Mitchell (1988) noted that findings suggest that state-level policy formulation is controlled by organized professional interest groups. He suggested that policy is shaped by small number of key actors. In the context of the public hearings studied here, the question becomes whether a regulatory stage in provincial level policy formulation process addressing the issue of educational governance is controlled by a small number of actors, particularly professional interest groups.

Table 25

The Members of the Policy Community

POLICY COMMUNITY (n=43)		
Policy Community	Members	No.
Insiders	• Minister of Education • Standing Committee on Social Development • Deputy Minister of Education	
	Total	**3**
Near Circle	• Advisors (Education)	2
	• French-Language Advisory Committee	1
	Total	**3**
Far Circle	• French Language Education Councils	6
	• Franco-Ontarian Association	1
	• Teachers' Association	1
	• School Boards	5
	• Association of French School Boards	2
	• French Principals' Association	1
	• Superintendents' Association	1
	• School Board Association	1
	Total	**18**
Often Forgotten Players	• Advisors (Legislative)	3
	• Advisors (Legal)	2
	• Individuals	4
	Priest (1) Parent (1) Trustees (2)	
	• Church	1
	Total	**10**
Sometime Players	• Parent Group	1
	• Parent-Teacher Associations	4
	• Teachers' Associations	3
	• Trustees' Association	1
	Total	**9**

An analysis of the data records suggests that the educational policy community included a small group of 6 Insiders and Near Circle actors consisting of the Minister of Education, the Standing Committee, the Deputy Minister of Franco-Ontarian Education, Ministry of Education advisors and an Advisory Committee The Far Circle Actors included a number of professional educational groups such as Teachers' Associations, a Principals' Association and a Superintendents' Association as well as school boards. These findings agree with Mitchell's assessment that at the state/provincial level, policy formulation is conducted by a small number of actors, and that professional groups tend to be influential in this process.

Classification by origin and influence. The analysis of data records indicating whether the various policy community members are internal or an external actors also gives an indication of the degree of general public input into the policy process. This analysis reveals that the Insiders and actors in the Near and Far Circles are essentially internal actors. The Insiders and Near Circleplayers are with the exception of a Planning Committee, either authorities or government advisors. The largest group are internal Far Circle players, composed of the school boards, the French-language education councils, and a number of groups representing educational professionals. Among the Sometime Players were a number of groups external to the educational system, though sometimes involved, including a number of interest groups. The Often Forgotten Players included internal actors such as legal and legislative advisors, and external players such as individual parents and trustees (See Table 26). Figure 9 provides a histogram of the policy community actors classified by origin and influence.

Classification by orientation and influence. Interest group theory suggests that special focus groups with narrow policy agendas will be more influential in determining the direction of policy formulation (Riker, 1962, Olson, 1965, Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland, 1985). This theory would imply that those most influential in the policy process, including groups such as Insiders, Near Circle Players and Far Circle Players, would be special-focus groups. An analysis of the groups in the policy community by level of influence and orientation, found that this was the case. (See Table 27) Figure 10 provides a histogram of the policy community actors classified by orientation and influence.

Table 26

Classification of Groups by Origin and Influence

CLASSIFICATION BY ORIGIN AND INFLUENCE		
Influence	Internal	External
Insider	• Minister of Education • Standing Committee • Deputy Minister **Total=3**	• None **Total=0**
Near Circle	• Advisors (Education) • Advisory Planning Committee **Total=3**	• None **Total=0**
Far Circle	• French School Board Ass. • French Principals' Assoc. • French-Language Education Councils • School Boards • School Board Assoc. • Superintendents' Assoc. • Teachers' Assoc. **Total=17**	• Franco-Ontarian Ass. **Total=1**
Sometime Players	• Teachers' Associations **Total=3**	• Parent • Parent-Teacher Assoc. • Franco-Ontarian Interest Groups • Trustees' Association **Total=6**
Often Forgotten Players	• Advisors - Legal - Legislative **Total=5**	• Church • Parent • Trustees • Priest **Total=5**

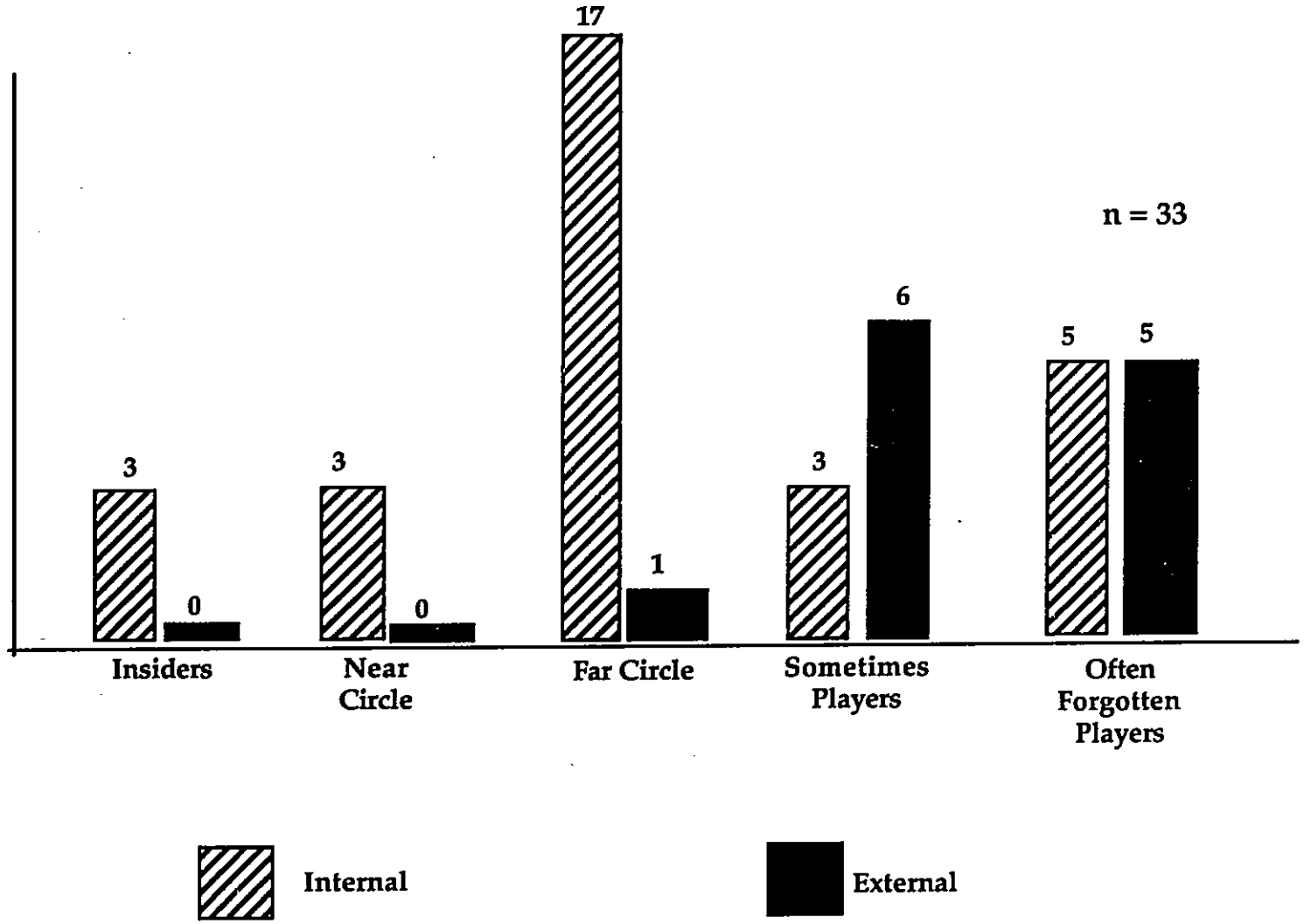

FIGURE 9. Classification of Policy Community Actors by Origin and Influence.

Table 27

Classification of Groups by Orientation and Influence

CLASSIFICATION BY ORIENTATION AND INFLUENCE		
Orientation	Special	General
Influence Insider	• Deputy Minister of Franco-Ontarian Education **Total = 1**	• Minister of Education • Standing Committee **Total = 2**
Near Circle	• Planning Committee • Advisor (Education) **Total = 2**	• Advisor (Education) **Total = 1**
Far Circle	• Assoc. of French School Boards • Franco-Ontarian Assoc. • French Principals' Assoc. • French-Language Education Councils • School Boards • School Board Assoc. • Superintendents' Assoc. • Teachers' Assoc. **Total = 16**	• School Boards **Total = 2**
Sometime Players	• Franco-Ontarian interest group • Parent Group • Parent-Teacher Assoc. • Teachers' Assoc. • Trustees' Assoc. **Total = 6**	• Parent-Teacher Assoc. • Teachers' Assoc. **Total = 3**
Often Forgotten Players	• Parent • Priest • Trustees **Total = 4**	• Church • Advisors Legal, Legislative **Total = 6**

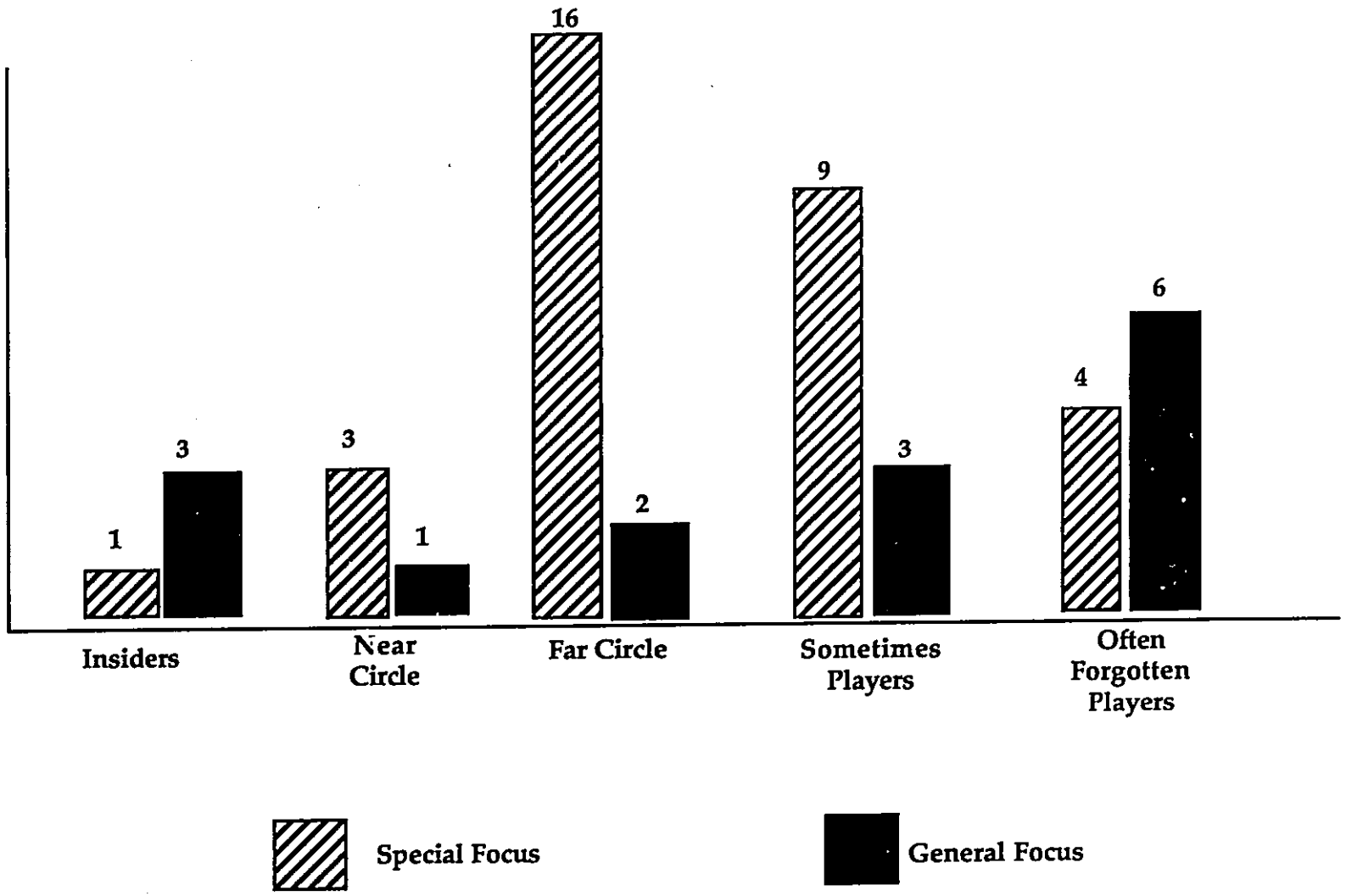

FIGURE 10. Classification of Policy Community Actors by Orientation and Influence.

11. What functions did decision makers fulfill?

Almond (1965, p. 194) suggested authorities may perform any of the following functions: rule or policy making; rule or policy application; rule or policy adjudication; communication. The rule or policy-making function involves the conversion of articulated demands into rules or policies. In the case of the hearings studied here, the authorities (the Standing Committee on Social Development, and the Minister of Education) responded to the articulated demands of those making inputs, by converting the inputs into a policy (Bill 109). In this context the authorities performed rule or policy-making functions.

