

Internationalization Policies of Public Schooling and Neoliberal Discourses:

A Case Study of Manitoba

by

Abdelhady M. Elnagar

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies of

the University of Manitoba

in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Faculty of Education

University of Manitoba

Winnipeg, Manitoba

Copyright © 2019 by Abdelhady M. Elnagar

Abstract

A variety of studies relate the development of market-driven policies in Canadian public schooling to global neoliberalism (Basu, 2004; Henley & Young, 2009; Johnstone & Lee, 2016; Kwak, 2013; Schuetze, Kuehn, Davidson-Harden, Schugurensky & Weber, 2011; and, Wang, 2017). They suggest that: (i) market economies are redefining the essence of public schooling in Canada as a tradable and competitive commodity; and, (ii) the current solutions to different education policy problems are increasingly driven by notions of marketization, privatization, and performativity. Following a case study methodology, this research examines the development of Manitoba internationalization policy of public schooling in relation to neoliberal discourses from 1999 to 2016. An analysis of selected policy documents suggests that there were two stages for internationalization policy development: (i) an international trade-driven stage from 1999 to 2013; and, (ii) an immigration-driven stage from 2013 to 2016. The analysis also suggests that the policy *as text* had primarily economic purposes rather than educational ends. An analysis of interview data suggests that the internationalization policy *as discourse* was reflective of the prevailing global neoliberal public discourses of marketization, privatization, and expanding policy community/network. When describing the policy community structure and rationales, the participant views and opinions revealed the influence of these neoliberal discourses. In that context, the governmental rationale to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba was clearly economic-driven more than being education-oriented. The study shows that the development of internationalization policy, particularly the growth of public schooling international student programs, has manifested a window of opportunity for these neoliberal discourses to commodify, marketize, privatize, and expand the policy community of public schooling in Manitoba.

Keywords: Internationalization, policy, policy community, neoliberalism, and discourse.

Acknowledgements

To me, going through this Ph.D. program has a different meaning from what other students may have. It was a noteworthy, in-depth, and a comprehensive process through which I have been shifting from a native Arabic speaker who spent most of his time studying Egyptian education systems in their cultural frames, according to traditional educational research norms, to an English speaker who is examining Canadian education policies in their social contexts based on stricter academic research standards. This shift, although ongoing, could not have happened without the thoughtful, overwise, and devoted guidance of my advisory committee.

Professor Jon Young has led this transformational process gently and generously. I will never forget the amounts of time, support, and sincere advice that he offered me. Professor John Wiens has been mentoring me since my first day. Without his knowledgeable advice and invaluable support, this work would not have reached this stage. Professor Andrea Rounce has offered me an opportunity conducive to developing my understanding of public administration in Canada. Her thoughts and comments were significant to my research. I sincerely thank all my committee members for their advice and support in this program. My thanks are also to all this research participants for their invaluable thoughts and views that informed my study.

I would also like to acknowledge the financial awards that I received from the University of Manitoba and the Faculty of Education during my program. A special thanks goes to Dr. MJ Willard who awarded me a scholarship during the last year allowing me to focus on my study. Without her supports as a big sister, English teacher, and a guide, certainly, this work would not have come to this level during that period of time. Lastly, but not the least, my thanks to my family in Egypt and to my beloved children Mohamed, Raouf, and Hanin. Having you is a real fun in this life and an inspiration to face the challenges of this journey.

Dedication

To: E. Ellwood Willard & Evelyn L. Willard

May your souls rest in the best place you ever wished!

During the 1990s, when I was spending most of my time in my village, Ganag, in the Egyptian countryside, they were residing in Lebanon, a town in Missouri in the USA. After they left this world, I never thought that I may know, or even hear, about them. But, it was a pleasure and a privilege to know their story and learn how great human beings they were.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	i
Acknowledgment.....	ii
Dedication.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
List of Tables.....	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
List of Abbreviations.....	ix
Chapter One: Background and Outline.....	1
Internationalization of Public Schooling: Federal Contexts.....	2
Federal Policy Developments & Interests.....	3
Federal Policy Roles.....	5
Internationalization of Public Schooling: Manitoban Contexts.....	9
Internationalization Practices & Quantitative Developments.....	9
<i>School Divisions Offering International Student Programs</i>	10
<i>Affiliate Schools Teaching Manitoba's Public Curricula</i>	12
Internationalization Policy & Qualitative Developments.....	14
Internationalization Policies and Neoliberal Discourses.....	17
Marketization, and Marketing, of Public Schooling.....	20
Private Sector Engagement in Internationalization.....	21
Internationalization Policy Community/Network.....	22
Research Problem & Questions.....	22
Essence of Public Schooling.....	23
Changing Rationale and Expanding Span of Internationalization.....	24
Research Questions.....	28
Purposes, Methodology & Methods.....	28
Delimitations, Definitions & Significance.....	29
Chapter Two: Literature Review.....	32
Internationalization Policies and Approaches to Public Schooling.....	33
Neoliberalism and Public Schooling Policies.....	46
Neoliberalism and Internationalization Policy of Public Schooling.....	56
Chapter Three: Conceptual Outline.....	63
International Education and Internationalization.....	63
Learning-Driven Conceptualizations.....	64
Market-Driven Conceptualizations.....	66
Public Policy, Policy Formulation, Community & Network.....	69
Public/Education Policy.....	69
Policy Formulation/Problem Definition.....	74
Policy Community/Network.....	77
Neoliberalism and Neoliberalization.....	81
Neoliberalism as an Ideology.....	82
Neoliberalism as a Process.....	83
Neoliberalism: A Broader View.....	83

Chapter Four: Internationalization Policies of Public Schooling and Neoliberal Discourses: Analytical Framework.....	87
Neoliberal Foundations of Public Schooling Internationalization.....	87
Neoliberal Discourses of Public Schooling Internationalization.....	92
Stephen Ball and the Sociology of Education Policy.....	94
Neoliberalization of Public Schooling Policies: Ball's Views.....	97
<i>Public Education Marketization</i>	98
<i>Public Education Privatization</i>	100
<i>Public Education Policy Community/Network</i>	103
Neoliberalism and Public Education Policies	106
Neoliberal Values/Principles and Education Policy Texts.....	107
Neoliberal Public Discourses and Education Policy Discourses.....	108
Chapter Five: Methodology and Methods.....	111
Research Methodology: The Case Study.....	111
Research Methods.....	113
Policy Document Analysis.....	113
Qualitative Interview Analysis	118
Research Rigor.....	124
Chapter Six: Internationalization Policy Problem, Solutions, and Neoliberal Ideology: A Policy Document Analysis.....	126
International Trade-Driven Stage.....	127
Internationalization Policy Problem	129
Internationalization Policy Problem Solution.....	133
Immigration-Driven Stage.....	136
Internationalization Policy Problem.....	138
Internationalization Policy Problem Solution.....	141
Internationalization Policy Silences/Gaps.....	143
Internationalization Policy Texts and Neoliberal Ideology.....	145
Chapter Seven: Internationalization Policy Community, Rationales & Neoliberal Discourses: An Interview Data Analysis.....	150
Federal Level Policy Actors.....	150
Provincial Level Policy Actors.....	157
Developments of Internationalization Practice and Policy.....	157
Sub-Government Policy Actors.....	161
Attentive Public Actors.....	169
Rationales of Public Schooling Internationalization.....	173
The Rationale of the Providing Institutions	173
<i>Economic Rationale</i>	173
<i>Educational Rationale</i>	175
<i>Economic and Educational Rationale</i>	177
The Rationale of the Provincial Government	182
Policy Development and Neoliberal Public Discourses.....	185
Marketization, and Marketing, of Public Schooling.....	185
Private Sector Engagement.....	188

Internationalization Policy Community/Network.....	191
Chapter Eight: Discussion, Conclusions and Implications.....	194
Social Democracy and Neoliberalism: Bridging the Gap.....	195
Social Democratic Roots.....	195
Third-Way Era.....	196
Internationalization Policy of Pubic Schooling.....	198
Conclusions of the Study.....	200
Conceptual and Analytical Premises.....	201
Internationalization Policy Problem and its Proposed Solution(s).....	203
Internationalization Policy Community and Rationales.....	205
Internationalization Policy and Neoliberal Discourses	208
Implications of the Study.....	212
Implications for Policy Development.....	212
Implications for Further Research.....	214
References.....	216
Appendix A: Interview Schedule.....	243
Appendix B: Invitation Letter.....	246
Appendix C: Consent Form.....	248

List of Tables

Table 1: International Students Enrolment in Manitoba's from 2004/05 to 2013/14.....	10
Table 2: Well-established International Student Programs in Manitoba.....	11
Table 3: Manitoba Overseas Affiliate Schools/Programs.....	13
Table 4: Key Characteristics of Policy Network, Policy Community & Issues Network.....	80
Table 5: A List of Analyzed Governmental Documents.....	115
Table 6: A List of the Research Participants	119
Table 7: Data Codes, Categories & Abstractions/Themes of the First Set of Documents.....	127
Table 8: Data Codes, Categories & Abstractions/Themes of the Second Set of Documents.....	136
Table 9: Internationalization Policy Development Stages in Manitoba, 1999-2016.....	147
Table 10: A Summary of the Research Questions, Methods, and Focus of Data Analysis.....	200

List of Figures

Figure 1: Canada International Students by Study Level – 2016.....	8
Figure 2: Canada International Students by Province – 2016.....	17
Figure 3: Approaches to Internationalization in Manitoba from 2009 to 2013.....	27
Figure 4: Neoliberal Public Discourses and Market-driven Education Policy Discourses.....	105
Figure 5: Research Methods in Relation to the Conceptual/Analytical Outline.....	124
Figure 6: The Overlaps Between Internationalization, International Trade, Immigration, and Economic Development Policies in Manitoba 1999-2016.....	148

List of Abbreviations

AEL: Advanced Education and Literacy

AIT: Agreement on Internal Trade

CBSA: Canada Border Services Agency

CAPS–I: Canadian Association of Public Schools–International

CBIE: Canadian Bureau for International Education

CCIE: Canadian Consortium for International Education

CIDA: Canadian International Development Agency

CIC: Citizenship and Immigration Canada

CICan: Colleges and Institutes Canada

CSR: Common-Sense Revolution

CTT: Competitiveness Training and Trade

CMEC: Council of Ministers of Education, Canada

DFAIT: Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade

DLI: Designated Learning Institutions

ECY: Education Citizenship and Youth

ERA: Education Reform Act

GATS: General Agreement on Trade in Services

GAC: Global Affairs Canada

HRSDC: Human Resources and Skills Development Canada

IRCC: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada

ICM: International College of Manitoba

IEA: International Education Act

IEB: International Education Branch

IELF: International Education Loan Fund

IES: International Education Strategy

IMF: International Monetary Fund

ISP: International Student Program

LIM: Labour and Immigration Manitoba

MCIE: Manitoba Council for International Education

NDP: New Democratic Party

NAFTA: North American Free Trade Agreement

OECD: Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development

ODA: Overseas Development Assistance

UNIVCAN: Universities Canada

WTO: World Trade Organization

CHAPTER 1:

Background and Outline

From the beginning of the new millennium, internationalization has emerged as a significant aspect of Canadian public education. Over the previous decades, there were initiatives to internationalize education in Canada. Provincial and institutional endeavors had paid attention to maximize the numbers of foreign students on campuses. Currently, provinces and institutions have developed internationalization strategies that include a wide range of aspects. Attention has been paid to Canadians studying overseas, internationalization of classrooms and curricula, increased and intensified educational partnerships, and offering Canadian education to overseas students in their home countries (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2012, p. 1). Although the academic research that is focused on internationalization of post-secondary education has proliferated, less attention has been paid to the growth of this phenomenon in provincial public schooling institutions.

