University of Alberta

National Governance in Education: A Foucauldian Analysis of Policy, Power, and Practice

by

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Abstract

This case study used a critical social theory approach and a multiple perspective analysis in examining the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) and national educational governance. Scheurich's (1994) policy archaeology framework provided an entry point into Michel Foucault's archaeological and genealogical ideas and the research on Canadian educational governance.

The subjects included 19 participants (6 females, 13 males) from across Canada who held, or had held, senior government positions in education. Six participants had served as either deputy ministers or ministers of education, 8 participants had held elected national positions in education, and 10 of the 19 participants had participated in international education activity.

The study analyzed the participants' understandings of Canada's educational priorities and the practices that enable or constrain the identification, development, and implementation of these priorities. Finally, the research addressed a transformation in education that has implications for the national governance of education.

The specific significance of this research lies in the use of Foucault's ideas re "governmentality" and awareness of the conditions and practices that shape the power/knowledge relationships between CMEC, the federal government, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). The research findings have relevance for a broader context since with an understanding of the strategies, mechanisms, and conditions that influence the micro practices of power in political, institutional, economic or cultural settings comes the opportunity to establish new possibilities, forms of resistance, or transformations in relationships.

This research concludes that there is a significant transformation in Canadian education. An emerging "learning discourse" is challenging assumptions about educational governance, educational purpose, and educational accountability. Additionally, the strategic use of language is influencing public understandings of education while implicitly raising questions about jurisdictional responsibility for education and/or learning.

The Council of Ministers of Education, Canada continues to pursue its role as the national voice of education in Canada. However, challenging CMEC's agenda is a federally funded organization led by a former director general of CMEC. Indicators are evident of new possibilities but also potential resistance to the changing context of governance in Canadian education.

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and my daughter by design, Terry Ann, the part of Africa who belongs to Newfoundland.

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Those in the academy who acknowledged the individual, saw beneath the surface, and supported this research.

> You see, that's why I really work like a dog, and I worked like a dog all my life. I am not interested in the academic status of what I am doing because my problem is my own transformation. . . . This transformation of one's self by one's knowledge, one's practice is, I think, something rather close to the aesthetic experience. Why should a painter work if he is not transformed by his own painting? (Foucault, 1983b, p. 131)

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Acronyms

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
CAP	Canadian Association of Principals
CCL	Canadian Council on Learning
CEA	Canadian Education Association
CIDA	Canadian International Development Association
CLI	Canadian Learning Institute
CMEC	Council of Ministers of Education, Canada
CSBA	Canadian School Boards Association
CWL	Collegium of Work and Learning
DFAIT	Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade
EU	European Union
FLMM	Forum of Labour Market Ministers
FPCCERIA	Federal Provincial Consultative Committee on Education Related International Affairs
FTAA	Free Trade Area of the Americas
GATT	General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs
HRDC	Human Resources Development Canada
LI	Learning Initiatives
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NGO	Nongovernmental organization
OAS	Organization of American States
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PAG-L	Policy Action Group on Learning
PISA	Program for International Student Assessment
SAIP	School Achievement Indicators Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
WTO	World Trade Organization

CHAPTER 1:

CREATING THE CONTEXT

Introduction

In this research I examined how provincial, federal, and international priorities influence education in Canada. The Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) was my initial focus for this study in which I investigated the policies, the power relations, and the practices of CMEC as they relate to educational activity at the provincial, federal, national, and international level. Acquiring knowledge of educational governance through the case study of CMEC assists in understanding how educational priorities take shape in theory and practice. This research illustrates the importance of context in exploring the dynamics of governance and the relevance of types of knowledge, as a "function of human interests and power relations" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1986, p. 109). Furthermore, the study provides a basis for understanding the mechanisms that enable or constrain power. Understanding these mechanisms enables individuals to direct their thinking and behaviour in response to the micro practices located in authoritative structures and power relations in educational governance.

In conducting the research, I assumed that decisions about the development of policy including translating educational policy into practice required deliberate implementation processes, not all of which may be transparent or explicit. The search for understanding necessitates asking critical questions to reveal the series of actions or practices by which educational priorities translate into realities. Rather than negate the role of traditional policy processes, I probed for the participants' perspectives in a multiple-perspective analysis of policy, reconstructed the dominant themes from this analysis, and then drew on an archaeological and genealogical approach to enrich the analysis of the policies, the power relations, and the practices embedded in the governance of education. Having knowledge of these power processes enables interested individuals or groups to consider possible courses of action in response to educational decision making.

This study of educational governance relies on the theoretical arguments of Scheurich (1994) and Foucault (1972), whose understandings questioned the political or sovereign constitution of power, and they chose instead to pursue knowledge of the relations of power in shaping the actions and thinking of others. My priority in conducting this research was to uncover the micro-level operations of power that exist in rules, routines, values, and traditions of a particular place—CMEC—and time—1993 to 2003. The view of power as a relation that constitutes subjects opposes the traditional idea of power as a possession with its focus on legitimacy, consent, and rights (Sawicki, 1991).

In the research I attempted initially to determine "who" has power and influence in education in Canada. As the research continued, it became clearer that the more important, albeit challenging, question was, How does the exercise of power occur in Canadian education to facilitate the acceptance of certain policies, power relations, or practices? This question remains compatible with Foucault's concern about the exercise and effects of power.

Foucault's interest was in the nature of power rather than in ideas of sovereign or authoritative power. For this reason, "Foucault locates the government of the state within a broader framework which also embraces the government of oneself and of a household" (Hindess, 1996, p. 20). The concept of power as social control includes consideration of the way in which "disciplines," as technologies of power, form a discourse such as national educational discourse (McKerrow, 1999). The technologies of power link with expert knowledge (power/knowledge) to create various discourses that produce, exercise, and transmit power through social relations. Discourse thus becomes a strategic mechanism in the power relations of institutions and individuals. In this case study, attention is given to discourses such as political and economic reform and globalization.

I asked specific research questions about the activities of CMEC from 1993 to 2003. The answers to these questions provided an understanding of the relationships between Canada's educational policies, power relations, and practices, and CMEC's activities at the national and international level in the field of education. I chose this 10-year timeframe for the following reasons. It was in 1993 that CMEC's precedent-setting document *The Victoria Declaration* was acknowledged and formalized by all

provincial education ministers in Canada as Canada's first national education agenda. That same year (1993), CMEC gained recognition at the micro level of school governance with the implementation of the School Achievement Indicators Protocol (SAIP) and the subsequent distribution of CMEC's report card to every school in Canada.

An equally significant outcome of this agreement was the implementation of CMEC's national education consultations in 1994, 1996, and 1998. Personal attendance at the 1996 consultation and the participants' comments during the consultation influenced the decision to initiate this research. The comments included concerns with the list of invited participants from the corporate, nongovernmental, and private-sector levels. Given this dynamic and the concerns about hidden agendas and a lack of transparency, it was important to begin the case study of CMEC prior to 1996, when planning for the consultation would have incorporated issues such as educational priorities, selection of participants, and agenda formation.

During this 10-year period CMEC experienced considerable organizational change under the influence of two Director Generals: Dr. Frances Whyte from October 1, 1988, to January 29, 1995; and Dr. Paul Cappon from July 22, 1996, to October 15, 2004. Given the nature of case study research, the time period made it possible to travel throughout Canada and engage participants from diverse leadership positions in the interviewing process. It was also possible to complete a field placement with a provincial Department of Education that was serving as provincial chair of CMEC. Finally, the research timeframe became critical to the analysis of a broadening national and federal interest and changing discourse in Canadian education.

Research Questions

The major issue guiding the study was, "How does CMEC, as an intergovernmental educational organization, influence national and international education priorities?" More specifically, the study sought responses to the following research questions:

1. "What were CMEC's national and international priorities from 1993 to 2003?"
2. "What processes did CMEC use that enabled or constrained the implementation of these priorities?"

3. "What, if any, transformations occurred in education during this period?"

Personal Basis for the Research

In 1996, while I was the national president of the Canadian Association of Principals (CAP), an organization that represents 15,000 Canadian school-based administrators, CMEC extended an invitation to CAP to send a representative to participate in a national consultation on education. This consultation, the second organized by CMEC, provided insight into the philosophical, political, and pragmatic views on education of invited representatives from labour, the corporate sector, and other non–education organizations. However, CMEC's formal agenda became a secondary priority to the evolving informal agenda that challenged my understanding of educational governance.

The informal agenda led to questions about agenda creation and the procedure used in selecting participants to attend the national consultation. Certainly, the policy possibilities that emerged from the diverse values and experiences of the invited participants were indicative of a changing educational discourse (discourse as a collection of thoughts, words, and actions). The consultation discussions reflected a changing context in educational policymaking. The second national consultation motivated this doctoral research, and the need to examine the policies, power relationships, and practices embedded in Canadian educational governance.

National Context

The previous section described the context that initiated a personal interest in this research. This section will provide background information for the examination of educational governance in Canada. Following the initial reference to federal, national, and provincial interests in education, I will overview the efforts of education ministers to develop a framework for national educational interests. These efforts appear to coincide with an expanding role for CMEC as detailed in CMEC's (1993) *Victoria Declaration* and *Victoria Declaration* 1999 (CMEC, 1999b) and the associated amendments. The amendments provided for CMEC's increasing federal and corporate alliances and the development of detailed protocols for international educational involvement.

Canada does not have a federal department of education. Section 93 of the Constitution Act of 1867 (Kennedy, 1930) has defined the provincial right in each province to govern education. However, since 1967 an organization known as the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) has served as the "national voice for education in Canada" (CMEC, 1993, p. 1). CMEC was established as a corporation under the Corporations Act of Ontario, and it has no legislative authority. CMEC's Director General Whyte (1993) identified CMEC as "the only governmental organization in Canada actually doing something about a national reference for education on a full-time basis" (p. 1). Canada's first "national education agenda" (p. 1) emerged from the common values and beliefs of education ministers in Canada, and the subsequent national priorities were solidified in the *Victoria Declaration* (CMEC, 1993).

Prior to the *Victoria Declaration*, however, there were other memorandums of understanding between CMEC and the federal government. For instance, a written protocol between CMEC and DFAIT (1977) defined the role of CMEC as an intergovernmental agency within the Department of External Affairs. This memorandum was further amended in 1982 to include changes that called for Canada's presence at international education meetings and, in 1987, to recognize the role of External Affairs in establishing various mechanisms that would ensure CMEC's access to information on international educational activity.

During this same period a mechanism entitled the Federal-Provincial Consultative Committee on Educational-Related International Activities ([FPCCERIA] 1986) enabled a strategic collaborative relationship between representatives from the Advisory Council of Deputy Ministers of Education and DFAIT's assistant deputy minister of communications and policy planning. The formalized federal provincial arrangement made possible joint educational action at the domestic and international levels, particularly between groups such as Canada and (a) the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD); (b) the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO); (c) the Commonwealth; and (d) the European Union (EU).

Provincial education ministers sought to protect their jurisdictional role from the expanding federal, national, and international interests in education. Given the absence of

a definitive jurisdictional statement regarding CMEC's national position in federal and international educational activity, the *Victoria Declaration* became an important mechanism in solidifying CMEC's strategic role and future priorities. The readiness of provincial and federal authorities to negotiate education interests beyond traditional borders to national and global arenas was evidence of a changing context in Canadian education. Moreover, three national consultations on education became the end result of the precedent-setting effort that culminated in the *Victoria Declaration* (CMEC, 1993). In 1994 CMEC held the first of three national consultations in Montreal. By 1995 the word *national* had been contested and removed as a reference to the *Victoria Declaration.* Similar to other government agendas during this time, the *Victoria Declaration* specified that the realization of organization goals was dependent on the pursuit of partnerships, interdepartmental cooperation, the sharing of services, and corporate participation in education (Pal, 1997).

Education ministers have acknowledged that "more and more issues in education go beyond provincial and territorial borders and require a national approach" (Jonson, 1996, p. 1). Yet, prior to the second national consultation in Edmonton in 1996, the Canadian School Boards Association (CSBA) released a challenge paper to CMEC demanding more accountability in developing an action plan focused on the learner rather than on economic realities or political expediencies (CSBA, 1996).

CMEC's invitation list for the 1996 consultation included a prestigious group of Canadian corporate and nongovernmental agencies (CMEC, 1997a). Many in attendance expressed concern about hidden agendas, fixed ideas, and predetermined conclusions. The participants demanded increased accountability and collaboration in creating a national educational vision and insisted that "partners should be asked to collaborate at all levels: in the setting of goals and the establishment of a national vision; in determining appropriate activities; and in setting standards" (CMEC, 1997c, p. 2). These concerns were heightened because of CMEC's invitations to participants from sectors other than education for their input regarding educational needs, values, accountability and expectations. A similar partnership context was evident at the federal level. Canada's Prime Minister called for "changes in the traditional roles of government" (Chrétien, 2000, p. 1) and emphasized the need for public acceptance of "the inevitability of

[governments'] interdependence domestically and internationally" (p. 5). The attention paid to global influence on domestic policy raises unspoken challenges to provincial jurisdiction for education.

Significance of the Study

During the period of this research (1993 to 2003), international economic and political activities increased pressure on all levels of governance in Canada. This pressure influenced traditional understandings of territorial boundaries as well as jurisdictional responsibility for education. Held and McGrew (2000) explained that "the exclusive link between territory and political power has been broken" with "layers of governance spreading within and across political boundaries" (p. 11). Consequently, economic and global influences increasingly drive reform initiatives at all levels of governance. The link between both macro and micro levels of government and educational reform is more relevant today because of a growing recognition of globalization and its potential influence on local governance (Bauman, 1998, 1999; Doern, Pal, & Tomlin, 1996; Reinicke, 1998; Tomlinson, 1999). Government's ability to respond to domestic concerns in areas such as education and health continues to be influenced by structural agreements.

However, global influence on Canadian education is not entirely new. In 1975 OECD completed a formal review of Canadian education and called for a stronger national role in education. It took almost 20 years for CMEC to follow through on the OECD recommendation and initiate the first of three national consultations on education in Montreal, Edmonton, and St. John's. Throughout this period, both OECD members and the CMEC consultation participants consistently called for transparency in CMEC's educational activity. The need for transparency provided a significant rationale and ongoing motivation for this research.

CMEC, as an intergovernmental organization, occupies a key position in the negotiation of various governments' interests in education. The significance of this research lies in its locating and naming the power relationships that affect CMEC and in showing how these relationships influence policy and practice in education. In so doing, the research makes apparent how individuals can direct their thinking and behaviour in response to power knowledge relations governing education.

Research Design and Orientation

I relied on critical social theory, a multiple-perspective approach to policy analysis and employed a case study approach in examining national educational governance through the activities of CMEC. Within this case study, qualitative methodology privileged the relevance of normative data but I included references from empirical data to detail the influences that construct our understandings of educational governance. Normative questions, central to critical theory, challenge our perceptions about social realities and historical influences. These questions probe for participants' understandings of what should or ought to be, based on individual ideas, beliefs, or actions.

Foucault's (1972) archaeology provided the fundamental framework for Scheurich's (1994) analysis of policy archaeology. Like Foucault, Scheurich believed that an understanding of society relies on the analysis of knowledge and power relationships, as revealed in the various practices and regulations that are part of everyday existence. Yet both of these researchers claimed that for some reason we are unaware of the degree to which these relationships remain ingrained in our daily practices, instilling norms of validity and objectivity. Questioning the discursive practices that link power and knowledge makes it possible to gain a better understanding of the production, location, and transformation of power influencing education.

Figure 1 provides a blueprint of the research project. The archaeological layers link the research questions to various levels of data collection and analysis with the intent of achieving the thoroughness or rigor that lends credibility to the research outcomes and recommendations. The framework enables consideration of the truth-effect that Foucault (2000) associates with the use of scientific facts as true or matter of fact truth rather than a form of rhetoric used for political function. What the framework does illustrate is that regardless of how deep one probes for answers, "'truth is linked in a circular relation with systems of power that produce and sustain it, and to effects of power which it induces and which extend it—a regime of truth'" (Foucault, 2000, p. 132).

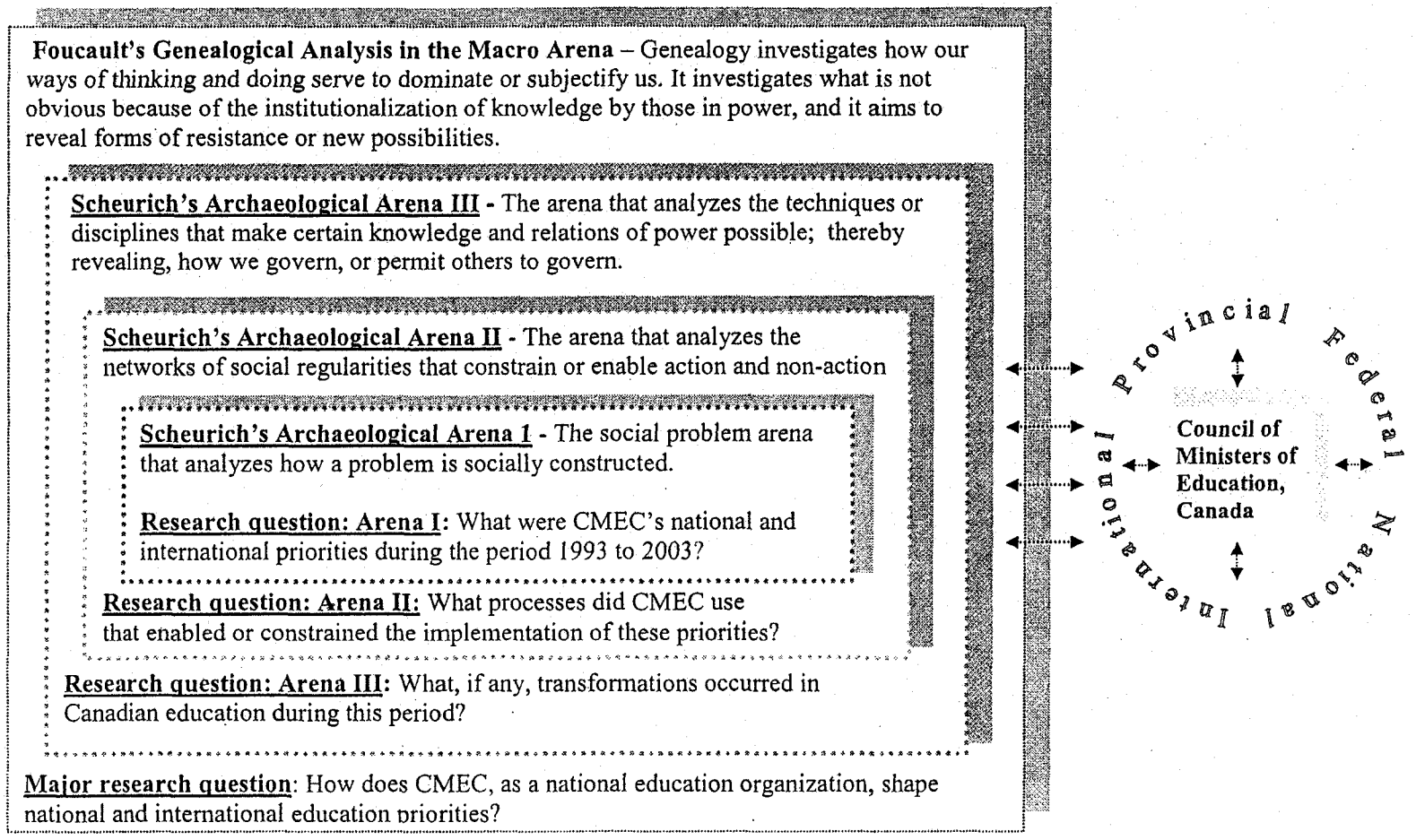

Figure 1. The blueprint of archaeology and genealogy.

The complex interplay of historical, political, economic, and social practices continues to influence national governance and educational policy. As a result, deliberations about education require thinking about the broader political, social, and cultural discourses embedded in CMEC's historical context, along with Canada's national and international educational priorities. More simply, a critical analysis of relations of power and an investigation of federal and provincial governments' educational priorities will assist in revealing how individual and institutional micro practices shape, and are shaped by, various relations of power. In this sense, archaeology and genealogy provide a natural fit as a conceptual framework for the case study of national governance in education.

Limitations

1. Foucault's view of power can be challenged by other frameworks that raise different questions about the characteristics and effects of power.
2. This study represents a 10-year period from 1993 to 2003. This is a relatively short period from an archaeological perspective and may have limited the historical findings implicit in the policy archaeology model.
3. Ministers of Education typically maintain a transient portfolio. Therefore, CMEC's membership was inconsistent. This may have influenced individual ministers' knowledge and understanding of educational governance activities during the period of this research.
4. Because the interview group included ministers and deputy ministers who have held significant roles in CMEC, they may be easily identifiable as a matter of public record. This may have limited the willingness of participants to engage openly and/or provide comprehensive responses where political repercussions might still occur.
5. Purposeful sampling limited the research perspective to senior decision makers at the provincial, federal, and national levels of education.
6. Budgetary constraints limited personal interviewing in every province and territory However, the research participants were representative of the territories and the western, central, and eastern regions of Canada.

7. The participants often used the term *CMEC* as a generalized acronym that referred to the CMEC organization, the Secretariat, and/or the Director General of CMEC. Where possible, I clarified directly with the participant any confusion as to the specific meaning. Otherwise, it was necessary to consider the individual comments in terms of the context of the research question and the participants' overall response(s).
8. Financial limitations prevented the interviewing of international partners. Therefore, data collection focused on the perspectives of Canadian representatives who participated in CMEC's national and international activities.
9. Research on education and globalization has focused on technology. There is limited research material that addresses specifically the impact of globalization on educational governance.

Delimitations

1. The respondents selected from ministries of education were individuals who held significant positions within the CMEC organization during the period of this research (1993-2003). These positions included CMEC chairpersons and education ministers who represented CMEC during federal, national, or international forums. A search of CMEC documents facilitated the selection process.
2. A review of the participant lists from CMEC's national consultations assisted in the selection of national and nongovernmental research participants.
3. The research timeframe was delimited to 1993 to 2003, although relevant information obtained during the subsequent two-year period, 2004 to 2005, has been included as a postscript in the study.

Organization of the Dissertation

This document consists of nine chapters. Chapter 1 has introduced the research topic and reviewed the historical context. Chapter 2 presents a comprehensive literature review that helps in documenting various political and educational reforms during the research period. Furthermore, it invites consideration of Foucault's (2000) concepts of

power as a means to question the governance of education, including the relationships among CMEC, the federal government, and various corporate and private partners. Embedded in these relationships is the critical dynamic involving knowledge and power.

Chapter 3 introduces the research orientation and design, with particular attention on the use of a critical social theory orientation. Chapter 4 examines the construction of relationships through a multiple-perspective approach to policy analysis. This approach facilitates an exploration of the data and the power relations in the provincial, national, and international arenas. Chapter 5 describes the social context according to the participants' understandings of the influence of global trends on the Canadian economy and on the determination of educational priorities. Chapter 6 responds to the research question regarding CMEC's national and international priorities during the period 1993 to 2003. Chapter 7 responds to the research question that seeks identification of the processes that enabled or constrained CMEC's implementation of education priorities. These practices regulate conduct at the provincial, national, and international levels. Chapter 8 responds to the question of whether there were any transformations in education during the identified period of the research study. The chapter uses a genealogical analysis to unmask the constitution of a learning discourse within an historical context and to expose the strategies and relationships located in attempts to transform national educational governance. Chapter 9 presents a review of Foucault's notion of power and extends the discussion of governmentality. Moreover, it offers a review of the research framework, including the various models that facilitated the research analysis. The chapter than offers several conclusions, potential implications of the findings, and possible areas for further study. It concludes with an end note that recognizes the contribution of Foucault's ideas to my personal transformation.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

In Chapter 2, I frame the review of literature primarily around theoretical explanations of the discourse of reform. This was not a planned organization format, but rather a decision that emerged during the ongoing review of the literature.

A change has occurred in the general understandings of reform. Popkewitz (1991) promoted the ideas of reform as an object of social relations rather than a traditional understanding of reform as "truth producing and progressive" (p. 244). Relying on a critical theory perspective, I addressed these relationships (knowledge, social transformation, and power) within the following discourses: state and society, globalization, and policy. Olssen, Codd, and O'Neil (2004) explained the appropriateness of a conceptual approach to discourse:

> The utility of a concept of 'discourse' is that it enables us to conceptualize and comprehend the relations between the individual policy text and the wider relations of the social structure and policy system. If policy is a discourse of the state, it is by its very nature political and must be understand as part and parcel of the political structure of society and as a form of political action. (p. 71)

The literature review includes a discussion of political theory and reform, with specific reference to national governance in Canadian education and CMEC's position as an intergovernmental organization in shaping national and international educational priorities. I used Foucault's social theory to gain an understanding of how we govern and are governed through different relationships of power and knowledge in national education in Canada (Foucault, 1991a; Gordon, 1991; Mills, 2003; Ransom, 1997). An analysis of the ongoing relationship between power and politically determined knowledge affirms how power is located in the discursive practices that shape our thoughts and actions.

I constructed the analysis of CMEC's governance strategies from 1993 to 2003 within the broader federal reform agenda that continues to influence education. For the

purpose of this research, I considered the reform discourse as key to the process of governmentality and the social regulation that centres on managing the actions and understandings of individuals and groups through governing the economy (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998). It was necessary to consider the idea of economy as distinct from government's sovereign responsibility because this concept underwent a significant shift with the subsuming of the concept of family within population. From a federal government perspective, this conceptual shift from family to population made possible the proliferation of a political economy that was dependent upon government's knowledge of its population and the administration of numerous scientific and political practices, including surveillance and statistics, as ways of structuring conduct. In this way the notion of economy enabled the political art of government to regulate the social through practices administered by such individuals as administrators, teachers, and politicians.

Recognizing the related but distinct roles of CMEC's Secretariat and provincial ministers of education, I decided to examine various macro influences on educational policy and practice at the national level. I paid particular attention to the analysis of CMEC and provincial levels of government as possible reform mechanisms for socially regulating Canadian educational discourse.

Finally, I introduce the methodologies of archaeology and genealogy as a basis for examining Canadian educational governance. An archaeological approach to national educational governance defines the rules and practices that constitute educational discourse. However, although archaeology helped to identify different discursive formations at a particular time, it did not explain the diverse causes behind these discursive conditions. Consequently, Foucault's genealogical analysis provided a means of examining how transitions occurred because of opportunities that emerged from individual and institutional power/knowledge relations rather than predictable outcomes embedded in social progress. Ongoing commentary related to these methodologies is presented throughout the research.

Reform

The following discussion is not an attempt to analyze reform per se, but rather to substantiate the use of reform discourse as a disciplinary practice in legitimatizing social

control through "the mobilization of publics . . . and power relations in defining public space" (Popkewitz, 1991, p. 1). Acceptance of reform as a Truth embedded in social progress often leaves unattended the critical questioning of the politicized nature of reform.

In addressing some of the conditions and explanations for reform, my intent is to provide an historical, political, and structural context for the policy practices that contribute to the legitimation of a broader reform discourse. Understanding the exercise of power within educational discourse provides insight into Canada's prioritizing of national standards, accountability, national and international testing, and the limited debate on educational purpose.

Nature of Reform

During the 1990s Canada witnessed the development of a strong economic focus, a realignment of government roles, and an increasing influence of global trends on Canadian governance (Chrétien, 2000). These conditions were not unique to Canada but indicative of international reform agendas fuelled by globalization. Prime Minister Chrétien captured the need for this reform agenda in the following statement:

> [There is] a clear recognition of the challenges of globalization: polarization, marginalization and exclusion; social fragmentation; environmental degradation; cultural homogenization; and public disaffection with government . . . based on a recognition of the opportunities for those countries ready to seize them: enhanced trade and investment, the potential of powerful new technologies, new partnerships, and the global flow of information and knowledge to help us realize what we most value. (p. 4)

Chrétien also acknowledged that Canada's future approach to governance, "The Canadian Way," was similar to "The Third Way" advanced by Britain, the United States, and Germany following the neoliberal initiatives prior to 1993/94. Giddens (1998) described "The Third Way" as follows:

> 'Third way' refers to a framework of thinking and policy-making that seeks to adapt social democracy to a world that has changed dramatically over the past two or three decades. . . . It is a third way in the sense that it is an attempt to transcend both old-style social democracy and neoliberalism. (p. 26)

The Prime Minister's acknowledgment illustrated clearly the relationship between federal ideology and global reform initiatives, particularly as the reforms speak to "technological innovation, a mixed economy, and education and learning as the keys to economic opportunity and security" (Chrétien, 2000, p. 2). This political model of governance supported an evolving interdependent relationship between government and social interests that often diverted attention from important issues of power and control in previously soft social policy arenas such as education (Castells, 2000b; Doern et al., 1996; Giddens, 1998; Held & McGrew, 2000; Nelson & Fleras, 1995; Nevitte, 2000).

The interdependence is apparent in CMEC's duplication of government reform trends, including the attempt to engage non-traditional partners in national educational consultations. A growing interest in educational activity at all levels accompanied the federal government's shifting power base. Many government, NGO, and public interest groups tried to engage in private, public, and nongovernmental partnerships, to strengthen their political decision making positions (Castells, 2000b; Doern et al., 1996; Giddens, 1998; Held and McGrew, 2000; Nelson and Fleras, 1995; Nevitte, 2000). The partnership approach remained a significant mechanism for influencing decision making at all levels. In particular, CMEC held three national consultations and invited participants from diverse sectors to engage in decision making processes related to Canadian education.

Chrétien's prioritizing of education as part of the government's federal reform agenda had meaning beyond a jurisdictional debate; it confirmed the relationships between broader political and economic interests in society and the politics of educational reform agendas. These relationships are implicit divisions that constitute our social context and influence constructions of policy discourse, policy problems, and policy solutions through such models as Scheurich's (1994) analysis of policy archaeology.

Explanations for Reform

Historical. Commencing in 1960 education ministers from each province met as a standing committee of the Canadian Education Association (CEA). In 1967 a joint effort by provincial ministers of education resulted in the establishment of CMEC. However, with the formation of a separate intergovernmental council came the need to clarify CMEC's purposes, duties, and powers. This clarification is evident in the CMEC Agreed Memorandum on A Council of Ministers of Education, Canada that stated:

> The purposes of the Council are to enable the Ministers to consult on matters as are of common interest, to provide a means for the fullest possible co-operation among provincial governments in areas of mutual interest and concern in, and to cooperate with other education organizations to promote the development of education in Canada. (CMEC, 1977, p. 1; Bergen 1977, 1)

In delineating the duties of the council, the agreed memorandum further stated:

> While recognizing the autonomy of each provincial ministry, the Council shall serve its Members in the following areas:
> 1) Joint consultation and action in respect of mutual problems for mutual benefit:
> 2) Joint decision-making on, and shared participation in, those international activities in which it might be involved, including appropriate consultation with federal jurisdictions; and
> 3) Information sharing. (Bergen, 1977, p. 1)

Furthermore, an explanation of CMEC's powers included the following:

- The Council, as the only body composed of those ministers who are responsible for education in Canada, may present from time to time position papers or statements representative of provincial concerns or opinions on the state of education in Canada.
- The Council, because of its membership, is the official channel for decisions affecting Canada-wide education policy.
- The Council because of its members is, for the provinces who so wish, an official channel to deal with the various federal offices on matters related to attendance and participation at international conferences or meetings requiring a Canada presence relative to education.
- Statements made by the Council shall be considered a unanimous position unless minority statements are filed. (Bergen, 1977, p. 3)

Two later addenda to this memorandum reflected changing political and education priorities. The section "Understandings between the CMEC and the Department of External Affairs" identified the procedures for Canada's participation in international conferences and meetings related to education. Section B addressed the federal government's identification of education as part of Canada's foreign policy, and defines the mandate that resulted in the 1977 establishment of the Federal Provincial Consultative Committee on Education Related International Affairs (FPCCERIA).

CMEC agreements included an Interjurisdictional Protocol on Procedures Relating to the Suspension or Cancellation of Teaching Certificates; a Pan-Canadian

Protocol for Collaboration on School Curriculum; and a Pan-Canadian Protocol on the Transferability of University Credits (CMEC, 1995a). CMEC also had an agreement with the Federal Department of External Affairs in response to the Federal Agreement on International Trade that signified the intent to reduce barriers to teacher mobility (CMEC, 1999).

CMEC later proposed and implemented a dual-track agenda with the intent of facilitating cooperation and choice, should individual provinces wish to engage in a Pan-Canadian project. The assumptions underlying this agenda included consideration of provincial funding options, sensitivity to Quebec's sovereignty rights, and local interest in pursuing national and international initiatives. Chrétien confirmed that within Canada "the most important changes are usually non-constitutional—the result of step-by-step, pragmatic initiatives and accommodations" (Chrétien, 1999).

In the *Development of Education* report submitted to the 45th Session of the International Conference on Education in Geneva, CMEC (1996a) described a decade of federal deficit management initiatives and the influence of these initiatives on education. Specifically, the report acknowledged government retrenchment and restructuring proposals, and the redefining of accountability structures. While it might be speculated that such trends are unavoidable outcomes of reform, it is important to view these trends as part of an agenda that can be influenced and negotiated. Savoie (1998) contended that "we can never lose sight of the fact that government reform measures are political decisions" (p. 395).

During the past 15 years, the influence of global discussions on efficiency and accountability has driven many reform initiatives, including reducing the role of the federal government by transferring responsibilities to other levels of government and the private sector. Swimmer (1997) explained that deficit concerns and decentralization debates are responsible for many of government's policy goals. Provincial governments have lacked the required funds to maintain existing as well as newly decentralized programming responsibilities. Significant differences also existed in provincial fiscal capacity; consequently, some provinces have been unable to respond effectively to decentralized responsibilities.

The commitment to free markets and individual choice resulted in the federal government promotion of local responsibility and education financing through partnerships (Du Pont, 1999; Marchak, 1991; Moll, 1997; Pal, 1997; Spring, 1998). Furthermore, federal interest in specific education areas, particularly measurement and accountability, resulted in significant funding and involvement by Industry Canada, Human Resources Skills Development Canada, and DFAIT (Doern et al., 1996). CMEC (1998a) clarified central government expectations and endorsement of local education priorities prior to the Second Summit of the Americas in Quebec (CMEC, 1998b). Education Minister Freeland (1998), speaking on behalf of CMEC, linked the Summit political declaration to the action plan for multilateral and regional collaboration in responding to governments' educational priorities. In doing so, Freeland also clarified CMEC's position on provincial commitments to the Summit agenda:

> With or without specific resources the provincial jurisdictions will inevitably become involved in education initiatives leading up to the 3rd Summit. . . . The cuts to education budgets in the last few years may mean that it will take some time before provinces embark on various projects. It is possible for individual provinces to enter into this process just as it is possible for the provinces to act in a concerted fashion. (p. 4)

With reference to this situation, Freeland was outlining what was already available and extended upon in the structural alignments that CMEC had created to facilitate provincial involvement in broad-based and/or nontraditional arenas of decision making.

Political

Numerous influences on federal and provincial governments necessitated their consideration of the broader influences of global ideology, the increasing public awareness of market agendas, the impact of borderless economies with highly mobile yet transparent financial transactions, and the increasing opportunity for exchanges of information. As politicians responded to changing social, economic, and political processes at the national and international levels, governments faced new challenges from the effects of globalization that caused them to consider greater facilitation rather then direct involvement.

Governments' use of unofficial forums and policy consensus mechanisms helped to create the conditions and practices that shaped the discourse on globalization (Cox, 1994). These political practices illustrate how normative influences can be equally effective at both the macro and the micro level of policymaking in providing understanding of "the dynamic interplay of the ideas, the institutional structures, and the embedded political processes within a historical-political context" (Mawhinney, 1995, p. 7). Important to the identification of how relationships of power are played out in decision making, was the analysis of the various practices in discourse including the strategic positions and responsibilities of multiple individuals (Coleman & Skogstad, 1990).

The federal government's pursuit of global policy objectives coincided with domestic efforts to deregulate and privatize (Kenis & Schneider, 1991; Pal, 1997; Schacter, 1999). It was argued that Canada's national policy capacity, including the ability to influence key economic and social policy areas, was linked to the effects of globalization (Mayntz, 1998; Peters and Pierre, 1998). Canada's then Minister of Finance, Paul Martin, addressed public concerns about globalization and its effect on government's ability to respond to national needs:

> Canadians have bought into the myth that as globalization takes hold, the ability of national governments to act positively in furthering their people's needs and ambitions must wane. . . . People have come to fear that they are losing the capacity to shape their own destiny because they feel that they are being held hostage to forces over which they have no control. (Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada, Association of Canadian Community Colleges, Canadian Bureau for International Education, Canada-US Fulbright Commission, International Council for Canadian Studies, and World University Service of Canada, 1998, p. 9)

Keeves (1997) recommended that government accountability was influenced by the increasing complexity of political, economic, and organizational factors. Accepting that there was a need to examine normative influences on policy and political leadership (Cooper & Pal, 1996), Mawhinney (1995) claimed that assumptions that support a government decision or action "require more than the fact-based assessments of cost and benefits; it requires judgment of the potential for normative conflicts arising from policy change" (p. 15). However, the relationship between policy, political ideas, and language

is messy and complex. "Political thinking is the condition for political action; political language is the precondition for political thinking; political ideas are the elements of political language" (Manzer, 1994, p. 6). Significant to this research is Manzer's (2004) explanation of how language use has resulted in different perspectives of policy that may or may not comply with the reality revealed in the study of individual or institutional conduct. For instance:

> Words are used in public life—such as justice, legitimacy, equality, liberty, feasibility, and efficiency—but their substantive meanings are not always transparent. These meanings can be learned from careful study of what people living together in a public community say and do in their public life. . . . [That] is incorporated in their political institutions and public policies. (p. 6)

Repeatedly throughout this research, language was seen as a mechanism of influence. Foucault (1972) has advocated for consideration of the relationship between language, knowledge, and action, arguing that the function of language includes possibilities of concerns, meanings, and rules that manipulate understandings. For instance, Foucault would challenge such political subtleties as *policy communities*, *education partnerships*, and *consultations* because of a belief that deliberate language use tended to reflect a strategic view. Foucault (1972) stressed the relevance of context in shaping our ideas, actions, and structures as well as our understandings of reality. For instance, the language of policy communities, education partnerships, and consultations may reflect a political context of symbolic policy engagement, or a "truth" about government's policy insulation (Doern et al., 1996).

The ability of language to sustain political belief systems, although subtle, may be more pervasive than realized:

> The ideology of liberalism is the dominant belief system in Canada and the United States. Its tenets are so pervasive; we often do not recognize that it is indeed an ideological belief system, a way of looking at the world. Instead, we tend to accept the liberal postulates as "givens" or "truths." (Gibbins and Youngman, 1996, p. 26)

Manzer (1994) explained that these "truths" have translated into the following principles for Canadian public education:

- Education is an essential condition for individual economic opportunity and collective material prosperity: hence the purpose of education must give appropriate weight to the preparation of young people for work and the benefits of education must be equally accessible to all;
- Public schools serving a multicultural, multilinguistic, and multidenominational society must be inclusive, giving equal respect to all students regardless of their religion, language or ethnicity; and
- Because membership in a cultural community is good for individuals, public education in a liberal political community must provide for the education of young people in their various cultural communities, for example, by extending state aid to minority-denomination and minority language schools. (p. 18)

An examination of political activity during the 1960s supported the historical relevance of these principles to national educational governance. It was during this time that interest group activity increased significantly in many aspects of society (Pal, 1997). Manzer (1994) argued that many believed that denominationalism and linguistic pluralism were "threats to the integrity of the political community, and a drain on economic and education efficiency" (p. 189). In the late 1960s and early 1970s, educational governance discourse responded to rational management theories and participatory democracy with the implementation of a never ending cycle of deliberation, decision, and action. Whether consultations were open processes may be best understood in terms of Barber (1984) who claimed "each step in the process was a flexible part of ongoing procedures embedded in concrete historical conditions and its social and economic actualities" (p. 151). Moreover, Foucault would have contended that such processes reflect the organization and application of the social technologies of "participation." In such instances individuals come together through a process of invitation and form a select group bound not by legislation, but by an informal social contract seeking ratification of predetermined agendas through a process of consensus arrived at through consultation.