12. What type of output resulted from the policy formulation process?

Almond and Powell (1978) included among types of outputs: extractions; regulations; distributions; and symbolic outputs. The final form of Bill 109, which created a French-language school board, was the output of the hearings of the Standing Committee. The creation of a new school board can be seen as a distributive output in the sense that it involves the distribution of powers and of services. Bill 109 can also be seen as a form of regulation in the sense that, as a law, it regulates the behavior of the French-language school board. The creation of a French-language school board can finally be seen as a symbolic output in that affirms the rights of Franco-Ontarians in the Ottawa-Carleton region to educational self determination.

13. What dominant ideas were suggested by the structures and processes, and the policy?

Underlying the structures and processes of the public hearings studied are a number of dominant ideas (Doern and Phidd, 1983). The process of public hearings implied a recognition of the fundamental democratic principle of the right to have a voice in the determination of policy by individuals affected by and interested in the process. By consulting with the particular region, in this case the Ottawa-Carleton region, the hearings also suggested a sensitivity to regional concerns. The policy itself, that is the creation of a French-language school board, reflected one of the basic ideas guiding policy formulation in education, the principle of local control and self determination. The policy also reflected the principle of the individualism,

implied in the French-language rights guaranteed by the Canadian Charter of Rights. Finally, inherent in a policy creating a French language school board is the idea that Franco-Ontarians are given equal opportunity for education. When implemented such a policy implies that Franco-Ontarians are to be treated equitably.

While the structures and processes involved in the public hearing illustrated a number of dominant ideas, the inputs made by groups to the public hearings provide another indication of the dominant ideas involved in this policy process. These demands suggest that the idea of equitable treatment of Franco-Ontarians and of other groups may not be perceived by the groups to have been achieved by the Bill. It is beyond the scope of this study to undertake an analysis of the content of the demands made by the various groups making inputs into the Standing Committee hearings. It is, however, important to highlight the general focus of these demands, as not only illustrations of the dominant ideas reflected in the demands, but also to highlight the conflict apparent within the community as the result of the provisions of the Bill.

Bill 109 creates a French-language school board comprised of two essentially separate sectors, public and separate, that have exclusive jurisdiction in most matters but share some responsibilities. During the hearings a number of concerns were raised by francophones and anglophones, and also by Catholic school supporters. 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.

The umbrella structure of the board was an issue for Catholic trustees who were concerned that through the provisions for common jurisdiction, the public sector trustees might have some control over matters in the separate sector. Since public board, unlike separate boards in Ontario have access to the commercial and industrial tax base, there was also a concern that the board would offer different levels of expenditure per pupil to each of these sectors. These issues were reflected in the demands made by a number of groups. In expressing these concerns the groups questioned the constitutionality of the Bill. Catholic groups argued that Bill 109 diminishes the control Catholics have over their denominational schools, a right guaranteed in the Canadian Charter of Rights. Francophone groups also questioned the constitutionality of the Bill, on, however, quite different

grounds. Some of the Franco-Ontarian groups argued that the financing provisions for the new board conflict with Section 15 of the Charter of Rights because these financing provisions discriminate on the basis of language. These groups argued that the funding provisions run counter to Section 23 of the Charter of Rights which stipulates equal rights to anglophones and francophones in educational matters.

A number of other groups demanded that the Bill include specific and adequate funding guarantees for the new French-language school board. Other Francophone groups demanded that the Bill should ensure adequate funding to provide services equivalent to those available to English-language students. These groups further proposed that a special grant be provided by the government to the new French-language board to ensure that it receives revenue equivalent to what it would receive if it had a commercial and industrial tax base. In addition the French-language groups and the Catholic groups united in using the hearings as an opportunity to demand for a pooling of commercial and industrial assessments and grants.

This overview of the demands expressed during this regulatory stage in the policy process highlights one of the basic difficulties authorities face in attempting to achieve equity, a dominant idea accepted as fundamental to Canadian public policy formulation. Equity is fundamental to the Canadian concept of democracy. Inherent in the notion of equity are ideas about the rule of law and equality before the law. In practice, the idea of equity can create conflict. Notions of equity must be balanced by provisions established within the law.

These various demands illustrate that while the process of holding public hearings implies a recognition of democratic rights, the fact that these demands suggest that some basic concerns of the groups affected by the policy have not been met, indicates that the hearings may, in fact, represent a symbolic ratification process rather than any real attempt to gain input from the groups affected. This illustrates that a full analysis of policy formulation requires the use of the full political systems strategy encompassing an analysis of inputs. (Table 28 summarizes the dominant ideas)

The Findings Summarized

The political systems analysis of the hearings on Bill 109 is summarized in Table 29

Table 28

Dominant Ideas In the Structures, Processes of the Public Hearings

DOMINANT IDEAS	
Structures and Processes	**Dominant Ideas**
Public hearings	• Right to public input
Consultation of region	• Regional sensitivity
Policy: Creation of French-language board	• Local control
Policy: Creation of French-language board	• Equality of education
Policy: Support of French-language rights	• Individualism
Policy: Implementation	• Equitable treatment?
Inputs: Constitutional rights of denominational schools	• Equitable treatment?
Inputs: Constitutional rights of Francophones	• Equitable treatment?
Inputs: Financial provisions	• Equitable treatment?

Table 29 An application of a political systems strategy to the analysis of the hearings on Bill 109.

A POLITICAL SYSTEMS STRATEGY FOR THE ANALYSIS OF POLICY FORMULATION	
LEVEL	Provincial
ISSUE	Governance
DIVISIONS CREATED BY ISSUE	Language: -French/English Religion (School Support) -Catholic/Public Region -Local/Provincial
FUNCTIONAL STAGE	Regulation
STRUCTURES AND PROCESSES	Government Structure: -Standing Committee Process: -Public Hearings
TYPES OF INTEREST GROUPS	Groups Dominating: -Associational, Internal Special Focus -Associational, French, Groups With No Definition of Support.
POLICY COMMUNITY	Actor Groups: (n=43) -Authorities -Government officials -Individuals -Interest groups Degree of Influence: -Insiders -Near Circle -Far Circle -Sometime Players -Often Forgotten Players
CONTROL OF POLICY PROCESS	Policy Community Dominated by: Internal, Special Focus Groups
DEMAND CONVERSION	Decision Making Authorities Minister of Education, and Standing Committee. Functions of Decision Makers: -Rule/Policy Making
OUTPUTS	Output Decision: Bill 109 -Regulation -Distribution -Symbolic Output
DOMINANT IDEAS	Ideas: -Equality -Equity -Individual Rights -Regional Diversity and Sensitivity -Local Control of Education

CHAPTER FIVE

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

This investigation of a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation occurred in two phases. During the first phase, as a result of a literature review, a political systems strategy was identified. The second phase then applied selected elements of this strategy to the analysis of a particular stage in a policy formulation process. The following discussion of the findings considers the first phase of the study, the identification of a political systems strategy.

A Political Systems Strategy Identified

The review of the literature suggested that a political systems strategy for the analysis of the formulation of policy must address a number of elements including the environment, the nature of the inputs, the conversion process and the outputs. The fundamental assumption is that, as a system output, policy formulation involves an authoritative allocation of values. Policy formulation can be seen as the response of the political system to stress caused by insufficient supports or excessive demands. Inherent in a political systems strategy is the concept of a series of functional stages in a policy system including interest articulation, interest aggregation, allocation, regulation, implementation, and evaluation. Each of these stages is defined by the dynamics of the influence relationships between systems actors. These actors include not only interest groups, who act as boundary gatekeepers, and intrasystem gatekeepers who regulate the conversion of demands into policy decisions, but also the authorities who make the allocative decisions. The type of demands articulated and the type of groups articulating the demands provide an indication of the nature of the conversion process. The conversion of demands into policy decisions involves a policy community in a complex arrangement of influence relationships. The decision-making process is influenced and guided by a number of dominant ideas. These dominant ideas underlie the assumptive world of the policy community. The particular level of the policy process will define the structures and processes and policy community involved as well as the nature of the policy

process. The type of policy or issue provides another variable related to the nature of the policy formulation process. Thus environment, level of the policy formulation process, type of issue, governmental structures, systemic features, functional stages, system actors, influence relationships, policy communities, assumptive worlds and the dominant ideas which guide and influence them, provide the conceptual components of a political system strategy for the analysis of a policy formulation process.

Application to Educational Policy Formulation

The utility of the political systems strategy can be assessed by considering its application to the study of policy formulation in the educational system. In this context a political systems strategy for the analysis of educational policy formulation views the educational system as a political system. The educational system is a focus for demands from the environment. The Ministry of Education, as a recognized authority in the educational system, is seen to be responsible for the transformation of demands into outputs in the form of authoritative allocations that affect the operation of the educational system.

Demands come to the Ministry of Education in the form of stated expectations for specific action. Both the external and the internal environment of the Ministry are sources of these demands. The external environment consists of the community and the larger society and the internal environment comprises the interactions and relationships within the educational system itself.

The demands of the internal and external actors may relate to a number of topics such as finances, facilities and personnel. Based on Almond's (1965) typology these demands may call for the provision of goods and services; (extractive); the regulation of behavior (regulative); participation in the decision-making process (participative); or the affirmation of beliefs by the Ministry (symbolic).

The demands arising within the educational system itself, or from the external environment must be articulated to the Ministry. A political systems strategy recognizes the importance of interest groups as boundary gatekeepers who articulate and aggregate demands from the external environment. Interest groups have been classified in several ways in order to assess the

nature of their behavior and their influence on the policy formulation process. Almond (1960) classified such groups as institutional, associational, non-associational or anomic groups. Almond's (1960) classes of demand articulation structures are useful for identifying actors involved in the articulation process based on their organizational structure. Thus institutional groups, as formal organizations with professionally employed personnel and functions other than interest articulation, could be assumed to have extensive financial and personnel resources to direct toward the process of influencing authorities. The assumption made by Pross (1975) is that such groups would use access-oriented communication with policy makers stressing long term, direct and often informal contact. In contrast, anomic groups (Almond, 1960), or issue-oriented groups (Pross, 1975), arise as a result of a particular issue, such as a school closure, lack resources and organization. Associational groups are specifically formed for the purpose of articulating the interests of their constituents. Classifications based on organizational structure of interest groups suggest that the degree of organization should explain not only the behavior of the groups, but also their relative influence. This view predicts that institutional groups, with organizational strength, should be more effective at having their demands met by authorities than associational or anomic groups. However, such an approach does not account for the actual success of small groups with narrower focuses and fewer financial resources. In order to address this contradiction interest groups can also be classified by their orientation.

The various actors acticulating demands on the educational policy system can be classified using Van Loon and Whittington's (1981) interest group typology. This typology permits the identification of groups on the basis of their orientation or whether they are self interested or promotional. Self-interested groups are concerned in promoting the economic and political goals of the group itself. Promotional groups are interested in goals which may be beneficial to the whole community. These classifications can be related to the distinction between special-focus groups, such as L' Association des Enseignants Franco-Ontariens, and general-focus groups, such as the Ontario Teachers' Federation, made by Duane, Townsend and Bridgeland (1985). The assumption of a distinction based on orientation, is that special-focus groups with narrow policy agendas may be better able to direct their resources to serve the needs of their constituents. Because of their narrow

focus such special-focus groups may be seen by policy makers as m ɔre legitimate representatives of their constituency.

Another possible classification focuses on whether interest groups are internal or external actors in the educational policy process. This classification is suggested by Van Loon and Whittington's (1981) continuum, based on origin of the group. The concept of internal and external actors can be related to Easton's (1965a) conceptual separation of inputs and withinputs. Van Loon and Whittington's (1981) classification allows educational interest groups to be further classified by the degree to which they are autonomous, or self-originating and self-maintaining as opposed to groups initiated by a governing body and within the educational system. The educational system's administrative officials, teachers' associations, school boards and educational associations are in the educational system's internal environment. These individuals and groups may be considered core actors, and their demands termed "withinputs" in the educational policy formulation process. In contrast, public organizations, private organizations, citizens, and community groups may be viewed as in the educational system's external environment. In intermediate positions are the provincial trustees' associations, and school-community associations who are not totally within the educational policy system, but who have been created by it.

Steele, Working and Biernacki (1981), combined the classification of groups by organizational structure and the classification of groups by origin, with the relative permanence of the group, that is whether the group is ad hoc, or whether it has a long standing status (categoric). They suggested that if the interest group is appointed, and thus within the educational system, then the group can be seen to have the support of the authorities. Such appointed groups are more likely to have their recommendations taken into consideration. In addition, if the group is a long standing one, as opposed to an issue oriented, or ad hoc group, then the group will more likely be integrated into the educational policy system. Finally, if the group is formally organized it has the capacity to delegate tasks and responsibilities with the likelihood of greater effectiveness in articulating its demands to authorities.

There is a danger of viewing the policy process as a linear progression with sharply defined boundaries between actors and their responsibilities. Policy formulation involves a number of actors in a complex web of interactions. The demand articulation process occurs within an educational

policy community comprised of core actors, or using the terminology of the model developed by Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986), the Insiders. These Insiders include the groups most influential in determining educational policy. The Near Circle actors may include those groups whose full-time occupation is educational policy, such as senior Ministry of Education staff, and teachers' associations. The groups in the Far Circle can be influential but are not crucial to the educational policy process. These are often interest groups with an interest in the educational policy process. The Sometime Players in the educational policy process may also include various educational interest groups such as teachers' and administrators' associations. The Often -Forgotten Players could include the federal government, and the courts, through their capacity to interpret the various rights provided by the Charter of Rights. A political systems strategy suggests that analysis of the system actors involved will reveal the policy community active in the particular stage of the policy process.