Theoretically, as Yemini suggested, internationalization approaches to public schooling may focus on four aspects: school governance; delivered curricula; school processes; and, auxiliary services. Internationalization of school governance may be reflected in the school's commitment to international activities. Internationalization of curricula might encompass teaching foreign languages and the incorporation of a global cultural content in the delivered courses. Internationalization of school processes may include international partnerships and contests. Lastly, internationalization of auxiliary services may focus on employment of online learning and other communication technologies to connect to overseas partners (Yemini, 2014, pp. 475-76). Notwithstanding the variety of internationalization approaches to public schooling that exist, practically in Canada, two approaches are most notable. *First*, the provision of

international student programs in public schools. *Second*, the delivery of Canadian public schooling curricula in overseas affiliate schools.

According to the CBIE (2014b, p. 14), a growing number of public-school divisions have adopted policies to internationalize their programs. In 2013, the numbers of foreign students in K-12 institutions across Canada have increased 30% on average when compared to the same numbers a decade ago. A significant portion of those students get access to post-secondary institutions. To ease their transition, colleges and universities have developed partnerships with school divisions in this regard. On the other hand, as Cosco (2011, p. 3) suggested, Canada is one of the very few countries that organize, certify, and inspect the delivery of their public schooling curricula in overseas affiliate schools for profit-making purposes.

A variety of studies relate such market-driven internationalization developments in Canadian public schooling to global neoliberalism (Basu, 2004; Henley & Young, 2009; Johnstone & Lee, 2016; Kwak, 2013; Schuetze, Kuehn, Davidson-Harden, Schugurensky & Weber, 2011; and, Wang, 2017). They suggest that global neoliberalism and its market-driven economies are redefining the essence of public schooling in Canada as a tradable and competitive commodity. They also suggest that current solutions to different education policy problems are increasingly driven by notions of marketization, privatization, and performativity. Considering that, this research analyzes the development of Manitoba internationalization policy of public schooling in relation to global neoliberal discourses from 1999 to 2016.

Internationalization of Public Schooling: Federal Contexts

According to Section 93 of the *Canadian Constitution Act* “in and for each Province the Legislature may exclusively make Laws in relation to Education...” (The Department of Justice, Canada, 2013, p. 31). Thus, the Constitution gives Canadian jurisdictions the authority to

manage their local education systems. In terms of international education, however, the federal government in Canada appears to have a significant responsibility. While different jurisdictions manage their own education systems, the federal government has a responsibility for immigration, foreign affairs, trade, international cooperation, and other areas related to internationalization of Canadian education (CBIE, 2016, p. 10). That is, to understand the development of internationalization policy in Manitoba, it is helpful to examine it in the context of its relevant federal policy developments, interests, and roles.

Federal Policy Developments & Interests

Internationalization of public education is currently viewed as a global industry that creates competition amongst different countries. A variety of governments have introduced significant adjustments to their international education policies, particularly to attract more international students. In Canada, current policy shifts consider international education as an important element for national economic development and now focus more on recruiting and retaining international students (Scott, Safdar, Trilokekar & El Masri, 2015, p. 2). In that context, educational institutions have been developing recruitment-driven internationalization strategies and competing globally for attracting international students at all levels. At the post-secondary levels, this interest in recruiting more international students is evident because of an increasing need for additional funds (Kizilbash, 2011, p. 3). To some proponents, the internationalization returns are, however, more than economic. Such students who have international backgrounds are seen to enrich academic environments. They offer their classmates chances to reflect on, and learn about, their views and cultures. After graduation, if they decide to permanently reside in Canada, their immigration applications are generally welcomed as they enrich the Canadian socio-economic mosaic (CBIE, 2013, p. 9; and, CBIE, 2015, p. 1).

Federally, the Government of Canada has declared its interest in international education. After the release of *Advantage Canada* (2006) and *Compete to Win* (2008) documents, the Government acknowledged the significance of Canada's effective engagement in world economy and the need to recruit foreign students. This acknowledgment was expressed in an initiative for the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade's (DFAIT), called *Edu-Canada*, to "brand" Canadian education. The initiative sought to promote Canadian education and endorse institutional efforts to recruit international students. Thus, in September of 2008, a Canadian international education *brand* was first launched and named *Imagine Education au/in Canada*. It resulted in federal-provincial partnerships, through the DFAIT and the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC), to collaboratively develop and manage the education brand, which was later mentioned as *Education au/in Canada* (CBIE, 2012, p. 2; and, CBIE, 2014 b, p. 8).

The introduction of the brand in 2008 signaled a new stage in Canada's involvement in international education. As a brand that represents all Canadian provinces and institutions, it proposed to assert Canada's unique quality of education, openness, and support. The brand was intended to assure international students that the quality of education in Canada will offer them the chance to reach their maximum potential. It also offered an opportunity to unite institutional, provincial, and federal efforts when recruiting international students with one consistent message (Kizilbash, 2011, p. 4; CBIE, 2012, p. 5; and, CBIE, 2013, pp. 2-3).

Early in 2011, following the release of the brand and acknowledging the economic and social returns that internationalization brings to Canada, the provincial and territorial leaders, through the Council of the Federation, required their Ministers of Education to cooperate with their Immigration counterparts and develop a plan to promote international education. Acting on this, the CMEC prepared a plan in collaboration with provincial and territorial Ministers of

Education and Ministers of Immigration which was released in June 2011. It proposed to identify fields of investment and areas for governmental cooperation to promote international education at all educational levels. Although the action plan paid much attention to bringing foreign students to Canada, it also focused on retaining those students after graduation (The Council of the Federation, 2011, p. 9; and, CBIE, 2012, p. 8).

Later in 2011, the federal government took a further step and assigned an *Advisory Panel on Canada's International Education Strategy* the task of suggesting approaches to promote international education as one of Canada's top priorities. The outcome of this Panel, which was embodied in a federal strategy to internationalize education, reflected the federal politicians' growing interest in international education (CBIE, 2014b, p. 8). When released in 2014, the International Education Strategy (IES) proposed to position Canada as a world model in international education and ensure a prosperous future for all Canadians (The Government of Canada, 2014, p. 4). As the government asserted, the IES was an important component of a federal *Global Markets Action Plan*. It intended to assist Canadian institutions to build on the quality infrastructures they already have and invest in the wide opportunities available for more success in internationalization of education (The Government of Canada, 2014, p. 9). As a pan-Canadian and inclusive strategy, it covered concerns related to: international students coming to study in any Canadian program; Canadians studying abroad; educational and academic partnerships between Canadian and overseas institutions; and, offering Canadian educational expertise to other countries (Kunin & Associates, 2016, p. 1).

Federal Policy Roles

According to the Advisory Panel on Canada's IES, the federal government's role in international education is distributed among a variety of agencies and departments. These

include: The Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT), currently Global Affairs Canada (GAC); Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC), currently Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC); Canada Border Services Agency (CBSA); Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC); and, Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) (The Government of Canada, 2012, pp. 15-19). The roles of the DFAIT/GAC and the CIC/IRCC are most significant.

The DFAIT's mandate was to market and protect Canadian interests internationally. The DFAIT's responsibility included: offering long term guidance and information; involving and leading international partners; and, networking and organizing international events. In that context, international education was viewed as a key international trading item. The DFAIT had an International Education and Youth Division which managed, through a Policy and Planning Unit, Canada's international education agreements. It also facilitated the discussions and final approvals of such agreements with other countries and international bodies (The Government of Canada, 2012, pp. 15-16). Although the DFAIT was responsible for all international efforts and relations of the Government of Canada, its major responsibility was to make and coordinate international policies in general (Tardi, 2010, p. 37). It was always constrained by the CMEC and the provincial governments when framing its responsibility for international education. Thus, internationalization activities were subject to different policy areas of education, foreign affairs, and international trade. Although there were points of contention and disagreement between individual provinces and the federal government, both jurisdictions have played more collaborative roles in internationalization of public education (Trilokekar, 2009, p. 143).

The emphasis on retaining skilled graduates received significant attention in regulations related to international students. Until the late of 2000s, as Alboim mentioned, international

students who were interested in obtaining a study permit had to declare that they have no plans to reside in Canada. They were not permitted to work outside of their educational institutions and had to travel back home if they wanted to apply for permanent residency. More recently, provinces and educational institutions have sought to expand their supports to international students, not just to complete their studies, but to remain and reside in Canada. The rationale behind this shift is that retaining international students maximizes the number of highly educated and skilled individuals who could develop the Canadian economy. Provincial initiatives, such as nominee programs that started in the 1990s, were employed to accelerate the international student applications for immigration (Alboim, 2011, p. 15).

In that context, the CIC managed the International Student Program (ISP), which is an immigration program committed to speeding up the arrival of those international students to Canada. It is assumed that hosting international students results in much benefit to educational institutions and to local societies, in addition to their economic returns (The Government of Canada, 2015, p. 1). Further, the CIC has developed some initiatives, including the permission to work off-campus and the Canadian Experience category, that allow international students to obtain work experiences besides their educational training. Such initiatives are significant elements of internationalization strategy in Canada. Having the chance to study and work is more attractive to potential foreign students (The Government of Canada, 2012, p. 17).