A restructuring of government in Canada was initiated by Prime Minister Mulroney, whose prosperity initiatives paralleled Prime Minister Thatcher's British social policies (Manzer, 1994; Pal, 1997; Smith, 1999). The initiatives emphasized multiple stakeholders and enhancing prosperity through transforming education. In 1989 Mulroney encountered resistance to restructuring and unsuccessfully tried to obtain a constitutional agreement. Manzer (1994) concluded that the Canadian federal government

failed to exert the political will necessary for a coherent, activist policy initiative in the area of education and training.

Although CMEC represented the national voice of education in Canada, individual federal and provincial ministers questioned the reason for CMEC's existence. However, CMEC's national profile in Canadian education became firmly established with the decision to implement the School Achievement Indicators Program (SAIP). SAIP was dependent upon a presence at the centre to maintain administration of the program. Consequently, CMEC became a necessary mechanism that enabled provincial and territorial education departments to respond to national issues.

Reform initiatives at the federal level also had repercussions on education. Traditionally, the Economic Council and the Science Council of Canada had a history of involvement in educational initiatives. With the closing of these two departments, federal educational interests were redirected through the offices of Industry Canada, Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC), and the DFAIT, all of which pushed a strong national and international presence, particularly in the area of education accountability. The increasing responsibility of these three departments for funding and educational initiatives resulted in a subtle but concerted federal influence on education policy, research, and partnership development. One of the outcomes was Heritage Canada's partnership with CMEC that resulted in the Council assuming financial responsibility for distributing provincial language bursary funds. The interest accrued on this money enabled CMEC to establish its first national office.

In the Treasury Board of Canada (1996) report entitled "Getting Government Right: A Progress Report," the federal government confirmed the priority of establishing partnerships and redefining the delivery of traditional government services. "The federal government is increasing its use of partnerships with other levels of government, the private sector, and citizens to better manage collective and particular interests within Canada's economic and social union" (Pal, 1997, p. 161). Invited partners would share the responsibility for providing traditional government services, but government would still maintain political accountability. Remarkably, these partnerships extended beyond the traditional policy experts and governments to involve members of a third community

(neither private nor public) of policy makers, knowledge brokers, and researchers for whom the relevance of a policy decision was paramount (Lindquist, 1990).

Structural Reform

Chrétien (2000) claimed "we have established a distinct Canadian Way, a distinct Canadian model: Accommodation of Cultures. Recognition of diversity. A partnership between citizens and state" (p. 3). Privatization initiatives became a recognized priority in the transfer of government's domestic responsibilities to corporate interests. As Britain's Labour government led the Third Way in Europe, government press releases in Europe and Canada echoed a similar strategy in responding to global demands. The subtle alliance of Canadian governance with the politics of the Third Way created a context that linked the integration of multinational corporations and the idea of borderless economies with economic reform initiatives in Canada (Nelson and Fleras, 1995, p. 448).

Coleman (2000) observed that rapid change had influenced the policy capacity of governments and restricted the state's ability to act. Governments had transferred "significant power to regional and global organizations" (p. 1). The result was that some multinational organizations played a powerful role in determining global rules because of their influence in determining job locations and the subsequent distribution of wealth.

Nevitte (2000) also concluded that economic changes along with their related reforms had influenced the mutual relationship between citizens and the state. While the public demanded more involvement in decision making, public trust and confidence in government institutions had faltered. The opportunity for public involvement in traditional political structures such as political party allegiance or government forums, found many choosing the alternative to engage in direct-action strategies. This may have been one reason for the growth of interest-group activity. But Coleman (2000) expressed concern about the limited degree to which governments are willing to consider and respond to the public's expectations for involvement in policy.

There has been a dramatic change from the initial context that shaped the ideals of democratic governance to present-day circumstances (Nevitte, 2000). Factors such as wealth distribution, promotion and acceptance of knowledge-based economies, the transformation of work force practices as a result of a better educated workforce, and increased communication and access to information reflect several of the structural

changes that have influenced public political views and their commitment to multi levels of government. Public awareness of global demands has led to a sense of vulnerability. This vulnerability has resulted from increasingly unpredictability of domestic responses due to beliefs about the effects of globalization, along with government's attempts to deregulate and privatize traditional areas of responsibility (Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, and Perraton, 2000). Beaudin (1998) contended that "the authorities are at best, mere sub-contractors for business. The market governs, the government manages" (p. 85).

Chrétien's (2000) press release, "The Canadian Way in the 21st Century," illustrated one attempt at a domestic structural adjustment focused on shaping socioeconomic processes and managing government. However, many researchers questioned the ability of the federal government to manage domestic responsibilities (Doern et al., 1996; Ohmae, 1995; Rodrik, 2000; Strange, 2000) and to act as "the appropriate political unit for either resolving key policy problems or managing effectively a broad range of public functions" (Held and McGrew, 2000, p. 13).

In this respect national governments faced new challenges in the policy deliberation process that included the risk of increased loss of power along with increased demands for policy involvement (Peters and Pierre, 1998). There was a growing realization that the effects of globalization would require "a multilayered and interdependent system of governance that would provide a network structure that can replace or supplement the power of government" (p. 4). These changes in government evolved from a top-down or hierarchal approach to the development of political input processes "concerned with the actors [whose] decisions (and non-decisions) . . . explain policy outcomes" (Mayntz, 1998, p. 413).

Vail (2000) supported the shift in Canadian values that were believed to form the framework for policy decisions associated with the "Canadian Way." "The role of government, the balance between collective action and individual responsibility, and the support for universal social programs" (p. 1) have been accompanied by low levels of trust in government and higher demands for accountability and financial responsibility.

Atkinson & Coleman (1996) claimed that with the increasing influence of international negotiations on public policy, it was important to examine the interdependence of national and international policy networks and relationships. The

recognition of system-level norms in creating the context that led to the development of networks was critical to the application of network and community concepts. Normative frameworks included such variables as methods of regulation, representation, and levels of autonomy within organizations. At a macro level these normative frameworks surfaced in a domestic political network that directly affected the success of international coalitions due to the fact that national politicians were reluctant typically to support international decisions that were contradictory to domestic policy (Cowhey, 1990). Consequently, international decisions often required consideration of federal, provincial, domestic, and bureaucratic interests (Atkinson & Coleman, 1996).

Even though network structures reflected domestic political structures and interests, analyzing policymaking and policy networks facilitates an understanding of policy outcomes through the identification of those who participate and those who hold power within these processes. Pal (1997) stressed the significance of conceptualizing the networks not only as "interests," but also as providers of the information and expertise necessary for policy development and implementation. Researching policy networks and the policy communities requires consideration of governance and the determination of relationships of power within the various contexts. Atkinson & Coleman (1996) contended that such research must respond to three challenges:

- Theorizing the connection between networks, communities, and broader political institutions,
- Integrating international levels of decision making into studies that have been confined to the nation-state only, and
- Conceptualizing patterns of change in networks (p. 201)

Atkinson & Coleman (1996) further stated that

> It is important to realize that many can play the governance game. The desire to manipulate policy networks is not limited to ministers and key officials; it also includes the leaders of business groups, labor unions, non-profit organizations, new social movements, and even foundations. Many policy communities extend their efforts beyond attempts to influence. Instead they give more attention to "the management, evolution, and manipulation of policy and administrative communities" in the belief that such effort will enable the politics behind the policy network process to be more transparent. (p. 237)

The realization that Canadian values and beliefs are changing led Vail (2000) to conclude that the Canadian Way is no longer sustainable. The '90s context that was defined by fiscal cutbacks, the restructuring of government, a balancing of individual and collective responsibility, and changes in social policy particularly in areas of health and education, has been eroded by the effects of globalization. These effects included more liberalized trade practices and increasing exposure to non-Canadian information. The emerging context is driven by values that support equality of opportunity rather than equality of outcome (Vail, p. 14). Although there are continued expectations for increased government involvement in social issues, these expectations are accompanied by public demands for government and nongovernmental accountability and transparency. The necessary response of government has been to ensure new strategies for increasing public participation in decision-making processes.

This summary of reform initiatives and structural influences is incomplete without a brief reference to the issues of centralization and decentralization, particularly because Nevitte (2000) believed that "segments of the public are less supportive of the kinds of redistributive polices that were once central to the agendas of traditional political parties" (p. 8). Berkhout & Wielemans (1999) insisted that the (de)centralization debate is an enduring point of contention between state and society over who has or should have the power to determine policy in education. Although the structure and nature of federal and provincial governments reflect a strong constitutional arrangement, Pal (2000) argued that the familiar hides some "dramatic changes in form and function" (p. 2), and this is more than apparent in spending programs and jurisdictions such as:

- the division of responsibilities and obligations between two levels of government,
- policy toward and relations with Canada's Aboriginal peoples, and
- the content and practice of fiscal, social, and foreign policy. (p. 2)

Cameron & Stein (2000) argued that globalization has had an impact upon the role of the nation state.

> In the wake of globalization, control, although not authority has moved up, down, and out from the state. It has migrated up to a thickening network of international institutions, some newly created and others newly strengthened. It has also leaked out to non-governmental organizations, multinational corporations, and

> international associations that work effectively outside, across, and through state borders. (p. 16)

Acquiring understanding of diverse sector involvement at all levels of governance, particularly education governance, requires consideration of theoretical explanations of reform including reflections on issues of state and society, globalization and the policy process.

Theoretical Explanations of Reform

Olssen et al. (2004) identified the need to frame explanations of reform and understandings about "the government of ourselves, the government of others, and the government of the state" (Dean, 1999, p. 3) within current political thinking. He further claimed that "imposed policies of neoliberal governmentality . . . are the key force affecting (and undermining) nation states today" (p. 13). This claim substantiates the need to probe how administrative power became an effective mechanism for utilizing policy, power, and practices in circumventing democratic processes such as provincial autonomy for education as protected in the 1867 Constitution of Canada.

The Relationship of State and Society

A discussion of the relationship of state and society implicitly or explicitly leads to a critical assessment of the social and scientific construction of beliefs and how those beliefs define a framework for thinking and acting within a political world.Moreover, it encourages consideration that some beliefs may be so pervasive that they reinforce certain ideas as the rational approach to government (i.e., the concept of reform as a characteristic or "Truth" of human development compared to "understanding reform as an object of social relations [Popkewitz, 1991, p. 244]); or the acceptance of science as a grounded truth rather than an essential mechanism of historical forces constituted in the name of governance.

Wotherspoon (1991) confirmed that the professionalization of knowledge made it possible for science to achieve a culturally significant role in social regulation and reform processes. The social sciences established expert knowledge or facts about how citizens should conduct their lives. These facts became a mechanism for government in shaping

individual and institutional behaviour via "technologies that stimulated rules for determining competence, social responsibility, and authority" (Popkewitz, 1991, p. 102). A macro-level analysis of government's rhetoric of reform helps to theorize about CMEC and democratic practices at the micro level of governance.

In this respect, at the level of political theory or as a model for reform, this study draws upon Foucault's understandings of power/knowledge as an entry into the analysis of governance or what is more readily accepted as governmentality. Ideas of governance or governmentality default to considerations of power as in the exercise, or effect of, power in the "conduct of conduct" rather than the concept of sovereign power or government of the state in enacting its right to make and enforce laws (Hindess, 1996).

It is helpful to address how Foucault's notions of power differ from critical theory. Foucault's analysis focuses on power that emerges within relationships. Contrary to this perspective, power relationships in critical theory are seen as originating from a sovereign or dominant position. Moreover, Foucault viewed power as a positive mechanism that, although nonsubjective, is purposeful and strategically-oriented to imply resistance but not opposition (Foucault, 1977, 1978, 1980) and (May, 2006). In summary, Foucault's interest aligns with the exercise of power in managing the conduct of others, particularly through the construction of new knowledge and its alignment with systems of power albeit disciplinary power or administrative power.

In this case study a developing relationship between educational governance, federal interests, and economic theories points to the transformation of governance and the need to provide details about the political theories that support new managers of education in Canada who incorporate the tools of neo-corporate management and marginalist economics to achieve administratively what they cannot achieve politically. Rather than look at governance as distinct from administration, Foucault allows us to look at governance of bodies and minds through the mobilization of administrative techniques through public discourses and political organizations.

Concerns regarding the end of the nation state "as a functioning political and economic unit" have increased because of the "pressure from outward-leaning multinationals and inward-looking ethnic groups" (Nelson & Fleras, 1995, p. 432). It seems that sovereignty is being pushed both up and down from the nation state (Doern

et al., 1996, p. 1). Ohmae (1995) asserted that "in a borderless world, traditional national interest—which has become little more than a cloak for subsidy and protection—has no meaningful place" (p. 64).

Cox (1994) argued from a different perspective suggesting that the nation state is simply serving a different role "as an agency for adjusting national economical practices and policies to the perceived exigencies of the global economy" (p. 49). While the belief exists that governments are abdicating responsibility in not resisting global economic changes, the tensions surrounding global financial markets and (de)centralization have created a "hollowing out" of states including a loss of capacity and policy instruments thus making it difficult for governments to push back against global economic changes (Doern et al., 1996; Nelson & Fleras, 1995; Plumptre & Graham, 2000; Schacter, 1999). Consequently, the national decision making context is reeling from rapidly changing socioeconomic processes and multi levels of government influences.

Held and McGrew (2000) believed that nation states remain eager to ensure their sovereign position:

> Most nation states fiercely protect their sovereignty—their entitlement to rule—and their autonomy—their capacity to choose appropriate forms of political, economical, and social development. The distinctive "bargains" governments create with their citizens remain fundamental to their legitimacy. (p. 11)

The challenge for national governments is that the discourse of globalization has facilitated a global economy that is no longer regulated by a democratic state and often beyond the influence of elected officials (Beaudin, 1998). Speaking on behalf of CMEC at the summit for the Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL), Freeland (1998) confirmed a similar global context for education: "The increased circulation of goods, of ideas, and of people in the world is the real context for the education initiatives of the summit" (p. 2).

Globalization

There are those who spoke of globalization as a myth (Giddens, 1998; Hirst & Thompson, 2000; Thompson, 2000). Others viewed globalization as a history of encounters between major civilizations (Held & McGrew, 2000; Modelski, 2000; Nelson

& Fleras, 1995; Perraton, Goldblatt, Held, & McGrew, 2000; Spring, 1998). Still others saw globalization as a process of production, shaped by economic, cultural, political, and technological interconnectedness (Doern et al., 1996; Held et al., 2000). Although there are different debates about the complexity of globalization, there is general acceptance that the globalization discourse continues to fundamentally influence economic, cultural, political, and social activity. As a result, there is a belief that there is an erosion of "the capacity of nation-states to act independently in the articulation and pursuit of domestic and international policy objectives" (Held & McGrew, 2000, p. 13). Chapter 5 includes an in-depth discussion of the discourses of globalization with reference to the context-shaping Canadian education.

Policy

Foucault's approach to policy analysis provides a way of using governmentality to identify how social control and the exercise of power constructed understandings of education and learning. For instance, in this case study there is an established link between globalization and the economy, with particular emphasis on the knowledge economy, technology, and competition (Castells, 2001; Held & McGrew, 2000; Tomlinson, 1999). Scientific and economic justification persists for Canadian policy concerns associated with national and international accountability and the subsequent need for educational policy mechanisms such as standards, indicators, and goals (Manzer, 1994). However, the complex multidisciplinary nature of policy requires attention to the following:

> Reading neoliberal educational policy is not just a matter of understanding its educational context or reading it as the pronouncements of 'the policy makers.' It requires an understanding of the dynamics of the various elements of the social structure and their intersections in the context of history (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 2).

Foucault (2002) raised the probability that the same rules of formation that enable "the processes and products of the scientific consciousness" are embedded in the "positive unconscious of knowledge" or the neglected influences, philosophies, or ideas found "in widely differing theories, concepts, and objects of study" (p. xii). In other words, rules of formation exist in all discourses, and archaeology provides but one approach to analyzing the influence of these rules. Thus, in policy discourse:

> 'Archaeology' would be the appropriate methodology of this analysis of local discursiveness, and 'genealogy' would be the tactics whereby, on the basis of the descriptions of these local discursivities, the subjected knowledges which were thus released would be brought into play. (Foucault; as cited in Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1982, p. 85).

It is the contextual as well as subjective nature of a policy that increases the contentious nature of the policy process; particularly because policy issues are seldom isolated problems but exist as part of other policy issues, problems, and solutions. Adding to this political complexity is the perspective that "theory lags behind practice when it comes to policy" and that theory is a necessity if policy is "to provide politics with a greater sense of direction and purpose" (Giddens, 1998, p. 2). This point confirms for me the relevance of exploring policy from several approaches, especially because my epistemological position advocates multiple truths. Reliance on any one policy framework or theory as an approach to understanding national educational governance would leave me questioning whether I had explored the policy analysis process with adequate investigative rigor.

In summary, Chapter 4 draws on Foucault's (1980, 1997, 2004) multidisciplinary approach to policy analysis to introduce several policy framework perspectives on national educational governance. This approach uses the following policy processes to determine the underlying issues and the social regularities that influence national educational governance: policy archaeology and genealogy, backward mapping, policy problem definition, policy argument framework, and a discussion of the push and pull of truth in national educational governance. I will review these models further in Chapter 9.

Inviting Foucault's Social Theory

Foucault's approach to social theory and critical analysis calls for a personal interrogation of the assumptions that shape specific research arenas. Thus, the value of knowledge requires "the knower's straying afield of himself" (Foucault, 1985, p. 8) because "there are times in life when the question of knowing if one can think differently than one thinks, and perceive differently than one sees, is absolutely necessary if one is to go on looking and reflecting at all" (p. 8). Personal interrogation therefore must be an unrelenting, reiterative research focus.

Foucault (as cited in Olssen et al., 2004) claimed that the aim of critique is to "free people from the historically transitory constraints of contemporary consciousness as realized in and through discursive practices" (p. 39). Although acknowledging the multidisciplinary nature of critique, Foucault aimed to recognize the subjugated knowledges and experiences that exist at the micro level of practice, where "discourse determines the reality that we perceive" (Mills, 2003, p. 5). Sheridan (1997) confirmed the belief that "discourse in not about objects: rather, discourse constitutes them" (p. 98). This is one justification for linking global and economic discourse with government and education reforms. As governance becomes an increasing focus of national concern, the contextual, time-bound nature of the discourses that shape Canadian education is more apparent.

Foucault (1980, 1995; as cited in Kritzman, 1990; Ransom, 1997) acknowledged the existence of unrecognized acts or forms of power within institutional contexts such as government and education. In this case study, the subtle redefining of public education has shifted public and political attention to postsecondary and private education, where the language of lifelong learning and educational excellence has merged with the accountability requirements of assessments and indicators.

Archaeology and Genealogy

Archaeology is a term used by Foucault to describe what happened in the past along with the discursive conditions that existed during that time. In other words, archaeology locates the social or discursive practices evidenced in the techniques, rules, and systems of a particular time and context that shape knowledge. He used *Genealogy*, to reveal that a given system of thought was the result of uncertain changes rather than the outcome of rationally inevitable trends:

> "Archaeology" would be the appropriate methodology of [the] analysis of local discursivities, and "genealogy" would be the tactics whereby, on the basis of the descriptions of these discursivities, the subjected knowledges which were thus released would be brought into play. (Foucault, 1980, p. 85)

Although several may have interpreted the purpose of genealogy as the exposure of the presence of power, Ransom (1997) argued for a broader understanding. He saw

genealogy as having the potential to "separate out from the contingency that has made us what we are, the possibility of no longer being, doing, or thinking what we are, do or think" (p. 100). Thus, the possibility of transformation from what was or what might be occurs through the analysis of political influences in power/knowledge relationships. Or, more specific to this research, understanding the influences submersed in the power/knowledge relationships of educational governance is critical to creating possibilities for transformation in education.

Drawing on the two approaches of archaeology and genealogy, Foucault's methodology relies on archaeology's attempts to locate and analyze the assumptions and discursive practices used in the organization of knowledge relevant to Canadian education (Smart, 1985) and genealogy's tracing of the historical process that facilitate or oppose new systems of power (Olssen et al., 2004; Ransom, 1997). From Foucault's perspective (as cited in Kenway, 1990), it is in the forming of different discursive practices that "knowledge can fix meaning, representation and reason, the very organization of the discourse can be an exercise of power, controlling and restraining what can be said as well as the right to speak" (p. 173).

Rabinow (1984) believed that an understanding of the knowledge/power relationship provided the potential for action and transformation. Therefore, genealogy's critical task was to develop

> an attitude, ethos, a philosophical life in which the critique of what we are is at one and the same time the historical analysis of the limits that are imposed on us and an experiment with the possibility of going beyond them. (p. 50)

Foucault (as cited in Kritzman, 1990) identified such critique or criticism as "absolutely indispensable for any transformation" (p. 155). Applying Foucault's understanding of critique to genealogy requires more than a determination of what is right or wrong. It requires an examination of various taken-for-granted assumptions or unchallenged practices. Even then, genealogy requires endless layers of analysis without the assurance that an ultimate Truth exists. Certain constructions of social reality are accepted as self-evident truths (Smart, 1985); for example, "school assessments improve student success," reflect a form of political function of truth-effect even though it might contradict what is empirically reflected as "the scientific hierarchization of knowledge"

(Smart, 1983, p. 77). However, the challenge is to consider "truth," not as an absolute or fact, but rather, as a fluid and transformative aspect of discourse that is continuously negotiated through the push-pull positions of those who engage or resist various power relations.

Drawing from the philosophy of Foucault (as cited in Bernauer & Rasmussen, 1988; Shumway, 1989; Kritzman, 1990) "truths" reflected a form of contested or subjugated knowledges that defined the place of knowledge in ongoing power struggles.

Genealogy illustrates the political and economic nature of discourse and reveals the importance of a specific institutional context in shaping discursive practices (Shumway, 1989), including action, language, and meaning. Major shifts in the discourse enable "new regimes of truth to regulate our knowledge, manipulate our assumptions, and direct our practices" (Foucault; as cited in Dean, 1999, p. 173). Consequently, genealogy focuses on the specific conditions, rather than events, from which new practices and new forms of power emerge. These conditions are evident in the practices or rules of formation that shape the possibilities for knowledge/power relationships. Haugaard (1997) argued that Foucault's genealogical approach:

> takes the form of confronting us with the arbitrariness of everything we take for granted in social life . . . by showing us fractures and lines of resistance in the constitution of things as they have come to be, [thereby giving] us the possibility of realizing that they need not be so. (pp. 43-44)

Genealogy does not judge the validity of a policy or educational priority. In focusing on the conditions, it provides a means of "pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest" (Kritzman, 1990, p. 154). Genealogy offers no solutions or absolutes, but because it reveals how the construction of "truth" and power occurs, it provides opportunity for reform, resistance, and transformation (Smart, 1985). Accordingly, changes in educational policies or priorities can be identified through the analysis of the numerous discursive practices that constructed the power/knowledge discourse of education. Understanding context fosters new ideas about alternative policy possibilities.

For instance, the omission of an idea in an expected context may significantly influence understanding. Such was the case in the CMEC national initiatives, where a single word substitution from the Second National *Consultation* on Education (CMEC, 1996b) to the Third National *Forum* on Education (CMEC, 1998c) illustrates that what is often presented as an agreement is more simply, an assumption that gains precedence because of power relations.

Smart (1985) summarized further that what appears to be a constructed unity of things, is "not a point of origin, but dispersion, disparity, difference and the play of dominations" (p. 59). After all, in the collective decision to use the mechanism of the consultations in obtaining a national consensus, the agenda was somewhat displaced by diverse interests with specific agendas, differences in understandings regarding consultation processes, and recognition that some provinces simply preferred to act independently rather than consult with CMEC. When the consultation process met with criticism regarding a lack of consensus and transparency, CMEC removed future references to the word *consultation*.

Foucault (1993a, 1996) discards notions of tradition or social progress and refuses to view practices as a collective ordering of events or as an absolute Truth. Instead, he recognized "the political history of the production of truth" (p. xviii) made possible through the production, circulation, transformation and use of truth (Simola, Heikkinen, and Silvonen, 1998, p. 65). The politics of truth requires answers to critical questions that take account of:

> What governs statements and the way in which they govern each other, . . . what effects of power circulate among scientific statements, what constitutes . . . their internal regime of power, and how and why at certain moments that regime undergoes a global modification. (Rabinow, 1984, pp. 54-55)

The study of systems of thought reveals that knowledge is regulated by the play of dominations and efforts of resistance that influence and regulate conformity and subjectivity. Thus, fundamental possibilities for truth production emerge from the construction of power. It is in the exercising of power that certain policy mechanisms, networks, and techniques facilitate particular policy decisions; and these power relations influence the "discourses about what can be said and thought, but also about who can

speak, when and with what authority" (Ball, 1990, p. 2). Sheridan (1997) further clarified the inherent nature of power:

> Power is not something that can be acquired, seized, or shared. It is exercised from innumerable points, in a set of unequal, shifting relations. Power comes as much from below as from above. Power relations do not exist outside other types of relations (those found in economic processes, in the diffusion of knowledge, in sexual relations), but are immanent in them. (p. 184)

Smart (1983) supported Foucault's position on the strategies of power while identifying how the exercise of disciplinary power (power that rules by creating limits for acceptable or unacceptable ideas or behaviours) occurs through such strategies as "hierarchical observation, normalizing judgment and the examination" (p. 85). The success of these strategies is greater when individuals are unaware that they are being subjected to their effects. Thus to understand the underlying power embedded in the governance of education, it is necessary to study the disciplinary technologies of educational institutions and the ways in which disciplinary practices create individual or collective conformity through the shaping of conduct. Foucault (1997) refuses the view of power associated with the traditional rule of law proposing instead that power exists through mechanisms of observation, regulation, and statistical application that ensure individuals become "both objects and instruments of its exercise" (p. 170). Shifting government emphasis from domestic to global concerns facilitates a reliance on such disciplinary mechanisms to ensure the realization of federal agendas linked to education.

For the purpose of this dissertation, the conditions or rules of formation limited or enabled certain statements to exist within the context of disciplinary power. This commitment to the analysis of power required looking beyond a logical acceptance of power to the analysis of power/knowledge relationships through "the antagonism of strategies" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983, p. 211). For example, we approach attempts to understand power through an analysis of resistance in the hope that it reveals the more subtle but influential means by which knowledge and power gain precedence.

Moreover, areas such as student assessment, teacher credentialing, and educational expectations are already embedded in institutional practice and serve as effective mechanisms in the realization of political and economic agendas. And yet these

forms of scrutiny are accepted frequently as natural components of teaching and/or governance practices:

> Hierarchized, continuous and functional surveillance may not be one of the greatest technical "inventions" of the eighteenth century, but its insidious extension owed its importance to the mechanisms of power that it brought with it. By means of such surveillance, disciplinary power became an "integrated" system, linked from the inside to the economy and to the aims of the mechanism in which it was practiced. (Foucault, 1977, p. 176)

It is clear that the concept of *discipline* acquires an understanding as a form of power that includes a variety of "techniques, procedures and levels of application" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 6). Moreove:

> Discipline may be taken over either by 'specialized' institutions or by institutions that use it as an essential instrument for a particular end . . . or by pre-existing authorities that find in it a means of reinforcing or reorganizing their internal mechanisms of power. (Foucault, 1977, p. 215)

Essential to understanding the power/knowledge relationship is the understanding that "truth" is a result of political construction. This has implications for the idea of universal Truths and challenges the influence of traditional dominant forces within social, economic, cultural, and political arenas. Given that there are individuals and groups in society who often exercise power over knowledge; it stands to reason that these individuals and groups often determine what is true or normal. However, "power is not simply what the dominant class has and the oppressed lack. Power is a strategy, and the dominated are as much a part of the network of power relations and the particular social matrix as the dominating" (Hoy, 1986, p. 134). Thus, critical to this analysis is consideration of the strategies that create and sustain the truth/power connection thereby enabling an individual to become the vehicle of power in shaping consensus or mutual understandings.

Simola et al. (1998) alleged that there are various strategies or "techniques of discourse, of subjectivication, and of government connected to each other to produce simultaneously certain 'fields of knowledge, types of normativity and forms of subjectivity'" (p. 69). In describing the repetitive nature of the truth/power relationships, Rabinow (1984) identifies the link between truth and the systems of power that produce

and sustain it, and the effects of power that it induces and that extend it as a "regime" of truth" (p. 74). This cyclic production and reproduction of power creates a never-ending cycle or regime of truth. Still, determining what is true or false is dependent on the rules of formation and the associated power that gain status according to its political or economical role.

Critical to understanding the rules and conditions that shape society is the priority of analyzing the exercise of power within a particular context. In this respect, disciplinary techniques are frequently used as instruments of governments to ensure "the conduct of conduct" (Hindess, 1996, p. 20) and the shaping of power, truth, and subjectivity. Genealogy and archaeology complement each other by linking forms of knowledge or ideas to the construction of power relationships within a given institutional context.

According to Foucault, power and knowledge create each other and that in turn creates disciplines and disciplinary practices. These practices include but are not limited to the various techniques, practices, or rules that define the relations of power and "shape the individual or speaking subject" (Simola et al., 1998, p. 64). But Foucault's (as cited in Hoy, 1986) notion of power and knowledge was "not the epistemological one: whether given pieces of what is taken as knowledge are, in fact, true. [Rather, he offered] an interpretation of how what counts as knowledge and power has historically come to be so counted" (p. 129). Power is productive, with the potential to enable or constrain possibilities. Moreover, resistance is an act of power. Thus, Foucault's (1995, 2000) denial of or resistance to the idea of power as based in authority or legitimacy and his emphasis on the effects of power and power relationships provide an analytical basis for examining the case study of CMEC and national education.

Summary of the Literature Review

Chapter 2 described the broader context that influences government and the governance of education. The literature review introduced several theories of reform, with particular reference to the influence of globalization on reform and policy. The reform discourse recognizes that institutions and governments become objects of reform and instruments of disciplinary techniques that shape individual and group actions and understandings. Foucault (1972, 1977, 1983, 1984b, 1988) provided a substantive research framework for understanding the politics of policy making and called attention

to the mechanisms that enable or constrain governments in realizing their objectives. Acquiring knowledge of these strategies and their relationship to specific types of power has provided insight into national educational governance.

CHAPTER 3:

RESEARCH ORIENTATION AND DESIGN

Introduction

In Chapter 3 I establish the rationale for a critical social theory orientation, a qualitative research method, a multiple- perspective approach to policy, and my decision to use a case study approach to examine the policies, processes, and structures of CMEC from 1993 to 2003. I provide a review of case study research design and elaborate on the choice of CMEC as the case in question.

The next section contains a description of the data-collection process, including document analysis, participant selection, interview questions, and data analysis. Next, I outline the ethical considerations of case study research and address the process of selecting the research participants. I discuss issues of trustworthiness and rigor, and conclude with a summary of the research orientation and design.

Qualitative Research

In this particular study I rely on a critical social theory orientation with particular attention to Foucault's two strategies of archaeology and genealogy (Foucault, 1983a, 1983b, 1985, 1990, 1997; Scheurich, 1994). The specific strategies employed in pursuit of a rigorous research design begin with a discussion of critical social theory.

Critical Social Theory

Critical social theory provides a framework for thinking about the world and "recognizing it as a product of human action, and thus implicitly as the product of some actions among a larger range of possibilities" (Calhoun, 1995, p. 35). Critical theory emerged from the Institute of Social Research in Frankfurt, Germany, where intellectuals committed to Marxism and the study of social change met to consider an emerging social philosophy that was later known as *critical theory*. Nietzsche, who became one of the more recognizable names of this time, was a major influence on Foucault's ideas about power and society.

Ontologically, critical social theory prioritizes such factors as social, political, cultural, and economic values in shaping public (including the researcher's) understandings of society (Calhoun, 1995; Morrow & Brown, 1994). Moreover, normative influences create significant links between the researcher and those engaged in the interactive critical research processes that result in value-mediated findings (Guba & Lincoln, 1998). This epistemological position that defines critical theory acknowledges the aim of challenging existing social practices that subjugate human potential and activity. Is so doing, critical theory offers insight and new knowledge that will enable individuals and groups to consider alternative ways of interacting with different systems of power in society. Thus, as Anderson (2004) concluded, "Critical theory is theory of, by, and for the subjects of study" (p. 14). Extending this thought just a little, critical theory is "politically edgy," a form of "agitational theory" (Leonardo, 2004, p. 11) whose project is individual and institutional transformation. Epistemologically, critical theory recognizes the influence of "social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic and gender values" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 203) in the mediation of beliefs and findings.

The preceding comments help to explain why Foucault (1985) advocated for a permanent criticism in uncovering the more implicit influences of power that shape our thoughts about sociohistorical ideas and the practices that constitute who we are. These discursive practices create limitations that "become so intimately a part of the way that people experience their lives that they no longer experience these systems as limitations but embrace them as the very structure of normal and natural human behaviour" et al., 2004, p. 39).

In this case study, critical social theory offers a form of critique for examining the discourse of national educational governance and policy and power practices in shaping individual and institutional assumptions about Canadian education. Foucault's (1972, 1985, 1988, 1997) ideas provide the philosophical framework to interpret the larger social context that frames ideas related to educational governance, policy, and power discourses. I first applied Foucault's methodological insights into archaeology to trace an historical analysis of the rules and disciplinary practices implicit in the social regulation of education discourse, with specific attention to a case study of the Council of Ministers of Education. The archaeological analysis is followed with a genealogical analysis that

aims "to explain the existence and transformation of elements of theoretical knowledge by situating them within power structures and by tracing their descent and emergence in the context of history" (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 47).

Morrow & Brown (1994) identify the influential link between research assumptions, the researcher's epistemological viewpoint, and theoretical assumptions. In this respect, the interactive critical theory research process is a natural fit with my ongoing need to reflectively question the political processes that shape how I know the world. For instance, personal assumptions about the political nature of truth led me to question the option of relying solely on the policy archaeology framework (Scheurich, 1994) to examine the discourse on national educational governance. I believe that the forming of discourse is a highly politicized process that involves numerous technologies that affect power relationships and the formation of subjectivities. Consequently, consideration of multiple policy analysis frameworks helped to reveal alternative possibilities that influence the interplay of policy, power, and practice.

Moreover, my understandings of the micro practices of power, and the "apparent neutrality and political invisibility of techniques of power", (Foucault, 2000, p. xv) were constrained by previously held assumptions about the place of sovereign and economic power in shaping social and institutional relations. Consequently, understandings of power as a productive influence offered a new way of conceptualizing relations of power.

Archaeology and Genealogy

The Foucauldian perspective detailed in Chapter 2 supports the critical social theory perspective fundamental to this research. Foucault's philosophy supports an archaeological and genealogical examination of the influences that shape national educational governance. These methodologies made it possible to consider "the historically constituted tie between power and knowledge" (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 47) in making sense of assumptions about education and national governance.

The analysis of policy issues is complex and needs recognition of political, social/cultural, and economic influences. However, educational politics and policy will have limited value to an understanding of the broader political system unless it is framed theoretically (Cibulka, 1994, Olssen et al., 2004). In considering CMEC's broader socio-political context, it is necessary to peel away the layers of historic structures and uncover

the truth-effect of discursive practices that at times, affirm scientific rhetoric as a matter of fact when they are merely a political device. Deconstructing these processes to the micro level of practice reveals a starting point for the analysis of power (Smart, 1999). This analysis avoids focusing on history as a unifying process. Instead, the analysis recognizes the relevance of context in defining everyday forms of struggle and resistance that can generate alternative conditions and assumptions and facilitate the emergence of a social problem or solution.

Basing his work on Foucault, Scheurich (1994) replaced an emphasis on historical events with attention to the history of ideas written in response to the needs of the present. Other researchers recognized the relevance of context in the critical analysis of the social construction of a problem and the potential range of socially constructed solutions (Keeves, 1997; Schwandt, 1998; Smith, 1999). Indeed, for Scheurich and Foucault it was important to understand the mechanisms that enabled institutions such as government or educational organizations to maintain power and social control. Foucault's critique required a particular focus on the technologies and practices embedded in the way that we govern and are governed. Foucault's thesis provides a good fit with the philosophical intent of this research.

Policy archaeology creates a challenge of intersecting possibilities and limitations and reveals both respondents' assumptions and information obtained through document analysis. It requires a continuing review of the literature. In conceptualizing CMEC's education activities during the research period, policy archaeology facilitated an examination of the various practices contributing to the educational acts and ideas. As well, archaeology made possible consideration of previous traces of language meaning, for instance, in words such as *education* and *learning* that disclose the embedded influences and power relations within social constructions.

Applying Morrow & Brown's (1994) ideas to Scheurich's (1994) policy archaeology framework, the connections between governance structures and the different layers of social reality emerge from normative as well as empirical choices. The policy archaeology framework advocates that existing in one layer of society requires a willingness "to live—think, act, talk, be—literally in the terms of its interlinked categories or nodes" (p. 163). Archaeology provides a means of exploring how discourses

are mixed up in relations of power and how they create practices that regulate assumptions about what is "reasonable and true" (Kincheloe and McLaren, 1998, p. 264).

Whereas archaeology offers an approach to examining intellectual history through discursive practices, the genealogical approach examines "the tactics whereby, on the basis of the descriptions of these discursivities, the subjected knowledges are brought into play" (Foucault, 1980, p. 85). Thus, genealogy clarifies the broader context of politically motivated institutional practices and, according to Smith (1999), provides "a certain capacity for creative interpretation of data in order to construct new senses of relatedness between individuals, groups, cultures and facts" (p. 4).

Foucault's (as cited in Burchell, 1991) understandings of history prioritized the "history of discursive practices in the specific relationships which link them to other practices" (p. 64). Foucault's aim, in historical analysis, is to probe individual understanding and social structures for "the interweaving effects of power and knowledge" (Rabinow, 1984, p. 52). Thus, Foucault's emphasis is on the analysis of the relationships between discursive practices such as norms, values, or agendas that constitute an object or system of knowledge, and nondiscursive formations, including institutions, political events, and economic and social processes (Sheridan, 1997).

The initial task of policy archaeology is to analyze the social construction of a problem. In this case the problem is educational governance and the role of CMEC. However, the research problem exists within a broader context. It is important to consider the interrelated problems that collectively constitute the particular policy problem while simultaneously recognizing the subjective nature of policy problems. In other words, understanding the research question ("How does CMEC as an intergovernmental educational organization shape national and international education priorities?") requires an in-depth search for individual understandings of governance and consideration of how these understandings were shaped.

Next, the research process examines the social regularities that influenced what is socially constructed and legitimized as an education problem or an educational solution. Regularities are unmistakably entrenched in government techniques, systems or relations of power, expectations, choices, traditions, routines, representations, rules, and language use. The creation of these regularities seldom results from deliberate action but rather

reflects unconscious ideas or established ways of thinking that are reflective of a particular time and context. Because of the familiarity of these regularities, they often exist without recognition and without question at the most fundamental level of daily practice. Instinctively at both an individual and a collective level, these regularities form and transform our knowledge, beliefs, and practices.

This analysis moves beyond a more traditional focus on the *structures* of governance to discuss, within a given context, the social regularities, the mechanisms, practices, language, and techniques (technologies) that are used as instruments of government in defining knowledge and establishing power relationships. Consequently, the analysis of the relationships reflected in CMEC and government practices provides evidence of the privileging of various problem solutions over others. The search for change or potential solutions to the research problem requires consideration of both normative and empirical perspectives while probing theoretical ideas about government, globalization, power, policy, and reform.

In place of Scheurich's (1994) fourth arena that examines policy as a historically constituted discourse, this research extended Foucault's ideas about discourse and nondiscursive relations and practices in archaeological and genealogical models to the particular study of the genealogy of an education and learning discourse:

> Genealogical analysis aims to explain the existence and transformation of elements of theoretical knowledge by situating them within power structures and by tracing their descent and emergence in the context of history. As such, it traces an essential, historically constituted tie between power and knowledge. (Olsen et al., 2004, p. 47)

Thus, the research concentrates on the various strategies and practices that imperceptibly challenge the routinely acknowledged place of provincial educational governance in Canada rather than focusing on the constitutional implications of Canadian education and learning,. This genealogical analysis includes consideration of how the political games of power are constituted to enable the defining and redefining of education and/or learning through the process of governmentality.