In every political system there is a set of political structures which processes inputs and converts them into outputs (Almond, 1965). During a policy formulation process systemic features such as governmental structures determine the number and type of participants in the process as well as the channels of communication and degree of access to the policy process. These systemic features form part of an assumptive world which defines the rules of behavior and the areas of responsibilities. This study suggests that the systemic features are defined in part by the level at which the policy formulation occurs. In Canada education is a provincial responsibility, and as a result, the structures and processes of policy formulation at the provincial level become particularly important determinants of the nature of the process. However, Canada also has a long tradition of local control over education though the school board. The local level of educational policy formulation is distinguished by its unique structures and processes. The political systems strategy therefore suggests that the level of the policy formulation must be considered in determining the nature of the process.

The political systems strategy identified also suggests that the particular type of policy being formulated will influence the nature of the interactions among members of the policy community. This view is similar to that taken by Lowi (1972) who argued that policies determine politics. Thus a policy addressing governance, which regulates behavior and, distributes resources

will draw the attention of a wide number of interests. These interest groups may form coalitions to influence the policy process, but most will also compete to insure their concerns are met.

Underlying the entire notion of a policy strategy for the analysis of policy formulation is the idea of a policy process. A process of policy formulation involves a series of successive stages each involving unique sets of interactions and calling for specific skills from both those making inputs and those making the decisions. Mitchell (1988) noted that the notion of functional stages in a policy process recognizes the importance of time in a policy process. The stages of issue definition, aggregation, allocation, regulation, implementation and evaluation are each characterized by particular processes and actor relationships. The timing of policy influences must be considered. At each stage the policy process makes specific demand of the policy actors. At the regulation stage, for example, the information needs and the decision-making process call for technical, problem-solving skills of the actors..

During the allocation and regulation stages, the articulated demands are converted into policies, rules and regulations, and during the implementation stage, these policies are applied, enforced, and adjudicated. The political systems strategy suggests that policy outputs feedback into the environment thereby influencing subsequent inputs into the policy process. The enactment and implementation of authoritative policies require a set of decision rules, or as Almond and Powell (1978) termed them "rules about rule making - determining who can do what in the enactment and implementation of policy" (p. 232). These rules are determined, in part, by the demands and constraints upon the authorities making the decisions. The decision makers are influenced by their background, as well as how and where they obtain their information. The decision makers are also influenced by a number of assumptions guiding the unique relationships within the policy community.

The nature of these guiding assumptions are related to the dominant ideas that are inherent in the policy process. In education the dominant ideas of individualism, inherent in the Canadian Charter of Rights may conflict with the idea of majoritarianism. Majoritarianism emphasizes the rights of the collective community, while individualism supports the rights of the individual. The political nature of the policy process is illustrated by the

nature of the allocation process which forces educational policy makers to continually balance and address the conflict between such dominant ideas as equity and individual rights. For example, in order to fulfill the demands for individual rights based on the Charter provisions for minority language rights, Ministry of Education officials may be forced to treat one group more equally than another.

The utility of the political systems strategy was assessed by the empirical investigation of selected elements of the strategy to the analysis of a particular stage in a policy formulation process. This empirical application formed the second phase of the study. The following section discusses the findings of this investigation.

An Empirical Application of the Political Systems Strategy

The purpose of the empirical application of the political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation was to assess how easily the approach could be empirically applied. The purpose of the empirical application was also to consider what conclusions could be drawn from the findings about the nature of the policy process. At the outset the question posed by the first purpose can be answered. The approach proved very easy to apply, essentially because the strategy suggested specific questions and approaches to classifying data in response to those questions. The conclusions drawn from the findings of this empirical application of a political systems strategy require a more detailed discussion. The following section discusses the findings and draws conclusions from them.

The elements of the political systems strategy which were used to analyze the public hearings on Bill 109 included: the level of policy formulation; the type of issue addressed; the divisions created by the issue; the functional stage in the policy process represented; the particular structures and processes evident; the types of interest groups making inputs into the process; the actors represented in the various sectors of the policy community; the nature of the control of the policy process; who the authorities where; what functions they were fulfilling; and finally what dominant ideas were suggested by the structures, processes and the policy itself. The following discussion addresses each of these elements in turn.

The identification of the level of policy formulation is important because it helps define the unique sphere of each level's policy community. The creation of a new school board falls within the responsibility of the Province of Ontario. Because it involves the passage of provincial legislation, the members of the legislature are ultimately involved.

The creation of a French-Language School Board addressed the issue of educational governance. "Governance" is a relatively new concept in educational research and analysis, rarely mentioned in journals prior to the 1970s. The thesaurus of the Educational Resources Information Center (ERIC) gave the following definition:

> The policy-making, objective-setting, and exercise of authority in an organization, institution, or agency- includes administrative or management functions to the extent that they relate to the execution of policy and authority (1980, p. 97).

Mitchell (1982) suggested that this definition implies three concepts encompassed in governance. First, governance involves the control of school operations by means of regulations, the establishment of goals and objectives or the exercise of political or administrative authority.

Second, schools are part of a larger political system, for while educators may focus on day-to-day operations, the ultimate source of their authority lies with the legal machinery of government. In this sense school governance implies how the power and authority of the state is used to organize and control the educational system.

Third, school governance connects the political and the administrative aspects of schools. The power of administrators to influence the implementation of politically formulated policy mandates, suggests that the study of governance must move beyond the study of formal governmental structures to study governance processes and mechanisms. The complexity and importance of governance in education suggests that this issue had tremendous impact on the nature of the policy formulation process and the actions of the various groups involved in the process.

The analysis of the hearings suggested that the policy, that is the intent to create a French-Language School Board, had already been determined. The hearings represented, in effect a ratification process, as well as a final forum for public input on various regulatory details. The hearings were therefore classified as representing a regulatory stage of the policy process. This stage

was defined by such systemic features as public hearings and consultations by the authorities with legislative and legal advisors. Systemic features also included such government structures as the Standing Committee on Social Development, composed of members of the legislature.

The study identified the authorities as the members of the Standing Committee on Social Development. These authorities, in responding to the inputs of various groups and individuals, performed policy-making functions. The Standing Committee was not a homogeneous body, but rather it was composed of members of the legislature representing all the political parties. A number of these members brought relevant backgrounds and experiences to the decision-making process, some having previously been local school trustees, (Yvonne O'Neil, Dalton McGuinty) and others having been involved in the issue of French-language educational governance for a number of years (Charles Beer). Further research should consider the nature of the backgrounds of the various authorities.

A political systems strategy suggests that the various groups making inputs into the policy formulation process are important barometers of environmental concerns on an issue. This study identified these groups and classified them in several ways in order to assess the nature of the policy community involved in the issue. Mitchell (1988) noted that state-level policy formulation is conducted by a small number of senior officials. The findings of this study appear to concur with Mitchell's observation. However, the findings also suggested that while the forty-one individuals and groups making inputs do not represent a large number, they do imply a relatively wide consultation process. It is noteworthy that 8 of these inputs were made by government advisors. These included educational, legislative and legal advisors. This finding would confirm Mitchell's observation that the regulatory stage requires technical information and problem-solving skills. Government legislative advisors are required to assist in drafting the legislation. Legal advisors are needed to ensure the legality of the legislation. Educational policy advisors are required for their knowledge of background issues.

The findings suggest that the consultative process drew inputs from interest groups for the most part. Only 4 individuals made inputs into the process, and two of these were made by trustees acting as individuals. This confirms the nature of the interest aggregation process suggested by political

systems analysis. Easton (1965a, 1965b) argued that interest groups act as boundary gatekeepers, aggregating demands and ultimately articulating them to the relevant authorities.

The study classified the 33 interest groups making inputs to the hearings in several ways. The groups were classified by organizational structure, as either institutional, associational, or non-associational groups. It is significant that anomic or ad hoc, issue-oriented groups were not represented among the interest groups making inputs into this provincial-level regulatory stage of a policy process. Whether, as a whole such groups do not operate at the provincial level, or whether ad hoc groups had previously formed around the issue at an earlier stage in the policy process should be the subject of further research. The classification of groups by organizational structure found that the largest number of educational interest groups making inputs to the hearings were associational groups. Associational groups are formed to articulate the special interests of their constituents. School boards, representing formal organizations with designated functions other than the articulation of special interests, were classified as institutional groups. The study found that all the school boards directly affected by the policy made inputs into the hearings.

In classifying groups as associational or institutional it became clear that the distinction was not completely accurate. While groups may be associational in the sense of primarily serving the function of the articulation of their constituents interest, they are also institutionalized to varying degrees. For example the recently formed local level French Principals' Association does not possess the organizational capacity of the provincial level Franco-Ontarian Association. L'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario, formed in 1910 for the specific purpose of articulating the interest of Ontario's francophones, possesses organizational and financial resources that would define it as an institutionalized group. This finding suggests some limitations to Almond and Powell's (1978) typology. Nevertheless, the finding that the policy community was comprised of mainly educational associations confirms the suggestion by Mitchell (1988) that provincial-level policy formulation is controlled by educational groups.

The classification of the groups making inputs into the hearings by origin considered whether the groups were "autonomous", that is self originating and maintaining, or "reverse" groups which were created by the educational

system. This study assumed that groups that were created by the educational system were internal actors, while those that were autonomous of the educational system, were external actors. The findings suggest that most of the inputs were made by internal actors. This finding also confirms Mitchell's (1988) argument that the state-level policy system is controlled by a small number of educational groups. However, there are also difficulties in this categorization. The groups do not necessarily represent either internal or external actors, but rather can be classified along a continuum by degrees to which they are internal or external to the policy system. For example a church group would be classified as an actor external to the educational system, however a parent-teacher association while not internal to the provincial educational policy process, has, in a sense, been created by the educational system, and can therefore be seen as "more" internal to the educational policy process than the church group.

The study also classified the 33 groups and individuals making inputs by orientation. Special-focus groups included those primarily interested in promoting their own goals. General-focus groups, in contrast, were concerned with the needs of the community as a whole. The results of this classification suggests that most of the groups making inputs into the hearings on Bill 109 were special-focus groups. Whether predominance of special-focus groups is due to the nature of the particular issue addressed, or the particular stage in the policy process studied, or whether the nature of the provincial level educational policy process supports the formation of special-focus educational groups requires further research. This study suggests that each of these factors may be determinants of the larger number of special-focus groups active in the policy community. Interest group theory (Olson, 1965; Riker, 1962) suggests that special-focus interest groups with narrow policy agendas are better able to provide selective and collective benefits to their constituents, and as a result are more effective. This suggests that in order to ensure that their specific interests are met, for example, French Principals' will form a special interest group. The findings of this study imply that there were likely overlapping memberships by individuals in several special interest groups. For example, both the local and provincial sections of l'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario share members, however, each section made separate inputs to the hearings in order to highlight their own special concerns.

The classification, in the study, of interest groups by organizational structure, origin and orientation confirms that most of the inputs to the hearings were made by associational, special focus, internal actors. This suggests a policy process that involves the inputs of highly specialized groups directly involved in or primarily focused on the educational system. This finding also concurs with Mitchell's (1988) observation that the regulatory stage of the policy process requires technical and specialized information.

This study also considered what divisions were created by the issue. It found that the creation of a new French-Language School Board created divisions based on language and school support. While most of the groups making inputs were French, a number of English-speaking groups also made inputs to the hearings. Classification of the groups making inputs by school support suggested that the issue also created divisions between Catholic and public school supporters. Classification of the groups making inputs by organizational structure, language and school support suggested that one quarter of the inputs were made by Associational French groups with no apparent definition by religion. However, the rest of the inputs indicated a policy community fragmented by language and school support. This finding underlines the complexity of the issue of governance suggested by Mitchell (1982). The finding that the policy community involved in the issue of governance is fragmented by language and school support is a reflection of Ontario's unique educational system as a whole.

This study categorized the groups and individuals comprising the policy community by level of focus. The analysis found that the provincial and local levels were equally represented. While the creation of a French-Language School Board for Ottawa-Carleton was of significant interest to local educational groups, the issue of Franco-Ontarian educational governance was of such importance to the whole province that it drew the inputs of provincially-focused groups and individuals.

A political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation suggests that the policy process involves the interaction of a complex network of actors who comprise the policy community. This study found in analyzing the educational policy community involved in the hearings on Bill 109, that the Insiders included the authorities and the Deputy Minister of Franco-Ontarian Education. The Near Circle actors included the educational advisors. The study found that the Far Circle included a number of professional educational

groups. These findings suggest that those most influential tended to be educational advisors or professional educational interest groups. Classification of groups by origin and influence confirmed the idea that the educational policy process is controlled at the provincial level by educational insiders. This finding implies a closed policy process.

An educational policy formulation system could be considered open if the demands received by the authorities, are articulated by a variety of actors, that is actors in both the internal and external environments. If, however, the majority of demands are articulated by actors in the internal environment the policy formulation system could be viewed as closed. The following discussion addresses the issue of whether educational policy formulation systems in general can be characterized as either open or closed.

The Standing Committee on Social Development and the Ontario Ministry of Education, as a formal authorities within the political system, are invested with powers to process demands and to recommend that either the demands be satisfied, ignored, or postponed. Not all wants, interests, and expectations filter through the boundary of the political system as demands. Affecting what wants become demands in the educational system is the degree of openness or closedness of that system.