According to the CBIE (2016, p. 11), the provincial organization of Canadian education, with no federal oversight, has allowed a number of non-governmental bodies to play a critical role in the development of internationalization policies in Canada. For instance, the CBIE itself has a basic mandate to develop international education at different educational levels. Other interested institutions include the Colleges and Institutes Canada (CICan), the Universities

Canada (UNIVCAN), the Canadian Association of Public Schools–International (CAPS–I), and Languages Canada. These five mentioned bodies together form the Canadian Consortium for International Education (CCIE).

These federal developments suggest the following: *First*, the focus of governmental internationalization endeavors was not specific to post-secondary institutions as usual, but general and included public K-12 institutions as well. As the chart below shows, the numbers of

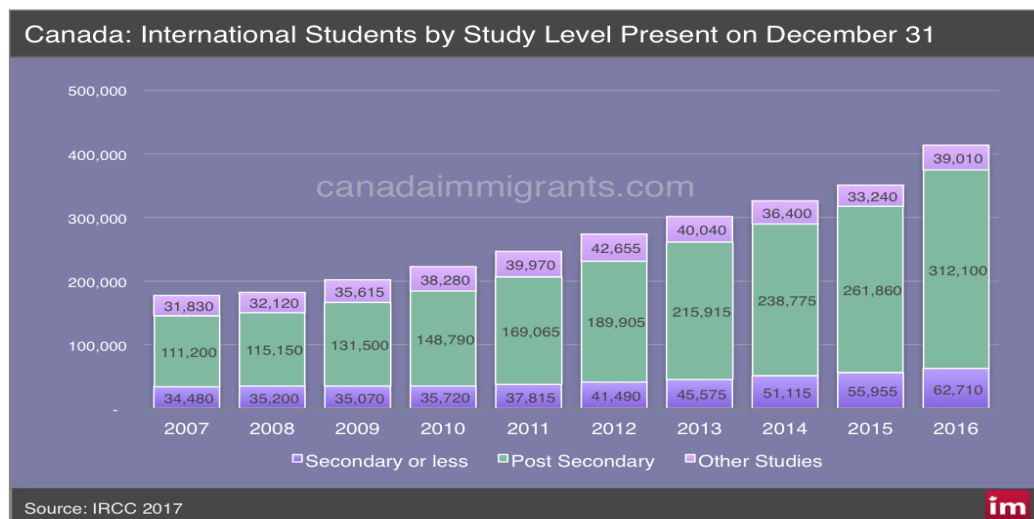


Figure 1: Canada International Students by Study Level – 2016.
(Adopted from the online *Canadian Magazine of Immigration*, available:
<https://canadaimmigrants.com/canada-international-students-by-study-level-2016/>)

international student at K-12 levels have significantly increased in Canada, in general, from 34,480 in 2007 to 62,710 in 2016, by an 82% increase. *Second*, the federal government clearly relates internationalization of public education to international trade, immigration, and broader economic development, which signals a shift in the essence of public education from a “public service” to a “tradable commodity”. *Third*, the government has been primarily focused on recruitment of international students at all levels and retaining them after graduation as permanent residents. *Fourth*, although the Canadian Constitution assigns the legislative powers for education to the provinces, their policy initiatives to internationalize public schooling are

necessarily shaped by the federal interests and roles in international trade, immigration, and economic development. According to the CBIE (2016, p. 8), in line with these federal policy contexts, different provinces have developed their internationalization policies that proposed to: engage their students in world economies; increase numbers of foreign students; encourage Canadians to study abroad; and, complement the federal strategies.

Internationalization of Public Schooling: Manitoban Contexts

In Manitoba, like other provinces, there are two consecutive education systems, K-12 and post-secondary. The public K-12 education system prepares Manitoban students for about 13 years, from Kindergarten to Grade 12. Students normally attend the system at age 5 and graduate at age 18 either to continue their post-secondary education, or to join labour markets. K-12 students are usually classified into three streams: Kindergarten to Grade 4 (Early Years), ages from 5 to 10; Grades 5 to 8 (Middle Years), ages from 11 to 14; and, Grades 9 to 12 (Senior Years), ages from 15 to 18 (The Government of Manitoba, nd1, p. 8). Although the endeavors to internationalize post-secondary education in Manitoba were well-developed before that of K-12 education, and a driving force of the policy development in the province, the focus of this study is on K-12 education, particularly on public schooling institutions. The development of the key internationalization practices in Manitoba public schooling and the subsequent development of the provincial internationalization policy initiatives are considered below.

Internationalization Practices & Quantitative Developments

Since mid of the 1990s, two internationalization approaches to public schooling are most notable in the case of Manitoba: the provision of public schooling international student programs for international students; and, teaching Manitoba's public schooling curricula in overseas affiliate schools in different countries.

School Divisions Offering International Student Programs. When the New Democratic Party government was elected in 1999, several school divisions were facing the challenge of declining student numbers, especially in some rural communities. It resulted in reductions in some educational programs and school closures. A number of Manitoba public school divisions have chosen to respond to such challenges by recruiting international students (Owens, 2006, p. 13), whose increasing numbers are shown in the following Table 1.

Table 1

International Students Enrolment in Manitoba's from 2004/05 to 2013/14⁽¹⁾

Educational Level/ School Year & Student Number		Elementary & Secondary Schools		Post-Secondary Education		ESL Schools	Total Enrolment/ School Year
		Exchange Students	Regular Students	College Students	University Students		
2004/05	Numbers	196	838	232	3,100	1,548	5,914
	Percentage	3.3%	14.2%	3.9%	52.4%	26.2%	100.0%
2005/06	Numbers	185	870	189	3,496	1,099	5,839
	Percentage	3.2%	14.9%	3.2%	59.9%	18.8%	100.0%
2006/07	Numbers	170	1,049	250	3,498	1,422	6,389
	Percentage	2.7%	16.4%	3.9%	54.8%	22.3%	100.0%
2007/08	Numbers	90	982	349	3,187	1,375	5,983
	Percentage	1.5%	16.4%	5.8%	53.3%	23.0%	100.0%
2008/09	Numbers	132	978	506	2,872	1,037	5,525
	Percentage	2.3%	17.7%	9.2%	52.0%	18.8%	100.0%
2009/10	Numbers	78	1,004	808	2,938	464	5,292
	Percentage	1.5%	19.0%	15.3%	55.5%	8.8%	100.0%
2010/11	Numbers	91	1,027	1,176	3,132	794	6,220
	Percentage	1.5%	16.5%	18.9%	50.4%	12.8%	100.0%
2011/12	Numbers	72	1,216	704	4,351	1,317	7,660
	Percentage	0.9%	15.9%	9.2%	56.8%	17.2%	100.0%
2012/13	Numbers	101	1,210	928	5,082	1,334	8,655
	Percentage	1.2%	14.0%	10.7%	58.7%	15.4%	100.0%
2013/14	Numbers	107	1,324	1,015	7,225	1,503	11,174
	Percentage	1.0%	12.0%	9.0%	64.5%	13.5%	100.0%

As the Table shows, the number of regular international students, registered as full-time elementary and secondary school students, has increased from 838 in 2004/05 to 1,324 students in 2013/14, by a 58% increase. In that context, as Owens suggested, different public school divisions succeeded in the provision of international student programs that became well-

⁽¹⁾ The numbers in this table are extracted from The Reports on International Students in Manitoba from 2004/05 to 2013/14. The Reports available at: https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/ie/study/st_rep.html

established and capable of attracting more international students (Owens, 2006, p. 13).

According to the CAPS–I Guide (2018, pp. 63-72), until 2016, there were eight well-established international student programs in Manitoba. The information provided by CAPSI-I Guide on those programs is summarized in the following Table 2:

Table 2

Well-established International Student Programs in Manitoba Until 2016

No	School Division/District	Year Started	Program Time	Areas of Study	Program Language	Entrance Dates	Application Deadlines
1	Pembina Trails School Division	1995	Full Year, 1 Semester, Short Term	French Immersion, Advanced Placement	English, French	September & February	March 1 & October 1
2	Louis Riel School Division	1995	Full Year, 1 Semester, Short Term, Summer Enrichment	French Immersion, Advanced Placement, Technical Vocational Programming, Accredited Post-Secondary Programs, Sports, Fine Arts, Music	English, French	September & February	November & May
3	St. James Assiniboia School Division	1998	Full Year, 1 Semester, Short Term	French Immersion, Advanced Placement, Sports, Performing Arts, International Baccalaureate	English, French	Sep. & Feb. with flexible entry	No Deadline
4	River East Transcona School Division	1999	Full Year, 1 Semester, Short Term	French Immersion, Advanced Placement, International Baccalaureate	English, French	September & February	November 1 & April 30
5	Lord Selkirk School Division	2000	Full Year, 1 Semester, Short Term	French Immersion, Advanced Placement, Technical Vocational Programming, Sports, Music & Arts	English, French, Ukrainian (7-9)	September & February	November & May
6	Mountain View School Division	2006	Full Year, 1 Semester, Short Term	French Immersion, Advanced Placement, Vocational Programming, Sports, F. Arts	English, French	September & February	May 31 and November 30
7	Study Manitoba School Divisions ⁽²⁾	2008	Full Year, 1 Semester, Short Term	NA	English	September & February	Continuous Intake
8	Whiteshell School District	2011	Full Year, 1 Semester, Short Term	NA	English	September, January & April	NA

As the Table shows, five of those well-established international student programs were launched during the period from 1999 to 2016. In addition to the variety of programs offered by

⁽²⁾ This is an international student program jointly provided by five rural school divisions in Souris, Manitoba.

different school divisions, two key observations could be highlighted: *First*, in Winnipeg city until 2016, there were four school divisions that offered international student programs, with the remaining ones located outside of the city. *Second*, most programs were offered in both English and French, except in case of Study Manitoba School Divisions and Whiteshell School District, where the programs were offered only in English, and in case of the Lord Selkirk School Division, where the program was offered in English, French, and Ukrainian.

Affiliate Schools Teaching Manitoba's Public Schooling Curricula. According to the CBIE (2012, p. 83), since the 1990s, Canada has been actively trading its education programs and expertise as a commodity to different countries around the globe. Although post-secondary institutions were key players in such efforts, public school divisions became involved as well. Provincial jurisdictions have contributed to these endeavors by offering their public schooling curricula in overseas private schools. As the CBIE suggested, the levels of interest in Canadian education have increased, which applies to a variety of products, techniques, and forms, such as online education, affiliate institutions, and accredited programs.