Case Study Research Design

Morrow & Brown (1994) claimed that "three characteristics define qualitative research in the conventional discourse: case study design, interpretation of action (*Verstehen*), and thick description" (p. 206). Although the decision to focus on a qualitative case study generally relates to a researcher's interest in insight, discovery, and interpretation rather than a hypothesis generated testing (Merriam, 1998), the case study strategy has particular advantages considering that "how" and "why" questions were integral to this research (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 1995; Stake, 1998; Yin, 1994). In the specific case study of CMEC, the research design provided an opportunity for the exploration of issues beyond the case study, to concerns with the micro practices of power and the ways in which educational priorities have been developed, implemented, and used. This transition from the specific case of CMEC to the more generalized examination of educational governance is congruent with Stake's (1998) assessment of case study research:

> The case is of secondary interest and plays a supportive role, facilitating the understanding of something else. The case is often looked at in depth, its contexts scrutinized, its ordinary activities detailed, but because this helps us pursue the external interest. (p. 88)

Case studies have the capacity to deal with a variety of data sources including artefacts, interviews, and observations. Consequently, there is a distinct advantage for the researcher in attempting to reconstruct a case story that speaks clearly about individual understandings of educational governance and relations of power particularly if governance practices are endemic to other places, times, and contexts, and there is no indication of a previous focus in this area.

Data Collection Process

Access to CMEC

The following is a description of various aspects of the research process including gaining access to those directly and indirectly associated with CMEC consultations, provincial and national government decision makers, and organizational leaders engaged

in national and internationally educational activities. Janesick (1998) claims that gaining access to the case area frequently relies on the researcher's ability to "establish trust, rapport, and authentic communication patterns with participants" (p. 39). I agree with Janesick's understandings of case studies and confirm that I obtained formal access to the interviewees for this research from November 1999 to February 2001. Moreover, I was successful in negotiating a field placement with the province chairing CMEC.

Field Placement

A successful attempt was made in 2000 to obtain a field placement in the province that chaired CMEC. Given that the placement was for only four weeks, there was limited time to establish research credibility but I believe that significant progress was made in this area. Prior to starting the field placement, I had thoroughly reviewed CMEC documentation acquired over a three-year period prior to starting the research. This knowledge base provided me with a familiarity with CMEC that encouraged other educators or consultation participants to share their knowledge and experience during informal conversations. A review of the CMEC website offered insight into more recent CMEC activity.

Obtaining access to a field placement at a provincial department of education was helpful in allowing me to access information and acquire research credibility. Securing the field placement was dependent on successful networking between the University of Alberta and a Department of Education. During the field placement, a departmental official acted as field placement supervisor and as a "gatekeeper" (Punch, 1998, p. 163) to the research arena. The advantage of working with such an individual extended beyond gaining access to the placement and resources to include a mentoring relationship that resulted in key networking opportunities, insight into organizational culture, and opportunities to attend relevant meetings. Field placement is a fundamental in qualitative research (Marshall and Rossman, 1995), but it is also an opportunity to immerse oneself as a researcher and a learner in the research milieu.

The field placement provided rich data both from a document analysis perspective and from the networking opportunity of engaging with officials who had background experiences with CMEC and the provincial government. Punch (1998) appropriately stated that fundamental to the research process are issues such as "entry and departure,

distrust and confidence, elation and despondency, commitment and betrayal, friendship and abandonment" (pp. 158-159). Although the field placement was a brief exposure to the context of government and CMEC activity, it was an invaluable opportunity to compare practical experiences with theoretical assumptions. Morrow & Brown (1994) confirmed that a field placement experience provides critical insight into the various discourses that shape education. Additionally, many of the conditions essential to case study research were facilitated by the field placement. These conditions included:

- understanding the language and culture of the respondents
- deciding on how to present oneself
- locating an informant
- gaining trust, and
- establishing rapport. (Fontana and Frey, 1998, p. 58)

Even more important, respect and trust developed through the mutual sharing of knowledge and experiences of CMEC. This acquired credibility increased access to informal information about the work of CMEC. At the end of the field placement, an individual expressed appreciation for the case study of CMEC and national governance in education, and pointed out that frequently, CMEC's hard work has been of little interest to the public. The respective Department of Education and the University of Alberta received a final research report on completion of the field placement.

Regardless of the field placement experiences, in my initial request to CMEC for support in completing a case study, it quickly became apparent that there were concerns. Specifically, the language of research appeared to be disconcerting, and the term *critical theory* led to anxiety about the intent of the research. An explanation of the research methodology helped in alleviating this anxiety. Patton's (1990) reciprocity model advocates negotiating a mutual benefit for right of entry into an organization. This incident confirmed that clarifying the language of research was just as important as understanding the language and culture of the research participants (Marshall and Rossman, 1995).

Consent Forms

The research consent form was beneficial in several ways. It detailed the purpose of the study prior to seeking the written consent of participants. It provided a framework

for discussion of the research conditions and the researcher's responsibilities so that consent was indeed "informed" consent. For a few participants, the idea of signing consent was a concern. The pilot interview experience confirmed the need to provide interviewees with a more in-depth explanation of the research purpose and process, and to ensure sensitivity in building trust and rapport. Appendix A contains a copy of the consent form.

Research Timeline

This research topic began to take shape in 1996 during attendance at a CMEC national consultation in education. I contacted CMEC officials in 1998 to seek formal support for the research. I felt that formal support would ensure a degree of collaboration from CMEC during the interview process, when seeking a field placement, and during data collection efforts. I completed the PhD candidacy examination in 2000 and undertook the field placement experience that fall with a Department of Education. The field placement provided valuable experiences regarding the day-to-day operations of CMEC, the scope of CMEC's involvements, and the role of CMEC's chair.

In 2000, I was asked to moderate a territorial conference of national speakers in the Yukon. This invitation offered an opportunity for pilot interviews. The value of this experience is addressed under Pilot Interviews. That same year (2000), I initiated a national interview schedule that continued over a two year timeframe. The schedule involved 19 informal semistructured interviews with education officials and elite education decision makers. Throughout the stages of data analysis and reporting, I assured the interviewees of confidentiality and subsequently assigned each individual a number code. The interview questions are addressed in more detail later in this chapter. Data analysis remained an integral part of the research program throughout the entire process of dissertation writing.

Data collection relied on various qualitative inquiry techniques including semistructured informal interviewing, and a document review of various press releases, conference materials, memos, and reports. Eighteen of the 19 participants consented to a taping of their interviews. The other participant indicated that he would limit his comments if the interview was taped. As a member check, each participant did the final

editing of his or her transcript. One respondent wrote an account of the research study from his perspective and submitted it with the returned copy of his research transcript.

Document Analysis

The collection of secondary data began during CMEC's 1996 national consultation. Interest in the activity of CMEC had led to the search and collection of related information several years prior to the start of the PhD program. Additional access to secondary data occurred during the field placement. In specific cases, I received permission to photocopy documents; otherwise, I made summary notes of relevant documentation. I also obtained secondary data from several national organizations, including the Canadian Teachers' Federation and the Canadian Association of Principals. Several educators also became a source of important secondary data because of their national and/or international educational experiences. For instance, upon arriving in Toronto and visiting the Ontario Teachers Federation, I was introduced to an individual who had just attended a meeting of the Collegium of Work and Learning (CWL) where Paul Cappon, Director General of CMEC, was a keynote speaker. OTF's meeting records gave access to CWL presentations and the opportunity to gain insight from one senior educator's perspective of the conference that substantiated other primary and secondary data.

Patton (1990) stressed the importance of "comparing and cross-checking the consistency of information derived at different times and by different means within qualitative methods" (p. 467). Where possible, crosschecking involved a comparison of the data collected in the interview with the information located in documents. For example, one research participant issued several press releases during the period of the research. The press releases enabled a comparison of the participants' interview responses with the press releases. In another instance, information documented on the CMEC website differed from the data that I collected during the earlier research phases. Specifically, "national education agenda" was replaced with "pan-Canadian agenda." As became evident, this change was not incidental but related to the lack of political receptiveness to the term *national.*

On occasion the information provided through document analysis and confirmed by one respondent enabled me to reframe additional questions for other respondents. This

format sometimes further confirmed the information and at other times refuted it, but in all cases it contributed to a richer information base.

Participant Selection and Interviews

Over a two-year period I interviewed participants for the pilot interviews and conducted 19 semistructured interviews.

Pilot interviews. Morse (1998) claimed that a strong criteria for research involvement is when individuals are "representative of the same experience or knowledge" (p. 74). Consequently, when invited to the Yukon in 1999 as a moderator for an education conference, it seemed an ideal opportunity to complete the pilot interviews. Five individuals from the Yukon Department of Education agreed to participate in the pilot interviews in October of 1999. However, rather than providing information rich data for the case study, the pilot process facilitated an examination of the effectiveness of the research questions in obtaining rich information, and an assessment of the communication processes between the researcher and the interviewees (Janesick, 1998).

Following the piloting process, a reexamination of the interview questions considered such factors as sequencing, cluster arrangement, and wording of the interview questions. Where necessary, I rewrote the questions for clarity. Consideration was also given to strengthening my interviewing techniques including voice intonation, response time, and the ability to reflectively listen and respond to the answers of interviewees.

Data from the pilot interviews were not included partly because the selection of pilot interviewees was based on their employment in the department of education and the consent obtained prior to the interview. Even more important, interviewees appeared to participate because of their sense of departmental expectations rather than an interest in the case study of CMEC. During this stage of the research it quickly became obvious when a question created a level of discomfort that might influence a participant's response. For example, when several participants in the pilot study appeared to give identical, noncommittal responses to the same question, I concluded that this might have been a preconceived strategy to help them to cope with difficult questions while still providing a right or "socially desirable" response (Bradburn, Sudman, & Associates, 1979; Frey, 1989). In summary, the pilot interviews were beneficial in facilitating personal reflection on the quality and clarity of interview questions. The process also

helped in refining my interviewing techniques. Overall, the piloting process strengthened my ability to develop nonthreatening entry points during the questioning process while encouraging information-rich responses from the final 19 research interviewees.

Case study interviews. Initially, I identified a case sample of six individuals who were serving as elite-level bureaucrats or organizational leaders in Canada. However, I later expanded the number of participants to nineteen because the evolving nature of the data collection confirmed the importance of broadening the research, Moreover, as the interview process progressed, the participants were eager to identify other individuals whom they believed had key information or insight. Patton (1990) referred to this pattern of selecting additional referred respondents as "snowball or chain sampling" (p. 182). This chain sampling was invaluable in identifying individuals with unique information. In the end, the interview group comprised 19 participants.

To assist with the selection of the initial interviewees, I reviewed secondary documents with links to the names of key representatives from national consultations, national education organizations, and national education websites. A review process of potential geographical and political locations supported the need to ensure economic and cultural diversity in the case study of CMEC. Because CMEC is an intergovernmental organization with membership from all provinces and territories, I preferred national representation. A major consideration was my ability to gain access to individuals who held key political positions in education; however, both time and money became deterrents to interviewing representatives from every province and territory.

The final participant list included 6 women and 13 men from across Canada who held or had held senior provincial, federal, and/or national positions in education. Although the interviews were conducted in English, the participants included representation from French Canada. Eight individuals served in elected positions with provincial and/or national organizations, 6 participants served in the capacity of deputy minister or minister of education, and 10 of the 19 participants had represented CMEC or another national organization at international education meetings. The semistructured interviews commenced in October 1999 and continued until February, 2001. Several respondents framed their insightful and comprehensive answers with the comment that it was rewarding to have someone who was interested in listening to their perspective about

CMEC and educational governance. This demonstrated personal need to share ideas may reflect the degree to which organizations like CMEC work in relative obscurity.

Sometimes, being in the right place at the right time required flexibility in my research timelines and the ability to act quickly when I was provided with access to important information that influenced the course of the study. For instance, during a visit to Ontario, one provincial daily paper addressed the significance of the national education agenda and a federal department of education. This was timely information that assisted in reinforcing research questions about national governance. In fact, the interviewee requested copies of the paper for immediate follow up. Such moments confirm how circumstances or opportunities can influence the research role (Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992) and provide unexpected access to research respondents and key documents.

Interview Questions

The interviews were based on 16 semistructured questions (Appendix B). Prior to the start of the interviewing process, I cross-referenced the interview questions with Scheurich's (1994) policy archaeology framework. This was intended to determine whether a reciprocal arrangement between the conceptual framework and the interview questions might facilitate an analysis of each participant's theoretical or epistemological understandings of CMEC and educational governance. Although the interview questions were direct in seeking a response to the idea of a national education agenda and how the education agenda evolved, the answers frequently revealed information about the social context, the structures, and normative influences that shape Canadian education.

For instance, several interview questions elicited responses about reform and changing educational agendas. The participants would sometimes explicitly reveal events or experiences that shaped their understandings or beliefs. Equally important, the questions at times revealed the practices of individuals or institutions that governed the participant's conduct. In summary, merging the interview questions with the policy arenas helped to expose a few of the theoretical assumptions that underlie educational discourse.

Sometimes the interviewees had formal access to information. In other cases an individual may have been the voice of CMEC at the international level, whereas a deputy minister would not have held a comparable position. Semistructured questions were

invaluable in these situations because they provided an opportunity to use interviewing techniques that ranged from informal conversation to directed questions (Fontana and Frey, 1998). This questioning approach enabled accommodation of participant diversity while ensuring quality data. At times the interviewees posed provocative questions to me. Perhaps this was to be expected, considering the findings of Marshall and Rossman (1995):

> Elite individuals are typically quite savvy . . . They may want an active interplay . . . they may turn the interview around, thereby taking charge of it. Elites respond well to inquiries about broad areas of content and to a high proportion of intelligent, provocative, open-ended questions that allow them the freedom to use their knowledge and imagination. (p. 83)

This perception of senior leaders proved helpful in the planning prior to each interview. Marshall and Rossman's comments also confirmed the need for in-depth knowledge of the current educational proceedings of the research period because such events can serve as entry points to the discussion of educational governance.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was ongoing throughout the research, which substantiated the claim that the process of analyzing data includes three linked actions of "data reduction, data display, and conclusion drawing/verification" (Huberman and Miles, 1998, p. 180). Consequently, every aspect of the research prior to, during, and after the data collection process contributed to data analysis:

- the choice of a conceptual framework
- the writing of specific research questions and interview questions
- the ongoing efforts to update data collection
- the field placement with the provincial chair of CMEC
- the use of multiple approaches to policy analysis and data display
- the recognition of the importance of maintaining an iterative relationship with the data that persisted even as the final scrutiny of the conclusions and findings occurred

A researcher's epistemological assumptions are important in ensuring a transparent view of their particular understandings of reality, and in clarifying the assumptions that are fundamental to their methodological approach. Yet, unchallenged personal assumptions emerged throughout the research process and called for sensitivity to potential bias in procedures related to the data-analysis. This is particularly important given that a researcher's theoretical understanding evolves throughout the research period. For instance, public trust in government mechanisms such as consultation processes may be the result of lack of understanding about the changing nature of consultations rather than overt government intent. O'Malley (1998) clarifies the goal of consultations as follows:

> The goal now goes beyond simply assessing the impact of intended government initiatives. The new objective is to at least try to develop a common, shared definition among stakeholders and decision-makers of the problem (or opportunity) being addressed, to define common objectives, to explore and assess alternative ways of achieving the goal. Ideally, this results in a convergence of views around a preferred course of action which government, in partnership with others, can then take. (p. 3)

Furthermore, although critical theorists focus on questions of how and why, emerging responses are not necessarily indicative of right or wrong. A willingness to examine the data and avoid making judgements requires constant reflection on potential bias in data analysis.

The application of archaeology and genealogy was without a doubt one of the most challenging aspects of the research because there is no progressive or linked relationship between these two methodologies. Rather, they are different approaches to the same data; the relation between the two is that archaeology and genealogy can each replace the other or, in some cases, complement each other. Consequently, interpreting meaning from the data necessitated frequent consideration of both of Foucault's (1972) approaches to ideas. Moreover, for the purpose of my research, archaeological analysis identified and described the social regulation processes, including the identification of mechanisms and/or rules that shaped various "truths" about Canadian education. Genealogical analysis focused on the political and economic influences that led to opportunities for transformation and/or the production of new possibilities.

The policy analysis relied on a multiple-perspective approach as a form of cross-referencing the discrepancies or gaps between "what is and what should be" (Dery, 1984, p. 17) in educational governance. Moreover, the analysis relied on the participants' understandings to define the research context in more detail, including consideration of global and economic reforms, CMEC's organizational political reality, constitutional responsibilities for education, and knowledge of federal activity in education.

The transcription of interviews occurred over a one-year period. The interview analysis began with recording each interview, repeatedly listening to the tapes, and transcribing each participant's interview. The analysis included literal line-by-line reviews and repeated attempts to decipher "the words beneath the words" as evidenced in action words, intonation, and a general sense of the participant's overall message. Replaying the interview tapes and rereading the transcripts assisted in locating previously missed information while confirming ideas and clarifying subtleties in individual words and language usage. I made special notation of similarities and differences in the participants' ideas.

In the analysis I searched for main ideas, patterns of responses, and themes that revealed the collective views of participant. Moreover, I looked for inconsistencies in the data to determine whether the participants had added or omitted certain essential data. The review of their language was sometimes helpful in revealing the basis of their beliefs or sense of reality. Moreover, the analysis raised several questions, including how certain understandings of national governance gained prominence, how events in the larger social context influenced the interviewees' sense of the problem, and what possible actions or nonactions—for example, the omission of a reference to either education and/or learning—influenced possible solutions to issues of national governance in education.

Diagrams and charts provide a visual means of establishing relationships, understanding theoretical implications, clarifying assumptions, and supporting data with relevant literature. During the analysis, brain mapping assisted in collapsing data and making decisions about the priority of the data applicable to this research and deferring important data for subsequent research.

Consistently throughout the process, the data led to new interpretations that required revisiting of the data and the literature to clarify the more subtle indications of the shaping of assumptions or beliefs. Indications of normative positions or political intent became just as evident in the silence and in the refusal or reluctance to respond, as in the most articulate answers.

Graduate colleagues provided member checks frequently throughout the case study, with three individuals in particular offering insight throughout the research process. Following the editing of, or member checks on various interviews, I read the data for general categories using line analysis and then coded, first by topic, and then according to arenas defined within the policy archaeology framework.

Both the data analysis and the literature review were pervasive and ongoing elements of the research process. This iterative process kept me open to possibilities in the data and prevented premature conclusions.

Ethical Considerations

In October of 1999 the University of Alberta, Department of Education Policy Studies Ethics Review Committee gave approval for this research. Ethical requirements are extremely important in case studies where there is significant risk of interviewees being easily identifiable (Marshall, 1997). Consequently, my ethical responsibilities as a researcher demanded that I focus on issues of "informed consent, right to privacy. . . and protection from harm" (Fontana and Frey, 1998, p. 580). Even with informed consent, the strategy of purposeful sampling is "fraught with ethical dilemmas" (Marshall and Rossman, 1995, p. 101). This makes sense, considering that the decisions of ministers and deputy ministers may be easily identifiable as a matter of public record, and more open to disclosure. For instance, during the interviewing, several participants questioned whether certain individuals were part of the research because they believed that the particular individual would make a valuable contribution to the study. In such situations, absolute discretion ensured participant confidentiality.

Guba & Lincoln (1998) suggested that the essential difference between the researcher or inquirer, and the interviewee is that the inquirer exists as a "passionate participant" (p. 215) who assumes responsibility for facilitating the multivoiced reconstruction of all participants, including the researcher's own voice. Maintaining an

ethical approach is mutually important because both the researcher and the participant share meanings and values during the research process.

Tests of Trustworthiness and Rigor

Rather than applying the concept of reliability to qualitative research, qualitative researchers often prefer to think about trustworthiness and authenticity. Merriam (1998) and Guba & Lincoln (1998) recommended various tests of rigor:

1. Prior to commencing this research, there were opportunities to attend several CMEC forums as well as national meetings of other educational organizations. For approximately three years before commencing my PhD program, I maintained an archival file of CMEC's activity. Furthermore, an online membership with the CMEC listserv ensured current access to documentation. These forms of prolonged engagement established a degree of researcher credibility and research validity for later involvement with the Council of Ministers.
2. A field placement with the Department of Education that chaired CMEC in 2000, provided an invaluable experience affording the opportunity to review important data, and network with significant CMEC representatives.
3. I taped the interviews, which facilitated numerous reviews of the oral transcripts and cross referencing with the written transcripts and ensured consistency in my interpretations and analysis of the transcripts.
4. Member checks require checking interpretations with the research participants. This process included an initial check of the transcripts, the grouping of themes, and efforts to delineate how the data made sense. Moreover, I held several follow-up conversations with the participants, which assisted in ensuring accuracy of interpretation.
5. Throughout the research process I documented personal assumptions, biases, and theoretical orientations. Periodically revisiting the documentation ensured a self-check of the research strategies and assumptions and a refocusing of my intent to remain open to new understandings.
6. An additional test of rigor required maintaining an audit trail. This procedure included a timeline of contact dates, interview schedules, and follow-up

contacts. Further, log entries that describe the various stages of the research process include the identification of network links and documentation of my attempts to establish the field placement within the research. Throughout this audit I held discussions with my supervisor to ensure the implementation of correct ethical procedures and the minimizing of personal bias.

7. I used a peer audit to determine whether the context made sense. Additionally, a colleague familiar with Canadian education reviewed the findings and interpretations to ensure the trustworthiness, credibility, and authenticity of the research.
8. Continuously throughout the research, a fellow PhD student reviewed the work for issues related to ethics, interpretation, and theoretical rigor.
9. These tests of trustworthiness and rigor increase research credibility. Additionally, the data-collection techniques facilitate "comparing and crosschecking the consistency of information" (Patton, 1990, p. 467), which enhances the quality and credibility of results.

Summary

This chapter provided a description of the theory and methodologies upon which the research relied. The initial purpose of the case study was to examine the activities of CMEC to determine how the organization's programs, structures, and processes have influenced or have been influenced to create a national educational agenda. As the research progressed, the focus shifted from CMEC to an examination of the relationships between globalization and the mechanisms, techniques, and procedures embedded in the exercise of disciplinary power.

The study relied on field experience and document analysis, as well as interviews with leaders of national organizations and deputy ministers and ministers of education. Ethical procedures remained a high priority throughout the pilot studies and semistructured in-depth interviewing. A detailed analysis of the responses to the research questions and an investigation of the data resulted in the emergence of several themes and core constructs.

CHAPTER 4:

CONSTRUCTING THE RELATIONSHIPS

Introduction

This chapter documents the relevance of various relationships that in Section A shaped policy concerns in educational governance and in Section B reflected the collective relationship of Foucault's ideas regarding knowledge, subject, and power in creating possibilities for new ways of questioning national governance in education. Section A utilizes a multiple-perspective analysis to construct some of the relationships that influenced policy concerns in educational governance. An important part of a social critical analysis is determining how research participants construct their understandings. Equally important is recognizing how conditions in the larger social context provided the participants with alternate perceptions of the same educational concern.

In Section B the questioning process helps in locating alternative ways in which specific rules and strategies enable the production, circulation, and transformation of a "system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements"(Foucault, 1976). Quite simply, the exercise of power governs the possibilities for individual or organizational behaviour, or as Foucault (1982) claimed:

> [The exercise of power] is a set of actions on possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; it releases or contrives, makes more probable or less; in the extreme, it constrains or forbids absolutely, but it is always a way of acting upon one or more acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. A set of actions upon other actions. (p. 341)

Section A: A Multiple Perspective Approach to Policy

The multiple-perspective approach in policy deliberations ensures a method for asking fundamental questions about power while considering the different assumptions, norms, and beliefs that affect an individual's perception of reality. Determining how an educational policy problem becomes "manifest, nameable, and describable" (Foucault, 1972, p. 14) helps to create the context for extending the policy discussion to an analysis

of knowledge-power relationships. If we accept that policy problems are not naturally occurring events, then use of various approaches to analyzing policy processes provides a technical advantage for understanding the transition and transformation of power through discursive practices. Moreover, this particular approach adds to the credibility and trustworthiness of the research process because the context is consistently integrated with the different policy relationships of planning, implementation, practice and the evaluative effect of these relationships on individuals.

A multiple-perspective approach ensures a context for extending the policy discussion to policy-power relationships, thereby facilitating the analysis of disciplinary relationships in education, policy priorities, and processes. Determining how research participants construct their understandings of educational governance is an important part of critical social analysis. Equally important is the investigation of how conditions in the larger social context created alternate perceptions of the same educational issue. Given the subjective nature of policy, a multiple-perspective analysis of policy helps to identify the layers of influence that shape national educational governance.

In the end, I based the decision to use a multiple-perspective approach to policy analysis on the epistemological relevance of normative and empirical policy to my research and the compatibility of Keeves' (1997) ontological position with my understandings of reality. More specifically, Keeves' belief is that policies "do not respect academic disciplines. . . . They have political, economic, and organizational components; they also have legal, educational, biological, or other technical implications" (p. 206).

The Analysis

The reduction of data and identification of key issues made it possible to begin the policy analysis via the different policy frameworks. Although labour intensive and sometimes fairly complex, the multiple-perspective approach "encourage[d] the construction of rich, comparative accounts of policy and its relationships to practice" (Malen & Knapp, 1997, p. 439).

The theory and practice of policy calls for both deliberation on empirical research—including literature review, methodology, data collection, and analysis—and concern for the normative assumptions revealed in the ideas and values that shape belief

systems. The application of different policy-analysis frameworks strengthens the analysis of the policy process and clarifies the role of political stakeholders. Moreover, multiple-perspective analysis increases trustworthiness because the cross-checking of various approaches enables confirmation of both normative and empirical findings. This research examines the policy problems associated with CMEC and Canadian educational governance through the following frameworks:

Section A:

- Policy archaeology framework (Scheurich, 1994)
- Backward mapping: deconstructing educational governance
- Policy problem definition: participants' understandings of CMEC and national governance in education (adapted from Kachur, 1999)
- Policy argument framework for defining national governance in education (adapted from Dunn, 1981)

Section B:

- The push and pull of truth and possibilities (adapted from Simola et al., 1998)

Backward Mapping

Backward mapping considers the larger social context, including the political and organizational characteristics, that influences understandings and shapes policy implementation. Whereas forward mapping recognizes the importance of hierarchical relationships in the implementation of policy goals and objectives, backward mapping recognizes the influence of ideology in shaping the policy process. Moreover, it recognizes that success is dependent upon a diversity of power practices such as negotiated relationships, knowledge and problem-solving ability, and financial incentives.

Backward mapping begins with an examination of the last stage of policy implementation because policy makers believe that the closer that one is to the source of a policy problem, the greater is the potential to influence the micro practices of discretionary actions and choices (Elmore, 1980). In this case study, backward mapping provided a problem-solving technique for making sense of interviewees' understandings of the issues related to national governance in education.

Backward mapping begins with identifying a specific behaviour; for example, national educational governance that creates a need for a policy. It then deconstructs that behaviour into possibilities and potential objectives for influencing the policy behaviour. This includes an examination of the strategies linked to the reasons, influences, causes, and outcomes that facilitated a critical reconstruction of issues related to national educational governance.

Figure 2 details the primary and secondary data obtained from the interview data, public reports, government reports, and CMEC files. In an examination of the data defining the context of educational governance, Quadrant 1—The "Policy For" perspective, identifies the key issue of how national governance will be shaped in Canada. Based on the participants' diverse understandings of the circumstances, values, and assumptions central to the construction of education from 1993 to 2003, the deconstructed policy concern identify political assumptions about the influences of globalization, federal pursuit of educational goals vs. expectations, and widespread concerns with accountability, trust, and transparency.

From a structural perspective, those interviewed spoke of concerns with centralization/decentralization beliefs, the increasing reliance on experts and partnerships and government's loss of traditional policy instruments. In responding to economic causes associated with governance of education, the participants spoke of deficit concerns and provincial disparities. There was also considerable awareness of federal and national educational marketing efforts and the increasing value of education internationally in relieving Canada's deficit concerns. From a cultural viewpoint, there was a distinct recognition of regionalist concerns and identity issues. The significance of local curriculum was a huge priority for some provinces.

In reconstructing the policy, the following reasons were identified as key to the policy intent. Participants recognized the federal priority of establishing its position within the global knowledge economy. While recognition of the importance of lifelong learning as a federal priority was increasing, there was little sense of a division between

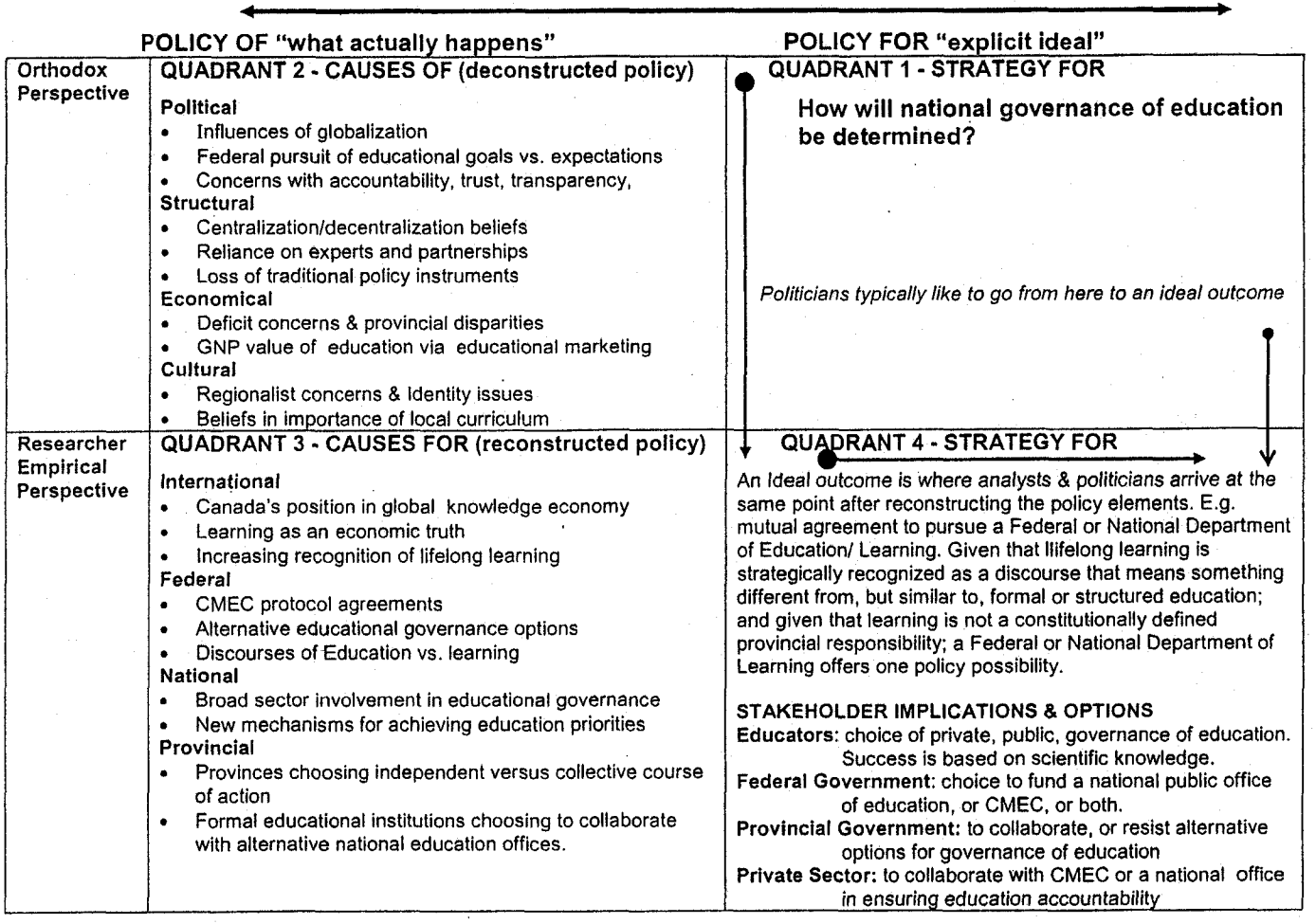

Figure 2. Backward mapping: Deconstructing educational governance.

education and learning that could create alternative options for educational governance and federal involvement in education activity.

Many of those interviewed could speak to one or more of the protocol agreements between CMEC and the Federal government and there was acknowledgment of discreet, long term federal involvement in education. Participants also recognized the federal emphasis on collaboration and partnerships. While initially seen as a hidden agenda, many realized that partnerships were an expected mechanism for realizing organizational objectives and educational priorities. Other such mechanisms included the use of experts and scientific knowledge to realize federal educational priorities, even though other priorities spoke to the relevance of education purpose and education values. Support for a national office of education wavered with consideration of options such as an independent office with federal funding for education, a specific federal department dedicated to education, and ongoing support for CMEC as the national voice of education in Canada.

Quadrant 2—"Policy OF"—deconstructs the policy to probe beneath the hierarchical nature of power in an attempt to locate the political, structural, economic, and cultural explanations of how knowledge and power shape each other. Apparent in the participants' understandings of political influences on policy were the effects of globalization at all levels of government activity. Independent provincial pursuit of international agendas was understood to counter Canada's philosophical commitment to federalism and CMEC's role as the national voice of provincial education ministers. Although the participants had divergent views regarding the importance of a national office of education, there was acknowledgment of increasing federal activity in education. Structurally, federal governance deficit management strategies had distinct implications for the federal and provincial government's loss of traditional policy instruments. From an economic perspective, the pursuit of a global agenda heightened the emphasis on restructuring and retrenchment. By 2000, the value of Canada's educational service industries (including the public education system) was valued at $41B., representing 5.2% of Canada's GNP (Industry Canada, 2002). Governments, the corporate sector, and the public demonstrated increasing awareness and interest in marketing education.

Federal efforts to increase accountability while decentralizing responsibilities led to a strengthening of regionalist concerns, particularly when provinces chose to act independently at the international level. Although sovereignty concerns became apparent in economic areas, they also surfaced in federalism debates and in efforts to protect cultural and identity issues.

Quadrant 3 in Figure 2 identifies the interplay between federal and provincial priorities, strategies, and influences on the one hand and national and international priorities, strategies, and influences on the other. In developing strategies for action, backward mapping identifies all of the major stakeholders and the policy options that are possible. In this analysis, quadrant 4 shows how public consultations became a frequent government strategy. Moreover, the importance of educational choice resulted in private and public education options, with student assessment a common mechanism for regulating choice.

Federal policy options included ongoing efforts to decentralize and the involvement of government and nongovernmental partners who may or may not share common educational goals. Some provincial governments believe in increased autonomy in all areas of national and international decision making, but the private sector was also keen to play a stronger role in educational governance. Figure 2 graphically depicts the process of backward mapping.

Policy Problem Definition

Dunn (1981) classified policy studies as messy because policy problems are frequently difficult to describe. Efforts to deconstruct a policy problem can lead to an emphasis on the sum of the policy issues, rather than qualitatively viewing the policy problem as a complex system with as many potential solutions as there are definitions of the problem. A policy definition framework helps to clarify the characteristics of a policy problem, with the realization that a problem is often influenced and negotiated by different policy stakeholders, within a larger, shifting social context.

The framework considers the actors, the variables, and the possible strategies involved in defining a policy problem. Many multifaceted issues are associated with the problem of national governance in education, the most important of which may be "getting people to see new problems or see old ones in new ways" (Kingdon, 1995,

p. 79). Given the increasing array of stakeholders, all of whom claim a vested interest in education, defining the difficulties associated with governance requires looking beyond the more obvious structures to consider the assumptions of the various political actors who define the arguments, gain access to the resources, and drive the policy process. The examination of national educational governance requires consideration of the context and awareness that any one part of the policy process related to educational governance must be considered in terms of a larger socially constructed problem. For instance, national policy problems frequently require attention to global trends, economic influences, and domestic responsibilities.

Policy problems are typically unpredictable because of their subjective nature, the influence of context, and the realization that policy processes emerge from the negotiation of various assumptions and values. In this research the structural and normative influences associated with political, economic, and organizational processes were clearly evident in the understandings of the interviewees (Figure 3). Policy problem definition must consider the use of language in influencing and/or justifying actions to achieve the desired results. For instance, initially overlooked because of its subtlety was the use of language in justifying the emergence of a discourse of *learning* that confronted traditional understandings and practices in *education*.

Other instances of language use include the challenge of the existence of a *national education agenda* but support for a *pan-Canadian agenda*, the discreet disappearance of the term *national consultation* in favour of the term *national forum*, and a significant shift in the use of *education* to what is presented as a more encompassing term, *learning*. Given that the first example has strong implications for national governance, it is important to trace the *learning* discourse and reveal the ways in which *learning* has gained and continues to gain prominence and acceptance through the exercise of power. Chapter 8 will trace the discourse of learning and the tension between learning and education from a genealogical perspective.

However, prior to the genealogical analysis, I will apply a policy definition framework to primary and secondary research data to in an attempt to clarify the actors, the policy subproblems, and the variables that influence both the strategies and the possible options for responding to concerns with CMEC and national governance of

Empirical Theory & Research **is = theories* Empirical world makes up theory and research	⟷	**Normative/Values (Strategy)** **ought = strategies . . . ethical sense of what should be* The role of ideas and values that reflect the structure of belief systems with respect to what is versus what ought to be in education.

Stakeholder different paradigms	Policy sub-problem	Variable A Structures that influence participants' involvement	Variable B Cultural/ normative Context	Options	Strategy Participant understandings of what the gap is and what it should be
Business	*Corporate philosophy *Marketing of education *Capitalism	Provincial jurisdictions	Support for a national education agenda	*Partnerships *Funding	*Trade agreements *National department of Education
Provincial	*National education agenda *Federal government	*CMEC as national voice *Financing of CMEC	*Provinces choosing to act unilaterally	*Consultations *Dual track *Consortium	*Transparency *Trust *Protocol Agreements
Federal	*What mechanisms will be used to implement educational policy	*DFAIT *Industry Canada	*The economic value of education *Educational purpose	*Corporatization of education *Privatization of education	*Federal department of education *National department of Education
Citizens	*Interest groups	*Civil society *networks *Policy communities	*Forms of communication *Representative decision making	*Access *Transparency	*Consultations *Coalitions *Policy networks *Negotiated Agendas
Educators	*National politics of education	*Professional development *Teacher union/ welfare issues	*Information access *Mindset *Teacher expertise as sanctioning mechanism	*Increased awareness of national and international influences on education	*Federal department of education *National department of Education

Figure 3. Policy problem definition: The participants' understandings of CMEC and national governance of education (adapted from Kachur, 1999).

education. The policy problem definition framework defines a gap between "what is" in national educational governance and "what should be" (Dery, 1984, p. 17).

Policy Argument Framework

The application of a critical theory perspective to the policy-argument framework facilitates an analysis of policy-relevant information about the educational relationships that exist among CMEC, the federal government, provincial ministers of education, and various consultation participants. The framework illustrates some of the possible interpretations arising from the analysis of policy-relevant information particularly when the analysis includes consideration of the diverse beliefs and value systems of policy makers and stakeholders. It also attempts to offer tentative solutions to a policy problem rather than a rationale for policy action.

The policy-relevant information (1A) includes recognition of the federal government's decentralization efforts, an increase in domestic responsibility for areas such as health and education, and increasing demands for educational accountability, testing, and curriculum standards. Federal financial support for CMEC initiatives continued to require national participation, and the focus on postsecondary concerns increased even as public education across Canada continued to experience a decline in funding. CMEC increases international involvement, and the increased corporate involvement in education raises questions about education purpose and potential alternative governance structures for education.

Considering this information (1B) and the possibility of appropriate resources and increased funding to CMEC and provincial ministries of education, the policy claims (1C) that CMEC can continue to be the national voice for education. As provided in the Canadian Constitution of 1867, provincial Education ministers can choose to act independently or collectively in responding to education issues at the local, national, and international levels of educational activity. The guarantee of this status quo (2B) is embedded in the Constitution and a federal philosophy that recognizes the uniqueness of provincial culture, identity, and educational needs. Because (3B) various protocol agreements and informal arrangements have facilitated federal involvement in educational decision making, other options exist for increasing the federal role in education. These include (a) an increase in opportunities for financial support to CMEC,

accompanied by increased involvement of CMEC in developing shared federal/ provincial education priorities; (b) facilitation and funding of a nongovernmental national organization with a board of directors from academia, corporate sector, and public and private interests; and (c) the creation of a federal department of education.