A political system, like other systems can be conceived of as being open or closed. An open system is in constant interaction with its environment. Characteristic of the open system is the flow of material, energy, and information into and from the transformation or conversion machinery of the system. A closed system is a self-contained and deterministic system and is not characterized by the steady flow of material, energy or information. The distinction between an open and closed system, though not absolute, is an important and useful distinction in the comparison of political systems.

Examination of the literature on the educational policy process in Canada reveals two viewpoints on the character of educational governance. One view sees the process as illustrating an open system, the second view, a closed system. Some scholars suggest that at the provincial level of education, policy making results from a coalition of lay and professional groups.

Housego (1972) argued:

> The influence system that gives rise to policy is made up of a limited select number of interest groups. On major province-wide policy issues, settlement rests on the conflict and compromise of a limited number of interest groups--typically the executives of the provincial teachers' and trustees' associations and the senior administrators within the department of education... The influence of this quasi-official organization is extensive in that typically only policy recommendations it agrees upon will go to the Cabinet (sic) and the legislature for ratification. (pp. 14-15)

Many of the arguments that a closed system of politics dominates education are based on Iannaccone's Politics in Education (1967). Iannaccone developed a typology of four policy-making structures, each characteristic of a given stage of development in the political lifestyle of American states. The most commonly found type is a "monopolistic pyramid," composed of various groups and dominated by an academic-technocratic "power-elite." Based on this work, Iannaccone and Cistone (1974) suggested that the typical state policy-making arena is one in which "the focus of political compromise is outside the legislature and prior to legislative consideration of bills. . . " (p. 47). This suggests that educational governance is often the result of management of conflict and consensus in school districts and ministries of education. Some argue that an examination of sources of influence in educational governance would reveal a new politics of education (Cistone and Iannaccone, 1979). Where once ministries of education, trustees and administrators wielded power, now demands of community groups, students, teachers and their associations and parents are exerting influence (Coleman, 1977; Wirt and Kirst, 1972, Cistone and Iannaccone, 1980).

Canadian case studies supporting the thesis that educational decision making involves a pluralistic process of compromise (Housego, 1965; Riffel and Housego, 1967) have been questioned. Ricker (1981) argued that instead of demonstrating pluralistic compromise, the two cases provide evidence in support of the theory of bureaucratic hegemony in educational policy making. Many observers of educational policy making in Canada argue that bureaucratic control is the defining characteristic of the various provincial policy-making systems (Selby, 1977; Stapleton, 1977; Cameron, 1972).

Whether or not educational governance involves a pluralistic compromise, it is recognized that any educational system is constantly

reacting to its unique political, social, cultural and economic influences. As is suggested by Doern and Phidd's (1983) view of the public policy process, the shared assumptions of Canada's unique political culture provide another variable, relevant to explaining the behavior of educational interest groups. Canadian political culture has traditionally stressed order and hierarchical authority, allowing considerable power to be assumed by governments and institutions (Presthus, 1974, pp. 3-38). At both the federal and provincial levels of government the cabinet dominates the parliamentary system, and provides fewer access points for Canadian interest groups to exert their influence than is the case in the American system with its system of checks and balances and multitude of access points for interest groups. The observation by Pross (1975) that the Canadian policy system is not open is echoed by the Canadian Education Association Task Force (1979). The task force noted the limited capacity of the educational system to act upon public demands.

Sackney (1984) pointed out that the root of the problem at the local level of educational governance lies in the fact that the educational policy process essentially operates through two relatively closely aligned structures, the school board and the administration. At the Ministry level, Sackney (1984) argued, the provincial educational policy system tends to favor institutionalized groups, particularly those using consensus-seeking techniques of political communication. In contrast, Pross (1975, p. 19) noted that issue-oriented groups that are not accommodative and consensus-seeking. They use media-oriented techniques of public arousal which result in conflict, and consequently have less chance of achieving their desired changes in policy. This view of the closed nature of the provincial policy system seems to be confirmed by two recent case studies of "issue-oriented" educational interest groups operating at the local level (LeMoine, 1984; Benedict, 1982).

The results of this study agree with the research evidence at the state level which suggests that the policy formulation system is essentially closed. This research argues that the state-level policy process is controlled by a very few actors and influenced largely by organized professional interest groups. In support of these arguments this study found that a regulatory phase of the provincial level educational policy process was characterized by inputs from internal actors and as such could be considered a closed policy process.

The political system strategy suggests that a number of dominant ideas influence and guide not only the actual policy but also the nature of the decision-making process resulting in the policy. This study found, for example, that the decision to create a French-language school board is influenced by the idea of equality of language rights defined by the Canadian Charter of Rights. The actual decision-making process involving public hearings supports the concept of an open consultative process and suggests the fundamental democratic idea of the right to have a voice in the determination of policy. One of the fundamental ideas underlying the issue of educational governance is that of local control of education. The findings of this study suggest that actors in the educational system will mobilize and form coalitions in order to protect the concept of local control of education.

This study also found that the creation of a French-language school board implies a political recognition of the minority language rights for Franco-Ontarians guaranteed in the Canadian Charter of Rights. This recognition is political in that it is ultimately the political will of the government to act on such ideas which determine whether the ideas are translated into policy decisions. This political will is defined in part by the nature of the assumptive world of the educational policy community. This assumptive world is embedded in a unique Canadian political culture. In Canada, pluralism is to some extent an encouraged norm. There is a "mosaic" philosophy of collective rights, and as Greenfield (1981) suggested; "we are bothered by the notion that minorities of all kinds-political, cultural, linguistic, sexual- have some rights and we struggle to recognize them without destroying the larger social fabric" (p. 19).

Significance of the Study

This study has addressed the demand for theoretical understanding of policy formulation through an investigation of a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation. Dye (1981, p. 42) noted that the value of a systems model for policy analysis lies in the questions it poses:

1. What are the significant dimensions of the environment that generate demands upon the political system?

2. What are the significant characteristics of the political system that enable it to transform demands into public policy and to preserve itself over time?

3. How do environmental inputs affect the character of the political system?

4. How do characteristics of the political system affect the content of public policy?

5. How do environmental inputs affect the content of public policy?

6. How does public policy affect, through feed back, the environment?

The political systems strategy identified is significant in that it enables these and other questions to be answered.

This investigation of a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation can also be seen as significant from the broad perspective of the study of policy. The study of public policy, Dye (1981) suggested, can be justified on scientific, professional and political grounds (p. 5-6). Dye asserted that the study of public policy in general, has at least three desirable outcomes.

First, by asking what impact public policy has on society and its political system we can "improve our understanding of the linkages between socio-economic forces, political processes, and public policy" (Dye, 1981, p. 5-6). The political systems analysis of the Hearings on Bill 109 provides an increased understanding of the policy making process particularly when its findings are viewed in relation to other studies of policy formulation.

Second, policy studies can provide an understanding of the causes and consequences of public policy. Such understanding is useful in solving practical problems associated with policy formulation.

Third, "policy studies can be undertaken not only for scientific and professional purposes but also to inform political discussion, advance the level of political awareness, and improve the quality of public policy" (Dye, 1981, p. 6).

Finally, this investigation of a political systems strategy is significant in that it makes a contribution to the theoretical understanding of educational

policy formulation. The study is also significant in that it adds to the research base on provincial-level policy formulation. The study highlights the policy community involved during a regulatory stage, and illustrates the unique dominant ideas reflected in one province's policy formulation on a particular issue.

Suggestions for Further Research

As the result of this study several directions for further research have emerged. These directions focus not only on the specific policy formulation process studied here, the hearings on Bill 109 (1988), but the directions for further research also focus on theoretical investigations of a political systems approach to policy analysis. The following suggestions for further research first highlight the issues directly related to the policy formulation on Bill 109, and then consider further research possibilities related to the political systems strategy generally.

Suggestions For Further Research Related to Bill 109

1. This study has assessed the regulation stage of Bill 109. Further research should consider the other stages of the policy formulation process, including the issue definition, issue aggregation, allocation, implementation, and evaluation stages.
2. A study of the stages of issue definition and aggregation should address the questions:

    -What were the events and issues that led to the creation of Bill 109?

    -What individuals or groups attempted to influence the decision makers?
3. A study of the allocation stage should consider how Bill 109 was developed by addressing the questions:

    -What proposals were developed?

-How and by whom were the proposals developed?

4. The implementation of Bill 109 should be studied, highlighting the importance of the past history, and assessing the particular problems encountered.

5. The creation of a new school board has significant impact on the entire educational community. The impact of Bill 109 on the Ottawa-Carleton educational community should be assessed.

6. The empirical application of elements of the political systems strategy did not consider the nature of the demands made upon the Standing Committee on Social Development. An investigation of the demands made upon authorities would compare the demands made by various interest groups as a way of assessing the extent of conflict or consensus generated by the issue. Such a study should address the questions:

   -What substantive demands were made related to the issue?

   -What types of demands were made?

7. The creation, by Bill 109 (1988) of a French-Language School Board in Ottawa Carleton, had a significant impact on the entire educational community in the region. Both conflict and consensus were apparent among the various members of the Ottawa-Carleton educational community, over the allocation of this valued resource. This conflict and consensus could be illustrated by the comparison of demands articulated by specific groups such as Franco-Ontarians vs. anglophones; Catholic vs. public school supporters; and Franco-Ontarian public vs. the Franco-Ontarian Catholic school supporters.

8. This study did not assess the perceptions of the authorities regarding the influence of the various groups making inputs into the hearings. Such an assessment would provide an important addition to the research on the criteria for the effective exercise of influence by educational interest groups.

9. The members of the Standing Committee on Social Development were not a homogeneous body. The members represented various political parties. They also brought significant experience to the decision making process. For example, some members had previously been local school trustees and

others had considerable experience with the issue of French-Language rights in Ontario. Further research would consider the background of the various members of the Standing Committee.

10. This study classified the various actors in the policy community by level of influence. An important extension of this research would involve investigating the perceptions of members of the policy community regarding the placement of the various groups by levels of influence. For example which individuals and groups were seen as Insiders, which as Often Forgotten Players?

11. Bill 109 is the first legislation in Ontario creating a French-language School Board, and as such it will likely provide a model for other regions of Ontario. The applicability of the model of governance created by Bill 109 for other regions should be assessed.

Suggestions For Further Research Based on the Political Systems Strategy

12. This study suggested that the type of issue influences the nature of the interactions during the policy process. While there have been a number of typologies of policy issues developed (Mitchell and Encarnation, 1984), further research should investigate the types of issues commonly dealt with at both the provincial and local levels of policy formulation.

13. The type of issue may also influence the level at which policy formulation occurs. Because the province is responsible for legislation on educational governance, the process occurs at the provincial level. The provincial level of the policy formulation process may be less likely to face episodic or fleeting issues than the local or school board level. The school board represents the most direct focus for the inputs of the local community, and as a result it may be more likely to face the demands of issue-oriented or ad hoc groups. Not being directly tied in to the policy system, such groups tend to take a conflictual rather than a consensual approach to demand articulation. This suggests that further research should assess the question of whether the local-level of educational policy formulation can be distinguished from provincial-level policy formulation. It also suggests

further research to analyze whether the local level is characterized by ad hoc groups making conflicting demands on episodic issues.

14. In noting the importance of functional stages in a policy formulation process, this study recognized the importance of time and timing to policy formulation. This notion extends beyond the simple idea of stages of policy process. It suggests that timing may influence the nature of the interactions and the processes involved. The provision of insufficient time for interest groups to articulate demands may be a tactic used by authorities to close an issue. Further research should investigate the role of time in the policy process by addressing such questions as how does the amount of time provided for input into the decision making affect the process.

15. The political system strategy identified, suggested that the stages of a policy process may be characterized by unique sets of interactions and specific actors. Thus at the regulatory stage it is likely that Often-Forgotten actors such as legal and legislative advisors will be involved. This observation should be assessed empirically. The unique actors involved during the various functional stages of a policy process should be defined

16. The finding that most of the groups making inputs into the hearings on Bill 109 were special-focus groups suggests a direction for further research. Whether this predominance of special focus groups is due to the nature of the particular issue, or the particular stage studied, or whether it is related to the nature of the provincial level policy process, should be investigated. Such an investigation would consider the relationship between the types of groups making inputs into the policy formulation process, the type of policy, and the level of policy formulation.

17. The study found that at the regulatory stage of a provincial level policy formulation process on the issue of governance, most groups making inputs were associational. No anomic or issue oriented groups made inputs. Further research should investigate whether the provincial level policy process consistently excludes issue oriented groups.

18. Further research should also consider whether local and provincial levels of policy formulation can be distinguished by the type of groups making

inputs. Is the local-level policy process more likely to involve inputs from issue-oriented groups than the provincial level? If so, why?

19. This study concluded that there were likely overlapping memberships by individuals within the policy community in a number of special focus groups. Further research should investigate if this is indeed the case, and if so what does it imply for interest group theory.

20. A political systems strategy suggests that decision makers are influenced by their background. Further research should investigate the significant dimensions of policy makers' background. It should also consider the common elements of decision makers backgrounds. Do educational decision makers share common types of education, ethnic origin, political beliefs and previous experiences?