As the CBIE noted, internationalization of public schooling through overseas affiliate schools has been a significant, although developing, element of Canada's comprehensive approach to internationalization (CBIE, 2012, pp. 87-88). Overseas Canadian schools, including Manitoban schools, enroll students who become familiar with Canadian culture and are better equipped for admission in domestic post-secondary institutions. The schools also represent a crucial means of connection with Canadians working abroad. Such schools, do not only teach Canadian curricula, but are also organized by Canadian regulations, run by Canadian school leaders, and offer Canadians overseas teaching positions (Cosco, 2011, p. 3; and, CBIE, 2014a, p. 2). The current affiliate schools/programs of Manitoba are shown in Table 3.

Table 3

Manitoba Overseas Affiliate Schools/Programs Until 2016 ⁽³⁾

Affiliations	Name of the Affiliate School/Program	Country/Location
Affiliate Schools	Clifford School: http://www.clifford-school.cn	Guangdong Province, People's Republic of China
	Canada Maple International School (CMIS Canada): http://cmis.kr/	Yeonsu-gu, Incheon, Rep. of South Korea
	Yang Guang Qing School of Beijing: http://www.bdaschool.com	Beijing Economic and Development Zone, China
Affiliate Programs	Canadian International School, Bangladesh (High School Program): http://www.canadaeducationbd.com	Dhaka, Bangladesh
	Heritage International School, Egypt (High School Program): http://www.heritageinternationalschool.com/	6th October City, Giza, Egypt
	Lertlah Schools, Thailand (Early Years & Middle Years Programs)	Bangkok, Thailand (This program was ended from March 31, 2018).
Other Affiliations	Meitoku Gijuku High School, Japan: http://www.meitoku-gijuku.ed.jp	Yosa City, Kochi, Japan
	Maple Bear Schools: http://maplebear.com.br/eng	Sao Paulo, Brazil

In 2007, the number of Manitoba affiliate schools that teach Manitoba's public curricula was seven schools in five different countries of China, Japan, Thailand, Egypt, and Turkey. Although there were requests for more partnerships, the NDP government adopted a moderate approach to accredit affiliate schools and programs (The Government of Manitoba, 2007, p. 56). Currently, as Table 3 shows, there are 3 accredited schools, 2 accredited programs and 2 other affiliations to Manitoba in different countries around the world.

According to Manitoba regulations, affiliate schools and programs are expected to teach all Manitoba's curricula in English, except for the courses that are taught in local languages. K-8 programs should adhere to Manitoba conditions that include the time allocated to subject areas. Grades 9-12 programs offer compulsory and elective courses in line with Manitoba conditions for high school completion. Grade 12 candidates also write required provincial standard exams in

⁽³⁾ The information in this table is extracted from the website of the Manitoba Department of Education. Available at http://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/k12/iep/aff_schools.html

English Language Arts and Mathematics (The Government of Manitoba, nd2, p. 5). As the provincial *Joint Statement of Benefits of Internationally Affiliated Schools* mentioned, overseas schools were seen by the NDP government as an opportunity to promote Manitoba's quality education and global contributions. Graduates of those affiliate schools who choose to study in Manitoba's post-secondary institutions would contribute financially and academically to those institutions and to their communities, especially if they decided to permanently reside in the province (The Government of Manitoba, nd3, p. 2).

Internationalization Policy & Qualitative Developments

In line with the federal policy interests, and acknowledging the existing provincial internationalization practices, the NDP government took several important actions to encourage and regulate the internationalization of public schooling in Manitoba. A significant step in that direction was the establishment of an International Education Branch (IEB).

In 2000, the IEB was launched to coordinate internationalization efforts between provincial departments, such as: Competitiveness Training and Trade (CTT); Education Citizenship and Youth (ECY); Advanced Education and Literacy (AEL); Labour and Immigration Manitoba (LIM); in addition to provincial institutions that offer international education programs. The IEB mandate was focused on: implementing a provincial vision related to the promotion of Manitobans' global knowledge and skills; promoting Manitobans' cross-cultural education; augmenting the returns of internationalization to the provincial economy; engaging different stakeholders and educational institutions at all levels, in rural and urban areas, in internationalization; and, marketing Manitoba as a provider of quality education, with competitive tuition, to potential international students (The Government of Manitoba, 2007, p. 55; and, The Government of Manitoba, 2008, pp. 53-54).

After its launch, and to encourage public education institutions to internationalize their programs, the IEB provided an interest-free International Education Loan Fund (IELF) to interested institutions. The Loan was offered to some school divisions to build their capacities related to the provision of international student programs (The Government of Manitoba, 2010, p. 15). The IEB also marketed Manitoba and its institutions as a destination where international students would receive affordable quality education. The IEB developed a reliable website that shared relevant information with Canadian and international students, teachers, and international education leaders. In addition to developing marketing materials in different languages, the IEB coordinated student recruitment missions, mostly to Asian and South American countries (The Government of Manitoba, 2014, p. 13). Although the creation of the IEB appeared to have boosted internationalization in Manitoba, it was dissolved by the 2016 elected Conservative government (The Government of Manitoba, 2018, p. 9).

In 2005, the Government of Manitoba issued a document titled *Reaching Beyond our Borders: The Framework for Manitoba's International Activities*. The document mentioned that education was identified as the key to *Manitoba's Action Strategy for Economic Growth*, issued by the NDP in 2003. It was believed that good education, and a well-educated workforce, are the cornerstone for economic growth, social development and developed democracy. International education, it suggested, could clearly play a significant role in achieving that. Consequently, different educational institutions have developed their internationalization capacity, especially to recruit international students and trainees (The Government of Manitoba, 2005, p. 21).

Considering the Framework for Manitoba's International Activities, the government had issued its 2009 *International Education Strategy* that covered a five-years period, from 2009 to 2013. It focused on the ways through which the government could build capacity of provincial education

providers to offer international education/student programs. Although the strategy included five approaches to internationalization, it paid a specific attention to the recruitment of international students, offshore education, and partnerships that share elements of public education programs (The Government of Manitoba, 2009, p. 5; and, CBIE, 2012, p. 9).

In line with the provincial strategy, more public education institutions in the province developed their own internationalization plans, focusing more on the recruitment of international students. Some critical observations were raised by international students, who were studying in the International College of Manitoba (ICM), related to the information they received about their future transition to the University of Manitoba, the college facilities, and the quality of education they will receive. For such reasons, the NDP government proposed *The International Education Act* (IEA) to ensure that international students are properly recruited and treated (Rounce, 2013, 259-60). The premises of this Act were mentioned in the 2012 Throne Speech, according to which the government intended to attract and “take steps to support international students and co-ordinate efforts by all Manitoba universities and colleges to promote Manitoba as a destination” for their study (The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 2012, p. 3). The IEA, which was introduced in May 2013 and enacted by January 2016, is the first Canadian law designed to make sure that all levels international students are protected, and their education providers in Manitoba are acting with integrity. The IEA indicates that education providers and recruiters must act in accordance with a Code of Practice and Conduct that offers coherent criteria for recruiting, admitting, and protecting international students (CBIE, 2013, p. 5).

As viewed in this current study, these developments in Manitoba were significant and reflect the extent to which the NDP government was interested in internationalization of public schooling. Aligned with the federal context, these developments suggest the following. *First*, the

focus of the provincial internationalization initiatives was general on K-12 and post-secondary institutions. *Second*, the NDP government related internationalization of public education to its provincial international trade, immigration, and economic development plans, which signals once again a shift in the essence of public schooling from a “public service” to a “tradable commodity”. *Third*, the governmental focus was on the recruitment of international students, and retaining them as permanent residents, more than having overseas affiliate schools.

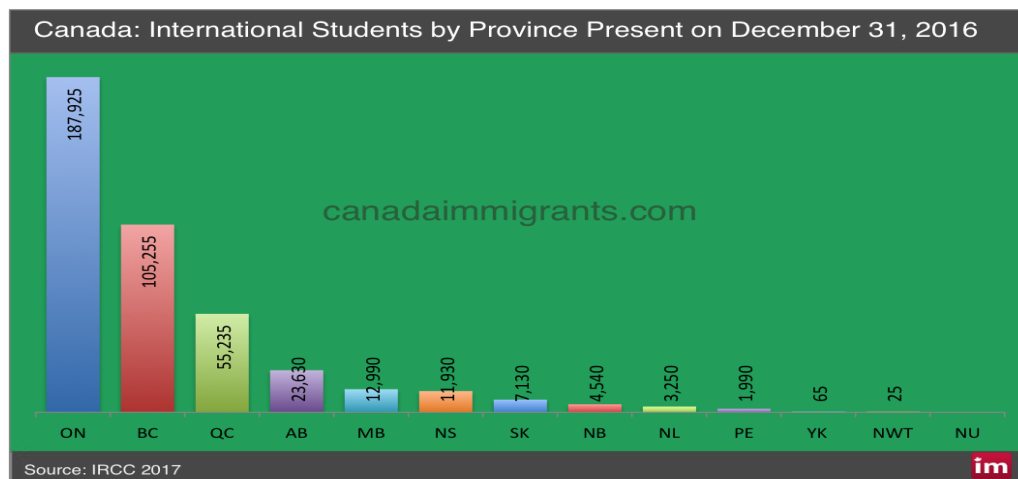


Figure 2: Canada International Students by Province – 2016.
(Adopted from the online *Canadian Magazine of Immigration*. Available at:
<https://canadaimmigrants.com/canada-international-students-by-province-2016/>)

According to the above chart, and considering the governmental focus on recruitment of international students, Manitoba became the fifth ranked Canadian province in terms of the numbers of international students enrolled in different educational institutions. An in-depth analysis of five key internationalization policy documents published between 1999 and 2016 will be the focus of Chapter Six of this thesis.

Internationalization Policies and Neoliberal Discourses

According to Leitner, Sheppard, Sziarto and Maringanti (2007, p. 3), neoliberalism represents a unique stage in a conflict between market-oriented and state-driven economies. It is a world-wide agenda that has been adopted by top, even rival, politicians in different countries. It

is also adopted at various levels of government from local to national and international. Initial neoliberal projects were adopted by a small number of governments in developed countries or imposed on other developing ones. The spread of such projects became easier through a rapid policy transfer among different jurisdictions. In that context, from a more critical perspective, Albo (2002, p. 48) has argued that neoliberalism is more than a market economy “discourse” as it reflects a specific form of social class dominance in a new global capitalism.