These options may work, unless (2C) the federal government redirects funding for education and/or learning towards an alternate national organization. Federal rationalization of such a decision (3C) could be associated with the effects of globalization and the priority of Canada's involvement in a global knowledge economy. Figure 4 details the essential policy information that is unique to this research study.

Policy Archaeology Framework

Policy archaeology helps to examine the social construction of events that prioritizes consideration of beliefs, values, understandings and influences rather than the historical importance of an event. Particular attention to the context facilitates an understanding of what participants believe to be true about educational governance. Archaeology provides a basis for a genealogical discussion of the role of specific types of power and structures of knowledge in the production of discourses (Foucault, 1997; as cited in Rabinow, 1984).

The policy archaeology framework was introduced in Chapter 3, Figure 1. It is sufficient to say at this time that policy archaeology searches for the previously existing conditions or circumstances that make possible different understandings of a particular event. These circumstances have little value in the traditional sense of objective history that Foucault (1972, 1980, 1984b) believed resulted from the institutionalization of knowledge.

Archaeological research looks beyond policy to explore the unconscious rules of formation that set up the power/knowledge relationships revealed in the participants' stories about educational governance and CMEC. In this sense, policy provides a technical means for examining the conditions and practices that enable the exercise of power.

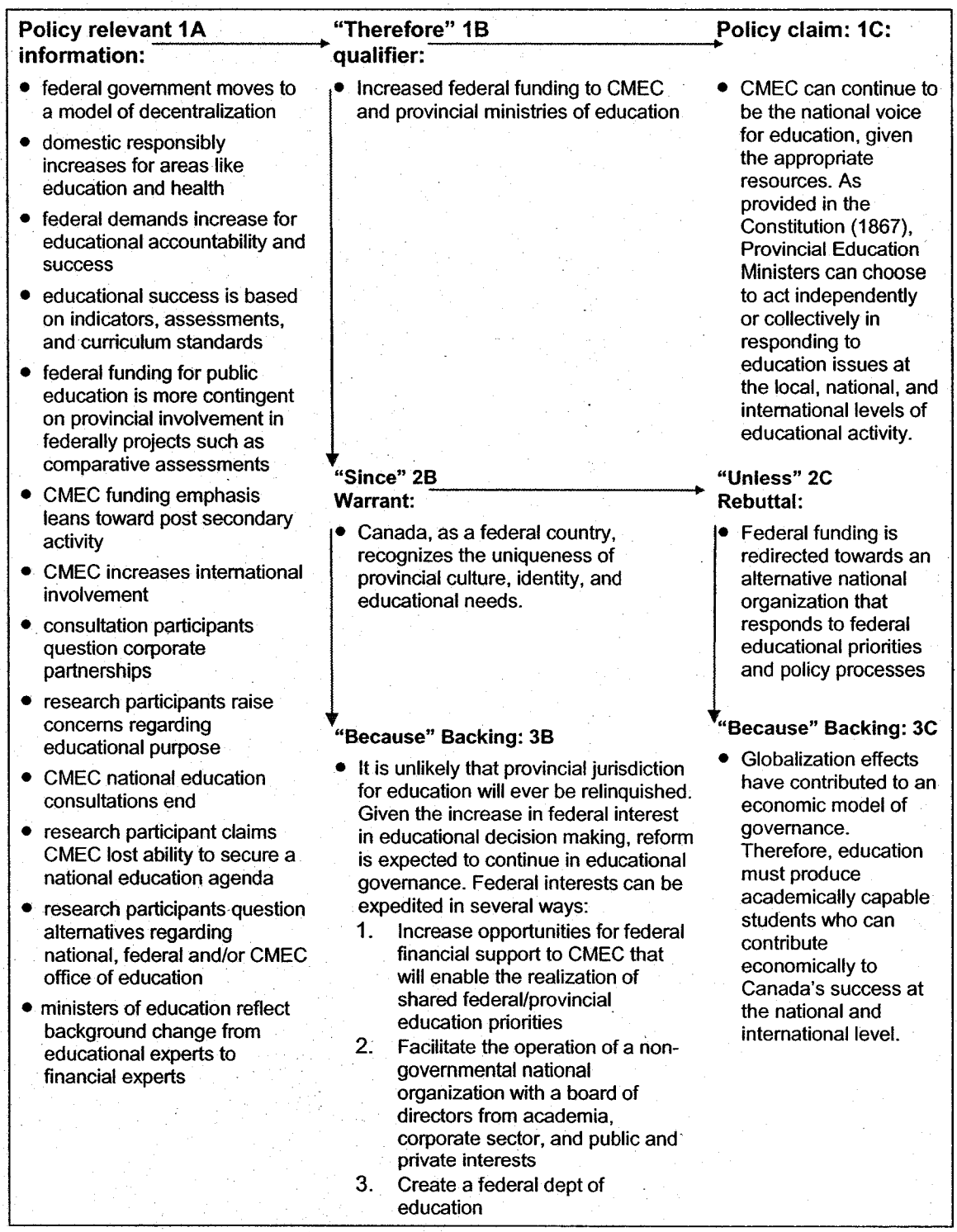

Figure 4. Policy argument framework for defining national governance in education (adapted from Dunn, 1981).

Section A: Summary

Given the scope of policy studies, I selected several policy analysis strategies to gain further understanding of the participants' responses on educational governance. The strategy of backward mapping provided insight into their understandings and the dominant ideas in the secondary data. Based on the premise that policy analysis serves to create and transform pertinent information, the policy-argument framework facilitates further interpretation of the participants' views and analysis of secondary research data. From a critical social theory orientation, the analysis of their responses provided insight into their understandings of the social construction of CMEC and Canadian education.

If we accept the subjective nature of policy, it makes sense that there might be several identifications of either a policy problem or policy solution. From a research perspective, although these policy frameworks provided insight based on inductive reading of both primary and secondary data, the policy frameworks were limited in that they did not help to explain the effects of power in decision-making processes. Consequently, it was important to search for an understanding of the relations of power and the mechanisms such as institutional practices and forms of knowledge used to constitute power.

Given that education priorities are neither naturally occurring nor pragmatic events (Scheurich, 1994), analyzing the transition of educational polices into practice exposes the strategies or disciplines that facilitate the implementation of power. The analysis considers the role of CMEC in the formation of educational policy claims and in the generation of educational priorities. CMEC is also examined from the counter perspective of acting as a mechanism of governments, corporations, and private interests in realizing national and global educational priorities. As a result, the focus of the research shifts attention from CMEC to the various practices and conditions that shape national governance in education, or "government in the name of truth" (Gordon, 1991, p. 8).

The archaeological framework facilitates an analysis of Foucault's (1972) ideas about systems of knowledge and the production of "truths." Thus archaeology defines a context for examining education, learning, and knowledge as social practices capable of "generating action and participation" (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998, p. 5) or, alternatively,

as a context for shaping economic truths. For Foucault, however, "truth is a category of power; it is not an epistemological category. . . . Foucault's project asks questions about what it means to call something true" (Shumway, 1989, pp. 156-157).

Section B: The Push and Pull of Truth: Exercising Power, Structuring Possibilities

In Section B, I sought the implicit conditions that determine why some ideas about education, learning, and national governance remain hidden, forbidden, or excluded from consideration even as other ideas receive support and acceptance. Consequently, this section looks for instances of knowledge and beliefs that, although not widely recognized, emerged from the primary and secondary research data. Noteworthy in this section is how the emergence of a learning discourse left many participants unaware of the implicit knowledge and beliefs giving credence to the evolving dynamic between education and learning. The acceptance of learning as a natural component of educational discourse explains why every participant (including this researcher) did not recognize the discourse of learning as central to research on national governance in education. However, there is a concern that this new reality persists without challenge to the discourse of learning as something distinct from education and without definitive governance parameters that the Constitution presently provides for education.

Foucault provided the model of archaeology as a tool to use in determining how disciplines and practices constitute education and learning discourses in a particular circumstance. Archaeological analysis facilitates an awareness of the disciplining practices that govern ideas and influence beliefs about what is normal or routine. One subtle outcome of these disciplines is that it detracts from the need to question how or why a particular change occurs. Foucault (1976) explained further: "So long as the posing of the question of power was kept subordinate to the economic instance and the system of interests this served, there was a tendency to regard these problems as of small importance" (p. 117). Power in this instance differs from ideas about power in sovereign structures and concentrates instead on the analysis of power-knowledge relationships that facilitate the governing of individual and institutional conduct (Bernauer & Rasmussen, 1988).

Foucault's (1972) power relationships are located in understandings of governance strategies, mechanisms, and disciplinary techniques. For this reason, genealogy considers the more 'explicit' practices such as the development of national and international networks, gatekeeping responsibilities at various levels of decision making, knowledge of the constraints and limitations of CMEC, and adherence to a philosophy of global interconnections rather than a provincialist philosophy of governance. His genealogical analysis emphasizes that "there is no deep truth that genealogical analysis is designed to reveal. But genealogy does differ from archaeology precisely because political and economic concerns are taken into account (Shumway, 1989, p. 25).

The Push and Pull of Truth in National Educational Governance

Drawing on the work of Simola et al. (1998), Figure 5 reveals how our ways of thinking emerge from the interplay of subject-knowledge-power relationships. The figure illustrates how new questions and new understandings of national educational governance issues can emerge from the interplay of the knowledge, subject, power components. The value of this framework is its demonstration of *how* the interplay of various power relationships that affect CMEC and national governance create numerous possibilities for understandings and decisions related to the emergent view of learning as something different from, and more relevant than, ideas about education. According to Simola et al., the questioning facilitates consideration of the following:

> What is the truth that "can and must be thought"? What is the field of knowledge in which the truth is produced? Who can take the place of the truth-speaking subject? Why is that truth produced? How is the truth produced? What are its technologies? In what way are techniques of discourse, of subjectivation, and of government connected to each other to produce simultaneously certain "field of knowledge, types of normativity and forms of subjectivity"? (Foucault, 1985, p. 4)

In Figure 5, the intent of the knowledge focus is not to facilitate a determination of truth, but to focus on the means by which truth is "produced, circulated, transformed, and used . . . through techniques, practices and rules" (Simola et al., 1998, p. 65). The process does not give attention to any one subject because the arbitrary exercise of power is negotiated through various practices and techniques that, in a given context, can

SUBJECT
TECHNIQUES OF SELF
The practices related to power and knowledge relationships that make up who we are. These relationships include relations with our self, with knowledge, and with governmentality.

KNOWLEDGE
TECHNIQUES OF DISCOURSE
How is truth produced, circulated, transformed, and used? What are the rules and practices that at a given time and place define and mediate power relations?

POWER
TECHNIQUES OF GOVERNMENT
This area includes various power practices that structure individual actions. It also includes the disciplining practices of government that ensure rational, ordering of behaviour.

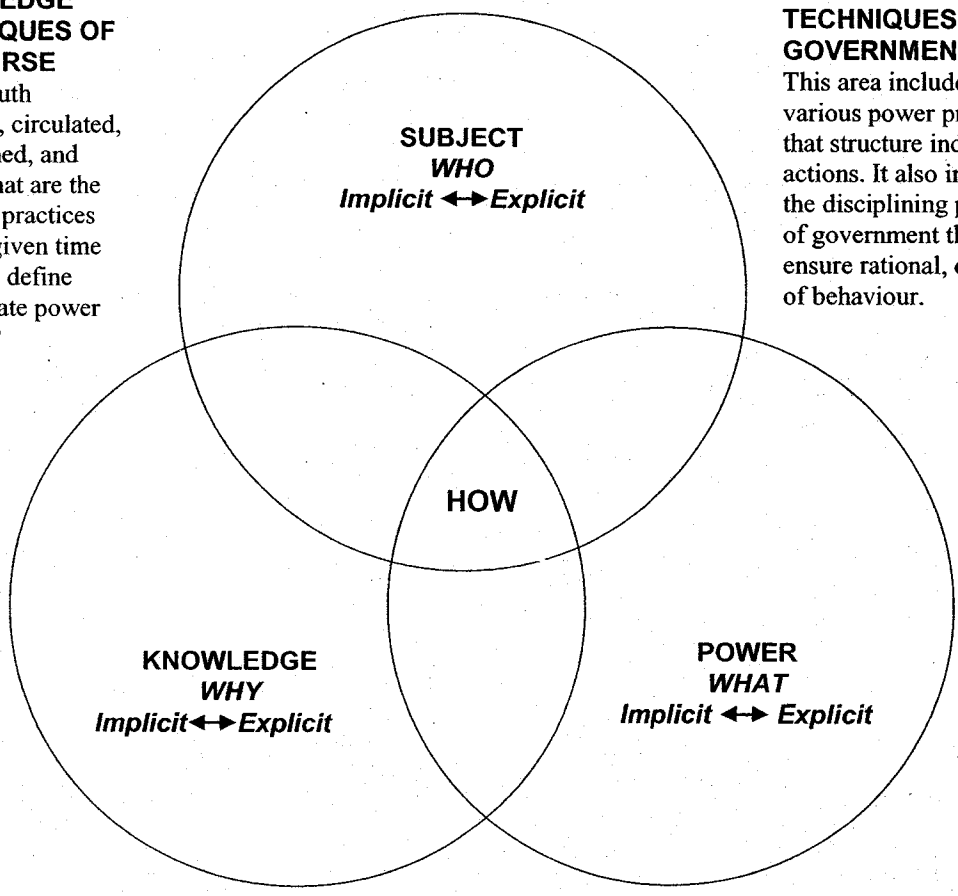

Figure 5. The push and pull of truth and possibilities (adapted from Simola et al., 1998).

influence the possibility of how a subject is constituted. The aim is to show *how* the various power relationships embedded in the discourse of education and learning have created, or can create, new possibilities for national governance in Canadian education.

Figures 6 and 7 extend the framework in Figure 5 by tracing how specific ideas gain prominence over other ideas and how the archaeological and genealogical grid of relationships generates further questioning options about the nature of educational governance. Without any attempt to determine right or wrong, the analyst searches for various claims about national educational governance and/or learning in an attempt to reveal the means by which a transformation from 'what was' to 'what is' occurred in education. In this respect the research confirms a shift from archaeology to genealogy, with a stronger emphasis on the material conditions of discourse, such as institutions, political events, economic practices, and processes.

Section B: Summary

Section B traces the ideas and events that facilitate the emergence of learning as a dominant discourse while challenging more traditional understandings and attitudes about the governance of education in Canada. There is a keen awareness that the inevitable production of knowledge occurs in the very act of tracing the ideas and events, which leads to the emergence of new ideas (Foucault, 1972). If power is to be enabling, it is necessary to know, understand, and ensure transparency in decision-making processes.

Chapter 8 collectively considers the data analysis to determine the possibility of transformations in education. As is evident in Figures 6 and 7, inherent in the questioning and the possibilities are numerous instances of educational transformation at all levels of decision making. A limitation of Figures 6 and 7 is that the structure—that is, questions or statements in discrete cells—implies that the question must be either implicit or explicit. In reality, however, the nature of the question and, equally important, the nature of the answer can be understood as either implicit or explicit. Moreover, each comment represents only a sample of the possibilities. Once I applied data to the framework of possibilities, the strength of the analysis became obvious in the generation of new questions and subquestions. The questions offer insight and provoke additional questions about the way that issues related to national governance surface at a given time and place.

	Subject - who • Modes of subjectivity • Will to knowledge • Art of governmentality	**Knowledge - what** • Rarefaction- regulations that determine who can speak and with what authority • Internal rules of discourses • System of exclusion	**Power – why** • Individualizing practices • Disciplining practices • Ordering of forces
Provincial: Explicit	Will ministers of education pursue a national education agenda?	Will ministers of labour consult or collaborate with education ministers over similar priorities (Aboriginal ed.)	Given competing agendas between CMEC and CCL, how will federal funding be negotiated?
	Will ministers collectively support a redefining of education and/or of learning?	Will provincial departments of education take responsibility for duplicate learning agendas?	What conditions and mechanisms will influence ministers of ed. to act collectively in achieving a national education agenda?
	Should ministers push for constitutional change regarding education?	How will HRSDC's involvements in learning, influence education and/or learning?	Will ministers invest in national expectations and national goals, or limit their role to regional agendas?
Federal: Explicit	In 2003-2004 HRSDC allocates $100 million under Federal Innovation Strategy to CCL.	Will there be two separate and distinct roles for ministers representing HRSDC and Departments of Education?	Will educational purpose and learning purpose differ and who decides?
	CCL learning agenda is not constrained by jurisdictional responsibilities, nor does it have a legislated accountability mechanism.	The 2002 Speech from the Throne, the Liberal government confirmed its intent to work with Canadians, provinces, sector councils, labour organizations and learning institutions "to create the skills and learning architecture that Canada needs."	CMEC implemented pan-Canadian 'expectations' but was unable to transform expectations into pan-Canadian 'standards.'
	How will learning agendas be represented in the public sphere?	Will there be a constitutional change in support of a federal department of education and/or learning?	Should there be a federal department of education, a national department of education, or should the status quo remain?
National CMEC: Explicit	Ministers of education request a meeting with federal government to discuss the funding of CCL.	Will CMEC's research role change as a result of federal funding to CCL?	The federal government's response to CMEC and CCL may reflect a critical transformation in the governance of education.
	Will education and labour ministers continue to share dual portfolios? Why or why not?	CMEC has no national framework of education expectations; therefore, policy debate is not possible. Interprovincial inequalities often cause policy debate to default to resources allocation.	What mechanisms will be used to create transparency, and facilitate public input into education and/or learning agendas?
	Will Paul Cappon's move from Director General of CMEC to President, CEO of CCL impact upon CMEC?	How will an attitude of "federal /provincial 'no man's land' of learning," influence a national education agenda?	Will teachers' roles and responsibilities be equally influenced by CMEC and CCL?

Figure 6. A framework of possibilities: Explicit power relations in educational governance.

	Subject - who • Modes of subjectivity • Will to knowledge • Art of governmentality	**Knowledge - what** • Rarefaction-who can speak and with what authority • Internal rules of discourses • System of exclusion	**Power - why** • Individualizing practices • Disciplining practices • Ordering of forces
Provincial: Implicit	Who is authorized to speak about education and/or learning, and how?	What is important about learning?	How will formal responsibilities for education and/or learning be determined?
	Why are education and/or learning valued differently?	What responsibilities will be assigned to education and/or learning agendas?	How will funding and access to education and/or learning agendas be determined?
	Who will determine jurisdictional responsibilities for education and/or learning, especially where duplication occurs?	What aspects of public education will be included in the discourse of lifelong learning?	How will accountability issues be resolved for education and/or learning concerns (i.e. among CMEC, HRSDC, and CCL)?
Federal: Implicit	What are the federal government's responsibilities with respect to learning?	What is CMEC's international role in education and/or learning, and will HRSDC have a distinct role?	Will federal departments transform their education role as a result of HRSDC's role in learning?
	Will education and learning be defined in more detail as a result of federal financing of CCL?	How will HRSDC define government's role in the learning agenda?	How will education and/or learning agendas be implemented?
	How will federal funding formulas influence education and/or learning?	With what authority will education ministers speak to learning agendas?	Will public national offices of education take precedence over ministerial national offices?
National CMEC: Implicit	Will protocol agreements accommodate federal support for learning agendas?	Is CMEC the national voice of education and/or spokesperson for learning?	Will assessment, accountability, and best practices, be the responsibility of both CMEC and CCL national offices?
	How will Canada be represented at the international level of education and/or learning?	Will CMEC continue to negotiate federal educational partnerships?	Will national agendas of education and/or learning take precedence over regional agendas? If so, with whom and how?
	Will CMEC negotiate education and/or learning partnerships with CCL?	Will post secondary education or international education become allocated priorities for CMEC and/or CCL?	Will interagency cooperation include national public offices such as CCL, or will governments restrict such activity to various multi levels of government?

Figure 7. A framework of possibilities: Implicit power relations in educational governance.

Chapter 8 draws on these instances and provides a genealogical analysis of the transient play of dominations, events, and knowledge in constructing new ideas that will continue to transform CMEC and Canadian educational governance.

CHAPTER 5:

DISCOURSES OF GLOBALIZATION:

THE CONTEXT SHAPING CANADIAN EDUCATION

Introduction

This chapter explores the participants' understandings of the context that defined educational governance from 1993 to 2003. These understandings represent an essential knowledge in archaeological analysis because they reveal the relationship between thinking and acting, particularly in relationship to truth effects. In this sense, the participants were able to validate their constructions of government and the science of administration as "true" because of the limited or selected information that they were given. The truth functioning of globalization and liberalized economic policy discourses convinced educational policy makers to prioritize education as an economic reality rather than a democratic and universal right. This economic claim continues to dominate the essential questions of educational purpose, provincial accountability, education values, and national educational governance in Canada.

Many individuals understand globalization as an event or a phenomenon that results from economic priorities, including trade agreements, multinational interests, and international competitiveness. Yet these activities do not constitute globalization; rather, they reflect the effects of globalization upon society. Those in authority frequently rationalize globalization as a reason to support, engage in, or withdraw from participation in various levels of decision making. This is particularly true in the Canadian context, where the research participants indicated that global influences provide a justification for educational reform. As a result, Chapter 5 focuses on their understandings of the effects of globalization on Canada's federal political arena, the economy, and education from 1993 to 2003.

More specifically, Chapter 5 includes an analysis of the participants' understandings of Canada's response to globalization and focuses specifically on federal government reforms. The discussion addresses the functioning of the applied human sciences to the governance of education through the interplay of federal and national

undertakings, and the organization and application of the social technologies via economic reforms, educational marketing, and federal priorities to ensure global competitiveness, partnerships, protocols, and various levels of agenda setting. Finally, consideration is given to the participants' perspectives on how globalization has affected the federal government's interest in and pursuit of education.

Chapter Overview

Conclusions and Findings

Based on the understandings of the participants and the interpretation of primary and secondary data, the following conclusions and findings are drawn from the analysis in this chapter.

- Globalization is more effective as a mechanism of government when it is rationalized as an entity or a force to be dealt with, rather than in terms of its nature or effects upon governance or education.
- The intent of government reform was to position Canada competitively in the global economy.
- The federal government increasingly linked the marketing of education to Canada's economic sovereignty.
- Ministers of education, CMEC, and the federal government interpreted the Constitution (1867) as a norm embedded in educational practices rather than as judicial constraint.
- Several of those interviewed believed that prioritizing local concerns and regionalist agendas was an essential approach to combating global domination.
- The federal government recognized education, knowledge, and innovation as instrumental to Canada's economic success.
- All levels of government promoted accountability, education indicators, and increased use of technology to ensure academic success.
- The federal government and their selected partners relied on the intermediary role of CMEC to shape Canadian educational initiatives from 1993 to 2003.

Federal Government Reform

The Liberal Party of Canada won the right to serve as Canada's federal governing party in 1993. Federal public program reforms, in the name of Canadian economic sovereignty, led to a number of outcomes, including government's deficit management priority (Pal, 1997). The federal government made minimal attempts to disguise the reason for federal economic reform. It became increasingly clear from the data that organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO) and service agreements drawn up by the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) would exert a significant influence on government decisions in general and educational governance specifically. Frances Whyte, CMEC's director general from 1988-1995, acknowledged the tensions and concerns in education, trade, and international economic agendas associated with the effects of globalization (Whyte, 1993).

The changing global and local context was a major reason for government's reconsideration of the delivery of traditional responsibilities. Demands in Canada for increased accountability, including more effective management, resulted in a decade of retrenchment and restructuring strategies in a federation that was fiscally and culturally diverse. The push and pull of global tensions along with government's federal responsibilities to national, provincial, and local governments remained a strong impediment to the federal government's ability to act autonomously. Corkery (1999) argued that the changing context "brought governance into common usage as a process for which the word government [was] no longer sufficient" (p. 12). As a result, distinct ideas about new forms of public management surfaced in government policy.

The emergent governance discourse revealed an innovative use of language that offered policy possibilities capable of resolving larger economic sovereignty concerns. For instance, embedded in the language of interdependency, partnerships, and collaboration was governments' alternative strategy of sharing responsibilities for traditional government roles while still maintaining control. As well, previously autonomous areas within federal, provincial, or local governance were not only expected, but also required to use a collaborative approach in the various stages of policy development. Shifts in political orientation are found in rethinking ways to deliver public services and considering educational purpose.

The shift in economic and political relationships directed public attention to the federal government's goal of fiscal responsibility and national economic well-being. The political shift also resulted in government and business assuming the role of two influential players in education, with many agreeing that corporations and multinationals held the major influential role in determining education priorities.

The implications for education became clear when the Minister of Finance, Paul Martin (1997), clarified the federal perspective on educational purpose by reporting "We knew we had to broaden the notion of infrastructure—to take it beyond its traditional meaning to include the building blocks of the new wealth of nations: education, knowledge and innovation" (p. 3). Canada's Minister of International Trade, Minister Sergio Marchi (1998), spoke of Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's (DFAIT) intent to increase the number of international students attending Canadian education institutions, to obtain a larger market share of international education contracts. DFAIT solidified the federal commitment to international education with the decision to establish a permanent international educational marketing unit within the department. Establishing the marketing unit was unofficial notice of the federal government's branding of education as an economic good.

Changes also became evident in federal government infrastructures. Prime Minister Chrétien made the first of several announcements following the 1997-1998 budget regarding federal government efforts in "getting government right" (Schacter, 1999, p. 10), which referred to a fiscal management priority that would assist the federal government in positioning Canada competitively within the global economic market. But change was occurring so rapidly that many political institutions and processes were unable to keep pace with traditional social and economic responsibilities, particularly in social policy areas such as education, health, and social services (Reinicke, 1998).

A significant federal reform initiative was the consolidation of DFAIT, the Department of Finance, and Industry Canada. Designated as the *triad*, these three federal departments became extremely powerful, exerting "tight control" over other government sectors "while governing in partnership with the private sector" (1.1, 1.4, 1.6). DFAIT's impenetrable position and surveillance role was described as "a level of government over government" (1.1) with power and influence capable of directing the conduct of

government. Strengthening DFAIT's influence was its responsibility in monitoring the effects of international trade agreements on Canadian affairs. This surveillance role, though not always popular, legitimized DFAIT's power in education.

DFAIT's priority of ensuring a more globally competitive education system translated into increased financial commitments to CMEC projects that were associated with federal priorities. As might be expected, the relationship between DFAIT, CMEC, and ministers of education created a solid foundation for ongoing federal reform initiatives, including advancing commitments to free markets, democracy, and economic globalization. It was not unexpected that, following a decade of retrenchment and restructuring, multilateral trade would became Canada's key strategy in ensuring realization of its political and social goals.

However, many ministers of education were apprehensive about a perceived national avoidance of local education needs and concerned that a growing corporate and global merger of cultures could further jeopardize local cultural identities. Provincial pressure on CMEC and the federal government increased as ministers demanded that a greater emphasis be placed on provincial, regional, and local identity issues, including the "privileging of local traditions . . . and exploring local ways of dealing with new situations" (1.1, 1.7, 1.12).

In Canada, interprovincial collaborations at the regional and pan-Canadian levels paralleled efforts fixed on globalization of the economies, particularly with expanded liaisons in North and South America (1.6). It is important to note that, although these alliances stemmed mainly from an economic perspective, one participant emphasized that "economic perspectives flow over into other areas such as education" (1.9). It is for this reason that Canada's reform initiatives, particularly those implemented with the election of the Liberals in 1993, offer crucial links to explanations of the effects of globalization on the economy and education.

Globalization and the Economy

In 1993, Ministers of education agreed to a Joint Declaration identifying macro-economic and structural influences on government reform policies. When CMEC published its first national report on education, it focused public attention on the

ministerial priorities formalized in the Joint Declaration including the strengthening relationships between globalization, the economy, and education:

> We are well aware of the challenges to the education systems posed by our rapidly changing world: globalization of the economy, openness with regard to other cultures, pressing needs for skilled labour, and technological advances that are having an impact on our daily lives as well as the job market. These changes require constant adjustments to our educational practices to ensure high quality, accessibility, mobility, and accountability. (CMEC, 1995b, p. 1)

The reference to adjusting educational practices is important since the language of accountability, indicators, and technology remains a reform priority in the scientific discourse of education. These reforms were accompanied by a decline in educational funding and a drop in national interest in the K-12 levels of public education. However, both the federal government and CMEC intensified their interest in postsecondary educational activity. Considering the increasing recognition of education and knowledge as key determiners of Canada's economic growth, the shift from public education to postsecondary was a strong indicator of federal and national collaboration regarding the potential economic return from the marketing of education. Moreover, federal legitimacy for involvement in these areas had already been established through mechanisms of research funding, skills and trades, and transfer payments.

In its second national report card, CMEC (1998b) acknowledged the changing educational emphasis and the effects of the "increasingly complex and difficult, social and economic climate" (p. 1) on improving student performance. Simultaneously, federal interest in ensuring Canada's global competitive advantage prioritized "new approaches to learning, education and skills development. . . and efficient and productive educational infrastructures" (Smith, 1999, p. 7). CMEC (1997b) formally confirmed its support for this new federal agenda in its publication *Communiqué*. Less than three years later Chrétien (2000) tied the growth of free markets in Canada to the realization of individual potential:

> In the past decade we have seen the consolidation of democracy and the growth of free markets. Together, we have embraced shared values and common goals: strengthening democracy, protecting human rights, enhancing human security,

> and, above all, giving all of our peoples the chance to realize their full potential. (p. 9)

The Scientific Discourse of Education: Rationalizing Educational Purpose

An emerging discourse of education persists in validating what education should be and how educational goals must be nationally standardized and measurable if Canadian education is to be internationally successful. Efforts are ongoing to problematize the discourse of education through a justification of learning as something different from education, more inclusive of lifelong processes, and essential to Canada's competitive global position. The assumptions governing this scientific discourse have led to a marginalization of educators as informed contributors to national educational governance. Instead, complicit with the liberal social order, there is an acceptance of economists and business leaders as the experts in deciding on educational interests and priorities. These priorities are particularly relevant because they are part of a broader discourse that incorporates themes such as human capital, educational marketing, and the knowledge economy.

Acknowledging the federal economic agenda and Canada's goal of becoming increasingly competitive internationally, this education and/or learning discourse supports global economic interests in pursuit of lifelong learning agendas, with knowledge as the key global commodity. Moreover, several key assumptions drive this process: the identification of and justification for the entire population as a client base in need of lifelong learning, the recognition of certain forms of education and/or learning as being inferior (e.g., applied research versus pure research is the funding focus of the Canadian Council on Learning), and the deferral of questions regarding the legitimization of educational knowledge to those whose privileged right to speak articulates an economic value of education rather than education as a universal good.

In the meantime, many people, including educators and parents, ignore the political utility of discourses and choose instead to accept the scientific discourse of educational administration and governance as common sense. Influencing this political reality is the national, federal, and international recognition of scientific methods that proposes a reliance on the more objective, systemic, quantifiable scientific processes in determining the future of education. Thus, legitimate and valued knowledge is that which

becomes possible through such technologies as evaluations, national and international assessments, district and provincial educational report cards, and priority funding allocations to specific curriculum endeavours.

An awareness of the strategic interplay of scientific discourse in directing the thoughts and actions of various individuals and groups gives reason to question the persistence of these strategies at the most micro level of decision making. In questioning why we choose to act or think in a particular way (Sheridan, 1997), it would seem that the administration and science discourse is displacing the regime of public education and governance. Hunter (1994) emphasized the link between education and an emergent technology of statistical surveillance and administrative techniques (p. 150). Moreover, it becomes apparent that ideas, reflexivity, and meaning making are not valued within the power politics of scientific method, except in the derivative systemic sense. Consequently, the material infrastructure of life as an act of power came about through the mobilization and challenging of power through professional and expert scientific processes. For this reason, Foucault's work is crucial to the study because he provided a way of studying how 'governing people' can be achieved by 'administering things' or as Sheridan (1980) explained:

> In the rendering of the accumulation of men docile and useful . . . the technique of overlapping subjectivation and objectification brought with it new procedures of individualization. The carceral network constituted one of the armatures of this power-knowledge that has made the human sciences historically possible. Knowable man (soul, individuality, consciousness, conduct, whatever it is called) is the object-effect of this analytical investment, of this domination-observation. (p. 162)

In examining the history of the present, the federal government's reliance on the mechanism of the knowledge economy has reinforced the link between administration and science. Therefore the discourse has raised the significance of the economic purpose versus the democratic public purpose of education and brought into question whose interests each purpose serves.

Economic Development and Education

The federal government had been positioning education as key to economic development since the early 1990s when policy decisions referenced the knowledge and information economy (CMEC, 1995a). One research participant argued that education maintained an obvious place in economic development given that there is "no clear cut-off to where economic development ends and education begins" (1.9). Consequently, federal efforts to push their political agenda for economic success found provinces depicted as necessary allies (1.4, 1.9, and 1.11). According to one interviewee, federal involvement in education ensured "a critical world sense about Canadian education and how it would affect and be affected by multi-national corporations, big business influence, trade and commerce" (1.11). Others saw a critical need for the provinces to "demonstrate the historic strength of their jurisdiction and authority in education and to protect public education from both global and corporate influences" (2.2, 2.3).

However, federal involvement in education has had the potential to enhance educational possibilities both within Canada and between Canada and international interests. Should the federal government have chosen not to lead Canadian education into the international arena, then the anticipated risk was that other countries would dominate the future global direction of education (1.11). But there was frustration because of the apparent lack of federal and provincial collaboration regarding international and global education. As one respondent believed:

> The federal and provincial governments have not come together in any meaningful way to talk about educational policy information. Given that the social and educational context has moved to an international rather than national setting, the urgency to establish a meaningful liaison has never been more important. (1.15)

Certainly, Canada, as a federation, faces an ongoing challenge to preserve a balance between those who expect a strong central government and those who insist on a decentralization of government powers. In response to global pressures, CMEC collaborated with the federal government in implementing formalized mechanisms, including trade agreement requirements, protocols, and the creation of specific mandates and agendas. Collaboration between key government departments, such as Industry

Canada and the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, with multinational corporations made federal influence stronger.

Educational assessment practices were one such area that ensured teacher and student compliance with a larger federal reform agenda, intent on marketing Canadian education. The expectation of collaboration at different levels between governments ensured a context for CMEC's developing relationship with the federal government and a means for pursuing national standards. A respondent described the following relationship:

> CMEC works with DFAIT, Finance, and with Industry Canada. They have a very clear mandate in their mind to establish eventually a national presence within the federal government, to establish national standards to make Canada's education system more competitive along this global model. (1.1)

Many of those interviewed believed that the shift from a provincial perspective on educational governance to an acceptance of the incorporation of education as a service in the GATT or any other international agreement was a real threat to public education. Because it is a service agreement, provincial jurisdictional rights and school-based local control were removed over areas such as educational assessment practices and teacher certification, and teacher professional development could disappear completely (1.1, 1.4, 1.6, 1.7, 1.12, 2.3). Such agreements influence the context and purpose of education.

Undoubtedly, the federal government's widely publicized concern with deficit management garnered public support for an economic agenda, but left unchallenged the possibility that corporate interests might be more concerned with influencing government agendas and the marketing of education (1.1, 1.3, 1.6, 1.9, 1.12, and 2.3). Even as support grew for corporate involvement in education, the possibility that such influence might jeopardize public education did not receive extensive attention (1.12, 2.3). Nevertheless, reforms based on corporate initiatives in education and the international marketing of Canadian education increased. As many anticipated, the federal government's deficit-management program led to provincial educational reforms that resulted in decreased funding to public education across Canada (1.1, 1.12, 1.13, 2.3).

In pushing these reforms, both levels of government increased the opportunity for corporate solutions to educational concerns even though corporate interests were not

always compatible with the fundamental goals of public education. Moreover, surpassing government's concern with domestic responsibilities was the escalating demand for trade agreements to regulate global economic trends. Particularly important to education was DFAIT's monitoring of educational implications within various agreements of the WTO, the GATT, and the FTAA. Educational concerns (e.g., teacher mobility and certification) that had previously existed beyond the constitutional authority of the federal government now had prominence in the federal NAFTA commitment (1.7).

Educational Marketing

Several federal departments including Immigration, Foreign Affairs and International Trade, and Human Resources Skills Development Canada, contribute to the federal discourse regarding globalization and education (1.0). In the context of marketing, education becomes a commodity that involves fostering networks, developing business or trade liaisons, and pursuing international economies. The priority attached to these goals has resulted in strong federal advocacy for increasing the number of international students in Canadian educational systems and the solicitation of Canadian students to study internationally.

CMEC played a brokering role in the broader educational marketing context, particularly on behalf of the Canadian International Development Association (CIDA) (1.8). In particular, CMEC alerted provinces and/or educational institutions to international opportunities. The reciprocal benefits of provincial-international relationships existed in the follow-up international requests for Canadian experts and materials. As one official stated, "Education is close to the biggest industry in the country, and we have significant potential to deal with other countries in collaborative ways" (1.4).

Canada's federal role defined and limited the marketing of education. A serious problem with no obvious solution was the fact that there was no federal department of education (1.0). Further complicating the problem was the lack of clarity with respect to the term *marketing of education*. The definition of education had evolved to include references to training, lifelong learning, human resource development, and educational marketing; and there was no absolute sense of accountability or responsibility for

marketing in these areas. "There is the whole other set of marketing of Canadian expertise or materials; I do not think anybody has a handle on that" (1.8).

Moreover, financial transparency and accountability are not always evident for those engaged in the education industry. One official noted that in the marketing of Canadian education to international students:

> People have wrestled for a long time, trying to quantify what foreign students bring into the country. Now, provinces are actually recruiting "paying students" into the elementary and secondary system. So if you look at the recruiting of students, where does that money go? Well, obviously, it goes back into the institutions, or it goes into the government. (1.8)

"We don't know where the money actually goes. The implication is that money should go back into education. It is hard to tell, I'm speculating just like anybody else" (1.0). The federal government has continued its attempts to manage those provinces intent on pursuing educational markets independently, but every research participant indicated a lack of awareness of the financial details associated with Canada's marketing of education.

There was considerable speculation about the circulation of money in the education industry. Even more critical, according to one participant, was the question of who should monitor where the money actually goes:

> We will not have the feds monitor what's happening with education and education finance. CMEC would not be involved as a monitor. The only thing we can do is provide the figures, programs, or whatever, and let other people draw their conclusions. The difficulty is how we stop outside organizations coming in. There has been big competition already from the United States. (1.0)

Furthermore, although Canada may be well-positioned with respect to educational experts in the more pragmatic areas of distance education and technology, critical questions surround the influences of international agreements on other areas of education. Given that "the implications of free trade flow both ways" (1.12), the educational debate needs to consider the following:

> How do we establish rules and standards that will protect local cultures, local natural resources, local communities, and force the economy to serve communities and us again rather than the other way around? Whose views have

> prevailed in this form of globalization? How do we bring the rule of law to global capital, which is the current form of globalization? (1.1)

While this research does not respond specifically to these questions, it is important to acknowledge the relevance of these questions to Canadian education and to recognize that rules and standards are increasingly becoming part of government practice. CMEC as an intergovernmental organization provides a possible mechanism by which federal and provincial governments can subtly break through constitutional barriers in the governance of education.

Federal Priorities: Global Economic Competitiveness

The federal emphasis on managing the national deficit in the late 1980s and early 1990s diverted public attention from Canada's goal of becoming a strong international trade partner. At the federal level international trade agreements became the mechanism that enabled the effects of globalization to influence educational agendas (1.0, 1.1, 1.3, 1.6, and 2.3). The development of Canada's initial economic alliances as part of the globalization of economies quickly spread to other jurisdictional areas (1.9), resulting in reform, restructuring education priorities, and standardizing the provision of education across the country (1.1, 1.12, 1.13, 2.3). In fact, several participants claimed that the federal government pushed their political agenda to ensure that various provinces would act in accordance with the corporate agenda (1.4, 1.9, and 1.11).

The resulting effect on education was a transition in educational purpose from universality in education to a corporate agenda that advocated public choice and accountability. The ideological shift became apparent in the activities of the World Bank and UN, which prior to the 1980s had prioritized international global universal education but now pursued an education system whose purpose was more compatible with ensuring a globalized class-based world. This context provides an opportunity for the federal government to lead Canadian education into the international arena or "risk others leading the direction that education goes in the world" (1.11).

The Conference Board of Canada (1999) compared the relationship between Canada's economic performance and international educational activity, policies, and programs with those of nine other OECD countries. The findings identified a number of

policy options for strengthening Canada's involvement in international educational activity. Included in these options were "the development of a coordinated strategy for increasing international education; the development of a single delivery mechanism for international education information and programs; and the development of partnerships with national and international organizations" (p. 119). The importance of partnership development became immediately apparent at all levels of education.