21. This study has suggested some of the dominant ideas which were reflected in the processes and structures of of a regulatory stage of a policy formulation process addressing educational governance. Further research should compare the dominant ideologies which define other provinces' regulation of educational governance. The purpose would be to ultimately to define the unique political culture of the various policy communities.

Summary

Many educational researchers have suggested that systems theory as applied to politics by Easton (1965a; 1965b) and others has provided the main framework for attempts to come to grips with the overall pattern of links between educational policy formulation and politics (Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Harman, 1974; Thompson, 1976; Wirt and Kirst, 1972, 1982; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976). This study reports on an investigation of a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation. In order to address this problem an extensive review of major theoretical contributions by scholars of political systems analysis was conducted. As a consequence of this review, a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation was identified. Easton's (1965a, 1965b) dynamic response model of political systems provided a heuristic focus, that is, a framework to identify the key elements in the policy formulation process. A number of other scholars using a political systems perspective have further developed the concepts essential for a political systems strategy for the analysis of policy formulation (Almond, 1960, 1965; Milstein and Jennings, 1973; Pross, 1975; Campbell and Mazzoni, 1976; Almond and Powell, 1978, Van Loon and Whittington, 1981; Doern and Phidd, 1983; Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt, 1986; Mitchell, 1988). A review of the literature suggested that a political systems strategy for the analysis of the formulation of policy must address a number of elements, including : environment; level of the policy formulation process; type of issue; governmental structures; systemic features; functional stages; system actors; influence relationships; policy communities; assumptive worlds and dominant ideas.

The study applied elements of the political systems strategy to a specific stage of a policy formulation process. The public hearing stage of a process resulting in the passage of an educational bill was chosen. The Standing Committee on Social Development, representing the government of Ontario, held hearings with regard to the final form of Bill 109 (1988). The methodology of content analysis was used to analyze the Government of Ontario Hansards of the hearings in order to address a series of questions generated from elements of the political systems strategy.

The questions posed by this study considered: the level of educational policy formulation involved; the type of issue addressed; the functional stage

involved; the systemic features indicated; who the authorities were; what types of individuals and interest groups made inputs; what divisions were created by the issue; which groups were represented by sectors of the policy community; who controlled the policy process; what type of output resulted from the process and what dominant ideas were suggested by the structures and processes.

Based on the political systems strategy for policy analysis, the study responded to these questions. The findings suggested that hearings involved a Ministry level policy formulation process. The study found that, based on Mitchell's (1988) policy process framework, the public hearings represented the regulation stage of the policy formulation process. Such a stage is characterized by a number of systemic features. Implied in the notion of systemic features are the governmental structures which determine the number and type of participants, the channels of communication and degree of access to the policy process. In the case of the hearings on Bill 109, the government structure involved was a committee of Members of the Legislature of Ontario. The committee held public hearings to ensure access by interested individuals and groups to the decision making process determining the final form of Bill (109). As the result of their capacity to make allocative decisions regarding the policy being formulated, the members of the Standing Committee on Social Development and the Minister of Education, the Honorable Christopher Ward, represented the authorities.

Forty-one individuals or groups made inputs into the hearings. Groups included government officials and special interest groups. Individuals included trustees, parents and church representatives. Based on Almond and Powell's (1978) typology, the interest groups were classified as institutional, associational, or non-associational. The study found that most of the inputs were made by associational groups. The groups were also classified according to Van Loon and Whittington's (1981) typology of interest groups, by orientation and origin. The analysis of the groups by orientation suggests that most of the inputs were made by special focus groups concerned with promoting their own interests. The analysis of the origin of the various interest groups found that most were internal actors, that is, groups who were either created by government or were within the educational system.

The type of issue is another element identified as important by a political systems strategy for policy analysis. The issue addressed by the authorities, based on the categorizations developed by Mitchell and Encarnation (1984), was the issue of educational governance. Analysis of the individuals and groups making inputs suggested that the issue created divisions based on language, school board support, and level of focus. The issue divided groups on the basis of language into French or English. The issue also divided groups on the basis of support for schools, into public school supporters, or Catholic or separate school supporters. Finally the issue also suggested a division based on local or provincial level focus.

Almond (1965, p.194) suggested that authorities may perform any of the following functions: rule or policy making; rule or policy application; rule or policy adjudication; communication. The rule or policy making function involves the conversion of articulated demands into rules or policies. In the case of the hearings on Bill 109, the authorities converted the inputs into a policy output (Bill 109). In so doing, the authorities performed a rule or policy making function. The study also investigated the type of output represented by Bill 109. Almond and Powell (1978) included among types of policy outputs: extractions; regulations; distributions and symbolic outputs. The final form of Bill 109, which creates a French-language school board, can be seen as a distributive output in the sense that it involves a distribution of powers and of services. Bill 109 can also be seen as a regulation because, as a law, it regulates the behavior of the French-language school board. The creation of a French-language school board can finally be seen as a symbolic output in that it affirms the rights of Franco-Ontarians in the Ottawa-Carleton region to educational self determination.

The study considered the nature of the policy community involved in the hearings. Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt (1986) classified actors in a policy community according to their influence on the policy formulation process as: Insiders; Near Circle Players; Far Circle Players; Sometime Players; and Often Forgotten Players. The study used the criteria identified by Marshall, Mitchell and Wirt to classify the actors in the hearings. According to this classification, the Insiders included the Standing Committee on Social Development, the Minister of Education, and the Assistant Deputy Minister of Franco-Ontarian Education. The Near Circle Players included various ministry officials and a French-language educational planning committee.

One of the questions arising from an analysis of a policy community is who controls the policy process? In his review of studies on state-level educational policy formulation, Mitchell (1988) noted that findings suggest that state-level policy formulation is controlled by organized professional interest groups. He suggested that policy is shaped by a small number of key actors. In the context of the public hearings studied here, the question becomes whether a regulatory stage in provincial level policy formulation process addressing the issue of educational governance is controlled by a small number of actors, particularly professional interest groups. An analysis of the data suggested that this is the case.

The study also considered what dominant ideas were suggested by the structures and processes, and the policy (Bill 109). Underlying the structures and processes of the public hearings studied are a number of dominant ideas (Doern and Phidd, 1983). The process of holding public hearings implies a recognition of the fundamental democratic principle of the right of individuals affected by the process to have a voice in the determination of the policy. By consulting with the actors in a particular region, in this case the Ottawa-Carleton region, the hearings also suggest a sensitivity to local and regional concerns. The policy itself, the creation of a French-language school board, also reflects one of the basic ideas guiding policy formulation in education, that is the principle of local control and self determination. The policy also reflects the principle of individual rights, implied in the French-language rights guaranteed by the Canadian Charter of Rights. Finally, inherent in a policy creating a French language school board is the idea that Franco-Ontarians are to have equal opportunity for education.

In his definitive article "Educational policy analysis: The state of the art", Mitchell (1984) noted that "in education as in other policy areas, research and analysis have only recently become formally associated with the formulation, implementation and evaluation of public policy decisions"(p. 131). Boyd (1988) noted that policy analysis has developed in sophistication and rigor since the 1960s and that education has, particularly in the United States, been a leading area for research and innovation in policy analysis (e.g., Coleman et al., 1966; Coleman, Kelley and Moore, 1975; Coleman, Hoffer, and Kilgore, 1981; Rivlin and Timpane, 1975; Williams, 1980). Despite this extensive research the theoretical basis of educational policy analysis is not well developed. Mitchell (1984) noted:

Disappointingly, the vast literature on the topic of educational policy has produced no standard textbooks, little agreement on the methods or goals of educational policy research, and few classic or exemplary studies for defining the area's central thrust or overall theoretical perspectives. (p. 130)

This investigation of a political systems strategy is significant in that it makes a contribution to the theoretical understanding of educational policy formulation. The study is also significant in that it adds to the research base on provincial level policy formulation. The study highlights the policy community involved during a regulatory stage, and illustrates the unique dominant ideas reflected in one province's policy formulation on a particular issue.

APPENDIX 1

Approaches to Defining Functional Stages in the Policy Process

The concept of functional stages in a policy process has been developed by a number of scholars. For example, it is found in the six stage process of decision making suggested by Agger et al (1964). Agger's six stages included policy formulation, policy deliberation, organization of policy support, authoritative consideration (Event: decisional outcome) policy promulgation and policy effectuation. The stages are not discrete or distinct, but merge into each other and as a result the model is dynamic and constantly changing.

In their study of educational policy-making and the New York State Legislature, Milstein and Jennings (1973) further developed Agger's (1964) six-stage model of decision making. For Milstein and Jennings (1973), policy making is a cycle involving movement from unsatisfactory condition to greater satisfaction with conditions. The cycle, which they refer to as a Present-Preferred Cycle, also includes six stages. A Period of Dissatisfaction, where specific groups become unhappy with constraints, is followed by a stage of Reformulation of Attitudes, at which time some new direction may take place as leaders emerge and take responsibility to articulate the group's grievances. At the third stage, Idea Formulation, the original negative criticism of a group, is translated into alternatives to the constraining situation. This stage is followed by a stage of Debate, where the scope of involvement widens and makes active participants out of latent critics. As well, this stage involves modifying proposed alternatives before they reach the Legislative Stage. During the Legislative Stage the formal mechanisms of government are petitioned to insure passage of the proposed legislation (p.9). This model is also a dynamic expression of changing relationships and can thus be equated to the simplified Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) model of the functional stages of the policy system adapted from categories developed by Schneier (1969). Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) defined four functional stages; including the stages of issue definition, proposal formulation, support mobilization and decision enactment.

Issue definition is the process by which the preferences of individuals and groups become translated into political issues. These are demands that

members of the political system are prepared to deal with as a significant items.

Proposal formulation is a process by which issues are developed as specific recommendations for policy changes or for maintaining the status quo.

Support mobilization is the process by which individuals and groups are activated to support or oppose alternative policy proposals.

Decision enactment is the process by which an authoritative, that is governmental, policy choice is made among alternative proposals (p. 7).

APPENDIX 2

Involvement of Groups

Townsend (1982) does not identify a number of other nationally-oriented groups which exert subtle and not so subtle pressure on provincial ministries of education. There are several non-governmental organizations active in providing curriculum materials to provinces. Several of these groups are funded by CIDA, and thus can be considered in an arms length relationship with the federal government. The Survival Institute is a non-governmental agency concerned with placing materials focused on African issues in the school curriculum, other groups are concerned with peace education or with developing a global consciousness (affiliates of Inter Paris). These groups often approach curriculum branches directly asking what they can provide, then designing materials to fulfill the demands of the provincial curriculum authorities. (Dr. R. Whitehead personal communication, Feb. 5, 1988).

Similar strategies are used by federal government agencies. The Secretary of State through its Canadian Studies Directorate insures that the Federal government interests in encouraging Canadian content curriculum are well represented. The Canadian Studies Directorate funds research on, and development of Canadian studies materials for all educational levels. It heavily supports the Canada Studies Foundation (CSF) of Toronto, a foundation addressing Canadian Studies at the elementary and secondary education levels of all provinces and territories and focussing on developing teacher resource materials. Examples of a CSF project receiving federal grants include $25,000 granted in 1986 to "continue a dissemination program of learning materials in political or civic education for use at the primary and secondary levels. The project will contact teachers, teacher-training institutions, and curriculum consultants" (Canadian Studies Directorate list of grants, May, 1986, p. 16). The Canadian Studies Directorate solicits the assessment of provincial education authorities of the appropriateness of particular projects for the province. Director Jim Page sees the role of the Directorate as one of providing support and seed money in the area of Canadian Studies (personal communication, Feb. 12, 1988).

The Secretary of State's Departments of Multiculturalism and Official Languages in Education as well as the recently created Literacy directorate are

all significant interests in educational policy making. While such Federal government involvement may seem a fairly mild form of lobbying, it must be remembered that the production of specifically Canadian curriculum materials for a small provincial population is a cost prohibitive task for most publishers and even for most provinces. In addition, curriculum is probably the most important focus of policy making in education. Effective intervention through funding is a significant and powerful tool for ensuring that the Federal government's ideological interests are met.

APPENDIX 3

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Terms Used in Easton's (1965a, 1965b) Political Systems Framework

The following terms are defined more completely as they are discussed in the literature review section outlining Easton's (1965a, 1965b) conceptual framework.

Political Systems

Easton (1965b) defined a political system as "those interactions through which values are authoritatively allocated for a society" (p. 21).

Intra-Societal Environment

The intra-societal environment was defined as consisting of "such sets of behavior, attitudes and ideas as we might call the economy, culture, social structure or personalities" (Easton, 1965b, p. 22).

Extra-Societal Environment

"Includes all those systems that lie outside the given society itself" (Easton, 1965b, p. 22).

Disturbances

Easton (1965b) defined disturbances as "those influences from the total environment of a system that act upon it so that it is different after the stimulus from what it was before" (p. 22).

Essential Variables

The concept of "essential variables" is used by Easton (1965b) to refer to "two distinctive features-the allocations of values for a society and the relative frequency of compliance with them" (p. 24).

Stress

Easton (1965b) suggested stress occurs when "there is a danger that the essential variables will be pushed beyond what we may designate as their critical range" (p. 24).

Exchanges Across Boundaries

Exchanges refer to the "mutuality of the relationships" (Easton, 1965b, p. 26).

Transactions Across Boundaries

Easton (1965b) suggests that transactions imply "the movement of an effect in one direction" (p. 26).

Inputs

Inputs, according to Easton (1965b) include demands and supports. "Through them a wide range of activities in the environment may be channeled, mirrored, and summarized" (p. 27).