When analyzing neoliberal impacts on public policies, attention has been paid to the role of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and relevant international/multilateral agreements, such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA)⁽⁴⁾, as global governing bodies. These bodies, as Jeannotte argued, have restricted the power of national governments to independently make public policies that meet their particular demands and interests (Jeannotte, 2010, p. 304). The role of the WTO, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) as international makers of national education policies have been examined by a variety of studies (e.g. Moutsios, 2009 and Zheng, 2010). They suggest that such international bodies develop policy initiatives that deeply impact on current practices in different national education systems, including internationalization policies (Moutsios, 2009, p. 467 and Zheng, 2010, p. 222).

As Moutsios (2009, p. 472) noted, the policies of the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO are generally determined by, and reflect, what has been called the *Washington Consensus*. It is a term that signals the development of “neoliberal economic agendas” that imply three key public policies: (i) liberalization of international investments and trade; (ii) privatization of public sector; and, (iii) deregulation of national economies and financial markets. Neoliberal agendas

⁽⁴⁾ The agreement was revised and re-named in 2018 as: *The United States-Mexico-Canada Agreement*.

view the role of the welfare state as disruptive to market operations and their interventions in the market must be minimized.

In Canadian contexts, Evans and Shields (2010, p. 308) suggest that the 1970s global economic crisis led to questioning the existing Keynesian economic model. By the 1990s, elements of a neoliberal governance model had become well-developed in several provinces. For instance, as Henley and Young (2009, pp. 3-4) mentioned, in 1994 an *Agreement on Internal Trade* (AIT) was approved by federal and provincial/territorial governments. For clear economic-development goals, as Henley and Young suggested, the AIT proposed to significantly enhance the mobility of commodities, services, and workforce amongst Canadian provinces and territories. Further to strengthening the federal economic cohesion, the AIT reflected the commitment of Canadian governments to international trade agreements and their neoliberal agendas at the expense of provincial autonomy.

When examining the impacts of the AIT on teacher certification and public education policies in Canada, Henley and Young (2009) conclude that: “By viewing everything included in the *Agreement* as a trade issue, teacher certification, and by association public education becomes commodified—“traded in”—first and foremost a matter of economic policy before it is a matter of social policy concerned with the well-being of individuals and the well-being of society” (p. 21). Davidson-Harden (2005, p. 28), has examined the impacts of “global policy discourses” on the governance of teacher education in case of Ontario and argued that:

neoliberal policy discourses, with their focus on commodification, privatization and markets as a preferred mode of conducting social policy and arranging modes of governance, can be seen to have ‘colonized’ the domain of social policy discourses, gaining hegemony in terms of prevailing policy regimes across many contexts.

In that context, the move towards market-oriented policies has increased the provincial power in many jurisdictions, through centralization of finances and standardization of curricula and assessment, at the expense of the power of local school boards. It also empowered parents as consumers of educational products (Prince Edward Island Education Governance Commission, 2011, p. 5). The neoliberal inclination to minimized government and competitive markets has also resulted in an increasing educational choice, applying private sector managerial approaches to run public schools, and holding schools and teachers accountable for the comparable achievement of their students. Additionally, as Young and others suggested, the international trade agreements, including the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), are expected to shift more the provision of Canadian public schooling to private businesses at national and international levels (Young, Levin & Wallin, 2008, pp. 4-5).

In view of these national and international neoliberal drifts, the discussions above suggest that the apparently market-driven internationalization policies of public schooling in Canada in general, and in Manitoba in particular, seem to be related to three prevailing global neoliberal public discourses. These discourses are: marketization, and marketing, of public schooling to international students; private sector engagement in internationalization of public schooling; and, expanding internationalization policy community/network.

Marketization, and Marketing, of Public Schooling

According to Doherty (2007), a “fundamental aim of the free marketeers was the realignment of education to contribute towards their ambitions of economic growth... Market competition was to be the foundation on which this aim would be realized” (p. 275). In this regard, Komljenovic and Robertson (2017, pp. 291-92) described a variety of tools used to construct education markets and identify educational standards and technological equipment as

key marketization tools. Standards are usual components that ease market operations, maximize their efficiency, minimize costs, and boost markets' reliability. Different education policy actors work hard to develop standards for their activities and share it with others. Online technologies also facilitate market operations and offer unique chances to grow education markets.

In 1986, in the context of the earlier provincial efforts to create markets for their public education, particularly to recruit international students, a Federal-Provincial Consultative Committee on Education-Related International Activities was created by the CMEC to connect federal and provincial partners and coordinate their education marketing missions (CBIE, 2014 b, p. 9). Later in 2011, as mentioned, an *International Education Marketing Action Plan for Provinces and Territories* was developed for this purpose. It indicates that endeavors to market Canadian education outside of the country engage different players at the federal, provincial, and institutional levels (The Council of The Federation, 2011, p. 10). This is in addition to individual institutional efforts to market their own international student/education programs.

Private Sector Engagement in Internationalization

The CBIE 2013's annual report highlighted how some Public-Private Partnerships (P3s) have been employed in internationalization activities. According to the report, Public-Private Partnerships for Education (eP3's) represent a recent phenomenon that, while yet not well examined, have been employed by governments as an approach to expand the public access to educational opportunities. The emergence of eP3's has been associated with current financial conditions that seek to limit public funding and promote "cost-effective service delivery". Although P3s have different forms, they generally share some common aspects, including: long-term relationship; performance-based remuneration; and, shared ownership and risks (CBIE, 2013, p. 59). The private sector engagement is perhaps most evident in the institutional

partnerships with student recruitment agencies. Private recruitment agents have emerged as mediators between educational institutions and potential international students across the globe. Through their agencies, recruitment agents offer consultations and assist potential students when applying for admissions. As private businesses, they collect fees for their services from the institutions for which they recruit students, or/and from the students they help. Currently, all educational institutions that are involved in international student recruitment, at K-12 and post-secondary levels, work with overseas private recruitment agents (CMEC, 2013, p. 3).

Internationalization Policy Community/Network

Another observable discourse relates to the expansion of the internationalization policy community and network of actors. In Canada, federal and provincial governments' interest in internationalization has meant that departments at both levels of government contribute to the development of internationalization policies, particularly the Immigration and Foreign Affairs Departments. Additionally, the federal associations members of the CCIE, and their affiliate provincial institutions, all developed more interest in internationalization. In 2013, the CCIE represented more than 500 public and private educational institutions across Canada at K-12 and post-secondary levels (CBIE, 2012, p. 1; and, CBIE, 2013, p. 7). As Komljenovic and Robertson (2017, pp. 293-94) suggest, the role of governments in such expanded policy communities is still significant. Governments make policies, such as internationalization, and regulate the expansion of public education markets. Within these rules, influential actors, such as private businesses, investment group and governments, collaboratively employ different approaches to commodify educational services and create markets for their educational products.

Research Problem & Questions

In view of the development of this market-driven internationalization policy of public schooling in Manitoba in relation to national and global neoliberal public discourses, and in

order to highlight the research problem for this research study, it is worthy to think first about the essence of public schooling and how internationalization contributes to redefining this essence through its changing rationale and expanding reach.

Essence of Public Schooling

According to Henley and Young (2008, p. 4), in Canadian contexts, the *public schooling* discourse implies three basic features that help understand the meaning of “public” and the objectives of “the public school curriculum”. *First*, is “public accessibility and equality”, that is, each child must have an equal access to quality schooling opportunities, no matter her/his gender, location, or socio-economic background. *Second*, is “public funding”, that is, the cost of public schooling must be provided from public revenues and shared fairly across all segments of society. *Third*, is “public control”, that is, key educational decisions to be made through public participation and representation in decision making bodies. In Manitoba in particular, Young and O’Leary (2017, p. 1) suggest that different provincial governments have been committed to the idea of “public schooling as a public good”, or the assumption that a quality public schooling is the key ingredient of democracy in the society, as it equips the young for citizenship. It implies that public schooling is not a private interest, or a tradable product to consuming students. As a public good, public-school systems must be publicly accessed, funded, and governed.

Historically, as Johnstone and Lee (2014, pp. 209-210) suggested, Canadian public schooling has been considered as a “public good” and a responsibility of the egalitarian welfare state. In context of a Keynesian economic model, public school systems promoted “social democracy” and prepared societies of informed and knowledgeable citizens. By end of the 20th century, however, many Canadian jurisdictions have changed their education policies, as Johnstone and Lee suggest, to cope with global neoliberal discourses. This change, they argue,

has been shifting the essence of public schooling from a “public good” to a “tradable commodity”. The constitutionally guarded provincial authority over education has been extended to national levels through federal-provincial, governmental and non-governmental, partnerships to internationalize education and to increase numbers of foreign students. These partnerships were further expanded to include international policy actors, such as the OECD, creating a global international education policy network. In that context, Knight (1994, p. 1), suggested that different institutions, such as the CBIE, have argued for internationalization as a necessity for Canadian education. To prepare citizens who can adopt to a constantly interdependent world and empower Canada’s global economic competitiveness, these bodies have encouraged different educational institutions to internationalize their teaching and learning practices.

Changing Rationale, and Expanding Span, of Internationalization

In the context of this change in the essence of public schooling, two key observations could be made about internationalization policies of public schooling in Manitoba. They relate to internationalization rationale and reach.

Internationalization Rationale. Canadian international education activities, as Katz noted, have been historically increasing in different ways. After World War II, provincial governments have paid attention to educational activities abroad through their educational institutions and departments. The dominant logic behind Canadian interests in international education was the belief that education could serve to unite the world again after political and economic interests had divided it. It was very necessary to consider education as a tool to minimize injustices that separated nations from each other. It seemed also that schools may be the best place for all humankind to meet and achieve their aspirations (Katz, 1970, p. 271). Thus, during the period of the 1950s and 1960s, the two basic components of Canada’s international

role were: development cooperation with developing nations; and, admission of post-secondary international students. Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) was one of the essential aspects of this early Canadian international policy. It was acknowledged that Canada is an anti-imperial country that supports a fair and equal international system. Such a foreign policy resulted in the admission of students from developing nations to Canadian universities (Trilokekar & Kizilbash, 2013, p. 2). In line with these efforts, provinces such as Manitoba were prominent. For instance, the University of Manitoba assisted the government of Thailand to establish faculties of engineering and agriculture at Khon Kaen University (Katz, 1970, pp. 272).