Partnerships

Canada's economic and political reforms enabled private/public partnership models to become firmly entrenched across the country (1.12). Provincial political ideas helped to create the necessary climate for partnerships in general and, in particular, partnerships in education. Many participants acknowledged that Ontario chaired CMEC at the time and that Ontario's governing New Democratic Party was strongly promoting social partnerships and social policy reforms" (1.8, 1.11, 1.12, 1.13, and 2.4). Ministers spoke of the pressure to collaborate in realizing CMEC priorities, including the formation of corporate partnerships and the creation of a national education agenda (1.1, 1.6, 1.8, 1.11, and 2.4).

Partnership philosophy was idealized as an alternative economic source that could translate into "money, equipment, or other forms of support" for education (1.8). Although government and the business world often promoted the intrinsic ideal of corporate partnerships supporting public education, not everyone supported this view. At times, educational partnerships served a symbolic purpose that appeased concerns without actually soliciting or listening to the opinions of people most directly involved (1.3). Furthermore, partnerships often carried conditional expectations that "mortgaged the freedom of an educational ministry to make decisions in its own way" (1.12). For instance, DFAIT's advocacy of civil society, including the right of increased input within the international arena, carried a "conditional" expectation of increased compliance with DFAIT's framework. Consequently, rather than challenging the framework of global institutions and the dominant forces that influence education, there was an expectation that those participants who attended CMEC consultation meetings would represent a set of interests within an existing framework (1.7).

The federal "Team Canada" discourse of partnerships, collaboration, and interdependency was promoted by the Liberal government as the policy possibility for economic sovereignty concerns. Previously autonomous areas within federal, provincial or local governance were not only expected, but also required to use a collaborative approach in the various stages of policy development. Interdepartmental collaboration was the rule. Although there was strong interest in Chrétien's global agenda, few questioned the impact of the agenda on Canada's political future:

> Government chose those who would benefit their side, and business people put their personal agenda forward. It was a very handy agenda for politicians and seemed to suit the mood of the public, who also believed in balanced budgets. Business people were saying what the public and the politicians wanted to hear without going below the surface and asking what kind of people we want running the world in the next couple of generations. (1.3)

Apparent in both government and CMEC initiatives were attempts to find different consultation approaches as well as alternative ways of reaching consensus. In this respect, education ministers consented to add several protocol amendments to the *Victoria Declaration*. This decision provided ministers with a means of working around constitutional guidelines while enabling CMEC to pursue aggressively national and international education opportunities.

The Constitution, Protocol Agreements, and Education

Governments, and the traditional role of government in education, have undergone significant change within the past decade. It is evident from this research that those being interviewed were not always aware of such changes. Furthermore, while there was a belief that the Constitution was open to interpretation and that the strategy of consensus-building was instrumental in creating educational change, interviewees were not always familiar with protocol agreements that were added to the *Victoria Declaration* (CMEC, 1993).

CMEC made the first significant move to create a conciliatory consensus when ministers collectively agreed to the *Victoria Declaration* (CMEC, 1993). Later, some of the more important but less known challenges occurred with the addition of new protocols to the *Victoria Declaration* that prioritized understandings between CMEC and

federal departments such as the Department of External Affairs. These protocols essentially facilitated alternative interpretations of Article 93, of the Constitution (Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982) that stated "In and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education." These protocols included but are not limited to the following examples:

- Understandings between the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada, and the Department of External Affairs
- Procedures for Canada's Participation in Education-Related International Conferences and Meetings, 1977, 1982, and 1987
- Federal-Provincial Consultative Committee on Education-Related International Activities

These protocols helped the federal government maintain an active role in education and a role in shaping a national education purpose through the acknowledgment of education as an essential commodity in Canada's future political and economic success. Although inclusion and universality were once the primary goals of education, federal and national efforts refocused attention on the privatized educational model (1.2, 1.3).

The appointment of experts from business, economics, and finance to decision-making positions that were traditionally held by education officials helped to consolidate an economic view of education. The following remark indicates the 2004 value of Canada's educational industry: "Canada's education sector, including the public education system, is valued at $41 billion, representing 5.2 per cent of the GDP" (Canadian Education and Training Industry [CETI] Summit, 2004, p. 1). Recognizing the export potential of education, CETI raised several questions about the federal perspective on the marketing of education and the need for leadership and policies that will respond to the growing export market for education.

The Canadian Education and Training Industry Summit (2004) called for "imaginative leadership by government in partnership with educators and other industry interests" (p. 1) in changing Canada's economic position. The participants offered different opinions on partnership formations. In one respect, some viewed partnerships unfavourably because they resulted in a "pushing back" or ignoring of input from

professional educators (1.2, 1.3). Other participants claimed that the best way to serve educational interests is to maintain stronger alliances between education and the corporate sector (1.11, 1.13).

Federal Pursuit of Education

Federal involvement in education is not a new phenomenon. As this section details, federal pursuit of education has been and continues to be possible through various federal and national mechanisms. The research participants acknowledged that the federal government has always dabbled in education (1.0, 1.2, 1.3, 1.6, 1.8, and 1.15). Many believed that the federal government had definite views on the future of education (1.2, 1.3, 1.4, 1.9, and 1.14). These views have created anxiety for CMEC particularly, because federal funding for CMEC projects has been fairly selective. In exploring a national framework for education, CEA concluded that:

> Canadian education is unique in its absence of mechanisms or institutions for collaboration among fourteen governments –federal, provincial and territorial. This leads to fragmented policy leadership, a lack of coherence or integration of related polices and difficulties in resolving issues. (CEA, 2004, p. 5)

Without alternate funding sources, CMEC has been left with little choice but to partner with the federal government. Tensions existed, however, because federal partnerships addressed "the nice things like research or trade issues, while ignoring all the issues that the teachers out in the field are concerned about" (2.2). The federal government provided most of the substantial financial support for international and postsecondary involvement (1.8), but unwritten federal expectations accompanied the financial support. As one participant concluded, "They [the federal government] happily give the money but will then insist, 'We want to be at the table and have some say in how it's used'" (1.0). Through the funding partnership process with CMEC, the federal government was successful in achieving initiatives such as "the skills agenda, the employability profile, and the Conference Board agenda, all of which were pushed discussions" (2.4).

In the past the federal government seldom made formal statements regarding education. However, CMEC (1998a, 1998b) has called into question the Liberal

government's controversial federal announcement regarding the Millennium Scholarship (1.6) and the promotion of a national educational agenda as a federal priority (Whittington, 2001) Nevertheless, provincial education ministers appeared to be much more acquiescent when they chose to engage in federal initiatives such as assessments and educational indicators.

Many participants expressed concern and confusion about the term *national education* agenda (2.4, 1.2, 1.4, 1.0, and 2.2) that was used in the discussions that were held prior to the introduction of the *Victoria Declaration* (CMEC, 1993). The research data offered two perspectives that suggested that, on one hand, there was a perceived political aspect to the term that attempted to define a general direction for Canadian education, and, on the other, there was a practical aspect of national education. Apprehension existed because "according to who says it [*national educational agenda*], the words don't mean the same thing; everyone has a certain vision" (2.4). The confusion intensified with the claim that the national agenda was really "the ministers' agenda" (1.0). Some participants believed that the term meant "an alternative mechanism whereby a loosely aligned council of ministers of education and a Secretariat would try to coordinate education decision making and education policy through consensus at a national level" (1.6). Another participant spoke of the national education agenda as the process of "increased policy borrowing from one jurisdiction to the other" (1.12).

It is significant that there was no recognition of a legal national education agenda (1.2). Rather, according to one official, the facilitation of federal interests occurred through the political manoeuvring of language and interdepartmental partnerships:

> The federal government had money, and so they conveniently found another definition for what constitutes education because there is education and there is training. If the federal government is involved in training, that is okay. Therefore, the provinces compromised their sole responsibility for education by somehow defining training as different from education. However, it is a convenient distinction. (1.2)

For those who think that all provincial education officials oppose federal involvement in education, it is worth noting *Schmidt's* (2004) reporting of the comments of John Kershaw, Deputy Minister of Education in New Brunswick, during the 2004 CETI Summit:

> The federal government has a legitimate role in the export of goods, and that's their way in if we want to have a national approach. . . . Until it's acknowledged as an industry and not education in its traditional sense, that's going to pose a problem for us. (p. A7)

Schmidt (2004) also cited Andrew Thomson, Saskatchewan's Minister of Learning, as advocating the linking of international education with the efforts of HRSDC. "One of the bigger challenges is to start to think of the curriculum as a commodity. That's a very non-Canadian concept" (p. A7). It is noteworthy that both Saskatchewan and Alberta incorporated the use of "Minister of Learning" in their identification of Ministers with responsibility for education. From a Foucauldian perspective, this provincial change in terminology can be interpreted as a productive act of resistance to secure inclusive jurisdictional rights for education and learning while thwarting federal efforts to establish learning as beyond the scope of education.

Federal Departments Establish Links to Education

The federal departments of Labour, Human Resource Development, and Industry had alternative agendas to traditional provincial education goals. The possibility of linking education and training would enable a federal department to exercise authority and prerogative in provincial educational decision making. It is notable that at one point during this research, nine provincial ministers shared the dual portfolio of education and labour. Although one senior official deemed this relationship strictly coincidental, the dual portfolio provided a convenient link to federal priorities in training and education that easily overlapped provincial jurisdictions.

There was acknowledgement that the federal government had a global sense of how education could influence the Canadian economy, but some provinces were not interested in a collective response to the federal government's agenda and chose instead to "go it alone" in the pursuit of international initiatives (1.9, 2.2, 2.4). At the federal and provincial level, the terms education, training, lifelong learning, and human resource development became increasingly interchangeable in educational discussions. Furthermore, corporate language filtered into educational thought as students became clients, teachers served as facilitators, and outcomes or deliverables became the language of educational success (1.1). Rules of the market became the political aims of education,

including performance-based funding, knowledge-based economies, employability skills, and student success defined in terms of indicators, outcomes, and accountability.

Many participants identified globalization as playing a significant role in Canada's endorsement of international education. In the mid-1990s assessment and standardization became the educational focus in North America, Europe, and Asia (1.1, 1.2, 1.12, 1.7, and 2.4). There are conflicting ideas about how educational indicators became a national priority. Some participants commented that OECD had been working on educational indicators during the early 1990s; others recalled that similar discussions occurred in various federal and provincial government departments (2.4, 1.8, 1.0, 1.2, and 1.4). Many participants perceived that there was consistent federal pressure to undertake comparative assessment efforts in Canada (2.4, 1.0, 1.8, 1.4, and 1.6).

Indeed, many recognized a strong link between CMEC's international involvement and the federal funding emphasis on provincial assessment, standards, and student comparisons (1.1, 1.2, 1.12, 1.7, and 2.4). A dominant concern was the relationship of assessment and standardization to educational purpose. Acknowledging that education means different things to different people, the national discussions regarding the use of assessment programs in influencing student success were shaped by understandings including, "education is the most important cultural product of a nation" (2.4), "education is big business" (1.2), "education is a purposeful enterprise" (1.6), and "education is human resource development" (2.4). Within these definitions lies the possibility for numerous marketing initiatives all in the name of education. Furthermore, the choice of definition for education has tremendous implications for both governance and the determination of educational priorities.

CMEC and the Victoria Declaration

In 1996 the Manitoba minister of education added the topic of educational indicators to a "rather weak CMEC agenda" and unknowingly initiated a major educational focus for CMEC (2.4, 1.8). The timing was significant given that CMEC had been experiencing strong governmental and public opposition that included a questioning of its political basis (1.6, 1.4).

There was a general impression that ministers of education would never agree to make a collective statement about educational performance in Canada (1.8, 2.4, and 1.0).

However, when presented with an opportunity to participate in federally funded assessments, the ministers collectively agreed that the assessments provided opportune timing for CMEC and the federal government to cooperate (1.8). Even more important to the future role of the federal and provincial governments, was the realization that ministerial consensus strengthened CMEC's position of influence with the federal government and other national organizations. In 1996, the School Achievement Indicators Protocol became a reality.

SAIP became a "very, very strong force for continuity within the council, and it held the members together despite the challenges to its existence" (2.4). When the participants spoke about the signing of the SAIP agreement as an historic event in Canadian education, the reason was not the result of SAIP's functional role, but rather of SAIP's being the first provincial agreement in which ministers cooperated on an educational program (2.4, 1.8). Although there was initially a dissenting province, unity was eventually established.

When Ontario called SAIP and the structure of the council into question, the nine other provinces disagreed and vowed to continue. That was an historical occasion and an auspicious event in the national governance of education. As one participant recalled, "that had never happened before in the entire history of CMEC, and it changed something (2.4). More specifically, it changed the collective effort of education ministers to move forward on a national agenda. Many participants acknowledged that SAIP required a presence at the centre, to ensure effective implementation of the national initiative (2.4, 1.8, and 1.0). SAIP provided the necessary breakthrough in terms of aligning federal and provincial priorities to create new educational possibilities and priorities within the framework of the Constitution (1867). There was a realization that some manipulation of the consensus process could enable federal and provincial ministers to achieve previously contested educational goals at provincial, national, and international levels.

"Substantial federal funding for CMEC's major projects" (1.8) is evident in CMEC's annual budgets. But federal financial support carried unwritten expectations for involvement, as was demonstrated in federal "agitating to be on committees, to be part of ministers' meetings, and to attend deputy ministers meetings" (1.4, 1.8, 1.11, and 2.4). The *Victoria Declaration* (CMEC, 1993) supported federal initiatives such as

performance indicators, assessment processes, and standardization. However, because the provinces simply did not have enough money to fund these programs, the federal government was allowed to shape a particular type of educational system through selectively applying or withholding funding from major project areas (1.4, 1.8).

National Education Agenda

CMEC held a rather strategic, albeit tenuous, position from both a federal and a provincial perspective. One respondent argued that "even though federal efforts to intervene in education often meet with provincial opposition, CMEC needed to restrict its response when such situations arise" (2.4). Yet, although CMEC's bureaucratic role was increasingly responsible for providing national continuity and direction to education in Canada (1.15), it also ensured a shared link for federal and provincial governments. For instance, the federal government's offer to finance SAIP had implications for a number of unspoken federal economic objectives rather than solely to establish national standards. The data from SAIP could provide an initial photograph of education that, with further testing, would provide "the equivalent of a national standard without actually saying that it was a national standard" (2.4). To suggest openly that the information obtained through testing would support the federal government's competitive economic goals could result in federal-provincial struggles regarding the marketing of education in an emerging global education industry:

> The federal officials eventually came to understand the wisdom of that position [visibility] and that there was no point in creating a revolution and fighting battles when you could eventually have, in practical terms, the information you wanted and the effect that you wanted in a way that was acceptable to everybody. (2.4)

Because of unofficial federal expectations, CMEC initially agonized over requesting funding from the federal government (2.4). However, when federal funding for major projects occurred through the transfer of money to CMEC's annual budget, the process enabled federal interest and involvement to appear neutral even as federal pressure for educational testing projects persisted (1.0, 1.4, 1.6, and 1.8). In this respect the federal government, along with selected partners, relied on CMEC's intermediary role to shape Canadian educational initiatives during the decade under study. From an

education perspective, the testing agenda initiated an expanding approach to educational governance in Canada.

Those interviewed indicated that during the research period in question—1993-2003—the federal government's broadening educational agenda called for increased federal involvement in national education. In 1997 the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and International Trade, Gordon Smith, identified Canada's future role as a "knowledge broker to the world" emphasizing "that in a global world, the only enduring forms of comparative advantage are those founded on knowledge and information . . . education is going to lay a large role in sustaining the Canadian advantage" (p. 2). However, education ministers did not always appreciate the linking of provincial education responsibilities to federal visions of education. "Education as a lived, provincial reality" appeared to have lost importance at the domestic level (2.4).

The focus of CMEC's meeting agendas remained on national and international educational priorities (1.6). In response, several provinces became intent on protecting regional issues. Other provinces such as Alberta, Ontario, and Quebec became independently proactive in trade missions and the marketing of provincial educational opportunities. In this respect the larger and wealthier provinces exempted their independent actions from the protocol agreement between CMEC and DFAIT that detailed procedural guidelines for Canada's involvement in international education-related conferences (1.1, 1.6, 1.13, 1.15, 2.3, and 2.4). Even as regionalist tendencies strengthened, this forced CMEC to reconsider the influence of a decentralized agenda that prioritized central control. Strategies initiated at the centre now needed broader considerations. Consultations and partnerships became a stronger emphasis for improving communications and providing mutual support among the various levels of government.

One official described this independent action as "part of the problem" (1.8) created when provincial efforts clashed with CMEC's protocol agreements. However, another official argued quite strongly that "the provinces are independently responsible for education. There is no room for federal jurisdiction, not in the Constitution Act, the British North America Act, not anywhere. The education role is that of the provinces" (1.2). There was some agreement that the actions of individual provinces weakened CMEC's pursuit of a national agenda. As one participant summarized, "Compromise is

never easy, it's just remarkable that provinces ever do anything together in education because the mechanism is set up for them to operate independently no matter how small the jurisdiction" (1.0). When CMEC's national consultations ceased in 1998, it had a profound effect on a stated goal of the Director General of CMEC. Specifically, he lost his ability to act and influence or pressure ministers of education in creating a national educational agenda (1.0).

CMEC's International Agenda

CMEC's international agenda was a hard sell internally, mainly because of the "lack of understanding" (2.2) about the benefits of international involvement to Canadian education. The major dilemma for CMEC was finding a way to increase ministerial awareness and support of international activity in education. But, because international involvement did not influence ministers' re-election results, provincial responsibilities still constituted the majority of ministerial priorities. From CMEC's perspective, this regionalist commitment resulted in inconsistent attendance at CMEC meetings, or ministers would arrive uninformed or without a prepared position on the national meeting agenda.

The CMEC Secretariat discovered that the effective strategy for increasing ministerial commitment to an international agenda was to involve as many ministers as possible in as many international meetings as possible. Consequently, CMEC's Secretariat frequently selected education ministers to attend international education meetings in the hopes of securing their personal belief in and commitment to the significance of the international agenda to Canadian education (2.2). The exposure confirmed that many countries shared similar educational agendas (1.8). Moreover, regardless of whether any one international program became Canada's priority, the international involvement facilitated consideration of educational issues from other parts of the world that might have meaning within the Canadian context (2.2). When the ministers actually become involved, they realized that it was useful, and subsequently they become more supportive and enthusiastic (1.0, 1.6, 1.8, and 2.2) and insisted in some cases that "the fundamental mandate that CMEC could best deal with is international. If it reneged on this central role, CMEC would relinquish the only area where it had some autonomy" (2.4).

Given the understanding that Canada's international educational position is not the responsibility of the federal government and that the position should reflect the consensus of 13 positions, "there has to be a central agency that formulates a position which may not be a priority of anyone around the table, but which is, in a sense, a common priority" (2.4). This priority was reflected in the activity of CMEC but was frequently complicated when provinces chose to act independently of CMEC's actions:

> There's a little problem, at least in my opinion, which is that some provinces have been doing extremely well by themselves, and you know, Alberta, BC, and even PEI, they've got their own niches there [internationally]. And so trying to get, in effect, the competitors within Canada to agree to play together is a little tricky. (1.0)

Should CMEC choose not to make international education a collective responsibility, the development of a position on Canadian education would defer to the federal government, and the ministers did not see this as an acceptable alternative:

> Once you fall into the pattern where the federal government has an international mandate for education and the provinces' mandate is domestic, you are in deep trouble because there is no clear zone. And that was before we started talking quite so intensively about globalization; now it would be unliveable. (2.4)

Even with limited provincial funding and a lack of ministerial awareness of the benefits to education of international involvement, withdrawing from international participation was never an alternative based on Canada's foreign-policy position (1.8, 1.11, and 2.4). "Foreign Affairs couldn't allow Canada not to be represented; it's part of the overall foreign policy position of Canada. As a result, if CMEC didn't do it, Foreign Affairs would" (2.4). In fact, DFAIT was the major source of funding for international educational meetings, and because of the increasing number of multilateral agreements referencing education, DFAIT would gain considerable influence on provincial education should CMEC not attend international meetings.

The National Goal: Public or International Education

The Canadian government was determined to assert its competitive position in the global education industry. A prerequisite to promoting Canada's quality of education was the use of technical, rational assessments. Included in these scientific processes were

provincial, national, and international comparative assessments. The results from these assessments would offer confirmation of educational quality in student performance, teaching, and programming. Strengthening the shift from public to postsecondary was a federal agenda that imposed expectations of postsecondary recruitment and the development of international program components.

This federal agenda encouraged provincial interest in international agendas and a willingness to work at the international level (2.4). Links were established among those provinces that were interested in marketing their educational service overseas and attending international education forums (1.11). CMEC "played a key transmitter role" (1.7) in facilitating the transfer of the federal government's education agenda to the provincial level of practice.

A growing tension accompanied what some believed to be an unavoidable shift towards the internationalization of educational standards, and what others recognized as a value shift in educational purpose:

> Whether we choose to or not, we cannot avoid being drawn into comparisons of how students perform, not only across the country, but also with other countries around the world. Now the question remains, does that become the be-all and the end-all? Does the standard drive everything else? (1.6)

A logical alternative to standardization was the promotion of an educational system that offered learning based on regional strengths, thus ensuring success, and an economic contribution to that particular part of the world (2.4). Some ministers felt that regional development was limited by the reality that Canada's educational focus had moved to an international market where many of the concerns with standardization reflected international priorities leaving Canada with limited choice to follow suit.

One of those interviewed presented an argument contrary to this perspective: "The fundamental test of whether an education system is performing is not related to student test scores; it's what's happening in your society, because that's what an education system is building" (2.4). Strong federal demands for educational excellence supported the scientific and technical emphasis on education, but ongoing challenges arose about the relationship between test scores and educational purposes.

This ideological difference in educational purpose led to strong ministerial contestation when the CMEC Secretariat sought to attend Education for All, the UNESCO international conference, in 1990. The agenda highlighted the right of all children to primary education and the need to reduce adult illiteracy by the end of the decade. "Several ministers led a sort of ongoing revolt to convince other ministers that CMEC should be represented" (2.4). Even though the conference in Jomtien became "a standard reference point for education and an important element on the international agenda" (2.4), CMEC did not attend the second international conference in Dakar in 2000. The agenda of both conferences focused on increased acquisition of knowledge, skills, and values for better living; however, the focus was not strongly related to "CMEC's focus on testing and those kinds of international trends and how we can implement them in Canada" (2.3). The rationale for attending international meetings related to education may not have been explicit, but non-attendance had definite implications:

> If you're not officially at international meetings, the penalty for not being there is greater than the advantage for being there. Obviously, the interpretation is, if you're not there, then you're not interested; that you don't care; or that you're rejecting the agenda. (2.4)

Federal ministers initially downplayed the federal government's interest and intentions with respect to all levels of education. However, Marchi's (1998) comments confirmed federal intent: "Our overall objective is to attract more international students to Canadian education institutions and to obtain a larger market share of international education contracts" (p. 1). What is even more significant is that Marchi revealed that federal comments on education would not have been possible just a few years earlier. CMEC's emphasis on international educational activity, particularly in the education industry, coincided with federal acknowledgment of education priorities.

As the links tighten between education and Canada's economic security, the government's policy emphasis stressed the need for a coordinated strategy in the area of international education that includes a single delivery mechanism (Conference Board of Canada, 1999, p. 117). This federal pressure for various levels of government to collaborate in international educational activity explains why some ministers of education

were frustrated with CMEC's shifting emphasis from domestic educational concerns to an international educational agenda. The explanation of CMEC's shifting emphasis supported a program dependency on federal funding (1.9, 1.15).

> A tremendous amount of federal money went into information technology and a human resources development agreement. Millions of dollars were put into education in a number of areas as per the agreement. The province, of necessity, was reducing its commitment to education; federally funded areas became the only area where innovation could take place. (1.9)

CMEC's ability to secure financial self-sufficiency may appear to have been a solution at both provincial and national levels. However, financial ability raised challenges of disparity when the choice of participation in national initiatives depended on provincial funding (1.2, 1.7, 1.8, and 1.13). The political repercussions of having the more affluent provinces overtly controlling national priorities had definite implications for the idea of a national education agenda.

Responding to a Global Agenda

International social and economic trends have resulted in ideological changes to education agendas in Canada. One official summarized his beliefs about change:

> From about post-war until the early 1980s, all of the World Bank and the UN documents were about international global universal education. The goal for every child was health care and education. It was all about universality, how to expand education so that every child had quality education. That started to change through the '80s and into the '90s. Very clearly, the goal changed to providing an education system to fit with a globalized class-based world. (1.1)

A different viewpoint acknowledged that globalization had influenced the endorsement of international educational priorities that, in turn, quickly shaped federal-provincial priorities. For example, "When topics of research and evaluation are on the international agenda, the federal government becomes very involved" (1.4). The effect was most notable at the provincial postsecondary levels, "where the federal government, through the Forum of Labour Market Ministers (FLMM) has a fair interest and a fair influence over what happens" (1.4). Although federal input was usually in the areas of training and postsecondary education, one minister argued that "a lot of initiatives

developed through various ministries of the federal government impact directly on elementary and secondary education" (1.15). This was a contentious position in the view of another senior official who denied any impact of the federal agenda on public education:

> You can go back through the records and look at the endless line of federal reports on education, learning prosperity, and all sorts of things surrounding it. In the final analysis, the actual real impact of all these reports on the child at school is pretty close to zero. (2.4)

A different perspective became evident when an official defined the relationship between federal funding and federal influence as being "particularly at the postsecondary level," but then added that "the effects inevitably get pushed down into the school system" (1.4). Still another minister claimed that the federal government did not see K-12 as an industry: "They still see that as social programming, but once you get into any kind of postsecondary education and specific training programs, they see that as a business and an industry" (1.6).

However, others attested that CMEC's emphasis on a national education agenda contributed significantly to the postsecondary education level but left many issues unattended at the K-12 level (1.0). Finally, one official reported that CMEC had strategically invited corporate involvement in the national consultations because corporate leaders have a national rather than a provincial or regional perspective (1.8). Merging corporate influences with the perspectives of K-12 educators could potentially shape educators' outlook into a national rather than a regional viewpoint.

Regionalist Agendas

Within certain provincial dialogues, self-government issues form a critical part of the debate on national educational priorities. Protection of local identity and culture are entrenched in the discourse on "regionalist or provincialist" issues. Several respondents believed that a public form of resistance to globalization was in local matters and customs rather than in national or global issues (1.1, 1.7, 1.12, and 2.4). This may be one reason that CMEC reconsidered its approach to national consultations and chose to meet on a regional basis so that small work groups could follow through on CMEC initiatives.

A frequently raised question was whether CMEC's initiatives were based on a belief that "education is more centrally driven and that provinces aren't really acting in isolation or on the acceptance that regional structures have become more powerful" (2.3). Because of these opposing beliefs, CMEC faced a critical impasse in its pursuit of a national educational agenda. As a result, the success of CMEC's future initiatives would require alternative ways for CMEC to work around the consensus model.

CMEC's political intent as an intergovernmental organization created tensions when it faced a critical impasse in its pursuit of a national educational agenda and sought provincial support for international educational activity. The provinces consistently prioritized local issues as more important than national issues and, similarly, gave national concerns more credence than international concerns (1.0).

The belief was that if CMEC focused at the regional level, it might help in determining the best mechanism for gaining acceptance for a national and international presence in education. Some provinces were much less convinced of the need for a national educational agenda and challenged CMEC's intentions with the question, "As long as we have a solid base of community interests who support regional issues, why should we have expectations of all ten provinces?' (2.4). There was the expressed understanding that national or regionalist philosophies tend to move in cycles and that the future might see a swing back to a more or less cooperative model; however, the strong regionalist commitment prevented CMEC from realizing its quest for a national or pan-Canadian agenda (1.0).

Recent trends have seen an ideological shift towards regionalism (1.3, 1.5, 1.8, 1.11, 2.2, 2.3, and 2.4), which indicates less support and conviction for a national educational agenda and, therefore, less commitment to collaborating with the federal government. This shift towards regionalism has consequences for CMEC's capacity to pursue a national educational agenda (2.2), particularly because CMEC's opportunity to facilitate feedback and encourage interest group involvement was limited with the decision to discontinue national consultations in favour of consultations at the regional level (1.0).

Increasingly, federal requests to provinces called for political sensitivity, particularly in the case of Quebec (1.0, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 1.14, 1.15, 2.2, and 2.4). Words such

as *national* or *pan-Canadian* were viewed as politically inappropriate and national unity issues often created a form of resistance to the pursuit of certain educational priorities (1.0, 1.6, and 2.4).

Summary

Chapter 5 describes the participants' understandings of the effects of the discourse of globalization on shaping Canada's political, economic, and educational arenas. Education is frequently influenced by the rules entrenched in economic and global reforms. These rules emerge from the ideas and language that characterize globalization and, when accepted as true, provide a rationalization for structural, cultural, and social alignments. Constituted in educational reforms in Canada are events such as protocol agreements, formalized national agendas, the smudging of constitutional responsibilities for education, and shifting priorities between public and private education.

Federal government reforms were associated with deficit management and restructuring; Canada's goal of global economic competitiveness was a less readily identified priority. Several federal departments maintained involvement in Canada's training programs, and, given the ever-broadening understandings of education, the jurisdictional door to educational decision making continued to be left ajar. At the national level the ministers of education recognized the wisdom of negotiating collectively with the federal government. As CMEC pursued the development of a national education agenda, competing federal and regionalist interests challenged CMEC's goal of creating a national education office that would be capable of pursing Canada's international and national education agenda.

CHAPTER 6:

NATIONAL GOVERNANCE: FEDERAL AND PROVINCIAL REALITIES

Introduction

This chapter addresses the specific question of what CMEC's national and international priorities were from 1993 to 2003. The data reveal that a strategic use of the language associated with education and the use of specific protocols created a set of procedures that accommodated different interpretations of jurisdictional responsibility for education. The negotiation of such interpretations often relied on processes that included consensus and/or compromise at government, corporate, or nongovernment organization levels.

Given CMEC's nonstatutory role, the limitations and possibilities inherent in the national governance of education have continued to exist in the collective will of provincial education ministers, the financial push and pull of the federal government, and CMEC's negotiation of provincial and federal interests. Increasingly significant in the interplay of these complex relationships was the strategic proactive leadership of CMEC's Director General, Dr. Paul Cappon, in networking at the federal level. With the escalation of federal attention to economic agendas, the global knowledge economy, and Canada's international competitive position, demands increased for active involvement in the decision-making processes that influence national education. An in-depth analysis of the assumptions and practices that affect educational priorities provides a necessary understanding of the emergent nature of Canadian educational governance.

Chapter Overview

Conclusions and Findings

Based on the understandings of the participants and the interpretation of primary and secondary data, the following conclusions and findings are drawn from the analysis in this chapter.

- International educational agendas overshadowed CMEC's national educational initiatives, particularly at the K-12 level of public education.

- National ministerial decisions that were achieved through consensus strengthened CMEC's political influence at the federal and international levels.
- A restructuring of the CMEC Secretariat to align with a corporate model of organizational behaviour, indicated a philosophical as well as a structural change in CMEC's role.
- CMEC's Director General's goal was to become a nation builder and to gain consensus for a national education agenda.
- The *Victoria Declaration* was a precedent-setting event because it created the first consensus-building forum where ministers of education throughout Canada supported a common educational agenda.
- Amendments to the *Victoria Declaration* served as collective ministerial action statements that enabled ministers of education to facilitate federal involvement at the jurisdictional level.
- CMEC's national consultations prioritized invitations to individuals or groups who upheld global or business perspectives on education.
- The use of language to expand understandings of education enabled governments, public organizations, and CMEC to redefine responsibilities for education.

CMEC's International Agenda

Educational governance has become increasingly complex in Canada because of the effects of globalization on government, and federalist demands for the recognition of their educational interests. The independent efforts of particular provinces to pursue a national and/or international agenda without federal involvement has created tension between the larger, more powerful provinces, such as Ontario and Quebec, and the federal government. Those interviewed identified a gap in accountability with respect to who has responsibility for Canada's international education activity. DFAIT and CMEC maintain a protocol or set of guidelines (CMEC, 1986) that directs such activity. However, as understandings of what constitutes education expand, so does the interest increase in the governing of education.

Federal interest in international educational activity was associated with attempts to increase Canadian influence on globalized interests in education. In this respect, CMEC's international involvement was believed to have an international legitimacy that it did not have in Canada (1.7). When CMEC's focus on consultations moved from a national to a regional focus, the ministers realized that such a focus conflicted with the increased use of collective decision making to effect desired federal government change (1.4). Certainly, ministerial consensus was the preferred method of reaching agreement on which level of government would be responsible for Canada's international educational agenda (1.4, 1.7). Should the ministers choose not to act collectively, an unacceptable alternative would be that decisions on international education would defer to the federal government:

> That, in my opinion, and in the opinion of many people, was not an acceptable alternative because if you once fall into the pattern where the federal government has an international mandate for education, and the province's mandate is domestic, you're in deep trouble. (2.4)

CMEC's Secretariat required a degree of autonomy in consolidating the different ministerial views into a single national position. Although individual provinces did not make educational activity at the international level a priority, the education ministers collectively agreed that CMEC needed to assert its international presence in education (1.6, 1.8, 1.11, and 2.4). The federal government was concerned with being identified explicitly as influencing any level of education. Implicitly, however, the federal pursuit of education was still possible:

> The federal officials eventually came to understand the wisdom of that position [visibility] and saw that there was no point in creating a revolution and fighting battles when you could eventually have, in practical terms, the information you wanted and the effect that you wanted, in a way that was acceptable to everybody. (2.4)

The research participants realized that the international educational agenda of the CMEC depended on provincial compromises; yet the willingness to accept federal influence differed in each region throughout Canada. Without an active ministerial commitment to support and strengthen the national office, the federal government would

continue to finance its identified priorities in education both provincially and nationally. Consequently, federal influence would shape international education and the provinces' role in educational decision making. For example, federal funding to CMEC supported national and international testing programs, and thereby permitted comparisons of educational performance. The funding also ensured that the federal government had a way of directly influencing "without having the legislative backup to do so" (1.0).

Canada's international educational profile created international expectations that Canadian education representatives would assume leadership in chairing meetings, take primary responsibility for preparing delegation reports, and accept responsibility for following up on educational assignments. One of those interviewed asserted, "Canada has that stereotypical image of being the honest broker, with recognized influence in areas such as teaching and distance learning" (1.8). It is interesting that one participant suggested that "CMEC has legitimacy internationally that it does not have in Canada" (1.7). This legitimacy is linked to Canada's unique international liaison role.

It's an outcome of Canada's positive working relationship with the United States that the North and South America alliance creates significant pressure on Canada. Because the Americans worked very well with the Canadians, there was a perception that "anything that we wanted from the Americans we could get through the Canadians without having the forceful component of the American psyche that says, 'We want you to be like us, we want you to become Americans'" (1.6).

Several respondents suggested that CMEC was viewed as being the most able to respond to the fundamental mandate that focuses on educational issues in the international arena (1.8, 2.2, 2.4). This understanding existed because of the negotiating and consensus-building experience that CMEC had gained from working with a group of 13 sovereign provinces and territories that are not unlike sovereign international groups:

> Whenever a major international group organizes an education conference, Canada's previous observer status at the international level of education has changed to that of being "prominently featured." The effects of this change have been substantial and have resulted in federal pressure on CMEC and DFAIT to find mechanisms that will facilitate CMEC's specific role as chair, co-chair, major presenter, and organizer of these meetings. (1.8)

Perhaps a more important consideration, however, is the degree to which CMEC's participation influences what is happening in Canada. For instance, the OECD meetings are very relevant to Canada because Canada's previous experience in a particular educational area enables CMEC to shape the OECD initiative:

> OECD meetings were organized essentially around ideas, the development of ideas, and the development of positions that were relevant to the kinds of things that concerned us in Canada and the kind of things that we were working on in Canada. (2.4).

International meetings such as those initiated by UNESCO are more politically oriented. Canada's is the only North American voice at UNESCO meetings, and, as a result, "we had a lot of weight in what was decided there," particularly because "our educational culture is very different from that of Europe or other UNESCO groups" (2.4). Regardless of the particular perspective, Canada's expanding international agenda has distinct repercussions for CMEC's role. One participant reported that the CMEC staff are inundated with matters related to foreign affairs and international trade and that, unless CMEC refuses to get involved, or major sources of new funding are found for CMEC activity, the international agenda will build a momentum of its own. "International educational activity is a snowball going down the hill and Canada is right in the middle of its path because of the way Canada is seen at this point, in history, in the world" (1.6).

Notably, the federal government is more open now than at any other time to publicly connecting international education and the marketing of education to Canada's economic success. The political infringement might be contested if it were not for the view that when federal ministers make statements that address any aspect of education, that creates an opportunity for CMEC to seek additional educational funding (1.6). The funding dimension is particularly ironic given the federal government's decision to reduce contributions to postsecondary education and the subsequent impact of that reduction on the financing of other educational areas (1.6, 1.4). One respondent commented:

> If the federal government really believes what they say, their mechanism, without intruding into the jurisdictional areas, is to put more money back into education. It's fine if they want to target it to particular training areas, because they will

> relieve the provincial and territorial jurisdictions of the necessity to fund those areas and let them use their money directly for elementary and secondary education. (1.6)

CMEC, as an intergovernmental organization, provided a mechanism that enabled both federal and provincial governments to achieve national and international objectives while avoiding the need for constitutional amendments regarding jurisdictional issues in education. A key element of CMEC's organizational structure included a Secretariat, led by Dr. Paul Cappon, from 1996 to 2003. The Secretariat in general, and the Director General, specially, ensured that CMEC maintained an important role in Canadian education.

The CMEC Secretariat: A Corporate Philosophy

CMEC's Secretariat provided a strategic link to provincial, federal, and international activity. In 1996 a new Director General, Dr. Paul Cappon, brought about change to the Secretariat's organizational structure and implemented changes to the previous Secretariat's communication process and team approach. The newly defined role of the Director General exemplified that "if everyone's in charge, no one's in charge" (1.0). The strategy of flattening the Secretariat's bureaucracy was a means of ensuring "no possibility of filtering [of ideas]" (1.0) while increasing CMEC's response time and effectiveness.

The Secretariat's new structure included two directors, with one division specifically for international projects and the second for special projects. These structural changes enabled CMEC to work as "a corporation and not a bureaucracy" (2.2). Previously, the Secretariat's role consisted of providing support materials, advice, and responses to ideas. The new structure demonstrated a more proactive role to educational governance, including initiating ideas for ministerial consideration.

Those interviewed provided a variety of definitions for the role of the Secretariat. One spoke of its dual existence: On one hand it was expected to provide a "suggested" leadership, and on the other hand it did not have the ability to lead or make decisions on behalf of CMEC (1.0). The Secretariat maintains a corporate memory generated by a long-time commitment to CMEC, and the reality demands of a constantly changing CMEC membership. However, although it was still a priority to maintain CMEC's

corporate memory, new ministers of education appeared to undervalue past decisions as a guide for future action. Consequently, precedent was not considered to be overly influential in determining future education decisions (1.0, 1.4, 1.8, and 1.11).

Cappon's appointment as Director General of CMEC in 1996 pushed the organization into a proactive educational leadership role. Prior to his CMEC appointment, "Dr. Cappon was Vice-President, Academic (1991-1996) at Laurentian University where his responsibilities included academic strategic planning, and issues of restructuring and monitoring of quality within the Ontario and Canadian university systems" (Canadian Advanced Technology Alliance, 2004, p. 1).

This leadership role included regular, scheduled, meetings with federal departments that had set guidelines for education. The proactive approach ensured that CMEC was always aware of federal education interests and priorities, thereby ensuring CMEC's preparedness for involvement. This distinctive change in leadership style resulted in the Secretariat exerting a stronger influence upon CMEC priorities.