Demands

Easton defined demand as "an expression of opinion that an authoritative allocation with regard to a particular subject matter should or should not be made by those responsible for doing so" (p. 38).

Supports

Easton (1965b) defined support thus: "We can say that A supports B either when A acts on behalf of B or when he orients himself favorably toward B. B may be a person or group; it may be a goal, idea, or institutions" (p. 159).

Outputs

Easton (1965b) characterized political outputs as "the decisions and actions of the authorities" (p.28).

Feedback Loop

The concept of feedback loop was defined by Easton (1965b) as consisting of "the production of outputs by the authorities, a response on the part of the members of the society with respect to them, the communication of information about this response to the authorities and finally, possible succeeding actions on the part of the authorities" (p. 28).

Authoritative allocations

Easton (1965b) termed authoritative allocations, those outputs of the political system which reflect a special kind of political behavior in which persons who occupy special authority roles "commit and direct the resources and energies of other members of the system toward the attainment of goals" (p. 350).

Values

Values include both goals and principles. Easton (1965b) suggested that values "serve as broad limits with regard to what can be taken for granted in the guidance of day-to-day policy without violating deep feelings of important segments of the community" (p. 193).

Norms

Easton (1965b) suggested norms "specify the kinds of procedures that are expected and acceptable in the processing and implementation of demands" (p. 193).

Structures of Authority

Structures of authority are designated by Easton (1965b) as "the formal and informal patterns in which power is distributed and organized with regard to the authoritative making and implementing of decisions" (p. 193).

Regime

Easton(1965b) defined the regime as comprised of "values (goals and principles), norms and structure of authority" (p. 193).

Terms Related to Doern and Phidd's (1983) Framework

Dominant Ideas

Doern and Phidd (1983) used the term dominant ideas to refer to the "purposeful nature" or the " normative content" of political activity. In the context of Canadian public policy these dominant ideas include: "efficiency, individual liberty, stability, redistribution and equality, equity, national identity, unity and integration, and regional diversity and sensitivity" (p. 54).

Structures

Doern and Phidd (1983) referred to structures as the "the organizations and bureaucracies and the persons who head them, including those in public and private sector institutions" (p. 34).

Processes

Processes are according to Doern and Phidd(1983) the "changing dynamics which arise when decision makers are required to deal with uncertainty and with a changing environment" (p. 34).

Terms Related to Campbell and Mazzoni's (1976) Model

Functional Stages

The functional approach to the analysis of politics refers, according to Charlesworth (1967), to the activity of the agency. The external effects of this activity have been divided into "latent" meaning incidental effects, and "manifest" meaning intentional effects (p. 6). Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) defined four functional stages of the policy process: issue definition; proposal formulation; support mobilization, decision enactment.

Policy Decisions

Policy decisions are systems outputs. Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) suggested that educational policy decisions give direction to the allocation of such valued education goods as school funds, instructional personnel and bargaining authority.

System Actors

Campbell and Mazzoni (1976) identified these actors as the "relatively stable group of actors who have a continuing concern with public school policy, who interact on a regular basis, and who together constitute the elements of the state education policy system" (p. 7).

Appendix 4. Data Files.

Name	Association of Large School Boards in Ontario.		
Actor	School Board Association		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Provincial
Language	English	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Far Circle

Name	Baldwin, Elizabeth. Advisor, Legislative Services, Govt. of Ontario.		
Actor	Advisor, Legislative		
Actor Group	Government Official	Level	Provincial
Language	N/A	Support	N/A
Organization	N/A	Orientation	General Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Often Forgotten Player

Name	Carrier-Fraser, Mariette. Deputy Minister, Franco-Ontarian education.		
Actor	Deputy Minister, Franco-Ontarian Education, Govt. of Ontario		
Actor Group	Government Official	Level	Provincial
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	N/A	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Insider

Name	Comité de planification de l'enseignement en française d' Ottawa-Carleton.		
Actor	Advisory Planning Committee of French-Language Trustees		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Local
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Near Circle

Name	Gardner, Dr. Robert J. L. Assistant Chief, Legislative Research Service.		
Actor	Advisor, Legislation Research		
Actor Group	Ministry Official	Level	Provincial
Language	N/A	Support	N/A
Organization	N/A	Orientation	General Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Often Forgotten Player

Name	l'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario.		
Actor	Franco-Ontarian Association		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Provincial
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	External	Influence	Far Circle

Name	l'Association canadienne-française de l'Ontario, Conseil régional Ottawa-Carleton.		
Actor	Franco-Ontarian interest group		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Local
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	External	Influence	Sometime Player

Name	l'Association des enseignantes et des enseignants franco-ontariens.		
Actor	Teachers' Association		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Provincial
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Far Circle

Name	l'Association des surintendantes et des surintendants franco-ontariens.		
Actor	Superintendents' Association		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Provincial
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Far Circle

Name	l'Association française des Conseils scolaires de l'Ontario, région 1 (Est).		
Actor	Association of French School Boards (FLECs)		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Provincial
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Far Circle

Name	l'Association française des Conseils scolaires de l'Ontario.		
Actor	French School Board Association		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Provincial
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Far Circle

Name	l'Association régionale de parent et d'instituteurs d'Ottawa-Carleton.		
Actor	Parent-Teacher Association		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Local
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	External	Influence	Sometime Player

Name	La Féderation des associations de parents et d'instituteurs de langue française de l'Ontario.		
Actor	Parent-Teacher Association		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Provincial
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	General Focus
Origin	External	Influence	Sometime Player

Name	Lamontagne, Maurice. Advisor, Education Officer, Govt. of Ontario.		
Actor	Advisor, Education Officer		
Actor Group	Government Official	Level	Provincial
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	N/A	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Near Circle

Name	Membres de direction, Écoles de langue française, Ottawa-Carleton.		
Actor	French Principals' Association		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Local
Language	French	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	Special Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Far Circle

Name	Ontario Secondary School Teachers' Federation.		
Actor	Teachers' Association		
Actor Group	Interest Group	Level	Provincial
Language	English	Support	N/A
Organization	Associational	Orientation	General Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Sometime Player

Name	Sass, Pierre Paul, Education Officer (Bilingual), Legislation Branch, Ontario.		
Actor	Advisor, Educational Legislation		
Actor Group	Government Official	Level	Provincial
Language	N/A	Support	N/A
Organization	N/A	Orientation	General Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Near Circle

Name	Standing Committee on Social Development, Govt. of Ontario.		
Actor	Members of the Legislature		
Actor Group	Authority	Level	Provincial
Language	N/A	Support	N/A
Organization	N/A	Orientation	General Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Insider

Name	Tomlinson, John R., Advisor, Legal Services, Govt. of Ontario.		
Actor	Advisor, Legal		
Actor Group	Government Official	Level	Provincial
Language	N/A	Support	N/A
Organization	N/A	Orientation	General Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Often Forgotten Player

Name	Ward, Hon. Christopher, C. , Minister of Education, Govt. of Ontario.		
Actor	Minister of Education		
Actor Group	Authority	Level	Provincial
Language	N/A	Support	N/A
Organization	N/A	Orientation	General Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Insider

Name	Wolfish, Alan, Director, Legal Services, Legislation Branch, Govt. of Ontario.		
Actor	Advisor, Legal Issues.		
Actor Group	Government Official	Level	Provincial
Language	N/A	Support	N/A
Organization	N/A	Orientation	General Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Often Forgotten Player

Name	Wood, Michael. Advisor, Legislative Services, Govt. of Ontario.		
Actor	Advisor, Legislative		
Actor Group	Government Official	Level	Provincial
Language	N/A	Support	N/A
Organization	N/A	Orientation	General Focus
Origin	Internal	Influence	Often Forgotten Player

REFERENCES

Adrian, C. & Press, C. (1968). Decision costs in coalition formation. American Political Science Review, 62, 556-563.

Agger, R.E., Goldrich, D. & Swanson, B.E. (1964). The rulers and the ruled. New York: John Wiley & Sons Inc.

Aldrich, H. (1979). Organizations and environments. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall.

Allison, G.T. (1971). The essence of decision. Boston: Little Brown.

Almond, G.A. (1956). Comparative political systems. Journal of Politics, 18, 391-409.

Almond, G.A. (1960). A functional approach to comparative politics, In G.A. Almond & J.S. Coleman (Eds.), The politics of developing areas. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Almond, G. (1965). A developmental approach to political systems. World Politics, XVII, 183-214.

Almond, G.A. & Coleman, J.S. (Eds.). (1960). The politics of developing areas. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Almond, G. & Powell, G.B. (1960, 1966). Comparative politics: A developmental approach. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Almond, G.A. and Powell, G.B. Jr. (1978). Comparative politics: System, process, and policy. Boston: Little, Brown and Co.

Ashby, W.R. (1956). An introduction to cybernetics. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Bachrach, P. & M. Baratz (1963). Decisions and non-decisions: An analytical framework. American Political Science Review. 57, 622-634.

Bailey, S.K., Frost, R.T., Marsh, P.E., & Wood, R.C. (1962). Schoolmen and politics: A study of state aid to education in the Northeast. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Barnard, C.I. (1938). The functions of the executive. Cambridge, Mass.:Harvard University Press.

Barry, D. (1975). Interest groups and the foreign policy process: the case of Biafra. In A.P. Pross (Ed.), Pressure group behaviour in Canadian politics, (pp. 115-148). Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Baydock, E., Francis, P., Osborne, K., & Semotok, B. (1984). A model for the classroom-analysis of political issues. Contact, 62, Toronto: Canadian Studies Foundation.

Benedict, K. M. (1982). Interest groups, social movements, and the bureaucracy: School politics in Illinois. (Report no. ED226415) Illinois:ERIC.

Benson, J. K., (1975). The interorganizational network as a political economy. Administrative Science Quarterly, 20, 229 - 249.

Berke, J.S., & Kirst, M.W. (1972). Federal aid to education: Who benefits? Who governs? Lexington, MA: Lexington.

Berman, P. & McLaughlin, M.W. (1975). Federal programs supporting educational change, Vol. 4: The findings in review. Santa Monica, CA: Rand.

Berman, P. & McLaughlin, M.W. (1975). Federal programs supporting educational change, Vol. 8: Implementing and sustaining innovations. Santa Monica, CA: Rand.

Bertalanffy, L. von (1956). General systems theory. General Systems. 1, 1-10.

Boyan, N. J. (Ed.) (1988). Handbook of research on educational administration: A project of the American Educational Research Association. New York: Longman.

Boyd, W.L. (1976) The public, the professionals, and educational policy making: Who governs? Teachers College Record, 77, 539-577.

Boyd, W.L. (1988) Policy analysis, educational policy, and management: Through a glass darkly? In N. J. Boyan, (Ed.), Handbook of research on educational administration: A project of the American Educational Research Association. New York: Longman.

Brayne, R.C. (1978). A political systems approach to the study of demands on an urban school board. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of British Columbia.

Brewer, G.D. & deLeon, P. (1983). The foundations of policy analysis. Homewood, IL: Dorsey.

Brookover, W.B., Beady, C,. Flood, P., Schwertzer, J., & Wisenbaker, J. (1979). School social systems and student achievement: Schools can make a difference. New York: Praeger.

Budd, R.W., Thorp, R.K., & Donohew, L. (1967). Content analysis of communications. New York: Collier-Macmillan Ltd.

Burlingame, M. (1978). Impact of policy decisions on schools. In L.S. Schulman (Ed.), Review of research in education (Vol. 5, pp. 236-272). Itasca, IL: Peacock.

Burlingame, M. (1988). The politics of education and educational policy: The local level. In N. J. Boyan (Ed.), Handbook of research on educational administration: A project of the American Educational Research Association. New York: Longman.

Burlingame, M., & Geske, T. G. (1979). State politics and education: An examination of selected multiple-state case studies. Educational Administration Quarterly, 15 (2), 51-75.

Burrell, G. & Morgan G. (1980). Sociological paradigms and organizational analysis. London: Heinemann.

Cahill, R.S. & Hencley, S.P. (1964). The politics of education in the local community. Danville: Interstate.

Callahan, D., & Jennings, B. (Eds.) (1983). Ethics, the social sciences, and policy analysis. New York: Plenum.

Callahan, R.E. (1962). Education and the cult of efficiency: A study of the social forces that have shaped the administration of the public schools. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Cameron, D. M. (1972). Schools for Ontario: Policy-making, administration, and finance in the 1960's. Toronto and Buffalo. University of Toronto Press.

Campbell, R.F. & Mazzoni, T.L., (Eds.). (1974). State policy making for the public schools. Columbus, Ohio: The Educational Governance Project, Ohio State University.

Canadian Education Association Task Force on Public Involvement in Educational Decisions (1979). Report No. 1: Results of a Gallup poll of public opinion in Canada about public involvement in educational decisions. Toronto: Canadian Education Association.

Charlesworth, J.C. (1967). Contemporary Political Analysis. New York: Free Press.

Cistone, P. J. (Ed.). (1972). School boards and the political fact Toronto: Ontario Institute for Studies in Education

Cistone, P. J. (1974a). School board member recruitment: The case of Ontario. The Journal of Educational Administration, 12 (2), 42-56.

Cistone, P. J. (1974b). The ecological basis of school board member recruitment. Education & Urban Society, 6 (4), 428-450.

Cistone, P. J. (1975). Understanding school boards. Lexington, MA: Lexington.