However, as Arnove (2005, pp. 81-82) suggested, by the 1980s and 1990s less attention was paid to the value of education for national cohesion and international solidarity in different Canadian policy initiatives, which focused instead on quality of teaching and learning. Specific attention was paid to performativity of systems regardless of the reduced governmental public funding. The rush to commodify education was clear in the engagement of private businesses, emerging education markets, and boosting competitiveness among schools to raise more funds. According to Trilokekar and Kizilbash (2013, p. 2), starting from the late of 1980s, the sponsored admission of international students in Canadian institutions was revised because of the 1984 report of the Commission on Canadian Studies. It advised the federal government to charge international students full tuition fees, instead of the practices that existed and costed around \$300 million annually. It also advised the government to permit those students to work while studying. As a result, by 1986, different jurisdictions started to collect tuition fees, which differed from province to province, from international students.

The report also recommended the federal government to develop, collaboratively with provincial governments, institutions, and educational experts, an international student policy to

replace what was viewed as a complicated, confusing, and unjust approach to freely admit and assist international students. It suggested a policy to fund international students that would: (i) create a federal program for selective assistance to international students; and, (ii) charge the remaining international students, on the same basis, tuition fees sufficient to ensure that there would be no subsidy to cover their study costs in Canada (Symons & Page, 1984, p. 247).

As a result, the altruistic rationale for recruiting foreign students has diminished and institutions became eager to generate revenues. In that context, recruitment of international students has increased as an approach that assists institutions financially through international tuition fees. Different institutions acknowledge that the recruitment of international students increases their revenues, enriches educational environments, and ultimately empowers Canada internationally (Cudmore, 2005, p. 47). In the long run, immigration policy makers tended to view international students as “ideal immigrants” to Canada, as their Canadian education and cultural familiarity equip them with the required knowledge and skills to join labour forces and contribute to economic development (Scott et al, 2015, p. 14).

Internationalization Span. In Canadian contexts, Knight (1994, p. 4) suggested that there are four common approaches to internationalization: internationalization as a process to integrate an international or intercultural dimension into teaching, research, and service through a wide range of activities, policies, and procedures; internationalization as an activity, such as the internationalization of curriculum, student and faculty exchanges, technical educational aids; internationalization as a competency, such as the development of new skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values in students, faculty and staff; and, internationalization as an organizational culture that promotes and supports international, or intercultural, perspectives and initiatives.

In line with this variety of approaches, the DFAIT has adopted a broad definition of international education. According to this definition:

International education may involve formal or informal academic, cultural, employment, travel or volunteer experience abroad with return to the native country; hosting international education programs and students; internationalizing domestic courses, programs and curriculum; and exchange programs for students, researchers, citizens and employees provided by government, non-profit, educational, or employer provided programs (Kunin & Associates, 2009, p. 5).

This signals an expanded span of internationalization from a focus on recruitment of international students, mainly post-secondary students from developing countries as a type of development assistance (Katz, 1970, p. 272), to a variety of activities at all educational levels as shown in Figure 3, that is adopted from the provincial internationalization *Strategy* (2009, p. 1).

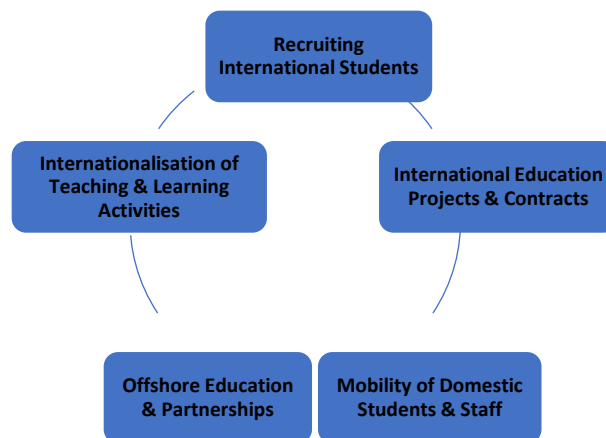


Figure 3: Approaches to Internationalization in Manitoba from 2009 to 2013.

As the Figure shows, in Manitoba there were five approaches to internationalize public schooling in the province from 2009 to 2013. Understanding these neoliberal and market-driven internationalization developments in public schooling seems more challenging when it comes to Manitoba during the time of a NDP government. As Jeannotte (2010, p. 306) argued, in such

province, traditions of social democracy have existed. As an ideology, she suggests, it focuses on: redistribution of resources to minimize inherited capitalist inequities; democratic and economic-driven governance styles that reduce market failures and deficiencies; and, social protection and provision of health, education, and other social services to all citizens. A major believer in social democracy has been the NDP.

Research Questions

The discussion above poses a variety of broad questions that revolve around, for instance, the ways in which public schooling internationalization policy in Manitoba became interwoven with neoliberal discourses and shifted to become a market-driven policy. Further questions may focus on the ways in which the NDP government intended to bridge this ideological gap between social democracy and neoliberalism to develop a market-driven internationalization policy for public schooling. Specifically, this study seeks to address the following *major* research question: How was the development of internationalization policy of public schooling in Manitoba, from 1999 to 2016, related to global neoliberal discourses? To suggest an answer to this broader question, the study will focus on addressing the following two sub-questions:

- 1- How was the problem of public schooling internationalization policy defined and its solution formulated in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016?
- 2- How was the public schooling internationalization policy community structured and what were their rationales in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016?

Purposes, Methodology & Methods

To address these research questions, this examination proposes to analyze the ways in which the development of public schooling internationalization policy in Manitoba was related to global neoliberalism and its public discourses from 1999 to 2016. Using the case study as a

methodology, this research has two key objectives: *First*, based on the analysis of some selected Manitoba internationalization policy documents, it will examine the ways in which public schooling internationalization policy problem was defined and its solution was formulated from 1999 to 2016. Attention will be paid to highlight the extent to which the policy documents, or *policy as text*, reflect *neoliberal values and principles*. *Second*, based on the analysis of interview data from key research participants who were engaged in internationalization of public schooling in Manitoba, it will examine the structure of internationalization policy community at federal and provincial levels, and the rationales associated with efforts to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. Attention will be paid to highlight the extent to which the participant views and opinions, or *policy as discourse*, on the structure of policy community and their rationales align with the *neoliberal public discourses* of marketization, privatization, and expanding policy community/network. A detailed description of the research methodology and methods will be the focus of Chapter Five.

Delimitations, Definitions & Significance

This study is focused on the provincial internationalization policy of public schooling in Manitoba during the period from 1999 to 2016. Based on the policy content and development, much attention will be paid to international student programs in local public schools. That is, internationalization of post-secondary institutions is not a focus of this examination. It is also worthy to mention that local school boards develop their own divisional internationalization policies and practices. In Manitoba, some local school divisions had developed their practices and policies in this regard before the provincial government developed its policy. This study does not examine those micro-level divisional policies to internationalize, or not to internationalize, their programs. However, it focuses more on the macro-level public internationalization policy

developed by the provincial NDP government. Since internationalization policy is a public policy that applies to both K-12 and post-secondary, public and private, education institutions, the current study focuses on public schooling institutions. Thus, the private/independent institutions that provide K-12 international education are not a focus of this examination.

To examine the development of Manitoba internationalization policy of public schooling in relation to neoliberalism and its discourses from 1999 to 2016, three *operational* definitions will be employed. First, is *internationalization of public schooling*, which in this study refers to a “comprehensive process through which a complementary set of educational experiences, social activities and legal services is provided to international students, mostly in local public schooling institutions or through overseas affiliate ones, to ensure their intellectual, physical and emotional well-being”. Second, is *internationalization policy of public schooling*, which in the case of Manitoba applies to “different positions, actions, and practices that were developed by the NDP government from 1999 to 2016 to provide a set of educational experiences, social activities and legal services to international students to ensure their intellectual, physical and emotional well-being”. Third, is *neoliberalism* which has been viewed as “a discursive ideology and process through which market public discourses, such as marketization, privatization, and expanding policy communities/networks, prevail and relate to the development of public and education policies”. An in-depth review of these conceptualizations will be the focus of Chapter Three.

In terms of significance, as mentioned before, most of internationalization research focuses on post-secondary education institutions. As a result, Matthews’ (2002) observation that “there is virtually no literature that looks specifically at the internationalization of government schools and full-fee-paying international students” (p. 372) remains notable. As Beck (2013, p. 43) noted, currently all Canadian provinces are involved in internationalization, which has

become a significant part of the long-term strategies of different educational institutions. The growth of international education activities, particularly the numbers of foreign students, is a key parameter of the development of internationalization in Canadian education. However, as Beck suggested, this growing phenomenon has not been examined enough and, consequently, several internationalization policy decisions are not research-informed.

The current study intends to contribute to those academic efforts that respond to this research gap related to internationalization of public schooling. Since the focus of most academic research is on post-secondary institutions, this study pays much attention to internationalization of public schooling institutions in Manitoba. It is assumed that the internationalization of public schooling, particularly the recruitment of youngster international students, is a distinct area and may have different educational, social, and legal implications that might be not necessarily considered by post-secondary institutions. For instance, while post-secondary education institutions deal with international students mostly above the age of majority, public schooling institutions deal with international students under the age of majority who live away from their families in a host country and more vulnerable as minors.

Based on this background chapter, the layout of the study will include the following: a literature review that highlights the research gap; a conceptual outline that reviews the key terms of the study; an analytical framework that is informed by some works of Stephen Ball and helps analyze the case of public schooling internationalization in relation to neoliberal discourses in Manitoba; the research methodology and methods; a policy document analysis that focuses on addressing the first sub-question; an interview data analysis that focuses on addressing the second sub-question; and, a final chapter that provides a discussion, conclusions, and implications of the study.

CHAPTER 2:

Literature Review

A review of the literature describes, as Creswell suggests, an account that summarizes journal publications, books, and other materials that examine the development of knowledge related to a research area. It also classifies the previous research into subareas and justifies the necessity of a suggested research project. In most cases, researchers focus their reviews on journal publications, including quantitative and qualitative examinations. The purpose is to clarify how a proposed research is needed and may contribute to the knowledge about a topic without duplicating the existing research (Creswell, 2012, p. 80). Thus, literature systematic review, or research synthesis, as Davis suggested, is a broad term that indicates a variety of approaches that summarize, incorporate, and present the results of different works on a specific research problem. A common approach to research synthesis is the *qualitative narrative review*. It examines different research that has been conducted in a specific area, its methodologies, sampling and conclusions. The purpose is to present the existent literature and highlight gaps that require additional examination (Davis, 2000, p. 367).