It was recalled how discussions between 1999 and 2001 in eastern Canada and in the territories confirmed that "deputy ministers were starting to hold back on some of the staff proposals because the deputies were creating a completely new life of their own" (2.3). However, the Secretariat wanted to maintain a position of power and influence. Consequently, rather than let elected ministers and appointed deputy ministers take the lead in national educational decision making, and because "consensus is often difficult to achieve in larger, intergovernmental meetings, when provinces offered ideas; it was deemed perfectly acceptable that the CMEC Secretariat would work on them, and massage them, and facilitate them" (1.0). Whether and to what degree this approach was successful in influencing elected ministers or in sustaining bureaucratic influence is unclear.

The Victoria Declaration *(1993)*

In tracing CMEC's role in Canadian education, it is essential to acknowledge the relevance of ministerial collaboration in the realization of national policy goals. Prior to the signing of the *Victoria Declaration* (CMEC, 1993), federal interest in education was viewed as a formal intrusion. However, when the Conference Board of Canada began promoting the idea of partnerships, it was an opportune time for Ontario's New

Democratic Party (the provincial chair of CMEC) to promote a partnership agenda. (2.2). CMEC recognized that if national policy goals were to become a priority, collective ministerial consensus was essential. Provincial education ministers met in Victoria, BC, with the goal of formulating a common declaration, including "an agenda which was pertinent, socially linked, and which indicated that the education ministers wanted to move ahead collectively, to address issues, to do something practical in achieving certain policy goals" (2.2). There was an interprovincial show of unity when the ministers agreed to make a statement about Canadian education. The formal name of this statement is the *Victoria Declaration* (1.0, 1.4, 1.6, 1.8, 2.2, and 2.4). More important, although there was criticism of the Declaration's being "pretty rounded," the absence of specifics was not as important as the fact that the *Victoria Declaration* was agreed upon. "Those criticizing, missed the fact that it was done" (1.8), and that it continues to serve as a reference point for education in Canada (1.0, 1.8, 2.4, 2.2, and 1.6).

"Canada's first national education agenda was born in September 1993" (CMEC, 1995a, p. 1). However, by 1998-1999 support for the term *national* had deteriorated because of (a) increasing sovereignty concerns in Quebec and (b) the changing federal emphasis from a centralist governing orientation to decentralization. The political implications of creating a national policy focus resulted in a shift from national to Pan-Canadian agendas.

The strategy of consensus-building in national education decision making developed as the mechanism of choice. Access to education decision making was now possible through such strategies as consultations, partnerships, and the formal process of procedural arrangements or protocol agreements. When I asked whether protocol agreements disregarded constitutional guidelines regarding education, one interviewee declined the opportunity to respond to the question. Yet, both the federal government and CMEC relied on alternative mechanisms other than collective consensus-building as a means to realize education priorities.

Consultation, Consensus, and Compromise: National Education Agenda

In the early 1990s the growing effects of globalization and increasing socioeconomic concerns had challenged governments to find new ways of governing. The government's traditional approaches to consensus building included decisions being

endorsed, then followed by government attempts to create consensus around approved actions (O'Malley, 1998). In recent decades the government has attempted to "develop an institutional culture of consultation" (p. 3) that now finds governments and organizations using various forms of consultation, negotiation, compromise, and consensus building to define their priorities.

As detailed in the multiple-perspective approach to policy (see Chapter 4), consensus processes now attempt to involve decision makers and stakeholders in problem definition, identification of common objectives, and possible alternatives for achieving the goal. In a study of legislative and regulatory consultation practices in the Government of Canada, O'Malley (1998) concurred that:

> Ministers are now expected to show that a consensus exists around proposed initiatives long before any Cabinet or Parliamentary processes ensue. And stakeholders expect them to support and enact consensus solutions that have emerged through consultation and public engagement processes, whether Ministers or Cabinet like them or not. If Ministers choose to do otherwise, they do so at a very high political price. (p. 5)

One of those interviewed reported that jurisdictional and constitutional issues were an ongoing impediment to CMEC's coordination of national decision making efforts. Consequently:

> because of jurisdictional issues and constitutional issues, and because there is no nationally constituted based organization that can actually impose any kind of educational policy decisions for the whole of the country, an alternative consensus mechanism tries to co-ordinate education decision making in education policy at a national level. (1.6)

Although CMEC's role was strengthened when provinces agreed to fund and support a national education office based on a consensus-building model, the CMEC Secretariat saw obtaining consensus as cumbersome, from the perspective of both time management and the requirement that 13 diverse ministries agree on a given position. For instance, consensus-building forums tended to shift emphasis to broader-based issues that some ministers felt were irrelevant to everyday school reality. As well, some ministers took their CMEC involvement very seriously, whereas others placed little importance on the work of the Council. Given the transient nature of education portfolios, the Secretariat

was continually updating new ministers who might or might not bring a commitment to past agendas. Finally, the province that chaired CMEC often found itself preoccupied with its own local politics (1.6):

> It's hard to build a team consensus on something when all the actors keep changing. You just get a province on side, and you have someone else there with not necessarily a new policy, but just a different perspective on the policy. Or maybe they're not quite so comfortable because they don't know the process, and therefore you're back into trying to rebuild a feeling of comfort that's there with the provinces. (1.0)

From the perspective of this research, it is important to understand that consensus sometimes restricted and, at other times, enhanced CMEC's efforts to achieve specific goals. Consequently, considering the growing federal interest and influence in education, it became imperative for CMEC to define alternative approaches to consensus-building. As one participant claimed, CMEC is the "only agency in Canada that has tried to coordinate the special interests in education and involve them in trying to develop a sense of policy formation for the entire country" (1.15). Nevertheless, expressions of distrust were evident with regard to federal and national consensus-building forums, especially at the national consultation level.

Calling federal consultations "a total and complete sham," one of those interviewed commented that:

> I so distrust the federal government's reasons for entering into this process of consensus. . . . They have these so-called negotiations and consultations, and in the end they put out exactly what they want. It's written by political staff in the ministers' offices, and it's exactly what they intended to put out in the first place. The consultations are a total and complete sham. (1.1)

Others believed strongly that CMEC's efforts to influence social consensus and shape educational goals were shrouded in mistrust and a lack of transparency, particularly when the purpose and subsequent consultation action was not always made clear. Nevertheless, CMEC's ability to pursue projects required some form of consensus because the federal government was reluctant to fund projects that did not have the support of most, if not all, of the provinces. Recognizing the increasing complexity of policy concerns, CMEC developed alternative forms of consensus-building that included, but were not limited to,

protocol agreements and dual-track alternatives within CMEC. Chapter 7 draws on the structures in archaeology to reveal various administrative techniques located in the power politics of CMEC and reform discourse.

Federal Involvement in Education

Although there was general understanding that the federal government wanted increased involvement at all levels of education, the education ministers were not consistent in their responses to federal interests. Using constitutional guidelines, CMEC or individual ministers of education raised the challenge of undue federal interference if the Prime Minister or a federal minister issued a press release concerning education. However, education ministers were generally far less reluctant in engaging in federally funded initiatives such as assessments and educational indicators, particularly when the activity had implications for international education activity. It is interesting that such federal priorities in education were not based in national education policy, but rather in "implied policies" where there is assumed consensus that education ministries have agreed to an approach. "So there's an implied policy that you will test at this level, but none of this is actually stated. . . . The term *policy* won't be used; instead it will be sort of an *initiative*" (1.0). Evidence of implicit federal control of decision making conforms with Foucault's (as cited in Hindess, 1996) ideas regarding the influence of different power relationships in facilitating the "conduct of conduct" (p. 20) without any explicit recognition of the rules, practices, or conditions that validate the decision(s) or action(s).

Canada's Federal Goal: The Competitive Edge

The federal government views education as a human resource and human capital issue and looks at managing the education system as any other input into the economy would be managed (1.12). However, the marketing of education required the adoption of specific practices, including implementing educational assessments, to establish Canada's educational quality. Aligning assessment programs permitted interprovincial comparisons of school performance throughout Canada and internationally (1.0).

Education was promoted as a commodity within an economic context where shared financial responsibility was the responsibility of government and the private sector. One interviewee identified educational assessments as a "less obvious reform

initiative" (1.0) that provided a mechanism to market human capital (1.5, 1.12). Thus, the assumed link between assessments and educational success was perhaps not the most important educational objective because "most of the major international organizations interacting with CMEC, OECD, UNESCO, APEC, the Commonwealth, the Council of Europe, have some activity or focus dealing with evaluation, assessment, or educational related statistics" (1.8), and the comparative efforts were associated with "the globalization of economics" (1.9).

Federal funding allocations for assessment projects frequently necessitated the involvement of all provinces through CMEC's national office. Provincial holdback from national involvement was sometimes a strategic move intended to access more federal funding. In response, the federal government sometimes accepted in-kind contributions that helped less financially able provinces to meet federal expectations and ensured that provincial departments of education were committed to federal education priorities (1.4, 1.8, and 1.12). For example, in May 2000 Canada agreed to participate in a federally funded OECD testing program called the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA). Statistics Canada would coordinate PISA, and provincial testing directors agreed to repay Statistics Canada by simultaneously administering the Youth in Transition Study (1.4). When the whole notion of national standards was under consideration, educators offered to set the standards, but the federal government insisted that education was the responsibility of several groups, only one of which was educators:

> Public education is a more important enterprise than one would leave to just educators. Parents have a significant role in education, employers have a significant role, and students have a significant role. We need to find a way of getting at this whole issue of, what is education about? And what is its desirable outcome? Then we would design an examination that would test whether or not you've achieved those ends. (1.2)

Government reform at all levels created a shift in educational priorities, and assumptions varied about the causes of these reforms as well as their effects on education. Education became a major focus of the broader, globalized context that included multiple partners, many of whom were intent on shaping educational purpose and outcomes to suit their own unique agendas. But there was an identified need for assessment programs that could be used nationally in preparing students for an

international context. "It's a global community, and education needs to have a national perspective, or at least students have to come out with the capability to fit anywhere in the world" (1.12).

Summary

Chapter 6 answered the research question "What were CMEC's national and international priorities from 1993 to 2003?" Recognition of increasing federal interest in international educational activity was associated with government's deficit management program. Restructuring was evident at all levels of government, and education was coupled frequently with Canada's goal of economic sovereignty.

The leadership of CMEC's Secretariat changed in 1996, and the new Director General immediately restructured CMEC to fit a corporate model. At the same time, federal pressure and funding to CMEC carried expectations for increased involvement in international educational activity. The Director General created a proactive approach to determining specific federal educational priorities and thereby increased CMEC's effectiveness in responding to federal demands.

The formalizing of Canada's first national education agenda, affirmed the value of the consensus mechanism in strengthening CMEC's influence nationally and internationally. Amendments to the *Victoria Declaration* created a mechanism for increased federal participation in educational decision making. CMEC's three national consultations provided a further mechanism for partners at all levels to engage in educational decisions. However, based on claims of hidden agendas and lack of transparency, the consultation process did meet with challenges. It appears that new managers of education in Canada are borrowing the tools of neocorporate management and marginalist economics to achieve administratively what they cannot achieve politically. Therefore, whereas liberals look at governance and separate it conceptually from administration, Foucault's concept of governmentality allows us to look at governance of individuals and institutions through the mobilization of administrative techniques such as public discourses and political organizations. Chapter 7 provides an in-depth discussion of these practices in response to the research question "What were the processes that enabled or constrained CMEC's implementation of education priorities from 1993 to 2003?"

CHAPTER 7:

RELATIONSHIPS OF POWER: POLICIES, PROTOCOLS AND PRACTICES

Introduction

This chapter responds to the research question "What were the processes that enabled or constrained CMEC's implementation of education priorities from 1993 to 2003?" These processes are acts of knowledge/power that Foucault (2000) associated with the techniques of organization that politically shape individual subjectivity. In this chapter I will discuss both CMEC's and the federal government's strategic reliance on the political organization of individuals and institutions via consultations and consensus-building mechanisms, partnership development, the appointment of "experts" as a "new breed" of ministers, the development of protocol agreements, and the reliance on economic incentives as a means of securing provincial collaboration in constructing national governance in Canadian education. An analysis of the data provided the following findings.

Chapter Overview

Conclusions and Findings

Based on the understandings of the participants and the interpretation of primary and secondary data, the following conclusions and findings emerged during the analysis of Chapter 7.

- CMEC viewed the signing of the *Victoria Declaration* as a precedent-setting event that provides a permanent reference point for education in Canada.
- The participants did not support the consultation process because there was no negotiation of the consultation agenda, no clear statement of objectives or purpose, and no emphasis on shared responsibility or commitment to the consultation outcomes.
- Consensus-building strategies became a mechanism for strengthening ministerial influence at the federal and international level.

- The dual-track agenda supported partial consensus and enabled provinces with more resources to participate in national and international projects at will.
- The appointment of deputy ministers of education increasingly depended upon expertise in business or economics rather than education qualifications and experience.
- Dual ministerial portfolios in labour and education were strategically beneficial in facilitating federal interests in education because these portfolios merged provincial and federal departmental roles.
- Other than the CMEC representatives, the research participants were relatively unaware of amendments to the *Victoria Declaration* and/or protocol agreements that facilitated federal input and procedural guidelines (for international education activity.
- Less affluent provinces were financially limited to one national or international project, unless a federal/provincial arrangement for "in-kind" contributions was negotiated.
- Referring to education as learning allows for new interpretations of jurisdictional responsibilities for education, while challenging assumptions about the national governance of education.

A Permanent Reference for Canadian Education

Given CMEC's relatively short history (1967 to the present time), it is valuable to identify both the processes that shaped CMEC's growth and the practices on which CMEC relied in pursuit of the identified educational priorities. CMEC formalized efforts to develop consensus for a national role in education with ministerial acceptance of the *Victoria Declaration* (CMEC, 1993). According to one interviewee, in 1993 CMEC's existence was challenged by the national political context:

> The election of the NDP government in Ontario resulted in severe challenges to CMEC's political basis. Bob Rae's government was extremely anti CMEC, and the minister of education Marion Boyd was a social activist whose vision of CMEC was that of an old boys club, totally out of date, out of touch with reality. The final sorting out of that problem, the bringing back of Ontario on board, included the idea of a common declaration of ministers to set out an agenda which

> was pertinent, socially linked, and which indicated that the education ministers wanted collectively to move ahead, to address issues, to do something practical. [Moreover] that was the period around SAIP. Ontario wanted to launch its own program of standardized testing. That's why the Victoria Declaration came around, and it was to a large part drawn up by the Ontario ministry. Politically, the fact that partnerships were an important issue, and rightly so, related to the nature of the NDP government. It was a very inauspicious context for generating the Victoria Declaration. (2.4)

Although the Declaration created a permanent reference point for education in Canada, the fact that it happened at all was more a result of ministerial attempts to prevent what was identified as "a big flurry that the government of Canada was starting to work on a very heavy agenda where they were going to really sort of muscle in" (1.8).

The so-called "heavy agenda" appears to have unfolded over a number of years, beginning with federal efforts to pressure provincial ministers of education to explicitly reassure Canadian taxpayers of school system accountability (1.4, 1.8, and 2.4). Accountability soon translated into the 1993 implementation of the School Achievement Indicators Protocol (SAIP) that provided provincial ministers with a pan-Canadian overview of student achievement and a less publicized means for federal ministers to promote Canadian education internationally. As one participant noted, federal funding for CMEC's initiatives "was a very agonizing question for years at the council, and nowhere was it more difficult than with SAIP" (2.4). Because the federal government had financial control of the testing program, jurisdictional authority became an issue.

The administration of SAIP necessitated federal-provincial collaboration, between Statistics Canada and departments of education. However, not all education ministers were receptive to federal agendas that some believed strengthened the federal presence in education. The difference in beliefs created increased pressure within CMEC. In the end, the pressure to pursue national standards, along with the assurance of provincial responsibility for SAIP content, created a context in which it was easier for the provinces to accept such a project (1.8). At the local level, few participants identified the link between increased accountability, standardization, and federal interest in national and international education agendas.

SAIP provided an example of a federal and provincial mechanism that facilitated intergovernmental collaboration. In this case, the bases of cooperation between the two

levels of government were the ideological symmetry between the two sectors and the fact that some provinces were willing to forfeit some independence as a result of feeling starved and frustrated (1.12). The federal government maintained ongoing financing of CMEC's assessment projects during the 1990s (1.8). However, federal efforts to increase educational assessment data were soon to be realized through a new federal agency, the Canadian Learning Institute.

Sokoloff (2002) contended that CMEC's national interprovincial testing program (SAIP) conflicted with a new federal international education assessment priority (PISA). On January 28, less than four months later, May (2003) reported on the federal government's intent to enter education via a learning institute dedicated to data collection on learning. This followed HRDC Minister Jane Stewart's announcement on behalf of the Prime Minister at the National Summit on Innovation and Learning in Toronto on November 18 and 19, 2002 (Chrétien, 2002) of the creation of a federal agency, the Canadian Learning Institute (CLI). It appears that implementation of the federal government's "heavy agenda" had reached a critical stage. The discussion of the CLI's development continues in Chapter 8.

Education Ministers and Deputy Ministers: A Changing Breed

A changing political culture presented CMEC with new challenges at the ministerial and deputy ministerial level. A shift had occurred in government power and influence away from senior bureaucratic positions towards elected officials. Individual ministers increasingly acquired power based on their personality or prestige. As a result, ministers with these characteristics were often more influential in negotiating funds or support for their personal priorities at the CMEC table (1.3, 1.4, 1.11).

Provincial education ministers were identified as a "new breed" (1.8) who were hands on (1.1) and very active and had either a personal agenda or an agenda that had, been shaped by their governments (1.3). The tendency to appoint ministers with business or economic backgrounds (1.4) to education portfolios created "a means for direct philosophical or political direction from the premier and the cabinet" (1.8). The CMEC Secretariat experienced difficulty in influencing these new ministers. Moreover, a change in the relationship between ministers and deputy ministers created additional barriers to decision making. The provincial deputy ministers were traditionally the senior political

bureaucrats who "were far more territorial" (2.2) than were ministers who were no longer willing or interested in considering precedent as a reason for action. One interviewee offered an explanation for the change in relationship: "Deputy Ministers can be reflecting age-old policy. They can be projecting their own biases. The bureaucracy is not always working with the minister. They can be from another political party, and their agenda can be to defeat the government" (1.3). In effect, deputy ministers are "not in tune with what their ministers think" (1.8). These points contribute to the explanation of the shift in power and influence:

> A division is evident in the political sensitivity between Ministers and Deputy Ministers of Education. Traditionally, the policy process identified senior officials making content level recommendations to Deputy Ministers, and Deputies inserting their political awareness of the direction they thought their Ministers would accept as due process. More recently, recommendations are rejected once they arrive at the Minister's table. (1.8)

A previous minister of education commented that in the last decade in Canada ministers have not necessarily been professional educators. Although the intent was for deputies to be professional educators, that tendency has changed, with a limited number of deputy ministers having educational backgrounds. As a result, the CMEC's Secretariat has increased in importance. "Superficially, the power is through the minister, but really, it's the secretariat and the deputies and the committees and the task forces that have really had the power" (1.14).

CMEC: Ministers, Secretariat, or Director General?

As a national organization, CMEC facilitated alternative consensus-building options but faced a serious limitation in that it did not have any authority to make enforceable decisions or policy. In effect, CMEC "is the collective will of the ministers. . . . The Secretariat offers a *suggested* [emphasis added] leadership with a foremost responsibility to convince those provinces with contradictory wishes to arrive at a team consensus" (1.0). Even the consensus-building process had to deal with numerous tensions that arose from sources such as the time delay in disseminating information, soliciting and receiving feedback, report writing and distribution, and obtaining final feedback so that the Secretariat could determine whether consensus was possible.

Although Director General Cappon had no formal authority as a spokesperson for CMEC (1.6), one participant described his influence in detail:

> The director of CMEC takes it upon himself to do an awful lot of knocking on doors, communicating, lobbying, keeping people informed, keeping himself informed about what's going on everywhere else in different departments of the federal government. I believe he interacts with probably eleven different branches of government in the federal level. He is probably the best corporate memory of where we've been and where we're going. He's astute enough, that when he meets ministers as they come and go, he can gauge what will fly and what won't. He's really the central repository of information right now. (1.11)

The CMEC bureaucracy, as keeper of CMEC's corporate memory, was able to provide ministers with support, based on 25 years of research, a documented history of positions on education, and understandings of the degree of consensus on various educational issues. Consequently, the Secretariat ensured both continuity and coherence in briefing education ministers and advising them on a safe Canadian position. However, indirectly contributing to Cappon's influence was the tendency of ministers and deputy ministers to focus their attention on regional agendas where local votes decided their political future. Accordingly, ministers deferred frequently to the Secretariat in making decisions. One minister clarified:

> I get an awful lot of correspondence in need of response. . . . The majority of the time my answer is, "I don't have the time or the resources to participate," "Unable to attend," "Not willing to propose participant," "Can't afford for whatever reason to send resources and people; go with what you've got." (1.11)

Frequently, the CMEC staff was left to interpret the ministers' collective will at decision-making events, which gave the Secretariat tremendous responsibility and a fair degree of autonomy in generating a national education perspective (1.0, 2.4, 2.2, and 1.6).

The Secretariat's leadership role was also expanded because of the transient nature of education ministers, which resulted in an ever-changing CMEC membership. The changeover influenced agenda priorities and the building of consensus at the intergovernmental level. However, as was made clear, the alternative situation finds individual issues or agendas progressing to the point of becoming "institutionalized" with funding devoted to the effort. "As long as the minister who brought the idea forward

remains at the table, these projects are viewed as difficult to terminate. But when the minister goes, everybody delightfully drops the issue" (1.9).

The transient nature of CMEC's membership could be viewed as either a blessing or a curse. One minister joked about the transient influence of education ministers at the national level and claimed that in just three years he advanced from being the newest minister "to the senior member and as the longest living father of education in Canada" (1.6). Other than the Secretariat, the main stabilizing force for the council was the existence of major programs. The stability was a result of provincial commitments in terms of finances and human resources that ensured education departments' allegiance to the programs.

In summary, the consensus model on which CMEC operated faced many challenges inherent to its structure. The conditions under which the provinces had agreed to participate in CMEC and the transient nature of its membership made it extremely difficult for the Council to plan effectively.

A strategic federal advantage arose when the ministerial portfolios of Education and Labour were combined. With a federal portfolio that incorporated the interests of Labour, the federal government now had a backdoor entrance to influencing education. At one point during this research, 9 of the 13 provincial education ministers held joint portfolios as ministers of labour. However during the interviews, the questions regarding joint education and labour portfolios were sometimes met with surprise. Not everyone was aware that a significant number of ministers held these dual portfolios. Those who were aware claimed that "the relationship was convenient as well as cost and time efficient, particularly since labour ministers used the services of CMEC's Secretariat" (1.0, 1.11, 1.13).

A participant recalled that the 1991 Prosperity Initiative led to the first meeting of joint portfolio ministers, but that it took considerable negotiation before the ministers agreed to meet at a given location. One official explained that "a rather ludicrous situation unfolded whereby education ministers attend CMEC meetings, collect their papers, walk out of one room into another room, and become ministers of labour. It's hard to believe that one agenda does not influence the other" (2.4). As soon became apparent, collaboration had occurred on various curriculum initiatives, and resulted in

considerable programming influence, particularly with respect to "the implementation of a skills agenda and the distribution of the employability profile, all of which were pushed discussions" (2.4). The potential of dual portfolios was obvious as a federal mechanism for influence.

Moreover, joint ministerial relationships facilitated two important meetings from 1996 to 1998 between CMEC and federal ministers. The first meeting with Finance Minister Paul Martin and HRSDC Minister Pierre Pettigrew in 1998 resulted in CMEC's having the budget for official languages reinstated (1.11). The second meeting took place between CMEC and Jane Stewart, the next Minister of HRSDC. This meeting resulted in the sharing of significant information and federal commitment to training opportunities for youth at risk (CMEC, 2002).

When questioned about the existence of a protocol agreement or collaborative agreement (1.4) between CMEC and labour ministers, an official clarified that no such protocol existed. The official went on to describe an informal agreement between CMEC and the Federal Labour Market Ministers (FLMM) that was "more honoured in the ignoring of it, than in actually doing anything, where the FLMM and CMEC have agreed to work together on some files" (1.8). Furthermore, it seemed that federal ministers had forgotten about the agreement until a new opportunity renewed their interest in having the FLMM and CMEC work together. "We [CMEC] showed them [the federal government] what existed, and that there was a way to make it quite smooth" (1.8). This informal 'agreement' illustrates that federal policy mechanisms are capable of remaining ambiguous, resulting in minimal political attention and/or public anxiety while still allowing federal objectives to be reached:

> One benefit is that the better we understand how each other's systems work, the easier it is to formulate realistic goals improving our social structure, our social union in total. . . . The other benefit is that the labour market does have a federal ministry in Human Resource Development of Canada. (1.11)

There were at least 10 federal departments in 1999 with written guidelines on education. The existence of federal guidelines on education created an ongoing point amongst ministers of education. As one interviewee summarized, "While it is argued that no federal department should be permitted to reference education, once a federal

department maintains a statement of educational objectives, the auditor general's rules allow funding to be sought from the respective department" (1.6). Contrary to debates on provincial jurisdictional autonomy, CMEC's rationale was to encourage every federal department to have an educational statement in their terms of office (1.6).

Although there was strong awareness that the federal government had its own agenda in promoting negotiations and consensus-building initiatives (1.6, 2.4, 1.0, and 2.2), CMEC could argue on principle that CMEC, rather than the federal government, was the national voice of Canadian education. On the other, CMEC could use the various educational guidelines of federal departments to create opportunities for CMEC's national and international involvements.

Protocols: Smudging Constitutional Boundaries

The ministers recognized that one benefit of protocol agreements was that it permitted jurisdictional issues to be set aside (1.6). In fact, one minister claimed that protocols were necessary mechanisms that enabled CMEC to act with the same influence as a federal department. There was agreement that the protocol between DFAIT and CMEC was more widely known than other protocols, and that many viewed the protocol as "very clever" (2.2) because it provided the federal government with a key access point to education, a means of having a central group at the international level of educational policy negotiation, and an opportunity to have CMEC and DFAIT jointly decide the members of international delegations.

In this capacity DFAIT co-chaired educational meetings at the international level, and the CMEC provincial minister in attendance shared status as a Canadian representative with the minister from DFAIT. More important, the partnership between DFAIT and CMEC's Federal-Provincial Consultative Committee on Education-Related International Affairs (FPCCERIA) provided a mechanism for FPCCERIA's multilevel involvement in international education activity. One minister, in addressing the significance of this protocol agreement, revealed a great deal about the role of the CMEC Secretariat in determining the relevance of this mechanism:

> When we hear the acronyms like FPCCERIA, our eyes glaze over. So if you ask me on any given day what it stands for, I do not know. Why I even know about it is because it is on CMEC's agenda, sort of as a routine item at regular intervals.

> What do we talk about when it comes up? I do not remember. Why is it there? Probably because the people we have faith in at the bureaucratic level of CMEC, Paul Cappon and his colleagues, we have trusted that this is important, and he deals more with the federal government than we do, so we're working on blind faith here. (1.11)

Alternatively, others identified a critical need for provinces to demonstrate the historic strength of their authority in education and to protect public education at a time when global and corporate influences were "bankrupting public education and leaving a void that only business could fill" (2.2, 2.3).

But policy mechanisms such as FPCCERIA are critical to understanding the larger framework of Canadian educational governance. This is particularly true because the federal and provincial consultative meetings secure the collaborative role of all levels of government in education. The larger policy issue, however, is that Canada never formalized a coordinated strategy for international education. The Conference Board of Canada reasoned that this gap exists because of "provincial responsibility for education policy, tendencies towards decentralization in public administration and diminished educational budgets" (Conference Board of Canada, 1999, p. 43).

Because of CMEC's limited ability to finance its own initiatives, the protocols are considered a good arrangement even though they were a "trade off" (1.1) that ensured both federal funding and a mechanism that gave CMEC members national status when attending international meetings on behalf of Canada. One minister explained that protocols pushed jurisdictional issues aside and in some situations actually enabled government to control or "pull CMEC's strings" (1.6). Furthermore, the FPCCERIA protocol provided education ministers with the option of "standing on principle, and arguing that the federal government has nothing to do with education. Or they have the option of using the federal government to their advantage with respect to the provision of credentials and funding" (1.6). It is important that several participants had limited, or claimed limited knowledge of the various protocols, which reflected a significant gap or silence that translated into an effective mechanism for CMEC or government (1.0, 1.1, and 1.12).

The dual track agenda was one such in-house mechanism that facilitated CMEC's move from a requirement of national consensus toward a consortium process (1.0, 1.6,

1.8, and 2.4). Prior to the adoption of the dual-track agenda, unanimity was a necessary condition for the adoption of a particular project. However, unanimity was difficult to achieve. The dual track made it possible for jurisdictions to buy into particular agendas with the proviso that interested regions would fund their involvement. The process met with difficulties because the provinces would not financially support a project knowing that within any given budget year there was a limit on the number of projects to which they could financially commit.

Although CMEC's preference was to have every jurisdiction engage in every national initiative, this was not always possible. Given the choice of participation in all or nothing, the conclusion was that "the dual track (CMEC, 1998d) was chosen as the lesser of two evils" (1.6). Consequently, the regions or provinces that were unable to commit to the broader agenda had to redefine their priorities for involvement in CMEC initiatives. One of those interviewed compared the dual-track protocol with the implementation of international trade agreements in developing countries, where negotiations begin with those who have the resources to participate:

> We will start with the countries that want to come in. We will keep negotiating with you, but you are not in the club until you come on the one track. The pressure grows since the majority is over here, and you are left out. There are subtle ways to make you feel that you are not getting the benefits of this other process or protocol. In the international trade arena, they literally go so far as to say investment will be withheld from your country. You will literally lose out from the benefits of this economic global system unless you're totally in. If you do not want the benefits of playing along with this national agenda or this federal agenda, that is your decision, but you certainly will not be part of the club. (1.1)

The mechanism alleviated the pressure for a pan-Canadian agenda or for Quebec's agreement to achieve consensus. The requirement that provinces fund their involvement also helped to alleviate CMEC's deficit position. The intent of the protocol was to increase program flexibility and provincial choice with respect to CMEC projects; however, there were several unexpected outcomes. For instance, when provinces were given the choice of participating in various projects, provinces consistently selected postsecondary initiatives. This choice was believed to correlate with the postsecondary focus on educational marketing programs; it had a rebound effect of "paralyzing the K-12

system" (2.2). One of those interviewed offered the following explanation for this effect on K-12:

> The federal contribution to the postsecondary level has dried up. Therefore, provincial jurisdictions are taking monies that they otherwise would have had to dedicate solely to primary, elementary, and secondary education and trying to get more of their local source money into postsecondary education and specific training. K-12 is recognized as an essential social necessity related to social programming rather than an industry . . . whereas any kind of postsecondary education, and specific training programs, is seen as a business and an industry. (1.6)

CMEC acquired a certain amount of power and authority with the implementation of the dual-track agenda, but it limited the ability of the Secretariat to "put pressure on the ministers of education to move and develop a national education agenda" (2.2) because the less financially able provinces were limited in their options as well as the frequency with which they could engage in national projects. Finally, it would seem that with the introduction of "choice" in the pursuit of agendas, the wealthier provinces were more interested in pursuing postsecondary rather than public education initiatives.

The Atlantic Canadian and Western Canadian Protocols provided standardization of curriculum objectives and established educational indicators to measure student success. According to one interviewee, the motivation for government in the Western Canadian Protocol was not really to create a national curriculum; rather, the more important goal was to create a particular market (1.7). Yet the idea of offering a website to access the current perspective on outcome measures, performance indicators, and the value of standardized testing in refocusing the educational system was seen as "an abandonment of any focus on the conditions in which education takes place" (1.7).

Regardless of the use of any specific protocol as an alternative procedure in decision making, according to one interviewee:

> CMEC could have always insisted that they are the voice of education in Canada. Give us the money and we will go on our own ticket. But the bottom line was that CMEC didn't have any money. I guess pragmatism and practicality has taken over in that sense that it was more appropriate, and more functionally advantageous to have protocol agreements put in place (1.6).

The Economic Advantage

The implementation of most educational objectives required financial commitment. At a time of limited resources, the ability of provincial and national governments to keep pace with international initiatives or to implement national and provincial goals necessitated alternative approaches to funding. In some cases, keeping pace meant compromising provincial autonomy by accepting federal contributions. In other situations, lack of funding resulted in coalitions among those provinces/territories less able to compete or exert influence at the national and international decision-making levels.

CMEC's ability to secure financial self-sufficiency may appear to have been a solution at both the provincial level and national level. However, financial ability raised questions of inequality when the choice of participation in national initiatives depended on provincial funding (1.2, 1.7, 1.8, and 1.13). The political repercussions of having the more affluent provinces overtly controlling national priorities had definite implications for the idea of a national education agenda.

Specifically, the larger and wealthier provinces had the potential to act independently of federal support. In such situations the provinces established their own international role and in effect became competitors of both the national and international education agenda (1.0). This called into question how the international perspective on Canadian education would be determined and who would receive recognition as the critical international voice for Canadian education. The implications of a national agenda for sovereignty issues in Canada became clear when one participant insisted that "there was not a national perspective on education. . . . There aren't even national trends in education. . . except for the degree to which they are part of this dominant testing outcomes, you know, blah, blah kind of things" (1.7). Obvious in this comment is the lack of commitment to a national agenda, and a lack of recognition for the importance of national and international testing agendas in Canada.

Those interviewed spoke frequently of provincial inequality. They believed that although all provinces within CMEC had an equal voice, the larger, better-off provinces such as Quebec, Ontario, and British Columbia had more influence. Consequently, the idea of a pan-Canadian agenda became the agenda that the larger provinces advocated

even though these provinces were generally the most negative about federal involvement in education (1.4). The four Atlantic provinces believed that, given the above context, only if they spoke with one voice would their position carry significant influence (1.4, 1.6).

At the national level, the Secretariat was well aware of its ability to negotiate involvement in national projects based on financial ability: "During hard times it was much easier to talk the poorer provinces into national projects. . . . They're more liable to be convinced because it's a freebie" (1.0). Furthermore, because CMEC sometimes negotiated an in-kind contribution from the poorer provinces, this enabled the federal government to realize its priorities in return for federal funding support for a CMEC national project.

Yet federal funding for specific provincial initiatives sometimes provided the impetus for the "only" new educational programs available (1.15), and those provinces who could not fund their own involvement still wanted the opportunity to engage in progressive educational initiatives. The strategic fact is that federal funding may have been the impetus for those that lacked the required funds to participate in CMEC projects, whereas the wealthier provinces negotiated funding with the federal government so that they could avoid spending provincial dollars on CMEC projects.

Consultations

In 1994 CMEC held the first national consultation in education in Montreal, with the particular goal of developing participants' consensus on the necessary priorities to improve the quality of education. Embedded in the ministerial statement of intent regarding national consultations was the language of consensus, common action, collaboration, and ongoing consultation. The national consultations continued every two years until 1998, at which point CMEC reassessed their effectiveness as a mechanism for bringing about preferred ministerial changes.

In 1996 CMEC submitted a report on Canadian education to the 45th session of the International Conference on Education in Geneva. The report emphasized that broad-based federal government reform initiatives called for educational accountability and centralization of initiatives in the area of standards, curriculum, and assessment. That same year, 1996, CMEC extended invitations to a diverse group of representatives from

education, nongovernmental organizations, public interest groups, and the corporate world to attend the second national education consultation in Edmonton. The theme of the consultation was "Accountability in Education in Canada: Are We Getting What We Value?"

Recognition of a changing social and economic context resulted in considerable pressure on CMEC and education, from business and interest groups, who claimed that Canadian students were not being educated to meet the challenges of the new century. As part of its strategic planning, CMEC extended consultation invitations to the corporate world in the belief that corporate leaders would bring a national rather than a provincial or regional perspective to the influences on education (2.2). However, although the three consultations provided a forum for dialogue, support, and information exchange, according to one interviewee, "not a single project could be identified as coming out of the meetings" (1.8).

The process that CMEC used to decide on the consultation participants in 1996 resulted in significant distrust amongst those who were invited. Western Canadian representatives felt that there was insufficient western representation compared to central Canada. The explanation for the geographic balance was linked to the fact that many national organizations maintain their head office in Ottawa, Montreal, or Toronto (2.4). The invitees who represented non-educational organizations were identified as typically "somewhat opinionated. . . and the kind of people who bring their own agendas" (1.0). There was also concern that "the small 'p' politics of the group should not be there, because they are already enough of a pain, and we do not need them interfering at this level" (1.11).

There were further tensions due to participants' beliefs that the intent of the consultations was closely linked to hidden agendas and hidden outcomes (1.9). The tight agenda prevented the participants from collaborating with ministers regarding their concerns, and although the initial agenda was intended to direct the consultation process, "everyone came with their own little gripe sheet and tried to adjust the agenda to suit the wrong purposes" (1.0). Although the participants raised questions about CMEC's consultation purpose and intent, they concluded that, in general, the consultations were a form of "window dressing" (1.4) and paid "lip service" to educational issues (1.13) while

ensuring "a method of placating, rather than actually listening . . . or of garnering or harvesting the opinions of people you want on your side" (1.3).

In planning for the third consultation in 1998 in St. John's, CMEC chose an alternative approach to facilitate consultation involvement. Prior to the consultation, CMEC circulated the agenda to selected participants, along with specific research papers for consideration. Recognition of an emerging "for-profit" emphasis in education was associated with an educational understanding of entrepreneurship and innovation. Partnerships could potentially provide education with financial support and/or offer students a means of linking the world of work to the world of learning. The identified concerns regarding these issues included questions on the impact of corporate involvement on government's responsibly for public education and potential challenges associated with demands for an economic emphasis on educational programming.

The consultation approach was intended "to control the arbitrary grandstanding of some of the groups who saw an opportunity to make a point on behalf of their organization in front of a half dozen ministers" (1.9). The intent of some participants was associated with "a vested interest in using these forums for their own purposes" (1.0). In a somewhat cynical comment, one of those interviewed mentioned that:

> Few people went to these national meetings with any sense of having a commitment to listen, adopt, and come back and implement. There was no onus on them to do it. It was a sharing of good wishes, good intents, with no legislated obligation to do anything. (1.15)

The fact that CMEC never implemented any of the recommendations from the consultations confirmed for some that its hidden agenda was the translation of federal and corporate educational priorities to provincial education realities. Without a jurisdictional mandate to do this in an open way, CMEC's consultation strategy provided them with the opportunity to bring all of the significant players together. Although the consultations successfully engaged provincial, federal, and corporate representatives, there was limited success in changing corporate education perspectives or in effecting reform (2.2).

The overall frustration with CMEC's consultation process resulted in irresolvable challenges to CMEC's priority of hosting national consultations and facilitating agreement on a national education agenda. The ministers concluded that the consultations

had failed because they were not "doing what they wanted it to do" (1.0). This statement confirmed the belief that government was politically exercising its influence in making the consultation fit a particular goal (1.6, 1.1). CMEC's national forums concluded in St. John's with the third and final national consultation.

Policy and Partnerships

Increasingly apparent in federal governance discourse was the policy language of interdependence, partnerships, and collaboration, all policy possibilities for larger economic sovereignty concerns. There was little doubt that previously autonomous areas within federal, provincial, or local governance were expected, even required, to use a collaborative approach at all stages of policy development. A culture of consultation and partnerships became commonplace throughout the federal and provincial governments.

In 1999, confirmation of the federal government's reliance on partnerships became evident in the following statement: "Canada is therefore modifying its approach to regional development, focusing on innovation, on excellence, on private-public partnership, on infrastructure, and on youth. In the knowledge based economy, geography need not be a barrier to opportunity" (Chrétien, 1999, p. 16). However, at the national education level, exclusionary practices were seen as restricting interested groups from participating in partnership processes. According to one interviewee, partnerships need to be challenged:

> A strong civil society movement has to stand up in education as in every other sphere and say, "This is just totally unbalanced. We have to pull this back." And I think we really need to challenge corporations walking hand in hand with education government ministers and being partners with CMEC. (1.1)

Moreover, according to one of those interviewed, the challenge associated with partnerships demanded consideration of the following question:

> Does partnership mean that you bring that group in once a week and we'll quote their agenda (that you're suspicious of anyway), and they'll listen to your agenda (that they are suspicious of), and then everybody goes away and nothing happens? (1.3)

The research data reveal different understandings and expectations of partnership relations, each of which offers insight into the ways in which individuals constitute their way of thinking or acting in a particular position. For instance, one participant insisted that a partnership is a situation in which two equal partners are willing to collaborate and support issues (1.13). Another participant contended that partnerships may represent an educational solution whose "time has come, and if we set the agenda, I think partnerships can be wonderful" (1.4). "Strong partnerships between teachers and parents were seen as absolutely fundamental to Canadian society" (1.1). Still another participant believed that power and control are characteristic of every partnership and that "the federal government was always a player and a partner" (1.6).