Cistone, P. J. (1977). The socialization of school board members. Educational Administration Quarterly, 13(2), 19-33.

Cistone, P. S. & Iannaccone, L. (1979). The politics of urban education: Some distinguishing characteristics. A Journal of Public Policy & Multicultural Education, 2, 163-173.

Cistone, P. S., Iannaccone, L. (1980). Educational governance: contradictions and tendencies. Education and Urban Society, 12(4), 407-420.

Clark, T.N. (1968), social stratification, differentiation, and integration. In T.N. Clark (Ed.), Community structure and decision-making: Comparative analyses. San Francisco: Chandler Publishing Co.

Coleman, J. S., Campbell, E., Hobson, C., McPartland, J, Mood, A., Weinfeld, F. & York, F. (1966). Equality of educational opportunity. Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office.

Colemen, J.S., Hoffer, T., & Kilgore, S. (1982). High school achievement: Public, Catholic, and private schools compared. New York: Basic Books.

Coleman, J.S., Kelly, S.D., & Moore, J. A. (1981, March) Public and private schools. (Report to the National Center for Educational Statistics). Chicago: National Opinion Research Center, University of Chicago.

Coleman, P. (1974). The school trustee and educational leadership. Interchange, 5(2), 53-62.

Coleman, P. (1977). Power diffusion in educational governance: Redefining the roles of trustees & administrators in Canadian education. In J. H. A. Wallin (Ed.), The Politics of Canadian Education, (pp. 79-90). Calgary: Canadian Society for the Study of Education.

Coleman, P. (1978). School boards as policy makers. ERIC Documents Reproduction Service No. ED 161 168.

Coombs, P.H. (1968). The world educational crisis: A systems analysis. New York: Oxford University Press.

Cremin, l. (1964). The transformation of the school: Progressivism in education, 1976-1957. New York: Bantam.

Dahl, R.A. (1961). Who governs? New Haven: Yale University Press.

Davis, D. & Zerchykov, R. (1981). Parents as interest groups. Education and Urban Society, 13(2), 173-192.

Dawson, R.E. & Robinson, J.A. (1963). Inter-party competition, economic variables, and welfare policies in the American states. Journal of Politics, 25, 265-284.

Deutsch, K.W. (1963). The nerves of government. New York: Free Press of Glencoe Inc.

Doern, G. B., & Phidd, R. W. (1983). Canadian public policy. Toronto: Methuen.

Duane, E. A., and Bridgeland, W. M. (1980). The "fragmented" pattern of state educational groups revisited: Michigan. The Urban Review, 12(3), 143-147.

Duane, E. A., Townsend, R. G., & Bridgeland, W. M. (1985). Power patterns among Ontario and Michigan educational interest groups. In R. Common, (Ed.), New Forces on Educational Policy-Making in Canada,(pp. 108-133). Ontario. Brock University.

Dye, T.R. (1966). Politics, economics and the public: Policy outcomes in the American states. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Dye, T.R. (1978). Understanding public policy. Third Edition. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall Inc.

Dye, T.R. (1981) Understanding public policy. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice - Hall, Inc.

Easton, D. (1953). The political system: An inquiry into the state of political science. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.

Easton, D. (1957a). An approach to the analysis of political systems. World Politics, 9, 383-400.

Easton, D.(1957b). The function of formal education in a political system. School Review, 65.

Easton, D. (1965a). A framework for political analysis. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.

Easton, D. (1965b). A systems analysis of political life. New York: Wiley.

Easton, D. (1972). Reflections on criticisms. Social Science Information, 12, 29-51.

Easton, D. (1985). Systems analysis in political science. In N. Nyiri & J Redekop (Eds.), Uses and abuses of systems theory. Interdisciplinary Research Seminar: Wilfrid Laurier University.

Easton, D. & Dennis, J. (1969). .Children of the political system. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Edmonds, R.R. (1979). Effective schools for the urban poor. Educational Leadership, 37, 17-23.

Eidenberg, E. & Morey, R.D. (1969). An act of congress. New York: Norton.

Elazar, D. (1972). American federalism: A view from the states (2nd ed.). New York: Crowell.

Eliot, T.H. (1959, December). Toward an understanding of public school politics. American Political Science Review, 53, 1032-1051.

Elmore, R.F. (1985). Policy analysis as the study of implementation. Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Western political Science Association, March 28-30, Las Vegas.

Fenno, R.F. Jr. (1966). The power of the purse: Appropriation politics in congress. Boston: Little, Brown.

Fischer, D.H. (1970). Historians' fallacies: Toward a logic of historical thought. New York: Harper & Row.

Flanigan, W. & Fogelman, E. (1967). In J.C. Charlesworth, (Ed.), Contemporary Political Analysis. New York: Free Press.

Frombrun, C. J. (1986). Structural Dynamics within and between organizations. Administrative Science Quarterly, 31, 403 - 421.

Fuller, E.& Pearson, J.B. (Eds.). (1969). Education in the states: Nationwide development since 1900. Washington, DC: National Education Association.

Gaffney, M. F. (1987). The Canadian Jobs Strategy: Selected outcomes and political systems characteristics within a recurrent educational context. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta.

Gittell, M. (1967). Participants and participation. New York: Praeger.

Goldschmidt, M.L. (1966) Democatic theory and contemporary poltical science. Western Political Science Quarterly, 19.

Greenfield, T.B. (1978). Reflections on organization theory and the truths of irreconcilable realities. Educational Administration Quarterly, 14, 1-23.

Greenfield, T. (1981). Who's asking the question depends on what answer you get. In R.G. Townsend & S.B. Lawton (Eds.), What's so Canadian about Canadian educational administration, (pp. 13-27). Toronto: OISE.

Gregor, J.A. (1968). Political science and the uses of functional analysis. American Political Science Review, 62, 425-29.

Griffiths, D.E. (1974). Behavioral science and educational administration: Part 2. The 63rd yearbook of the National Socieity for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Griffiths, D.E. (1977). The individual in organizations: A theoretical perspective. Educational Administrative Quarterly, 13, 1-18.

Hall, A.D., and Fagen, R.E. (1956). Definition of system. General Systems, 1.

Harman, G.S. (1974). The politics of education: A bibilographical guide. Queensland, Australia: University of Queensland Press.

Harman, G. (1978). Policymaking and policy processes in education. A paper presented at the Fourth Intervisitational Program in Educational Administration, Conference Phase, Vancouver, B.C. May 22-25.

Harman, G.S. (1980) Policy making and the policy process in education. In R.H. Farquhar and I.E. Housego (Eds.), Canadian and comparative educational administration. Vancouver: Education-Extension, U.B.C.

Hartle, D. (1979). Public policy decision-making and regulation. Montreal: Institute for Research on Public Policy.

Hastings, A.H. (1980). The study of politics and education. Eugene, OR: ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management, University of Oregon.

Hayes, M. (1978). The semi-sovereign pressure groups: current theory and an alternative typology. Journal of Politics, 40, 134-161.

Heclo, Hugh (1978). Issue networks and the executive establishment. In King (Ed.), The new American Political System (pp. 87-124), Washington, D.C: American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research.

Hickcox, E. (1973), Trustees and Administrators: The case for a working relationship. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 082 378.

Hickcox, E. (1974, June). The trustee and the administrator. Education Canada.

Holden, M., Jr., and Dresang, D.L (1975). Volume editors' introduction. In M. Holden, Jr. and D.L. Dresang (Eds.), What government does. Beverley Hills, CA: Sage.

Hoos, I. D. (1977,1983). Systems analysis in public policy: A critique. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Housego, I. E. (1965). Democratic decision-making in education. The Canadian Administrator, 4(8), 29-32.

Housego, I.E. (1972). Pluralist politics & educational decision-making. In P. Cistone (Ed.), School boards & the political fact. Toronto: OISE.

Hoy, W. K., & Miskel, C. G. (1987). Education administration: Theory, research and practice (3rd Ed). New York: Random House.

Hunter, F. (1953). Community power structure. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Iannaccone, L. (1967). Politics in education. New York: Center for Applied Research in Education.

Iannaccone, L., & Cistone, P. (1974). The politics of education. Eugene, Oregon: ERIC Clearinghouse on Educational Management.

Iannaccone, L. & Lutz, F.W. (1970). Politics, power and policy: The governing of local school districts. Columbus: The Charles Merrill Publishing Co.

Immegart, G.L. & Pilecki, F.J. (1973). An introduction to systems for the educational administrator. Reading MA.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co.

Isherwood, G.D. et al. (1983). Administrative effectiveness in a political environment. ERIC Reproduction Services No. ED 232 265.

Jackson, R. J., Jackson, D., & Baxter-Moore, N. J. (1986). Politics in Canada. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall.

Jakes, H. (1982a). Profile of elected school board trustees in Ontario. Ontario Education, 14(4).

Jakes, H. (1982b). The question of full-time trustees. Ontario Education, 14(2).

Jakes, H. (1983). Why did they run? Ontario Education, 15(2).

Jakes, H. (1984a). How successful was their first year as new school board members? Ontario Education, 16(3).

Jakes, H. (1984b). School closure policy in Ontario Ontario Education, 16(2).

Jakes, H. (1987). Trustee honoraria in Ontario. Ontario Education, 19(1).

James, H.T. (1964). Institutional character of education: Government and politics. Review of Educational Research, 34, 405-423.

Jennings, M. K., & Zeigler, H. (1971). Response styles and politics: The case of the school boards. Midwest Journal of Political Science, 15, 290-321.

Kaplan, M.A. (1969). Macropolitics. Chicago: Aldine.

Katz, D. & Kahn, R.L. (1966). The social psychology of organizations. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Katz, M.B. (1975). Class, bureaucracy, and schools: The illusion of educational change in America. New York: Praeger.

Kerr, N.D. (1964). The school board as an agency of legitimation. Sociology of Education, 34, 34-59.

Kirst, M.W. (1970). The politics of education at the local, state and federal levels. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Kirst, M.W. (1976). The changing politics of education. A paper delivered at the Bicentennial Observance of the University of Virginia. Charlottesville, Virginia.

Kirst, M.W. (1981). The state role in education policy innovation. Stanford, CA: Institute for Finance and Governance.

Kirst, M.W. and Mosher, E. (1969). Politics of education. Review of Educational Research, 39(5), 33-45.

Kirst, M. W. & Sommers, S. A. (1981). California educational interest groups. Education and Urban Society, 13(2), 235-256.

Knoke, D. & Wood, J. (1981). Organized for action: Commitment in voluntary associations. New Brunswick, N. J: Rutgers University Press.

Krippendorff, K. (1980). Content analysis an introduction to its methodology. Beverly Hills: Sage.

Kuhn, T. (1962). The structure of scientific revolutions. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kwavnick, D. (1975). Interest group demands and the federal political system: Two Canadian case studies. In A. P. Pross (Ed.), Pressure group behaviour in Canadian politics. (pp. 69-87). Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Lasswell, H. (1936). Politics: Who gets what, when and how. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Lasswell, H. D. (1968). Politics: Who gets what, when & how. Cleveland & New York: World Publishing.

Lasswell, H.D. and Kaplan, A. (1950). Power and society. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Layton, D.H. (1982). The emergence of the politics of education as a field of study. In H.L. Gray (Ed.), The management of educational institutions (pp 109- 126). Barcomebe, Lewes, England: Falmer.

Le Moine, B. A. (1984) The role of interest groups in educational decision making: A case study. Unpublished masters thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Lehne, R. (1983). Research perspectives on state legislatures and education policy. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 5(1), 43-54.

Lerner, D. and Lasswell, H.D. (1951). The policy sciences. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.

Lowi, T. W. (1969). The end of liberalism. New York: W. W. Norton.

Lowi, T. W. (1972). Four systems of policy, politics and choice. Public Administration Review, 32.

Lucas, B.G. (1982). School closure and community protest: A rural perspective. McGill Journal of Education.

Lucas, B. (1986). Conflict management within the school community. (Video.) Saskatchewan: University of Saskatchewan.

Lucas, B.G. & Lusthaus, C.S. (1981). Public involvement in school governance in Canada. In G. Baron (Ed.), The politics of school government. London: Pergamon Press.

Lutz, F.W. (1975). School boards as meta-mediators. A paper presented at the annual meeting of the AERA. Washington, D.C.

Lutz, F.W. (1977). Methods and conceptualizations of political power in education. In J. D. Scribner (Ed.), The politcs of education: National society for the study of education yearbook. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Lutz, F. W., & Azzarelli, J.J. (Eds.). (1966). The struggle for power in education. New York: Center for Applied Research in Education.

Lutz, F.W. & Iannaccone, L. (1969). Understanding educational organizations: A field study approach. Columbus: Charles Merrille Publishing Co.

Lutz, F. W., & Iannaccone, L. (1978). Public participation in local school districts. Lexington, MA:DC Health.

Mannheim, K. (1952). Essays on the sociology of knowledge. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Marshall, C., Mitchell, D. & Wirt, F. (1986). The context of state-level policy formation. Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, 8(4), 347-78.

Martin, R.E. (1962). Government and the suburban schools. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Masters, N.A., Salisbury, R.H. & Eliot, T.H. (1964). State politics and the public schools: An exploratory analysis. New York: Knopf.

Mazzoni, T.L. & Campbell, R.T. (1976). Influentials in state policy-making for the public schools. Educational Administration Quarterly, 12, 1-26.