Creswell (2012, p. 102) suggested two approaches to literature reviews in educational research, *thematic reviews* and *study-by-study reviews*. In the *thematic review* the researcher determines a topic and employs the literature in brief to describe this topic, with no specific focus on each study. Attention is usually paid to research major points and findings. The *study-by-study approach*, however, offers a thorough summary of each reviewed study and categorizes literature into broad sub-topics. This summary may include the research problem, questions, or hypothesis, data collection methods, and research conclusions.

This chapter and the following one on the conceptual outline of the thesis adopt the two approaches suggested by Creswell (2012), to review the literature related to: internationalization policies of public schooling and neoliberal discourses; and, the key concepts used to frame this research. In this chapter, a *study-by-study review* will be employed to review the literature on internationalization policies in relation to neoliberal discourses. Attention will be paid to three sub-themes: *First*, internationalization policies and approaches to public schooling. *Second*, neoliberalism and its relation to public schooling policies in general. *Third*, neoliberalism and its relation to internationalization policies of public schooling in particular. To highlight the academic interest in, and specific focus on, internationalization of public schooling, the reviewed studies of each sub-theme were ordered chronologically based on year of publication. Chapter Three will employ a *thematic review* to outline the key concepts of this study.

It is worthwhile to repeat that most of academic research on internationalization focuses on post-secondary education in Canada and other countries (e. g. Cudmore, 2005; Hénard, Diamond & Roseveare, 2012; Kizilbash, 2011; Knight, 2004; Szyszlo, 2016; and, Wadhwa & Jha, 2014). Although these studies are mentioned throughout this examination, this literature review focuses on internationalization of public schooling in Canadian and Manitoban contexts.

Internationalization Policies and Approaches to Public Schooling

The study of Embleton, Gold, Lapierre & Stevenson (2011, p. 4) initiates the discussions focused on internationalization of public education by its focus on key aspects of Canada's internationalization strategy. It proposed to improve Canada's internationalization efforts to recruit and retain foreign talents. In that context, the study examined federal and provincial efforts related to international scholarships to recruit international students. It also highlighted current weaknesses and suggested ways to reinforce the system.

According to this study, the interest in internationalization is apparent in educational institutions' strategies, curricula, careers, and students' thinking as well. Institutions are requesting more staff with international and multicultural experiences. Although the essence and aspects of internationalization vary among people and institutions, federal and provincial jurisdictions are paying much attention to internationalization, either directly or indirectly through their funded institutions (Embleton, Gold, Lapierre & Stevenson, 2011, p. 3). To collect the research data, forty participants, who had different internationalization experiences in government, educational leadership, student recruitment, scholarships management, and international relations, were interviewed (Embleton, Gold, Lapierre & Stevenson, 2011, p. 5).

The study argued that in a growing competitive market for international students, Canada needs to adopt a comprehensive and progressive approach to attract and retain foreign talents. This approach, they suggest, might focus on: supporting the Canadian education brand; meeting labour market demands; developing the public awareness of the importance of international education to Canada; admitting that the scholarship system is inherently complex; the need for coordinated leadership; more reliance on technology and online systems; and, networking graduates and connecting them (Embleton, Gold, Lapierre & Stevenson, 2011, p. 6). In conclusion, the study suggested that scholarships are key to international students and need to be considered in any comprehensive strategy. The development of a scholarship system may be integrated to such strategy. The study recommended that further research on that issue is necessary (Embleton, Gold, Lapierre & Stevenson, 2011, p. 15).

The study of Cosco (2011, p. 2) focused on a key aspect of public schooling internationalization, which is the overseas affiliate schools that teach Canadian public schooling curricula. It aimed to: describe the presence of Canadian K-12 education in Asia; identify

features of Canadian affiliate schools; describe how these schools are connected to Canada; and, highlight some implications and challenges to maintain Canadian affiliate schools in Asia.

To carefully examine the importance and challenges of Canadian overseas schools, a variety of interviews were made in the fall of 2010 with staff members of Canadian affiliate schools and of provincial departments of education that have affiliate schools (Cosco, 2011, p. 4). According to the study, Canada is highly engaged in international education and in recruitment of international students. The rapid increase in provincially certified affiliate schools is a key aspect of this engagement. Such affiliate schools enroll a significant number of students who are expected to be future applicants for Canadian post-secondary institutions. Those schools are managed by Canadian educators, guided by Canadian regulations, and offer Canadian curricula. They further provide teaching jobs for Canadian certified teachers and represent a key means to connect with Canadians in the host communities (Cosco, 2011, p. 3).

As the study noted, in 2011, there were seven provinces that accredit and inspect overseas affiliate schools. These are: British Columbia, Ontario, Alberta, Manitoba, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Prince Edward Island. Each provincial government identifies the criteria to accredit an affiliate school and the accreditation process, considering its economic and internationalization plans. When accrediting an affiliate school, attention is usually paid to: financial conditions; tuition fees and credit transfer; accreditation conditions; annual inspection conditions and expenditures; curricula and teaching approaches; graduation conditions; teachers' accommodation and welfare; and, school maintenance (Cosco, 2011, p. 6). In case of Manitoba, according to the study, affiliate schools are one of five approaches to internationalization of education. Manitoba affiliate schools can be entirely accredited. However, mixed programs that deliver concurrent content of Manitoba and host country curricula can also be accredited. The

underlying norms of this partnership are: ensuring content delivery; joint benefit; and, full recovery of the provincial expenditures. Meanwhile, the province is responsible for capacity building and ensuring the competitiveness of the affiliate schools (Cosco, 2011, pp. 7-8).

The study highlighted a variety of challenges that Canadian affiliate schools have, including: the host country regulations; agents' integrity; distance communication difficulties; recruitment of interested certified teachers; teaching English as an additional language; delivering Canadian curricula in different cultures; teachers' professional development abroad; and, inconsistent inspections (Cosco, 2011, p. 17). According to the study, the affiliate schools need more governmental acknowledgment of the contribution of Canadian teachers and leaders in those schools. They further need a recognition of the international demand for Canadian quality education and educational supports. They request assisting those who contribute to the delivery of this type of education. The clear and transparent communications regarding the maintenance of a Canadian education brand was also indicated (Cosco, 2011, p. 22).

Yemini's study (2012, p. 152) focused on assessment of internationalization in schools and suggested some theoretical contributions and practical implications in this regard. As argued, internationalization efforts are currently well recognized in local schooling in different countries to equip the youngsters with a global capital and required future skills.

The study proposed to conceptualize internationalization and examine its developments in education systems in general and in secondary schools in particular, as they represent a key source of post-secondary students and a gateway into the global workforce for those who decide to pause their education after secondary schools (Yemini, 2012, p. 156). Internationalization, according to the study, flows into schools because of two factors inside and outside of the schooling systems. *First*, the competition of post-secondary institutions to recruit international

students motivates schools to internationally prepare their students. *Second*, in current more liberal and technological societies, students live and study in global contexts in which they employ their technological innovations, instruments, and skills, which ultimately motivate schools to internationalize their approaches to teaching and learning (Yemini, 2012, pp. 156-57). According to the study, internationalization of schools and other educational institutions could be examined based on a continuum. At one end of the continuum, internationalization could be primarily symbolic, or manifested in occasional participation in international competitions. At the other end, internationalization could be viewed as an essential and innovative process that focuses on curricula, teacher preparation, and changes in responsibilities of the school community, including school leaders, students, and their families (Yemini, 2012, p. 157).

At the school level, the study argued that internationalization assessment may focus on three key aspects: outlining internationalization features in schools; analyzing the impacts of internationalization on school outcomes; and, identifying factors that impact on the extent of school internationalization (Yemini, 2012, p. 159). In conclusion, the study identifies four internationalization dimensions that could be assessed in schools. *First*, institutional support, or the commitment of school leaders to internationalization. *Second*, academic standards, curricular, and extracurricular efforts that are key for school internationalization. *Third*, staff promotion regulations related to their international experiences. *Fourth*, admission of international students, which is less popular at the schooling levels as the majority of students attend schools in their communities, either national or international ones, and those who study in other countries are less in their numbers (Yemini, 2012, pp. 159-60).

The study of Lee and Johnstone (2014, p. 308) expanded this discussion through its focus on the relationship between international education and immigration policies. To examine the

phenomenon of educational migration, the authors selected Canada as a key recipient country of educational immigrants and the Republic of South Korea as a key source country of educational immigrants. Recently, South Korea has been ranked as a key source country of international students in Canadian institutions. To carefully analyze educational and immigration policies in Canada and South Korea, the study employed a post-colonial and transnational theoretical outline. The authors argued that immigration policies that lead to splitting families for economic purposes has been legislated in Canada. Regardless of the resulting benefits from such policies for both countries, effects of hidden political agendas increase social inequities and marginalization in the host and source societies.

This study was guided by the work of Rizvi and Lingard (2010), in *Globalizing Education Policy*, in which they suggested some critical questions to be asked when analyzing educational policies in global times. Those questions focus on the actors who participated in policy agenda setting, the advocates who supported the policies and their rationales, the policy communities that have been engaged in policy development, and international bodies that supported those policies. These questions were employed to analyze immigration and education policies in Canada and South Korea (Lee & Johnstone, 2014, p. 310). Instead of using the common term “international students”, the authors used “education migrants” to indicate to “individuals who have migrated across national borders for the purpose of education” (p. 309). They argue that the commonly used terms: socially characterize the students as “others”; reveal that their residence is temporary; and, isolate them from the rest who “belong” to the Canadian society (Lee & Johnstone, 2014, p. 309).

According to the study, during the last twenty years in Canada, there has been a neoliberal change in public education systems with more reliance on market tools and less

attention to public interests. In that context, schooling and immigration rules have been guided primarily by demands of labour markets and economic development. The provincial departments of education and immigration cooperatively facilitate applications of international students for permanent residency. During the 1990s, public education budgets were reduced in a number of provinces. School boards had to employ other resources, such as the recruitment of foreign students. The development of standardized curricula and assessment policies in different national and international jurisdictions allowed public schooling “customers” to examine different schooling systems and select their best choices (Lee & Johnstone, 2014, p. 311).