Summary

This chapter responds to the research question "What were the processes that enabled or constrained CMEC's implementation of education priorities from 1993 to 2003?" An identified objective of the ministers of education was to formalize a national education agenda that reflected the stated priorities of the *Victoria Declaration.* Following the adoption of the Declaration, three national consultations processes resulted in invited participants increasingly challenging CMEC's priorities and the processes used to realize these priorities. Whereas in most instances CMEC's operating philosophy coincided with a federal philosophy of interdependence, partnerships, and collaboration, a perceived lack of transparency in the consultation agenda resulted in an eventual termination of the process.

Other policy mechanisms intended to facilitate the realization of CMEC's educational priorities included partnerships, expert appointments that reflected a business or economic orientation to ministerial positions, taking advantage of shared federal and provincial ministerial portfolios between labour and education, implanting various protocols that would allow smudging of the jurisdictional guidelines related to education, and reliance on protocols to remove a requirement for total ministerial consensus if CMEC were to pursue a national or international project. Rather, the dual-track agenda created a means for wealthier provinces to participate in an unlimited number of national and international projects while still providing the remaining provinces with "a choice" of whether or not to participate.

Over the decade following the adoption of the *Victoria Declaration*, amendments have occurred to the *Victoria Declaration*—a recognized permanent reference point for Canadian education. Changes are also apparent in the policies, protocols, and practices embedded in CMEC and federal government educational initiatives. Change is to be expected, considering public understandings of the emerging socioeconomic context that influences expectations of education, educational purpose(s), and the means by which educational purpose(s) will be realized.

In Chapter 8 a genealogical analysis will trace the changes that have led to a transformation in educational discourse. It appears that education is being displaced by an emergent discourse of learning. Moreover, federal funding of the learning discourse raises concerns about the duplication of CMEC initiatives and potential future funding challenges to CMEC. The genealogical analysis in Chapter 8 offers an interpretation of the constituting of this learning discourse and its effect, if any, on the national governance of education.

CHAPTER 8:

LINKING DISCOURSE TO TRANSFORMATIVE PRACTICES: OBSERVATIONS OF UNFOLDING POSSIBILITIES

Introduction

Chapter 8 builds on the archaeological layers of discursive practices that constitute the social and institutional context of education. This chapter reveals the emergence of a discourse of learning and describes how the discourse acquired legitimacy through the exercise of power in routine social practices and systems of relationships. This chapter addresses the research question, "What, if any, transformations have occurred in Canadian educational governance from 1993 to 2003?"

The research relied on genealogical strategies to identify the discontinuities in ideas (Foucault, 1996) that disturb what is taken for granted about education. The most obvious discontinuity in this case relates to the idea that educational processes are being identified as unable to respond to individual, institutional, social and economic needs. The discords have called into question the thoughts, words, and activities that allowed a rift to develop between the understandings of education and learning.

The discourse of learning has been promoted as something different from, but inclusive of, conventional understandings of education. The contingencies have challenged, and at times redefined, traditional understandings of educational purpose, priorities, and policies. Locating the specific contingencies that facilitated the transformation of education and learning have enabled the emergence of new possibilities and forms of resistance. Included in these conditions and practices were the investigations of partnership alliances, the use of language to disrupt accepted ideas, the creation of knowledge centre consortia to mobilize diverse stakeholder commitment, and the recognition of scientific discourse as a credible means of assessing education and learning priorities.

This chapter's findings extend Chapter 4's analysis of policy and power relations, Chapter 5's analysis of the participants' understandings of the effects of globalization in shaping a social context and facilitating the exercise of power, Chapter 6's definition of

national and international education priorities, and Chapter 7's identification of the play of dominations, the events, or the processes that enabled or constrained CMEC's implementation of these priorities. In the final layer of analysis, attention is focused on a learning discourse that was not readily apparent during the early phases of this case study of CMEC and national educational governance.

In Chapter 8 the findings reveal that a learning discourse has transformed social practices that influence education. Normally considered as part of educational discourse, learning has continued to emerge in an unassuming way that has facilitated a political space between education and learning. This political space accommodates new understandings of learning discourse that describe learning processes as lifelong, accessible before and beyond the structures of formal schooling, and responsive to a permanent client base that will sustain an international and national emphasis on the knowledge economy.

In linking the discourse to transformative practices in education and learning, it was useful for me to consider Foucault's (1996) claim:

> Political discourses form a practice which is articulated upon the other practices—to determine, in its diverse dimensions, . . . the mode of existence of discourse and particularly the scientific discourse (their rules of formation, with their conditions, their dependencies, their transformations), in order that the knowledge which is ours today could come to exist. (p. 49)

Such a comment invites reflection on the various conditions and practices that constitute the current context of education and learning. Particularly, the comment begs consideration of the federal government's *courageous* foray into the constitutionally defined educational arena:

> I would also like to acknowledge the vision of the federal government and of the department of Human Resources and Skills Development Canada in particular, in making possible the creation of CCL. Understanding the need for a national body which can provide a strategic focus on learning is not the same as making it happen: that took steady nerves and political courage at many levels. (Cappon, 2005, p. 1)

Implicit in the recognition of such courage is an understanding that the federal government was extending its jurisdictional authority where it had dared not go before.

Acting on a federal vision that contravened provincial and public understandings of education and provincial jurisdictional responsibilities was a risk that has yet to be qualified.

Chapter Overview

Conclusions and Findings

The following conclusions and findings, based on the understandings of the participants and the interpretation of primary and secondary data, are derived from this analysis.

- Lifelong learning is an economic "truth" in establishing Canada's competitive position in the knowledge economy.
- Growing acceptance of a knowledge economy has facilitated the subjugation of formal learning and education to a discourse of lifelong learning. This discourse has influenced various social practices that have enabled alternative thinking about learning.
- In 2003 a federal Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) budget allocated $100 million (CMEC, 2005) to the CCL, which provided a political link between federal and national learning priorities.
- The activities of the CCL have had implications for knowledge brokers, federal educational interests, and national governance in education.
- A manoeuvring of conditions, events, and ideas, has resulted in the repositioning of education and the redefining of a discourse of learning to reflect a specific type of educational system.
- The learning discourse encourages beliefs in a scientific or evidence-based approach to learning and/or education and positions learning as a political and economic imperative without reference to federal intrusion upon jurisdictional responsibilities for education.
- The debate has remained silent on the question of "Who has responsibility for learning, given provincial autonomy for education?"

- The transformation in education was not only about the reality of education versus learning or the use of learning to facilitate federal involvement in education or about the contention that learning requires validation through scientific measurement; but also, most important, about the assumption that what was measured as learning is synonymous with education. This assumption has transformed understandings of education to reflect a narrow vision based on standardized goals, indicators, and outcomes.

An examination of the education and learning discourse invites consideration of how and why transformations occurred in education during this period. The answer becomes more apparent with the application of Foucault's (1994) notion of governmentality to policy analysis. Foucault used governmentality to explain how individual and institutional practices were able to circumvent democracy via administrative power during educational reform. Moreover, a critique of this practice from a normative perspective leads to the conclusion that these practices challenged the assumed democratic values of the political participants and citizens of Canada. Chapter 8 examines the emerging discourse of learning and the mechanisms of governmentality that enabled this discourse to control, conceal, disguise, or depict specific ideas so that other ideas about education and learning gained prominence (Hoy, 1986).

The Production of Knowledge: The Politics of Scientific Method

In many respects the discourse on education and learning was contingent upon a global discourse that called for a strengthening relationship between knowledge generation and information processing and national and international priorities of increased productivity and competitiveness. Castells (2000a) argued that these economically based relationships have significantly shaped the context for education and learning.

Accepting that knowledge production is continuous, it is important to consider the political mechanisms that have influenced the dissemination of a particular perspective of knowledge—for example, learning versus education—so that specific ideas become established "truths" (Davidson, 1986). For instance, in educational research the controversy over the value of various types of scientific research finds CCL in its self-designated position of knowledge broker advocating for applied research through specific

funding allocations and through the possibility of publishing via its online *Journal of Applied Research and Learning* (Autumn 2006). Setting criteria for the scientific validation of education and learning discreetly marginalized the importance of pure research. Alternatively, those committed to the scientific method insisted that the mechanisms of applied or basic research would provide the essential information that would enable success with priorities such as knowledge mobilization, knowledge transfer, and Canadian social-economic well-being.

This example is but one instance of how ideas or opinions acquire a sense of normality without any debate or examination of the cause and effect of previously existing policies or conditions. Yet it is in such areas as funding, agenda shaping, consensus building, and communications and technology that individuals and institutions become divided into those who warrant social inclusion and those who warrant marginalization from specific audiences.

The dominant place of liberal thought is evident in the beliefs and practices that guide the social regulation of education. Although the more obvious regulatory mechanism can be found in federal funding initiatives and in-kind agreements for student assessments and curriculum standardization, other examples include an emphasis on experts and professionals, but for reasons that are not always obvious:

> The rhetoric about professionalism asserts a greater teacher responsibility and autonomy: values supporting individual creativity, flexibility and critical reasoning are to be engendered. Yet attention is given to administrative, technical knowledge and to questions of teacher status, thus diminishing attention to the social and political issues that underlie teaching and standardization, and increasing centralization and control. (Popkewitz, 1991, p. 115)

The dynamics of capitalism and global competition are apparent in the status given to formal and nonformal education and in the increasing international emphasis on lifelong learning. The emerging discourse reinforces the claim that educational success and the resultant better life requires a lifelong consumer-client relationship with educational providers and a commitment to regulatory processes such as standardization, evidence-based results, goal setting, and knowledge transfer (Wotherspoon, 1998). Resisting or transforming such claims requires insight into the conditions that frequently

include negotiations and compromise that shape the production of knowledge, including what is said, where, and why.

The current context reveals a complex transformative process in Canadian education that calls for the consideration of understandings of the reality of learning versus education. Otherwise, a new regime of truth is pushed by the rhetoric associated with persistent references to gaps in federal provincial governance, the existence of an interjurisdictional divide, and attempts to equate what is measured as learning as the equivalent of education and the basis of educational policy. Scientific justification of learning offered an effective mechanism for some aspects of ensuring quality of outcome; however, the mechanisms also marginalized the understandings of learning and education. This effect had serious repercussions in all decision-making arenas, including governance, knowledge brokering, and research institutes.

Educational Governance and Administrative Politics: What Makes Knowledge Possible?

Foucault (1985) analyzed the social emergence and political utility of truth in an attempt to confirm the nature of truth and to explain that different truths emerge from different "truth regimes." In his analysis he paid strong attention to the questioning of the relations between government, techniques, and subjectivation that produce concurrent "fields of knowledge, types of normativity and forms of subjectivity" (as cited in Simola et al., 1998, p. 69). Interrogating the relations of government or governmentality called for an analysis of the techniques, practices, and rules apparent in "the acts, attitudes and modes of everyday behaviour" (Foucault, 2000, p. 125). Wotherspoon (1998) clarified how governmentality became evident in the federal pursuit of education:

> Canada's growing integration into new global economic and political alignments is forcing a reassessment of how education should best be employed for competitive advantage. Educational reform and reorganization are further promoted through strategies to reduce government deficits, streamline government operations, and respond to issues related to regional diversity and national unity. (p. 77)

Moreover, governmentality refers to how we govern ourselves to arrive at an understanding of problems or, alternatively, how we create possible solutions. For

instance, when the research participants linked the influence of liberal democracy and market forces to the effects of globalization and the subsequent federal priorities of economic growth, restructuring, deficit management, educational excellence, and the recognition of a knowledge economy, their remarks reflected the essence of governmentality (1.9, 1.12, and 2.3). Similarly, those involved in educational decision making noted the increasingly global influence on federal and national agendas during the 1990s. For instance, practices that link teacher and program accountability through the never-ending pursuit of professionalism and excellence were prioritized and became self-regulatory measures of educators' conduct with rather ambiguous goals of student success or economic return (1.13, 2.3, and 2.4). These administrative and organizational techniques were as explicit as Canada's first national education agenda and the federal funding of the Canadian Council on Learning, or as hidden as CMEC's intergovernmental protocol agreements with the federal government that with limited public awareness, strengthen federal influence in education.

This change in the philosophical landscape of government with respect to national and international educational interests reflected a strengthening relationship amongst diverse stakeholders. Yet, although the federal government and CMEC pursued international educational interests with organizations such as the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), and the European Union (EU), it now appears that what was believed to be obvious about education and learning has, in fact, been a cause for international debate.

Cheallaigh (2000) explained that a "shift in emphasis away from the system (in education) to the learner (in lifelong learning)" (p. 1) resulted in the European Council's (EU) deciding on a common definition that had significant repercussions for policy (p. 1). The EU defined *learning* as "purposeful learning activity, whether formal or informal, undertaken on an ongoing basis with the aim of improving knowledge, skills, and competence" (p. 1). Consequently, Europe and North America now exhibit "a heightened urgency for education reform in a context of mounting pressures for lifelong learning" (p. 8). Moreover, evidence-based policy and practice were required indicators of lifelong

learning, along with information about "how knowledge accumulates and is applied in education and training" (Kearns, 2004, p. 32).

Prior to the 1990s the distinction between education and learning within the Canadian context was an assumed relationship of learning with the knowledge economy (Willms, 2000). Whereas Smith (2000) contended that the "economics of innovation has always focused on learning" (p. 2), Grace (2004) argued that the promotion of learning as an individual activity failed to acknowledge the "complexity of the social, ignoring the impact of disposition, context, and relationship, on possible lifelong-learning outcomes" (p. 7). Castells (2000a) suggested that conceptual shifts associated with learning confirm the increasing need for a more comprehensive understanding of a lifetime of social learning that extends beyond a structured school setting. Abbott (1998), from the 21st Century Learning Initiative, posed a philosophical question: "Has education ceased to be about learning?" (p. 1).

These remarks confirm the emergent nature of learning and the political conditions that constitute understandings of learning and education. However, the global emphasis on a knowledge economy does not necessitate the rules of rational processes that some believed are essential to validate understandings of learning and education. Rather, the rules emerged because the conditions exist. The foremost of these rules were the recognition of economic and scientific legitimacy in shaping education and learning goals and standards and the recognition of a pan-Canadian, rather than a national, perspective in normalizing ideas about education and learning practices.

Education and Learning: Disturbing the Present, Exposing the Past

Discovering the contingences that have enabled learning to emerge as something distinct from education requires consideration of what Ransom (1997) called the "unquestioned assumptions, thoughtless gestures, seemingly legitimate institutions and unexamined modes of thought" (p. 95). The influence of these unexpected practices was clear, particularly in the areas of national governance, education purpose, and educational programs, in transforming previous ideas about education and learning.

It is important to note that Foucault's (1984a, 1984b, 2000) attention to the past is not the same as traditional understandings of history that reflect a chronological,

uninterrupted flow of events. Instead, Foucault emphasized the disruptions, divergent decisions, or unexpected conclusions that irritate traditional notions of history.

Nevertheless, in disturbing the present and exposing the past, it was necessary to identify at least a beginning to the emergence of alternative "truths" about education and learning. In the early 1990s federal narratives about global and economic competitiveness included frequent references to the importance of a knowledge economy in ensuring Canada's future prosperity. From a federal perspective, the development of a knowledge economy was dependent upon the need to establish education or learning goals. Education ministers understood that comparison of performance was a common business and education practice (1.6) and that national educational performance results were already a key factor in the UN and OECD international ratings of countries.

To date, education ministers have resisted attempts to create national education and/or learning goals. The resistance was created by the persistent belief that scientific data would become the main rationale for decisions about educational purpose and how to close the perceived gap in educational performance between what is and what ought to be (1.5, 1.6, 1.12, 2.4). CMEC's decision to focus on pan-Canadian expectations rather than national goals or curriculum standards was later challenged. Paul Cappon (2004b), who was Director General of CMEC at the time of the pan-Canadian expectations project and who currently serves as President and CEO of the Canadian Council on Learning (CCL), questioned the effectiveness of CMEC's decision to pursue pan-Canadian expectations while rationalizing CCL's pursuit of national standards:

> This is not an easy country in which to establish national standards—especially in the federal/provincial "no-man's land" of learning. It may be a long time before we develop integrated pan-Canadian standards as the Europeans are developing. But, at CMEC, we have had some success when we establish pan-Canadian expectations. They're not standards, nor imposed national curricula. So how can they be effective? (p. 2)

Drawing attention to CMEC's effectiveness in focusing on *expectations* raised the question of potential *ineffectiveness*, especially compared with international decisions to focus on education and/or learning standards. In this research it was common practice to provide an international case in point involving education, compare it to the Canadian situation, and present the possibility of Canada's being found lacking. Consequently, the

acknowledgement that "no other country in the world has adopted an education policy and delivery model along the lines of Canada's" (CWL, 1998, p. 7) and that "Canada is the only country in the OECD without a national department of education" (CWL, 2000, p. 51) were strategic statements intended to discipline thinking about alternative options for educational governance in Canada. The statements raised challenges to Canada's federalist philosophy while creating doubt around provincial education decision making. As well, they raised questions about the effectiveness of Canada's approach to national educational decision making.

On the other hand, the practice of drawing on international comparison was possibly a strategic mechanism for change because, according to one of those interviewed, once Ministers of Education and senior officials participated in international educational events, their attitude was more enthusiastic and supportive of international educational agendas (1.0). One can assume that there was some potential for this attitude change to transfer to understandings about international standards. In essence, there have been repeated attempts to discipline understandings about the future of Canadian education by normalizing the tactics and conditions that defined the relationship between Canada's education system and international learning systems. This may lead to realization of the federal priority that educational goals become routine expectations within the Canadian context.

Disturbing the present to expose the past is a critical focus of a genealogical analysis that attempts to reveal the tactics and conditions that advance certain ideas or events pertaining to education and learning. In doing so, genealogy helped me to recognize how the interstices of power/knowledge can create unintended potential for opportunity. Foucault's advice was to "simply trace the way that certain events happened and examine the contingent events which may, or may not, have played a role in their development" (Mills, 2005, p. 115).

In the early 1990s the following events occurred in Canadian education. First, the *Victoria Declaration* (CMEC, 1993) became a precedent-setting collective action of the education ministers in Canada. The following year, 1994, a $20 million Learning Initiatives fund was set up because of the Federal Innovation Strategy Interim Youth and Learning Strategy (Government of Canada, 2002):

> Learning Initiatives fund [LI] is intended to embody the concept of lifelong learning and promote the establishment of a broad-based learning culture. It was anticipated that projects funded through the Initiatives would contribute to the development of a more results-oriented, accessible, relevant and accountable, learning system. Projects were intended to encourage broad participation by interest groups, decision makers and the public in the articulation of desirable learning goals and outcomes, and to sustain action around their attainment. Projects would contribute to research and analysis around the development of learning goals, indicators and monitoring instruments, and support the development of mechanisms to monitor progress on the achievement of learning goals. It was also intended that mechanisms would be put in place to distribute labour market information. (HRDC, 1999, p. 1)

A more transparent view of federal persistence in changing a particular view of education and learning through the mechanism of the Learning Initiatives Program (LIP) had appeared. The significance of transforming the way of doing things so that change was seen as completely natural and self-evident becomes apparent in the juxtaposition of the themes in the above quotation with the CCL's (2004b) priorities echoed five years later:

LIP - Lifelong learning and broad based learning cultures
CCL - National roadmap for a culture of learning from early childhood right through life
LIP - Results-oriented, accessible, relevant and accountable learning system
CCL - Monitoring and reporting
LIP - Articulation of desirable learning goals and outcomes, and sustained action around their attainment
CCL - Composite Learning Index for Canada . . . to provide benchmarks by which we can judge ourselves and our progress . . . in all key areas
LIP - Research and analysis around the development of learning goals, indicators and monitoring instruments
CCL - Research and knowledge mobilization—action research, not academic research; not pure research
LIP - The development of mechanisms to monitor progress on the achievement of learning goals and mechanisms . . . to distribute labour market information
CCL - National perspectives, national solutions, to issues of workplace learning, so that we actually create the conditions for innovation and productivity. (Cappon, 2004a, pp. 1-5)

The absence of a particular reference to education was noteworthy quite simply because it strategically avoided the formal recognition of a federal push into provincial

jurisdictional arenas. However, the intent to engage in the learning process from early childhood right through life was silently inclusive of structured schooling processes.

The HRSD LIP program was a federal mechanism that attempted to influence diverse sector understandings of the relationship of learning priorities, knowledge, and skill acquisition to Canada's competitive role within a global knowledge-based economy. Throughout the term of the LIP (1994-1999), 70 funded projects were allocated based on a formalized commitment to developing learning goals.

During this time (1994-1999), CMEC relied on national consultations to facilitate learning priorities associated with youth and unemployment: partnerships, literacy, school leavers, employability skills, and lifelong learning. CMEC also received funding from HRSDC to pursue pan-Canadian learning goals that would further Canada's capacity in responding "to the challenges the learning system faces from the current social and economic trends and the fiscal and political realities" (HRDC, 1999, p. 10). However, CMEC redirected attention from the federal priority of pan-Canadian learning goals to research pan-Canadian learning indicators.

In the formal evaluation of LIP, HRDC (1999) concluded that although the program successfully focused federal/provincial learning priorities on lifelong learning, the participants were generally unaware of the federal government's implicit intent to establish national learning goals and learning systems. This conclusion questioned whether participants were consciously aware of LIP goals (note: LIP funding approval was dependent upon the submission of a plan for creating and maintaining learning goals) or whether there was explicit resistance to a federally mandated agenda for learning goals.

The subliminal effect of lifelong learning agendas is the expectation that individuals engage in a lifelong continuum of privatized learning. In this capacity, both individuals and institutions become social regulated, permanent consumers and providers of learning that serve the economic agenda of government and private industry. In this research case the conditions supporting the normalization of learning agendas included expectations for the transfer and mobilization of scientific information about learning to innovation practices and labour market strategies. These rules of compliance increased the probability of stakeholders' creating formal goals for lifelong learning while

informally committing to a broader federal agenda related to education and learning. Education and learning decisions appeared to be not so much about "who" has power, but rather about "how" specific conditions and practices acquire legitimacy and influence the knowledge power relationships (see Figure 5, p.).

Federal funding remained an essential mechanism in determining how a possibility becomes reality. In this respect, attempts to secure ministerial collaboration for federal and international educational priorities were associated frequently with funding statements. These priorities became more public in 1998, when the federal government made the first of several budget statements on learning. Considering that there was negligible challenge to the federal announcement, it is possible that the diverse sector involvement in the federal LIP helped in sensitizing the public towards federal interventions in education and learning.

HRSDC followed the budget announcement with the acknowledgment of a federally appointed federal Director General of Skills and Learning Policy, which it deemed necessary because of the federal "broad-based initiative to provide opportunities and access to adult learners to flourish in the knowledge economy" (Macdonald, 2001, p. 1). Not without significance was the prediction just a year earlier that "Ottawa, through Human Resources Skills Development Canada, the 'de-facto' federal department of education, could move some way toward a national learning agenda on its own" (Cappon, 2000, p. 12).

In 2002 Minister Jane Stewart translated Cappon's (2000) prediction into a reality with the announcement of the creation of a Canadian Learning Institute during the National Summit on Innovation and Learning in Toronto:

> [The Government of Canada is] committed to work with Canadians, provinces, sector councils, labour organizations and learning institutions to create the skills and learning architecture that Canada needs, "including building our knowledge and reporting to Canadians about what is working and what is not." To fulfil this commitment, the Government of Canada is prepared to work with its partners to develop a Canadian Learning Institute that would focus on skills and learning. (Canadian Learning Institute, 2002, p. 1)

The 2002 Speech from the Throne served as formal acknowledgement of federal intent to proceed with its priority of establishing the CLI. The rationale for the decision was as follows:

> A Canadian Learning Institute would help ensure that Canadians have access to an objective source of information about the effectiveness of skills and learning investments, and the results being achieved. An Institute would also support the testing and analysis of innovative approaches to learning, and would help coordinate information but not duplicate or overlap any existing activities by governments or third-party organizations. (HRSDC, 2003, p. 1)

It is important to note that CLI was subsequently renamed the Canadian Council on Learning (CCL). According to E. Everson (personal communication, March 24, 2006), "During the development stages, the organization was called the Canadian Learning Institute. When it came time to incorporate the organization, a thorough name search was conducted, which identified an existing organization called the Canadian Learning Institute." As a result the Institute was renamed the Canadian Council on Learning on December 11, 2003.

Over the next three years the strengthening link between federal interests and national learning efforts would draw consistent attention to the language of a skills and learning architecture, knowledge transfer, and knowledge mobilization. The initial federal decision supported a move to "broaden and deepen data and information on *education* [italics added] and learning [that would] address gaps in the knowledge of education and learning, and result in payoffs for Canadians in making future decisions about investments in learning" (Zussman, 2003, p. 3). There was also an acknowledgment of the gaps in the knowledge on informal learning opportunities, learning opportunities beyond structured schooling, and the lack of pan-Canadian coordination and coherency of policy and practice, as identified in the OECD (2002) review of Canadian adult learning.

References in federal government messages and in discussions of the Collegium of Work and Learning (CWL), the Learning Partnership, and the Policy Action Group on Learning, frequently included acknowledgment of gaps in systems of education. HRSDC's consultation process on the design of the CLI identified distinct gaps in understandings of education and learning (Levin and Seward, 2003). For instance, business interests associated lifelong learning with adult and workplace learning, a focus

on skills development, and an aging workforce. Other educational stakeholders and NGOs interpreted lifelong learning as incorporating both formal and informal components. Nevertheless, Levin and Seward insisted that the provinces did not "feel strongly, as suggested by the CLI proposal, that progress on learning in Canada is hampered by very important gaps in our knowledge" (2003, p. 5).

At the international level, Paul Cappon (2002), co-chair of the Commission on Globalisation: Policy Action Group on Learning, identified a significant gap, a knowledge divide, between education and learning that could possibly result in the "obsolescence of an education" (p. 22). This subtle redefinition of education identified education as important for the basics, but learning is advocated as essential for life. Moreover, the comments assume that no one learns how to learn; they only learn facts and processes:

> The notion of a *knowledge divide* takes on additional perspectives when one considers that the elements of the formal education many received in the past may no longer be relevant for today's changing world. The demands imposed by the transformation of workforces to a knowledge-based economy results in the rapid obsolescence of many of the skills that adults acquired during their formal education, placing them at a considerable economic and social disadvantage. (p. 22)

In 2003 a federal announcement acknowledged the creation of the CLI. HRSDC met subsequently with CMEC's executive council at a joint FLMM-education ministers meeting and gave notice to CMEC that Dr. David Zussman, President of the Public Policy Forum, would lead the final discussions with various provincial partners and other stakeholders on the design and governance of the CLI. The reliance on institutional power to sanction federal intent was indicative of the perceived sensitivity surrounding federal provincial relationships regarding education and learning. As indicated in the introduction to this chapter (p. 140), CCL's president and CEO openly acknowledged the courage of multi levels of government in deciding to act on the formation of the Canadian Council on Learning (originally referenced by Jane Stewart (2002) as the Canadian Learning Institute).

A federally approved budget in 2003 of $100 million dollars was allocated to help CLI became a reality. CLI's mandate was to develop, coordinate, and disseminate

"evidence-based" learning information that would provide a "seamless approach" to the full range of lifelong learning, including "through formal schooling K-12" (p. 4), although a caution was issued that CLI should not duplicate CMEC's efforts and that provincial jurisdictional issues should be respected. The International Reform Monitor (2005) addressed the inherent challenge of a mandate that was stakeholder driven and predicted that if "ground cannot be found among the diverse interests, the organization will flounder" (p. 5). The International Reform Monitor also raised concern that the "institute is a first step to the creation of a federal department of education" (p. 5).

In defining the priorities of the Canadian Council on Learning, CMEC's former director general, and now president and CEO of CCL, offered the following perspective:

> It shouldn't surprise you to learn that the priorities we have are the same priorities, for various reasons, where we haven't been doing very well. These are also, however, the emerging domains in learning that all developed countries find to be so important; the domains that will generate the kind of progress needed in both an economic and a social sense. These are also areas in which there is urgency because we haven't been doing as well as we could and often these are areas which have fallen into the 'inter-jurisdictional divide.' (Cappon, 2004b, p. 4)

Much of what remains unsaid in the above comment suggests an overlapping in priorities between CCL and the CMEC. Given that "Canada's overall educational attainments are generally the highest among OECD nations" (Lowe, 2001, p. 6), there was reason to question the idea that Canada was not doing as well as it could have, particularly given that learning outcomes and lifelong learning processes are a stated priority in CMEC's *Victoria Declaration* (CMEC, 1999b). The following comparison of CCL and CMEC educational practices illustrates the subtlety of the language practices that shaped the discourse:

- CCL - recognition of that which is defined quantifiably as learning, is synonymous with understandings of education, and therefore, is taken to mean education
- CMEC - national and pan-Canadian efforts in education
- CCL - pan-Canadian efforts in learning
- CMEC - efforts to develop education and learning indicators and expectations
- CCL - efforts to focus on goals, outcomes, and benchmarks (standards)

CMEC - practices that delimit education to a structured, formalized input

CCL - practices that recognize learning as a broad mandate from birth to lifelong learning

Recognizing that the learning discourse was not unique to the federal government and CMEC, there was immense potential in the above practices to transform ideas about education and learning and to create alternative possibilities for the national governance of education and/or learning. There was an increasing emphasis embedded in international economic and social discourse on lifelong learning and learning goals. This discourse was representative of the European Council, UNESCO, OECD, and the State of the World Forum (1995) Commission on Globalisation (2002b) of which the Policy Action Group on Learning served as a key mechanism.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, comparing Canadian educational efforts with the efforts of other industrialized countries has been a familiar strategy that has met with varying success in bringing about educational reform. Such strategies have helped to emphasize the advantages and limitations of pan-Canadian approaches to education, particularly with respect to how these approaches compare with international educational interests. Consider the following statements: "There is no formal political accountability for provincial ministers to take the lead on addressing issues which affect all jurisdictions" (Cappon, 2000, p. 8); "CMEC has no legislative power and no money. It only has moral authority and that goes so far" (CWL, 2000, p. 12); and "Canada is the only G-8 country that does not have a federal department of education and one of the few countries without an explicit learning strategy" (p. 35).

Similarly, a Canadian Press report about the CCL offered philosophical insight into the leadership behind CMEC's efforts from 1996-2003 and the efforts of the CCL:

> The lack of a federal education ministry in Canada means the country has no national strategies for issues like bullying and healthy schools. . . . We don't pool our resources in Canada, we don't pool our knowledge because we've never had a structure to do it in terms of health and learning. . . . What we have is so many provincial and territorial governments that have health departments and education departments and they don't have any structure to share the information or to use it in any specific way. . . . While there are programs to deal with childhood and adult obesity throughout Canada, there's no evidence-based research that says what works most effectively. . . . Similarly, we know that early childhood learning

> is important for health *but nobody tells people what to do* [italics added]. (Cappon; as cited in Bains, 2005, p. 21)

The press release concluded with an acknowledgement of the international recognition received by CCL for its efforts in producing evidence that will make a real difference in people's decisions on health and learning. The assumption was that the evidence that CCL disseminates will provide the necessary information to ensure that people will know what to do. In the production of this discourse on learning, there are tacit references to federalism, jurisdictional responsibilities for education, a global knowledge economy, and the importance of knowledge dissemination and evidence-based research in routine decision making. The suggestion of a previous lack of accountability or transparency in the dissemination of educational information became obvious in the following statement: "They [the public] want full information, without filtering by government or leavened by jurisdictional dispute" (Cappon, 2004a, p. 2).

A Haphazard Transformation: Individual and Institutional Alliances

This genealogical perspective recognized the rather messy course where routine or normal practices are not always the outcome of planning or conscious intent. Instead, the complex interactions that make up routine practices may be a result of the strategic relations of power that constitute and are constituted by individuals and organizations. Implicit in the genealogical position was the recognition that an account of past events is dependent upon a current perspective influenced by past acts, attitudes, or approaches. In this haphazard process, there is a need to shift the research focus once again to the individual and institutional power relations in educational systems, with particular attention to the question, "What tactical alliances may have formed between different institutions or power groups or human-scientific discourses?" (Ransom, 199, p. 91).

Shortly after CMEC's appointment of Paul Cappon as Director General in 1996, an Ontario-based organization emerged called the CWL (1997-2001), which was a network of influential partnerships intent on acting as an "advocate for the public policy framework needed to develop and sustain innovative advances in education" (as cited in Hepburn, 1998, p. 1). Upitis (2000) claimed that the CWL had several priorities, including raising public awareness in support of increased federal and interprovincial

cooperation, influencing policy, and defining roles for businesses, not-for-profit organizations, and the education sector (p. 7).

In 2000 the CWL held consultations in Calgary, Toronto, and Halifax. Cappon, then Director General of CMEC, gave the opening remarks in Toronto and Pamela Fralick (2000), President and CEO of CWL, in Calgary and Halifax. Although the following statements were presented to the participants for their consideration, for the purposes of this research it was more insightful to consider the inherent intent of each question.

a) Does Canada's practice of decentralized responsibility put Canada at a disadvantage?
b) Are there aspects of our education and learning challenge that might be better addressed in a national rather than a provincial or local arena? and,
c) What major gaps currently exist in our learning system? (p. 4)

Fralick's plenary address in Calgary and Halifax provided interesting insight into the conditions driving the consultation process: "CMEC believes that without serious activism in education and more cohesive, nation-wide efforts involving governments, NGOs and the private sector; that the quality of education in Canada will slip" (CWL, 2000, p. 24). Moreover, while the consultation report did not attribute specific comments to individuals, the report did make general reference to participant remarks about what would unfold in education within the next few years:

> Ottawa, through Human Resources Skills Development Canada, the 'de- facto' federal department of education, could move some way toward a national learning agenda on its own.
> Ottawa clearly plays an important silent role in education and learning. The question to ask is whether that role can be developed and managed in a strategic way.
> The Constitution is silent on the issue of lifelong learning. The federal government could increase its investment outside of the traditional education system (i.e., in areas other than the K-12 system, and universities) and rely on the public to mitigate the ire of provincial ministers. (CWL, 1998, p. 12)

CWL cancelled its charter in 2001, choosing to merge with the Learning Partnership, an organization with members from business, education, government, and labour, and policy makers and the community. The Learning Partnership's goal was to become the national

voice for public education (Lacey, 2003), while CMEC's ongoing claim was to become the official national voice for education. Even though language use may appear to be inconsequential, it was not the literal use of language that influenced the discourse around consultations, partnerships, gaps in education and learning, and national educational accountability. Rather, it was the way in which the rules of discourse determined the conditions—the how, when, and in what context—under which language assumes certain meaning.

In this respect, language meaning was either subconsciously or strategically embedded in routine practices that constitute and were constituted by discourse. Thus, in the use of public education, there was the suggestion of a specific division of educational systems; in both the repetition and the questioning of *gaps*, the disciplining process tried to legitimize claims about the existence of gaps in education and learning; and in the emphasis on a lack of educational accountability because of the absence of educational goals, the public is disciplined to believe that with stated educational goals, there will be educational accountability. As noted earlier, the conditions—how, when, and in what context language takes on meaning—provide critical insight into how the dissemination of ideas pertaining to power relations between education and learning and/or educational purpose can influence educational discourse.

The discussion of power relations in governance of education and/or learning included consideration of the tactical advantages of groups' sharing ideas and personnel resources in the pursuit of a common agenda. Avoiding reference to any one subject as a cause for transformation, the strategy created a context for the harvesting and marketing of ideas as the desired action of choice. The complex alliances included but were not limited to the CWL (this organization merged with the Learning Partnership), the 21st Century Learning Initiative, the Commission on Globalization Policy Action Group on Learning (PAG-L), the Learning Institute, and the CCL. This complex educational network provided a global perspective and an evolving opportunity to circulate ideas and positions on education and learning. Moreover, the strategic practice of maintaining influential positions such as chair, commissioner, keynote speaker, and director facilitated the dissemination of ideas to multi levels of stakeholders

Coinciding with the merger of the CWL with the Learning Partnership was a publication called *It's Time for a National Dialogue on Education* (Cappon, 2001). Proposing that public dialogue replace debate, Cappon argued that the public focus on education shift from constitutional responsibilities to education delivery. Moreover, he suggested that although "public questioning of government initiatives is an important part of Canadian democracy, indiscriminate resistance to change does not serve the Canadian learner" (p. 5).

That same year (2001), the State of the World Forum held its inaugural conference at the London Business School in London, England. Emerging from these discussions was the Commission on Globalization, an international nongovernmental network of leaders from civil society, business, and government. Over 100 of the co-chairs and commissioners, including Canadian representatives Lloyd Axworthy and Paul Cappon, collaborated in the signing of a joint statement that was published in the *Financial Times* on December 13, 2001. Included in the commission's statement of goals and objectives was the need for collaborative actions and innovative solutions to challenges associated with globalization.

One such action was the establishment of a Learning and Education Development Policy Action Group (the word *education* was later removed, and the group is now known as the Policy Action Group on Learning) convened under commissioner, Paul Cappon. In his opening remarks Cappon (as cited in Commission on Globalisation, 2002a) referred to the G8 vision (the group of developed countries that exert the greatest influence in policy setting for the international system of finance) and the action plan entitled *Education for All* (United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, 1990a, 1990b), and its relevance to the PAG-L mandate of "transforming the way education and learning systems are developed . . . by assessing educational practices as they relate to international and national governance" (p. 1). According to the Commission on Globalisation (2002), Cappon's vision for education and learning was apparent in the following remarks:

> We should focus on ways of improving the governance capabilities of key partners and actors to broaden their awareness of the humanistic issues surrounding the transmission of knowledge in the new century; and the interplay

> between education and learning issues and other factors related to globalization. (p. 1)

In articulating the challenges for the PAG-L membership, Cappon asked:

> If we had the capability of designing an international system that promotes maximal learning, what shape and character would it take? What reforms are required for its achievement? Fundamental issues of best practices, structure and governance in the field of Education are of daily interest and concern to a multitude of organizations, especially in a context of recognition of the primacy of Learning as sine qua non for social and economic development. (Commission on Globalization, 2001, p. 32)

Focusing on the national level, the CCL (2005) provided a strong response to the above question. CCL is intent on transforming the national infrastructure through the implementation of the following strategies:

- Research, research dissemination, and knowledge mobilization
- Monitoring and reporting on progress on learning outcomes
- Knowledge transfer to inform decision making. (p. 1)

CCL's priorities included research on work and learning, early childhood learning, adult learning, Aboriginal learning, and health and learning. CCL indicated its intentions to rely on a composite learning index to inform Canadians of its progress and to help Canadians make informed decisions about education and learning. CCL's mission included the development of a national learning indicator framework and the exchange of knowledge for improving lifelong learning processes and outcomes in Canada (CERA News, 2004).

Resistance and Possibility

In a *communiqué* CMEC (2004b) decisively announced that it was not about to step aside for CCL. "Ministers of Education Move Ahead on National Issues" was a proactive message that addressed common priorities—including leadership, collaboration, best practices, and cooperative efforts—in enhancing student success (CMEC, 2004a). Moreover, the press release called attention to the $100 million budget allocated to CCL and the fact that the provinces and territories were more able to define the priorities for spending the federally allocated dollars. Obviously concerned

about being omitted from the decision-making processes, CMEC concluded with a statement that its Executive Committee (Secretariat) was arranging a meeting with the appropriate federal ministers to discuss the CCL and other ministerial priorities.

Clearly, there are new concerns for provincial ministers of education because of the challenges to the traditional ways of thinking about federal-provincial relations. During Director General Paul Cappon's leadership, CMEC experienced difficulty in creating consensus for a national education agenda and in facilitating a less insular philosophy towards provincial education. CMEC attempted to pursue more tacit relationships of power, including the routine networking between the CMEC Secretariat and various federal departments. The strategy resulted in a state of tension within CMEC that found the Secretariat having to back away from certain issues.