McGivney, J.H. (1984). State educational governance patterns. Educational Administration Quarterly, 20(2) 43-63.

McLaughlin, M.W. (1981). Evaluation and reform: The elementary and secondary education act of 1965, Title 1. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger.

McMillan, J.H., Schumacher, S. (1984). Research in education: A conceptual introduction. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.

Mead, L.M. (1983, Fall). "'Policy Science' today." The Public Interest, 73, 165-170.165-170.

Meranto, P. (1967). The politics of federal aid to education in 1965. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press.

Merrit, R.L. (1970). Systematic approaches to comparative politics. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Merton, R.K. (1957). Social theory and social structure. New York: Free Press.

Miller, E. (1971). David Easton's political theory. Political Science Reviewer, 185-235.

Milstein, M. M. (1976). Impact and response: Federal aid and state education agencies. New York: Teachers College Press, Columbia University.

Milstein, M. & Jennings, R. (1973). Educational policy-making and the state legislature: The New York experience. New York: Praeger.

Minar, D.W. (1966). The community basis for conflict in school system politics. American Sociological Review, 31, 822-834.

Mitchell, D.E. (1984). Educational policy analysis: The State of the Art. in Educational Administration Quarterly, 20,(3), 129-160.

Mitchell, D.E. (1988). Educational Politics and policy: The state level. In N. J. Boyan, (Ed.), Handbook of research on educational administration: A project of the American Educational Research Association. New York: Longman.

Mitchell, D.E. & Encarnation, D.J. (1984, May). Alternative state policy mechanisms for controlling school performance. Educational Researcher, 13, 4-11.

Mitchell, D.E., Wirt, F., & Marshall, C. (1986). Final report: Alternative state policy mechanisms for pursuing educational quality, efficiency, and equity goals. Prepared for the National Institute of Education under Grant # NIE-G-83-0020.

Mitchell, W.C. (1962). The American polity. New York: Free Press.

Mitchell, W.C. (1968). Political systems. In David L. Sills (Ed.), International encyclopedia of the social sciences, 15. New York: MacMillian and The Free Press.

Mitchell, W.C. (1981). Shaping legilsative decisions: Education policy and the social sciences. Lexington, MA: Heath.

Moodie, G. C., & Studdert-Kennedy, G. (1970). Opinions, publics and pressure groups. London: Allen & Urwin.

Moore, H.A. (1974). The ferment in school administration In D.E. Griffiths. Behavioral science and educational administration: Part 2. The 63rd Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. (pp. 11-32). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Murray,R.W. & Lutz, D. (1974). Redistricting decisions in the American states: a test of the minimum winning coalition hypothesis. American Journal of Political Science, 223-256.

Nagel, S. (1980). Handbook of policy studies. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath.

O'Reilly, R. (1981). Some expectations for new school board members.. ERIC Documents Reproduction Service No. ED 202 160.

O'Reilly, R. (1986). Communication and performance: The female board member and the male superintendent. ERIC Documents Reproduction Service No. ED 261 453.

Odden, A., & Dougherty, V. (1982). State programs of school improvement: a 50 state survey. Denver, CO: Education Commission of the States.

Odynak, S.N. (1963) The Alberta Teachers' Association as an interest group. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta.

Olson, M. (1965). The logic of collective action. Cambridge Mass: Harvard Universtiy Press.

Palmer, M., Sterne, L. & Gaile, C.(1974). The interdisciplinary study of politics. New York: Harper and Row Publishers.

Parsons, T. (1951). The social system. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press.

Parsons, T. (1960a). Some highlights of the general theory of action. In R.A. Young (Ed.)., Approaches to the study of politics (pp. 282-301). Evanston, ILL: Northwestern University Press.

Parsons, T. (1960b). Structure and process in modern society. New York: Free Press.

Parson, T. (1963). Structure and processes in modern societies. Glencoe: The Free Press.

Peterson, P.E. (1974).The politics of American education. In F.N. Kerlinger & J.Carroll (Eds.), Behavioral science and educational administration: Part 2. Review of Research in Education (No. 2, pp. 348-389). Itasca, ILL: Peacock.

Phillips, S. (1987, June). Pressure and projects: Towards a political ecology of women's interest groups in Canada. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Canadian Political Science Association. McMaster University, Hamilton, Ontario.

Pipho, C. (1981). Scientific creationism: A case study. Education and Urban Society, 13(2), 219-233.

Polsby, N. W. (1965). Community power & political theory. New Haven: Yale.

Presthus, R. (1974). Elites in the policy process. Cambridge: Macmillan.

Pross, P. A. (1975). Pressure group behavior in Canadian politics. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson.

Pross, P., A. (1986). Group politics and public policy. Toronto: Oxford University Press.

Ratsoy, E. (1976, December). Policy making in the educational organizations. The Canadian Administrator.

Ratsoy, E. (1980, April). Environments, linkages and policy making in educational organizations. The Canadian Administrator.

Rein, M., and White, S.H. (1977, Fall). Can policy research help policy? The Public Interest, (44), 119-136.

Renihan, P. (1977). Control dimensions of school board decision emphases. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta..

Renihan, P. (1984). Notes on the realities of local-provincial relationships. Yellow Papers, 4(1), 4-14.

Ricker, E. (1981). The influence of interest groups. In R.G. Townsend & S.B. Lawton (Eds.), What's so Canadian about Canadian educational administration? Toronto: OISIE.

Riffel, J. A. & Housego, J. E. (1967). Co-operative decision-making in education. The Canadian Administrator. 7(2), 5-8.

Riker, W. (1962). The theory of political coalitions. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Rivlin A.M. & Timpane, P.M. (Eds.). (1975). Planned variation in education: Should we give up or try harder? Washington, DC: Brookings Institution.

Roberts, J. C. (1971). Political science dictionary. Illinois: Dryden Press.

Rogers, D. (1968). 110 Livingston Street. New York: Random House.

Rosenthal, A. (Ed.). (1969). Governing education. Garden City, NY: Anchor.

Sackney, L. (1984). Pressure groups and the practising administrator. The Canadian Administrator. XXIII (8).

Salisbury, R. H. (1975). Interest groups. In F. I. Greenstein, & N.W. Polsby (Eds.), Handbook of political science. (Vol. 4). Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Salisbury, R.H. (1969). An exchange theory of interest groups. Midwest Journal of Political Science, 13, 1-32.

Saxe, R. (1983). Interest group activities in selected school districts: report of a preliminary survey. (Report No. ED259434). Ohio: ERIC.

Saxe, R. W. (1981). Interest groups in education: Introduction. Education and Urban Society, 13(2), 141-148.

Schaefer, G.F. (1974). A general systems approach to public policy analysis. Policy and Politics, 2(3), 333-347.

Schattschneider, E. E. (1960). The semi-sovereign people. New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston.

Schneier, E. (1969). Policy making in American government. New York; Basic Books.

Schrag, P. (1967). Village School Downtown. Boston: Beacon.

Schubert, G. (1965). Judicial policy-making. Chicago: Scott, Foresman.

Scribner, J.D. (1966). A functional systems framework for analyzing school board action. Educational Administration Quarterly, 2, 204-215.

Scribner, J.D. (1970). The politics of educational reform: Anayses of political demand. Urban Education, 4, 348-74.

Scribner, J.D. (1977). The politics of education: Part 2, The 76th Yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Scribner, J.D. & Englert, R.M. (1977). The politics of education: An introduction. In J.D. Scribner (Ed.), The seventy-sixth yearbook of the National Society for the Study of Education. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Selby, J. (1977). The myth of local control in Ontario education. In R. A. Carlton, L. A. Colley, & N. J. MacKinnon (Eds.), Education, change and society. Toronto: Gage Educational Publishing.

Selznick, P. (1957). Leadership in administration. New York: Harper and Row.

Sheehan, M. (1984). National pressure groups and provincial curriculum policy: Temperance in Nova Scotia Schools, 1880-1930. Canadian Journal of Education, 9(1), 73-88.

Simeon, F. (1976). Canadian Journal of Political Science, 9, pp. 547-580.

Simon, H. (1947; 1957). Administrative Behavior. New York: Macmillan.

Sloan, L.V. (1980). A policy analysis of legislation permitting public-private school agreement for the provision of educational services. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta.

Smiley, D.V. (1980). Canada in question. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson

Spiro, H.J. (1967). An evaluation of systems theory. In J.C. Charlesworth (Ed.), Contemporary political analysis. New York: Free Press.

Sroufe, G.E. (1969). Political systems analysis and research in educational administration: Can the Emperor be clothed? paper presented at the meeting of the Americal Educational Research Association.

Sroufe, G. (1981). Interest groups and public policy. A status report. Education and Urban Society, 13(2), 149-171.

Stapleton, J.J. (1977). The department of education in policy-making: The case of the credit system in Ontario. In J.H.A. Wallin (Ed.), The politics of Canadian education. Edmonton: Canadian Society for the Study of Education.

Steele, D. S., Working, R. J., & Biernacki, G. J. (1981). Care and feeding of interest groups. Education and Urban Society, 13(2), 257-270.

Stephens, J. (1969). The logic of functional and systems analysis in political science. Midwest Journal of Political Science, 13, 367-94.

Stingham, B. (1974). The School Act, 1970: A case study of public policymaking in education. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Alberta, Edmonton.

Stokey, E., and Zeckhauser, R. (1978). A primer for policy analysis. New York: Norton.

Thompson, J. (1976). Policymaking in American public education: A framework for analysis. Englewood Clifffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Townsend, R. G. (Ed.). (1977). Canadians, Americans, and the politics they pursue. Politics of Education Bulletin, 7(2).

Townsend, R. G. & Craig, A.J. (1978). Running for school board: A survey of campaigners on the island of Montreal. McGill Journal of Education.

Townsend, R. G. (1982). On the political folklore of interest groups. Orbit, 13(3), 10-16.

Tribe, I.H. (1972, Fall). Policy science: Analysis or ideology? Philosophy and Public Affairs. 2(1), 55-110.

Truman, D. B., (1951). The governmental process. New York: Knopf.

Tucker, H.J. & Zeigler, L.H. (1980). Professionals versus the public. New York: Longman.

Tyack, D. B. (1974). The one best system: A history of American urban education. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Tyack, D. & Hansot, E. (1982), Managers of virture: Public school leadership in America, 1820-1980. New York: Basic

Usdan, M.D. (1963). The political power of education in New York state. New York: Institute of Administrative Research, Teachers College, Columbia University.

Usdan, M.D., Minar, D.W. & Hurwitz, E., Jr. (1969). Education and state politics: The developing relationship between elementary, secondary and higher education. New York: Teacher's College Press, Columbia University.

Van Loon, R.J. and Whittington, M.S. (1971, 1981). The Canadian political system: Environment, structure, and process. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.

Weick, Karl E. (1979). The Social Psychology of Organizing, 2nd ed., Reading, Mass: Addison-Wesley.

Weiss, C.H. (1977). Research for policy's sake: The enlightenment function of social research. Policy Analysis, 3(4), 531-545.

White, M.J. (1983). Policy analysis and management science. In S. S. Nagel (Ed.), Encyclopedia of policy studies. New York: Marcel Dekker.

Wiener, N. (1961). Cybernetics. In S. Ulmer, Introductory Reading in Political Science. Chicago: Rand McNally.

Wildavsky A. (1979) Speaking truth to power: The art and craft of policy analysis. Boston: Little Brown.

Wildavsky, A. (1985, Spring). The once and future school of public policy. The Public Interest (79), 25-41.

Williams, G., & Whittington, M. S. (1985). Canada in the 1980's. Toronto, Methuen.

Williams, T. (1969). Urban schools and external communication. Administrators Notebook, 17(5).

Williams, T. (1983, January). Politics and principals. The Canadian School Executive.

Williams, W. (1980). The implementation perspective. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

Wilson, J. Q. (1973). Political organization. New York: Basic Books.

Wirt, F. (1970). Theory and research needs in the study of American educational politics. The Journal of Educational Administration, VIII(1), 53-87.

Wirt, F.M. (Ed.). (1975). The policy of the school. Lexington, MA: Lexington.

Wirt, F.M. (1977a). State policy culture and state decentralization. In J. Scribner (Ed.). Politics of education. The 76th Yearbook of the National

Society for the Study of Education: Part II. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Wirt, F.M. (1977b). What state laws say about local control. Phi Delta Kappan, 59, 517-520.

Wirt, F.M. (1980). Does control follow the dollar? Value analysis, school policy and state-local linkages. Publias: The Journal of Federalism, 10(2), 69-88.

Wirt, F. and Kirst, M. (1972). Political and social foundations of education. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Wirt, F. and Kirst, M. (1982). Schools in conflict: The politics of education. Berkeley, CA: McCutchan.

Wolin, S.S. (1972). Politics, education and theory. In M. W. Kirst (Ed.), State, school and politics: Research directions. Lexington, Mass: Heath.

Young, K. (1977). Values in the policy process. Policy and Politics, 3(5), 1-22.

Zeigler, H. (1970). Education and the status quo. Comparative Education, 6(1).

Zeigler, L. H., & Jennings, M. K. (1974). Governing American schools: Political interaction in local school districts. Belmont, California: Duxbury Press.

Zeigler, L.H. & Johnson, K.F. (1972). The politics of education. Indianapolis, IN: Bobbs-Merrill.

UNIVERSITÉ D'OTTAWA
UNIVERSITY OF OTTAWA