It appears that CMEC was not always willing to support the view that national governance must be based on "principles, values and objectives already well established through existing intergovernmental statements and agreements" (Cappon, 2004b, p. 3). Some ministers chose to remain steadfastly committed to provincial jurisdiction for educational decisions rather than complying with a national consensus or a pan-Canadian framework, one that some felt forfeited the best course of action for a lesser option that most could politically defend (1.2, 1.14). Cappon concluded that "Canada seems to abhor inter-jurisdictional innovation. We seem fearful that, in accepting some new way of co-operating, we will be abandoning powers, surrendering sovereignty" (p. 3).

Additional attempts to decentralize national responsibilities while increasing educational accountability resulted in a growth of regionalist tendencies and increased attention to provincial concerns. Even though education remained a provincial jurisdiction responsibility, the ministers continued to be pressured to find innovative ways to address national and international education priorities.

CCL's mandate for learning ranges from early childhood to adult formal and informal learning. Consequently, CCL articulated its intent to strengthen research and monitoring in the area of structured learning (which CCL previously termed *formal learning*) by creating a partnership with the Canadian Education Statistics Network (CESN). However, CCL qualified the intent by recognizing that CESN maintains an important partnership with the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CCL, 2005).

The Canadian Education Statistics Council ([CESC] 2004), Statistics Canada, and CMEC have collaborated in collecting and disseminating data and statistical information to be used in setting educational policy. CCL's mention of this strategic relationship was one means of confirming an established mechanism that could enable CCL to circumvent a direct relationship with CMEC while still working within the parameters of national education partnerships. However, CCL continues to experience resistance from CMEC.

It was not clear whether CMEC's accountability to a national agenda differed significantly from the CCL's accountability for meeting a federal mandate. Furthermore, there was still ambiguity about CMEC's and CCL's capacity for policy making, policy analysis, and policy advisory.

In the subtle difference between learning and education, CCL acts as a federal mechanism for influencing public school learning initiatives. Tamburri (2003) reported that "business and labour groups have welcomed the proposal, but the idea has raised concerns among some provinces and territories, which see this as an intrusion by the federal government in the field of education, traditionally a provincial responsibility" (p. 29). Evidence of such an intrusion was evident in the report to the Directors of the Ontario Teachers Federation in which Cappon addressed CCL's potential to provide opportunities in the K-12 system (Ontario Teachers' Federation 2005, p. 2).

An ever-evolving national and international network of learning continues to strengthen the learning discourse. Relying on the sanctioning relationship between globalization and socioeconomic success, the learning discourse has made it possible for the federal government to create a mechanism for reaching within the K-12 system and positioning public education within the lifelong learning process. CCL's plan for change includes an intent to inform Canadians on the progress of Canadian learning, particularly lifelong learning, through disseminating knowledge and information accrued from monitoring and reporting specific practices to the national providers of learning (CCL, 2004a). In essence, CCL has facilitated a conceptual shift in the narrowing of educational purpose so that knowledge mobilization requires educational policy and practice to be evidence and research based (CCL, 2005).

The sustainability of the learning discourse will depend on CCL's ability to negotiate partnerships, work at the intergovernmental level, and engage all levels of

stakeholders (particularly education ministers) in decision-making processes. In the meantime, with the *Victoria Declaration*, CMEC (1999b) continues to actively pursue a larger educational agenda that encompasses a belief in education as a lifelong learning process.

Summary

In Chapter 8 I have provided a genealogical analysis of the emergence of a learning discourse and the ongoing influence of this discourse on Canada's educational governance structure. The chapter defines how the practices of education and/or learning serve as a disciplinary technology of government. This technology is apparent in the belief that lifelong learning, as scientifically determined through various credentialing practices, is a reasonable expectation for individual and institutional success within an evolving global economic context. The chapter extends the discussion initiated in Chapter 4, in which Figure 5 graphically depicts the push and pull of archaeological and genealogical possibilities, and Figures 6 and 7 detail how various power relationships create new possibilities and forms of resistance in education. Reliance on an archaeological and genealogical approach facilitates an understanding of the way that ideas constitute and are constituted by the interrelations of knowledge and power. As an outcome of this process, alternative questions and new understandings have emerged about the context and issues that constitute national educational governance.

The critical distinctions between the two national organizations CMEC and CCL reveal that consensus building is not a prerequisite for action in CCL. Considering the structure of CCL's Board of Directors, who are from education, the corporate sector, and labour communities, it may be that much easier to pursue a national or international perspective rather than a regional or provincial predisposition. Certainly, access to $100 million for a five-year term is a significant sign of federal support for CCL. Not to be overlooked is CMEC's (2004a) new mandate and commitment "to work collaboratively to build the best education systems in the world where every learner succeeds" (p. 1). It is noteworthy that CMEC's (2004b) news release confirms that CMEC and the federal government will work together in pursuing literacy priorities, Aboriginal education, and postsecondary capacity. This statement of an ongoing federal-

provincial partnership affirms that CMEC still maintains a significant position in the governance of education.

In questioning the future of Canadian educational governance, two options appear clear. Will the federal government maintain two independent partnerships with CMEC and CCL, or will there be a forced amalgamation at some time in the immediate future? Accepting that CMEC is grounded provincially and that CCL is, to all intents and purposes, a surrogate for HRSDC, the challenge of whether both can survive is conditional upon financial backing and provincial ministers' acceptance or rejection of the significant relationship between national initiatives and provincial educational interests. In the meantime, the challenge to education as a social undertaking increases based on the premise that it is inadequately equipped for responding to current social needs.

CHAPTER 9:

CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

Introduction

Chapter 8 revisited Foucault's ideas about power as apparent in the power continuum that ranges from political power to self-regulation. Moreover, the chapter located these two concerns (political power and self-regulation) within the broader notion of Foucault's idea of *governmentality*.

Next, I present a review of the research framework that pays particular attention to the effectiveness of the various models in analyzing the organizational functions of governance in a political theoretical context shaped by neoliberal practices and policies. Then the chapter reviews the three specific research questions as detailed in Chapters 6, 7, and 8 and focuses particularly on the following major research issue: "How does CMEC, as an intergovernmental educational organization, influence national and international education priorities?" First, however, it will be helpful to elaborate somewhat on Foucault's notion of power as a strategic game.

Foucault's Power: A Strategic Game

Foucault (1980, 1983) defined *power* in the active sense rather than as a sovereign right or possession. Thus, the exercise of power was possible within a wide range of relations. He viewed power as an effect of social relations—whether individual, group, or state—aimed at "the conduct of conduct" (Hindess, 1996, p. 20). Keeping this notion of power in mind, it is important to consider how the Constitutional nature of education has caused a major challenge for the federal government during the time of this research (1993-2003). More specifically, the federal government has made explicit efforts to manage the conduct of educational activity through such options as provincial funding mechanisms or selective influence aimed at CMEC as the national voice of Canadian education and, through CMEC, at various partners.

The strategic management of education is essential to the federal priority of establishing a competitive position within the global knowledge economy. Moreover, the

federal government's management strategies require that provincial education decision makers demonstrate a commitment to the technologies that gauge educational success according to international regulations. For this reason, an emphasis on the scientific method has become the religious belief system that justifies reform in educational governance; reform initiatives have included the undermining of the traditional concepts of administrative expertise and a growing emphasis on the social practices of neoliberalism that emphasize a scientific approach to the achievement of excellence and accountability in educational governance.

From a Foucauldian perspective, a merger of the technologies of the self and the technologies of domination in government have created a new theoretical framework of governmentality. Governmentality focuses on the analysis of practices "with the aim of grasping the conditions which make these acceptable at a given time. . . . To analyze 'regimes of practices' means to analyze programmes of conduct" (Foucault, 1991b, p. 75). It is these programmes of conduct that form institutions, or political theories. This framework, used in the analysis of educational governance, has made visible the informal techniques of power practices and the use of nontraditional educational partners in realizing federal government objectives.

Political Theory of Reform and the Usefulness of Foucault's Governmentality

From the perspective of governmentality, government exists on a continuum that extends from political government through to forms of self-regulation or 'technologies of the self.' The theoretical strength of the concept of governmentality consists of the fact that "it construes neo-liberalism . . . as a political project that endeavors to create a social reality that it suggests already exists" (Lemke, 2002, p. 12). Therefore, Foucault's ideas on governmentality made it possible to examine the federal government's strategies and neoliberal practices in pursuit of national and international interests in education.

The subsequent interplay involving the federal government, CMEC, and corporate and nongovernmental partners relied on various practices to reassure those involved in education that a scientific approach to educational governance was the natural way to ensure success for Canada's students. Thus, the thrust toward standards, indicators, and

educational accountability through participation in national and international assessment protocols became routine practices in schooling. Moreover, the scientific approach gained such attention through publishing results and school reports and recognizing high achieving and lower achieving schools that many critical questions went unasked, including, How does assessment improve student performance? and What is the purpose of education?

Therefore, the project of governmentality successfully raised the profile of the scientific method as an influential technology of power to validate new forms of knowledge and sway individual and institutional beliefs about the need for reform while promoting the commodification of education rather than the democratic right to public education. In addition, the influence of neoliberal social economic agendas became visible in the re-imaging of learning as something different from education. Governmentality linked the relationship between micro practices such as agenda setting, consensus building, and partnerships with the macro political effects of economies, technology, and globalization.

In essence, because of Foucault's (1991a) ideas on governmentality, it was possible to identify how the administration of things—for example, privatization, individualism, the knowledge economy, knowledge transfer, professionalism and experts, and standards and partnerships—effectively enabled the regulation of ways of thinking and the governing of people. These points illustrate why Foucault's ideas proved invaluable to my research.

Reviewing the Research Framework

The ontological position that defined the context for this critical theory research on national educational governance views the reality of Canadian federalism as more than a tradition. Rather, federalism in Canada is an ideal, a normative position, and a legislated framework upon which the formal and informal transactions of power offer diverse possibilities for action, opposition, resistance, and negotiation. The ongoing push and pull of power relations at different levels of institutional and individual behaviour are implicit in Canada's federal constitution. As well, federal and provincial agendas are agitated continuously by a complex global socioeconomic context and federal expectations and pressure that provincial ministers of education manage their educational priorities in line

with the scientific methods advocated by federal and international economies. A strategic point of debate is federal and provincial resistance to compromise and the suggestion that, as a result of this resistance, an interjurisdictional divide has created a decline in or a loss of attention to national and international education and/or learning priorities (Cappon, 2004a).

Constitutional responsibility in the past may have successfully restrained the federal government from arbitrarily acting outside its boundaries and influencing provincial educational decision making. However, the current global society seeks to facilitate new markets and accommodate economic interests through regulating the knowledge economy all in the name of *the* "regime of truth"—the science of administration and governance discourse. The federal desire to become competitive within the global knowledge economy necessitates a commitment to scientific technologies that validate new understandings of the value of educational governance even as it undermines traditional understandings of administrative expertise.

The scientific method relates success to the economy of knowledge that is associated with education and lifelong learning, economic value, excellence, accountability, knowledge transfer, professionalism, experts, universal standards, and selective partnerships. As an example, as recently as June 2006 CCL acted as co-host in sponsoring a forum with the Canadian Foundation for Economic Education at the 12th International Economic Forum of the Americas/Conference of Montréal, Growing Through Partnership: From Risk to Reward. This conference is an indicator of how the new managerialism borrowed from multinational corporations and applied to governance facilitates new kinds of democracy (e.g., the democracy of provinces or a brokering of regional and provincial elites in the technocratically modern society). Thus, new political decision makers based their decisions on technical and economic information rather than on personal or public opinion.

Governance now demands active participation in a global economy where educational goals and standards serve as important criteria for measuring individual and organizational success. Moreover, the goals and standards act as important marketing criteria for Canada's political success within a growing international knowledge economy. Yet apprehension over and resistance to setting goals and standards has been

evident at other levels of decision making. For instance, one significant concern is that the evidence obtained from the scientific monitoring and reporting of education goals and standards would be used to determine educational purpose and to define the differences in educational priorities from what is to what should be.

Further complicating an already complex global agenda is the increasing indication that the knowledge industry may not be the answer to global interests. Rather, there is an emerging rhetoric that prioritizes innovation and creativity as more important. Shumway (1989) suggested that Foucault would see this use of rhetoric as a political "form of persuasion and thus of power" (p. 60) rather than a form of logic in constructing beliefs about lifelong learning and the knowledge economy. However, consideration of why this shift in understandings of knowledge is occurring requires a more in-depth analysis of OECD's concern with the achievement levels of educational systems in Russian and East Europe that support the need for lifelong learning as an alternative to massive unrest. This is an issue for further study.

At this time an important consideration is public concern over government legitimacy and the subsequent lack of public trust in multi levels of government. There is an increased awareness of these concerns because of set agendas that shape education as an economic rather than a democratic public good. Although issues of standards and excellence are indicative of a liberal emphasis on the market economy, it seems that behavioural economics are apparent at the most micro level of public choice theory, where elected elites advocate statistical evidence prior to validating future trends in education.

Returning to Policy Frameworks

In this case study I utilized several methods of inquiry to explicate information about national governance in education. Accepting that personal beliefs can mirror or alter views of reality, I believed that my persistent challenge was to avoid proving what I initially saw as problems with educational governance. Rather, there was a need to interrogate beyond my sense of personal reality (which I would later associate with a liberal belief in reform or transformation) and explore the conditions that result in certain practices or knowledges acquiring a sense of "truth" or reality for the research

participants. This interactive process, although possible from several theoretical positions, required an extensive review of policy frameworks.

I decided to utilize a multiple-perspective approach to the critical policy analysis of policies, power relations, and national governance practices in education. This action was compatible with the project of critical theorists who maintain a commitment to "the radical restructuring of society towards the ends of reclaiming historical cultural legacies, social justice, the redistribution of power, and the achievement of truly democratic societies" (Denzin & Lincoln, 1998, p. 418).

Dunn (1981) confirmed the choice of a multiple perspective: "The choice of a conceptual framework is often similar to the choice of a world view, ideology, or popular myth and indicates a profound commitment to a particular view of reality" (p. 108). Thus, with little chance of escaping with integrity to an alternative methodology and with a new understanding of critical theory and its criteria for historical situatedness, it became clear that the assumptions of critical theory and qualitative case study would direct the investigation of governance in Canadian education. As well, a multiple-perspective approach to policy analysis would enable a rigorous examination of the research data.

Acting on the above, I incorporated into the cases study the following policy frameworks as discussed in Chapter 2: policy archaeology and genealogy, backward mapping, policy problem definition, policy argument framework, and a discussion of the push and pull of truth in national educational governance. Viewed holistically, this multiple-perspective approach effectively raised issues that would otherwise have remained embedded in the research data.

In an attempt to define the disjuncture between what is and what should be in education, it was necessary to probe the normative implications of values and beliefs that locate the gap between theory and practice. This aim required searching beyond the historical conditions embedded in the Constitution to the metaphorical analysis of policy archaeology (Scheurich, 1994) and an examination of the intersecting conditions and assumptions underlying educational governance.

Scheurich's (1994) policy archaeology offered a methodological approach to Foucault's in-depth ideas about the conditions, assumptions, and forces that shape educational discourse (Mawhinney, 1995). I cross-referenced the interview questions

with Scheurich's policy archaeology framework to determine whether a reciprocal arrangement between the conceptual framework and the interview questions might help in the analysis of each participant's understandings of CMEC and educational governance. This approach provided an effective means of examining the participants' responses from different speculative standpoints.

Policy archaeology provided a means to probe beneath the layers and beneath the obvious and taken-for-granted to the deeper structures where more subtle mechanisms shape power-knowledge relations. It also presented a starting point for the analysis of national governance in education. The conventional objective of policy processes was to provide a particular solution to a policy problem, but a drawback of this approach was that narrowing the policy process also limited the focus on the subjective nature of both a policy problem definition and possible solutions. In discussing policy issues, Stone (1988) argued that "there is no objective description of a situation; there can only be portrayals of people's experiences and interpretations" (p. 106). For these reasons a multiple-perspective policy approach in this research made it possible to move beyond recognizing and validating a particular problem to analyzing the conditions that lead to certain practices or knowledges that are seen as true.

The practices embedded in the conditions that constitute national educational governance create possibilities for and resistance to educational transformation. Consequently, the analysis incorporated a genealogical approach that focused on events that are often neglected or overlooked in the chronological ordering of history. In this respect there is a shift from the centralization of power to the "struggles over the actual ways in which power operates . . . in the variety of micro-practices" (Haber, 1994, p. 87) that reflect the taken-for-granted occurrences of everyday life.

A priority of genealogical analysis is the importance of facilitating self-knowledge through the exploration of knowledge-power relationships (Foucault, 1983b, 1985, 1994, 1997). Understanding was thus supported by an ongoing search for detail and knowledge that was backed by data (Foucault, 1984a) rather than accepted as routine or natural (Ransom, 1997). The analysis traced the practices and efforts of multiple levels of government, partners, and NGOs to "structure the field of action of others" (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983a, p. 221) and redefine the governance of education.

Both the research question and the potential policy problem were continuously redefined throughout the case study. The use of various policy analysis frameworks requires consideration of the policy issues in terms of wide-ranging ideas and theories; otherwise, there is a tendency for the researcher to rely on taken-for-granted assumptions that limit the potential to transform policy problems. In fact, new knowledge sometimes became evident through this process. An explanation of the evolution of this research focus draws on the specific policy frameworks. For instance, policy archaeology made visible the shift in government philosophy that led to decentralization attempts as a mechanism for managing deficit priorities. It also revealed the pervasive link between provincial, national, and international neoliberal technologies in shaping education agendas and federal priorities.

Backward mapping effectively enabled the deconstruction of national governance to reveal the specific causes and effects of concerns related to national educational governance. Concerns about the causes and effects of power relations in education drew attention to the normative emphasis on capitalism and democracy, along with the federal swing from a position of centralization to decentralization. This broader theoretical framework made it possible to understand the grid of power relations as well as the diversity of stakeholders who were attempting to influence education through the promotion of scientific knowledge, the knowledge economy, an increasing emphasis on choice, and the privatization of education.

Federal motives were associated with economic goals, but the redefining of domestic responsibilities resulted in government partnerships becoming effective mechanisms in managing domestic responsibilities. Moreover, it helped to define what rules or social regularities influence the social acceptance of a particular policy problem or solution. Thus, archaeology helped to understand the government's policy mechanisms and analyze the construction of the participants' understanding.

This policy framework made it possible to examine the pervasiveness of market ideologies and global influences on education. This process led to the identification of numerous policy subproblems, including educational goals, the tension between provincial and educational boundaries, the issues of centralization and decentralization, a growing international influence on Canadian education, and issues of democracy and

federalism. The framework considered the policy subproblems from an ideological perspective that identified many of the characteristics of neoliberalism, including influences that act as convincing strategies intended to constitute the self as part of neoliberal discourse. In the reconstruction of various policy subproblems, new issues and new possibilities for resistance surface.

The policy definition framework provided a method to consider the influence of different ideas and values with respect to an historic retelling of educational practices from 1993 to 2003 compared to the relation of these normative positions with empirical theory and research. Pal's (1997) perception was that "framing problems draws on a wide variety of ingredients, from scientific expertise to conventional wisdom and rhetoric" (p. 69).

In this case study the relative invisibility of the current political relationship between education and learning confirmed that bringing such issues to the forefront required an articulation of why and how learning exists as a problem for some and a solution to issues of educational purpose for others. Essential to the problem-definition process were the differences in understandings of the goals of education versus learning and the implications of various interpretations on both the policy problem and possible solutions.

The policy definition framework was an important mechanism in identifying the different variables inherent in the current context of neoliberalism, globalization, and the knowledge economy. The generation of many policy problems such as national governance now brings an international context to the framing of such issues that find the federal government unable to manage potential solutions independent of other economies. This challenge will probably require continuous federal negotiation regarding domestic versus international policy processes.

The policy argument framework was helpful in determining potential reasons (cause and effect) for various governance practices. In particular, the use of language or rhetoric in establishing certain warrants or rebuttals required imaginative thinking about potential policy arguments and positions in support of governance.

The framework emphasizing the push and pull of truth was most helpful in the reconsideration that "power is enacted by government and by self, through various

discourses, practices, and techniques to produce a truth that, irrespective of being true or false, is produced, circulated, transformed and used" (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1998, p. 65). For example, the rhetoric about education and learning focused repeatedly on scientific validation of learning. As well, because provincial ministers did not concede to federal educational interests, the difference in opinion was conceptualized as a *gap* between the constitutionally defined provincial jurisdiction of education and national and federal educational interests. This concern links with the increased fiscal and political tension as provincial and federal governments respond to international educational policy activity. As well, the concern locates a tension between the knowledge economy and the priority of public education. Yet all of these issues conceal the essential policy problem of power relations and raise the perpetual though not necessarily most important questions of who has power and how this power is enacted to secure what is desired.

Foucault's ideas were most helpful in this policy framework. Of particular significance were the explanations of his rejection of the founding subject and the explanation that in discourse the subject occupies "a particular vacant place that may be filled by different individuals" (as cited in Simola et al., 1998, p. 66). But it was the further clarification that helped me to understand that it does make a difference how this vacant space creates a venue for various implicit or explicit rules and practices that influence the effectiveness of the relations of power and the possibility for a speaking subject.

Thus, although power can never be possessed, given the practices and conditions that constitute individuals' actions—that is, those individuals who promote the gap between education and learning versus those who argue for public education versus those who advocate for choice or privatization—the generative nature of power located in such practices as neoliberalism, the scientific method, and the politics of participation all reflect the conditions that shape the vacant space and make its occupant more able to effectively influence diffuse relations of power.

More specific to this case, the analysis of power relations in social practices enables individuals and groups to understand the political, social, and economic conditions that shape the context of education policy and national educational governance. Drawing on these understandings, the future of national governance in

education appears uncertain as CMEC regroups to establish its presence as the national voice of education in Canada. Meanwhile, a significant resource base and an operational plan find the CCL making its presence known on the Canadian education landscape. The federal government remains strategically distanced while indubitably embedded in shaping the priorities of both organizations. How each of the three entities plays out its vision for education is a priority for further research.

In summary, the benefit of using a multiple-perspective approach to policy analysis was apparent in the interplay of the data from one framework to another. Most beneficial was the constant probing within the frameworks for new knowledge, new alternatives, and new interpretations. Thus, the reiterative nature of the questioning process remained current throughout the research.

The Frustration of Foucault: Questions of Power and Agency

The question of power and agency in Foucault's work is a frequent cause of distraction. Consequently, after much reflection, I challenge the notion that agency is not an essential issue within Foucauldian discourse. Rather, my interpretation finds agency embedded implicitly in Foucault's ideas about power, particularly in the positive production of power as creative resistance to social regulation. Given the expectation that an understanding of power requires an analysis of the mechanism and practices that enable power to endure, I contend that understanding is not an "end" in and of itself, but rather a starting point for the application of knowledge and power in creating possibilities for alternative ways of thinking and acting. It is this possibility that, for me, validates critical social theory as a methodology for interrogating the micro and macro understandings of power relationships with the aim of generating new knowledge and the potential for transformation.

Foucault (2000) claimed that there are two essential requirements of a power relationship: inclusion of "the other" and "the element of freedom" (p. 342). Yet "the other" as the object of the exercise of power who acts and reacts by choosing to engage in a variety of possibilities (not necessarily in an unthinking mode) continues the political cycle of power relationships through the freedom to act:

> The problematic of government seemed to Foucault to provide a more helpful way to address the relationship between power and freedom. The notion of government encapsulated the key insight that power, understood as a form of action on the actions of other, only works where there is some freedom. (Gordon; as cited in Foucault, 2000, p. xxviii)

The frameworks of power and the options for limited or unlimited choice provide one reason for critiquing ideas of agency within the questioning of the constitution of self as critically thinking and acting beings. Support for this critique exists in Foucault's (2000) argument that "at the very heart of the power relationship, and constantly provoking it, is the recalcitrance of the will and the intransigence of freedom" (p. 342). Yet evidence surfaces of the contradictory and complex nature of Foucault in the following claim:

> We need to free ourselves of the sacralization of the social as the only instance of the real and stop regarding that essential element in human life and human relations—I meant thought—as so much wind. Thought does exist, both beyond and before systems and edifices of discourse. It is something that is often hidden but always drives everyday behaviours. (p. 456)

Moreover, Foucault (1983) challenged us to "refuse what we are" (p. 214) and consider alternative forms of subjectivity so that both individuals and institutions can become free from the "individualization and totalization of modern power structures" (p. 216).

Olssen et al. (2004) interpreted Foucault as identifying several influences in the social construction of a subject. These include the use of human sciences and the related practices that objectify and classify who we are and the reliance on agency by those subjects who choose to resist and subsequently change history. Although Foucault's neglect of the 'how' of human agency remains a frustration for many (including myself), the complexity and contradictory nature of Foucault's ideas may veil a subversive interest that is more evident in the way that Foucault chose to live his life.

An option for later consideration is the question of whether *resistance* is an expressive behaviour of agency or choice or a result of information and judgement rationality. As well, a challenge to future research is to determine whether Foucault claimed that this resistance is "nothing but" a form of expressive power and justifications of it are "nothing but" legitimation or proxies for that power.

The Questioning of National Governance (Returning to the Research Questions)

Chapter 6 responded to the specific question about CMEC's national and international priorities from 1993 to 2003. A finding that emerged from this chapter is that the *Victoria Declaration*, a precedent-setting document for education in Canada, required numerous amendments that enabled a much broader interpretation of provincial/federal and national responsibilities for education. Consensus was sought through a provincial democracy that marginalized public voices in the debate of national governance. Moreover, in some ways this decision unified a forum for federal intervention while also creating a mechanism that favoured the modeling of new corporate management strategies; it had questionable effectiveness in determining CMEC's future role as the national voice of Canadian education.

Chapter 7 focused on identifying the processes that enabled or constrained CMEC's implementation of education priorities during the past decade. An important finding that emerged from this chapter is that the research participants were relatively unaware of amendments and/or protocol agreements to the *Victoria Declaration* that facilitated a federal positioning in national and international education activity. Moreover, because of federal innovation priorities education has been resituated within a broader learning discourse (HRDC, 1999). A shift in language associated with education and learning has facilitated alternative interpretations of Constitutional responsibilities for education particularly since learning was not explicitly identified as a provincial responsibility.

Chapter 8 examined the possibilities of a transformation in education during the period of this research and concluded that the past decade (1993-2003) witnessed significant changes to traditional understandings of education and learning. Through a genealogical analysis, the emergence of educational transformation was traced to the development of the Learning Initiatives Project (LIP) in 1994; it extended to the 2003 federal budget announcement of the formation of the Learning Institute and continued with a $100 million funding program to the Canadian Council on Learning. At this point CMEC is resistant to any partnership with the CCL, but the national council still maintains a collaborative partnership in the pursuit of education, learning, and research agendas with the federal government.

Chapter 9 has summarized the findings of the research process and concludes with the major assumption that CMEC and CCL will maintain two independent partnerships. Given that CCL is for all intents and purposes a quango of HRDC and that CMEC remains grounded in provincial education, the survival of both organizations remains questionable. The answers to questions about CMEC's future depend upon the availability of resources and whether provincial ministers see national/international involvement as essential to their interests. Meanwhile, the purpose of education as a social undertaking is experiencing ongoing indirect challenges from CCL.

This chapter continues with suggestions and recommendations for further research on educational governance, educational practice, and policy studies, with two recommendations for philosophical considerations. The chapter concludes with a reflection on Foucault.

Implications for Further Research

National educational governance is experiencing a transformative period. The emerging education and learning discourse and the emphasis on accountability systems, expertise, and competitiveness are reshaping the norms, institutional structures, policies, and practices of Canadian education. Local control of education maintains a shaky balance with federal educational agendas. Given that federal funding has always been a mainstay of CMEC's educational activities, the stated responsibilities and funding allocation to the Canadian Council on Learning overlap the responsibilities and educational priorities that were formerly the sole domain of CMEC.

The changing context requires a willingness to confront federal interests and strategies regarding the governance of education in Canada, with particular attention to the dual national agendas of education and learning. Research is required to determine whether public education needs shoring up as a democratically constituted provincial responsibility and as a normative expectation of Canadian society.

For the most part, generalizability is difficult when it comes to case studies and a sample size reflective of this case study or when there is limited relevant secondary literature. That is why theoretical debate provides an alternate way to approach the generalizability and transferability of the findings—especially in challenging the dominant liberal priorities.

Further implications for research on educational governance, educational practice, and policy studies are suggested below.

Educational Governance

Suggestions for further research on educational governance include the following:

- determination of the need for a federal department of education, given the two national bodies, CCL and CMEC
- investigation of the education realities, with particular attention to the practices and policies that advance or restrict democratic processes for various educational interests
- given jurisdictional responsibilities for education, determination of the implications, if any, for teachers' organizations that engage with CCL in the pursuit of learning agendas
- comparison and contrast, based on a Foucauldian analysis of power, of CMEC's and CCL's disciplining practices in realizing their respective educational priorities
- determination of the decision-making processes that interorganizational models will use in achieving their research objectives
- evaluation of the dissemination strategies of research brokers such as SSHRC, NSERC, and CCL
- examination of the power relations associated with the emergence of learning and determining how these relations will play out in provincial decision-making structures
- investigation of the relationship of the federal government with CMEC and the CCL; a focus on funding mechanisms, respective priorities, areas of tension, and attempts at collaboration can help to define the knowledge-power relationship that finds two unique agencies mobilizing agendas on education and learning.

Educational Practice

Suggestions for research on educational practice include the following:

- investigation of the emphasis on education and/or learning goals and standards and the influence of these variables on educational performance
- critical assessment of the relationship between CCL's knowledge and research translators and educational practice within the K-12 system
- comparison of national and international strategies and practices in lifelong learning processes
- determination of whether the evidence obtained from the scientific monitoring of and reporting on education and learning has influenced education and learning purpose
- investigation of whether learning agendas will influence programming at the K-12 level
- exploration of the conditions under which knowledge of best practices influences the practice of others
- investigation of how understandings of education and learning are determined

Policy Studies

Suggestions for further research on policy studies include the following:

- description of the relationship between research and politics in driving public policy
- analysis of educational reform and democratic forces: the tension between local, national, and international decision making
- determination of whether CCL's research agenda will result in a change in educational policy
- selection of criteria to determine the quality, relevance, and accountability for publicly funded research
- understanding of the relationships between institutional values and/or the values of funding agencies that influence the choice of pure research versus applied research

- comparison of the relationship between CMEC and CCL's education and/or learning priorities and those of the G8 to determine the degree to which international educational agendas influence national education agendas
- investigation of whether normative considerations in educational decisions will influence interdisciplinary governance teams
- because transformation in national educational governance requires a distribution of power between governments and NGOs in responding to educational policy processes, determination of alternative decision-making options, other than the mechanism of constitutional amendments, for national decision making because of the lack of formal mechanisms to support intergovernmental collaboration in jurisdictional arenas such as education

Other

Suggestions for further research include the following:

- examination of the use of language in shaping understandings of alternative educational governance structures
- exploration of how education and learning have evolved as an economic "truth"

Implicit in each of the above recommendations for further research is recognition of Foucault's (as cited in Mills, 2003) understandings of power, with a particular focus on Foucault's recognition of power as action—exercising, circulating, producing, and resisting. In constructing the recommendations for research, the intent is to facilitate an awareness of some of the various power relations that are embedded in the practices of education and learning including power relations that:

- constitute individual and institutional success
- shape education and learning purpose
- influence decision-making procedures including policy decisions
- create alternative possibilities for structures of educational systems
- influence interpretations of federalism and constitutional rights

The shared challenge is to engage in the study of power and to seek out the possibilities and resistances that in turn challenge how power is dispersed, particularly in education, but also in social practices at all levels.

End Note

In the beginning they said, "Use Foucault and archaeology"; and I, well, I was a neophyte, unsure of knowledge, unsure of methodology, unsure of how to say, "Why Foucault?" After all, didn't they know the "truth" about writing a dissertation? Besides, for some unknown reason, the speaking of his name, *Foucault*, caught my imagination. It didn't take long before I felt the sense of being captured by Foucauldian muck and mire. Nevertheless, the responsibility was now completely mine, so I persisted through numerous readings and rereadings, numerous pursuits of interpretations, and numerous contradictions that only Foucault could offer. I can now affirm that I have conducted research that offers no claim to its applied value, but rather a hope that the ideas generate further thought about power, policy, and practice. The acknowledgement belongs to Foucault, whose elusiveness I have come to enjoy, whose complexity remains a challenge, and whose insight helps me to understand the relations of power in prison life, in guardianship processes, in the love of children and grandchildren, and in the search for knowledge and due process. With an awareness of sadness and soul stretching, I now choose to free myself of Foucault in pursuit of an unrelenting assumption that:

> Choice exists in those philosophical spaces where the essence of being—the idea, imagination, belief, inspiration—challenges the place of providence. The 'idea' is rooted in our humanity; as an infinitesimal strand of power, it infuses social, political, and sovereign rule with the strength of theory. Through choice, in the emergent philosophical space lies the possibility for transformation. (LeMoine, 2006)

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APPENDIX A:

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THE STUDY

Appendix A: Consent to Participate in the Study

June 27, 2000

Dear _____:

I am a PhD student at the University of Alberta engaged in completing a research study of the national and international influences on national educational decision making. The Council of Ministers of Education, Canada will provide the research focus for the analysis of the policies, protocols, and partnerships that exist between the federal, provincial governments, the private sector, and international educational policy makers. In addition, I will examine the political processes by which actors engage in national and international educational policy. I would like to interview you as part of my research. My data collection will consist of document analysis and 19 interviews with representatives from educational ministries, CMEC staff, educational associations, and public interest groups. I will also interview a small number of nationally recognized spokespersons on education that have been invited or that have not attended CMEC national educational consultations. I believe that because of global economic, social, and political influences on national policy, this research is important for all parties interested in education, national policy, and changing roles of governments. Your input would be extremely valuable in ensuring a balanced representation from the respective groups named above.

The interview would take approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour and can be held in a location of your choosing. During the interview process and in the formal transcription of the interview, a pseudonym will be used instead of your given name as a method of ensuring confidentiality. I would need to tape record the interview for transcription and qualitative analysis. However, prior to using your information in my research, I will return the transcription to you for your review with the choice of deleting any passage that you would prefer to have excluded from the research dissertation. As well, should I use a third party to transcribe the interview, the individual will be required to sign a consent form ensuring confidentiality with respect to the name of the participant and any information related to the research process.

While the information provided during the interview will be primarily used for my research dissertation, a secondary use of the data may include use of the data for presentations or articles to educators as well as postdoctoral research. Finally, it is important for me to clearly state that you have the option to opt out or withdraw from the study at any time without any risk or prejudice on my part.

Independent Contact:

The research supervisor for this study is Dr. Frank Peters. Should you have any questions or concerns about this research, please contact Dr. Peters at the following address.

Dr. Frank Peters
Department of Educational Policy Studies
7-145, Education North
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Beverley A. LeMoine

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT AND CONSENT

University of Alberta

I, hereby consent to be

- Interviewed
- Tape recorded

By Beverley A. LeMoine

I understand that:

- I may withdraw from the research at any time without penalty
- All information gathered will be treated confidentially
- I will not be identifiable in any documents resulting from this research
- The discussion will be taped and transcribed, both of which will be stored in a secured place accessible by only the research team for a period of seven years.

I also understand that the results of this research will be used only in the following:

- Research thesis
- Presentations and written articles for other educators
- Post doctoral research

Signature

Date signed: June 27, 2000

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTS AND INTERPRETATIONS

I wish to express my appreciation for your willingness to participate in my research dissertation that is examining issues surrounding national educational governance. I have just recently received all of the interview transcripts from the professional transcriber. To ensure accuracy, a comparison of the transcription with the taped interview was carried out with the result being only a few editorial changes due to lack of tape clarity.

While the document collection and analysis portion of my dissertation is still in progress, the interview portion is nearing completion. I believe participants who geographically reflect a national perspective on education further strengthen the quality of interviews. Your contribution to this process has been extremely valuable.

During the initial interview, I indicated that I would return the transcription to you for your review. As indicated in your signed consent letter, the information provided during the interview will be primarily used for my research dissertation. However, a secondary use of the data may include use of the data for presentations or articles to educators as well as postdoctoral research. Finally, it is important for me to clearly state that you have the option to opt out or withdraw from the study at any time without any risk.

I would appreciate hearing your response to possible changes to the interview transcript within two weeks of receipt of this letter. Should your schedule prevent you from replying within this timeframe, I would appreciate hearing from you with respect to a more convenient timeframe. Thank you once again for your ongoing support and contribution to this research.

Yours truly,

Beverley A. LeMoine

APPENDIX B:

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Appendix B: Interview Questions

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS A

Describe what is meant by the national educational agenda and how the educational agenda has evolved?

Who participates in the process of deciding what constitutes the national educational agenda? Why are these individuals/groups chosen to participate?

Can you reference a specific national educational decision that involved a consultative process? Please talk about how the decision occurred and developed into a recommendation or policy action.

CMEC's international educational policy involvement appears to be expanding, please discuss the reasons behind the expansion, and identify some of the changes resulting from such involvement.

In your opinion, does Canada influence international educational policy? If so, how does it influence? If not, why doesn't it influence?

Has CMEC's role in education changed since its inception in 1976? Please elaborate.

Why has CMEC developed a dual track agenda and what are the implications of this process?

Why have protocols been established between CMEC, DFAIT, FPCCERIA, and FLMM?

Describe the purpose and provide examples of how the activity of FPCCERIA has affected the national educational agenda?

What was the purpose of the Victoria Declaration? Explain the preparatory process for CMEC (representatives) before attending federal and/or international forums?

How does the transient nature of ministerial positions influence the operations of CMEC?

Describe CMEC's information sharing process and comment on the public concern that CMEC operates in a degree of secrecy.

Discuss the need for educational reform in Canada and the implications of this need on the activity of CMEC.

Who and why are certain partners chosen to participate in research forums, consultations, or international policy meetings?

Describe the decision-making process from your perspective with reference to how and who initiates the decision, who decides who should participate in the process, and how these people are legitimized? Is there anyone that is not involved? Who you think should be involved in educational policy decisions?

Describe the impact of CMEC, DFAIT, FPCCERIA, and FLMM international involvement on provincial educational agendas.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS B

Discuss the need for educational reform in Canada and the implications of this need on the activity of CMEC.

Describe what is meant by the national educational agenda. Who participates? Why? How? How are these people legitimized? Who's missing? How are these decisions contested? How can these voices get heard?

How has CMEC's role in education changed since its inception in 1976? How would you describe CMEC's future role?

How has the policy process changed in the last ten years? Given these changes, how can accountability be ensured? Who is held accountable?

Consultation, consensus-building are used by government to facilitate public input. How effective are these strategies from CMEC's experience. Can you reference a specific national educational decision that resulted from a consultative process and developed into a policy decision?

Canada's (CMEC's) international educational policy involvement appears to be expanding. Please discuss the reasons behind the expansion and identify some of the changes resulting from such involvement.

Does Canada influence international educational policy? If so, how does it influence? If not, why doesn't it influence? Does the international activity influence Canadian education policy? Given jurisdictional issues about provincial responsibilities in education in Canada, why are ministers of education collaborating at the national and international level?

How does the transient nature of ministerial positions influence the operations of CMEC? The Director General's Role is also transient, what impact does this have?

What will be the outcome for Canadian education as CMEC engages in more activity that is international?

What was the purpose of the Victoria Declaration?

Why has CMEC developed a dual track agenda and what are the implications of this process?

Why have protocols been established between CMEC, DFAIT, FPCCERIA, and FLMM?

Describe the purpose and provide examples of how the activity of FPCCERIA has affected the national educational agenda?

Explain the preparatory process for CMEC (representatives) before attending federal and/or international forums?

How familiar with CMEC and the national educational agenda are those individuals who are concerned with public education? (Educators, parent groups, private and public sector)

Have trade agreements influenced educational activity in Canada?

Describe CMEC's information sharing process and comment on the public concern that CMEC operates in a degree of secrecy.

Who and why are certain partners chosen to participate in research forums, consultations or international policy meetings?

How can CMEC's role be ensured? Is it a strong enough voice for Canadian education at the international level?

Explain the process for choosing a particular international policy meeting. What is the relevance of increased emphasis on the North-South dialogue?

Please comment on the reasons why many individuals, educators included, do not recognize the existence of CMEC as an organization, or as a national voice for education?