The study suggested that South Korean education migration to Canada led to the development of transnational divided families where one parent stays in South Korea to support the family financially and the other joins the educational migrant in Canada for custody purposes. A key reason of this growing phenomenon was immigration rules in Canada (Lee & Johnstone, 2014, p. 313). Additionally, many of those education migrants did not feel inclusion in the public discourse of the host society. In conclusion, the study suggested that Canadian and South Korean education and immigration regulations result in, and perpetuate, a politicized education migration. The coordinated actions of the two countries in this regard reflect a joint and implicit neoliberal agenda (Lee & Johnstone, 2014, p. 316).

The study of Cover (2016) focused the discussion on the unique internationalization case in British Columbia by studying “the discursive framing of international education programs” in the province. The study proposed to examine the ways in which British Columbians view International Education (IE) programs as an educational reform trend. In this analysis, the study employed Ball’s (1993) concept of “policy as discourse” and Lingard and Rawolle’s (2004) term of “mediatization” of educational policies that assumes a collaboration between governments and

the media when developing a public discourse on an educational policy problem and its proper solution (Cover, 2016, p. 171).

According to the study, internationalization of K–12 education is a common and publicly endorsed educational reform discourse that claims to lead to socio-economic returns. The economic returns of internationalization usually come to school divisions from international tuition fees. Additional returns may result from the development of academic and entrepreneurial partnerships, and the recruitment of temporary and permanent workforce that meet the local demands (Cover, 2016, p. 175). Building on the work of Jäger (2001), and his conceptualizations of “discourse strands” and “discourse planes”, the study employed a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) approach to examine basic discursive topics and to explain why policy actors and institutions had different views on the ways in which IE programs were discursively developed (Cover, 2016, p. 171). The research data was collected from policy texts and public announcements issued, during the period from 2005 to 2014, by the two Departments of Education and Advanced Education, responsible for K-12 and post-secondary education respectively, in BC. The study also analyzed relevant published articles in two popular newspapers, the *Globe and Mail* and the *Vancouver Sun* (Cover, 2016, p. 180).

The analysis of governmental and media texts resulted in three key observations. *First*, the two Departments of Education and Advanced Education were clearly parting from each other in regard to the way in which the IE programs were discursively developed. The Department of Advanced Education seemed to be the key player in internationalization and the Department of Education was performing auxiliary tasks. *Second*, the Department of Education did not prioritize either economic or cultural returns of internationalization but recognized all of its

returns and pitfalls together. *Third*, provincial and federal online media paid a great deal of attention to the economic returns of IE programs (Cover, 2016, p. 181).

The study of Knight-Grofe and Deacon (2016, p. 131) highlights another key aspect of internationalization through its focus on Canadians studying abroad. The study examined “Canada’s global engagement challenge” by comparing current academic trends and approaches in seven jurisdictions, including Canada, to offer their citizens international education opportunities. The study described first the Canadian case and analysed different reasons to be highly engaged in overseas learning, and then it focused on other jurisdictions.

According to the study, the key challenge that faces Canada is maximising the number of Canadians who have opportunities to study overseas, either for short or long periods. Those opportunities are necessary for Canadians, it argues, to acquire global citizenship and be more qualified to contribute to their local and global communities (Knight-Grofe & Deacon, 2016, pp. 131-32). The study suggested that there are several international concerns that Canadians have to be engaged with and manage at the world stage to protect Canada’s interests outside its national borders in different socio-cultural contexts (Knight-Grofe & Deacon, 2016, p. 133).

The authors argue that when Canada’s *International Education Strategy* was created in 2014, it focused on quantitative aspects, particularly increasing numbers of foreign students in Canadian institutions. Although the foreign students’ numbers were clearly growing because of successful institutional marketing efforts at provincial and federal levels, the Strategy suggested more focus on recruitment efforts. But, in the meantime, it did not pay proper attention to Canadians who could study overseas. According to the study, this is a shortcoming that disadvantages Canada when compared to different jurisdictions that pay more attention to abroad study (Knight-Grofe & Deacon, 2016, p. 134). As suggested, a key point to be considered in the

case of Canada is the way in which the education systems are governed without a federal department of education. Provinces/territories develop their international education policies and programs considering their own social, economic, and political positions. Meanwhile, the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development (now Global Affairs Canada) and the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) employ the *Imagine Education in Canada* brand to coordinate some federal endeavors to promote provincial educational programs. As argued, although the widening network of internationalization policy actors and the variety of views and rationales they have to motivate Canadians to study abroad, the competing interests and responsibilities of those actors lead to mis-managing the Strategy and making unbalanced decisions in this regard (Knight-Grofe & Deacon, 2016, p. 138).

Unlike Canada, as the study mentioned, other countries view abroad study as a key component of their international education strategies. So, in the case of the United Kingdom, the United States, Australia, Brazil, France, and Germany, there is a clear attention paid to motivate their students to study overseas (Knight-Grofe & Deacon, 2016, p. 138). Those jurisdictions have developed national overseas study plans and programs that have several features. *First*, they were region-focused, as those plans target specific group of countries. For instance, in the case of the US, they target Latin America, the Caribbean, and China. In the case of Australia, they target the Indo-Pacific countries. *Secondly*, they involved national assistance and coordination, as those plans were highly supported by national governmental and non-governmental bodies, with national leaders engaged in the process (Knight-Grofe & Deacon, 2016, p. 141). In conclusion, the study suggests that to encourage Canadians to study abroad we need a clear strategy and an immediate intervention. The prospected Canadian economy and international status necessitate such a strategy (Knight-Grofe & Deacon, 2016, p. 142).

The study of McCartney (2016, p. 3) shed more light on federal internationalization policy developments. It explored the “discourses in international student policy talk, 1945–75” and argued that the parliamentary discussions disclose how important the international students are to Canada. The study views the discussions of the Members of Parliament as “policy talk” that could be examined in light of Ball’s dual definition of policy as “text” and “discourse”. “Policy talk” is not a usual discussion about educational policies, but a chance for legislators to establish prospect rules. Examining “policy talk” focuses on understanding the parliamentarians’ “agency” and acknowledges the limits of their role, either that relates to government or to politics. Those limits represent contexts of “policy talk” that usually reflect compelling thoughts, or discourses, that emanate from surrounding governmental and political atmospheres.

According to the study, “discourse” indicates to “the (sometimes unspoken) assumptions, values, and notions that underpin and organize policy talk”. Although legislators and policy actors are generally guided by those surrounding discourses, they also challenge them. Thus, understanding the “policy talk” is significant to analyze the prevailing discourses and to examine the ways in which they develop. Although such discourses are developed and debated in “policy talk”, they are embedded in, and surround, policy discussions and highlight their direction and focus. The research intended to underline the prevailing discourses that were reflected in the “policy talk” in Canada after World War II and to follow the development of the “international students” discourse during the period from 1945 to 1975 (McCartney, 2016, pp. 3-4).

Between 1945 and 1969, international students were viewed as “Welcome Sojourners”. Next to WWII, debates on those students took place in the context of a growing position of Canada internationally during the Cold War era. The debates of Members of Parliament on that were usually in the context of wider policy problems that were neither educational, nor student-

centered. The prevailing discourse in “policy talk” at that time revolved around international students as “development targets”, which implied an idea that those individuals deserve Canada’s developmental support (McCartney, 2016, p. 4). Between 1969 and 1975, international students were viewed as “Dangerous Immigrants”. Earlier in the 1970s, international students were viewed as an ideological danger and latent means for extreme Marxist and communist ideas. They were also considered as an economic threat when they take Canadians’ educational and employment opportunities. The discursive debate around the employment of international students was reflected in “policy talk” during the 1970s and was focused on the risks that result from employing international students instead of Canadians (McCartney, 2016, pp. 16-17).

In conclusion, the study suggested that the “policy talk” on international students was impacted by the contexts in which the policy was developed. For current analysis of international student policies, this historical examination highlights the idea that education policy was never developed in isolation. It is usually made by policy actors who may have been more concerned about current wider socio-economic issues. To identify dominant thoughts that guide the development of those policies, we need to mindfully analyze the contexts in which policies are debated and discussed (McCartney, 2016, p. 20).

Tamtik (2018, pp. 18-19), has examined international education in Manitoba and explored its divisional leadership practices. The examination addressed the following two questions: “How have K-12 level international education policies and practice emerged in Manitoba?” and “How has policy coordination been achieved to steer international education practices?” The research focused on “policy coordination practices in K-12 international education” in Manitoba. It proposed an outline to analyze the role of educational leaders in policy making. It focused on: actor dynamics; process dynamics; and, outcome dynamics. A case

study methodology was employed and research data were collected through documents analysis and semi-structured interviews.

According to the research conclusions, leadership practices go beyond the level of school divisions that provide international student programs. The leadership of international student programs have a distributed nature involving school leaders, provincial departments, and non-governmental organizations. According to the study, aspects such as shared interests, governmental position, and the interdependence of resources impact on international education leadership practices in Manitoba (Tamtik, 2018, p. 27).

In view of the reviewed studies on internationalization of public schooling, they suggest that while more focus is on federal internationalization initiatives (Embleton, Gold, Lapierre & Stevenson, 2011; Cosco, 2011; Lee & Johnstone, 2014; Knight-Grofe & Deacon, 2016; and, McCartney, 2016), less attention has been paid to provincial internationalization cases, such as British Columbia (Cover, 2016) and Manitoba (Tamtik, 2018). These studies highlight different activities of public schooling internationalization, including: the recruitment of international students in very competitive markets (Embleton, Gold, Lapierre & Stevenson, 2011); the affiliate schools that teach Canadian public schooling curricula overseas (Cosco, 2011); the assessment of internationalization in public schools (Yemini, 2012); the relationship between immigration and internationalization policies (Lee & Johnstone, 2014); internationalization as an educational reform trend (Cover, 2016); Canadians' opportunities to study abroad (Knight-Grofe & Deacon, 2016); the historical discourses of international students' policy in Canada (McCartney, 2016); and, international education leadership practices (Tamtik, 2018). These studies suggest that the two major approaches to internationalize Canadian public schooling, over the last two decades, have been the recruitment of international students into local schools and the delivery of

Canadian public schooling curricula in overseas affiliate schools. They also highlight a relationship between internationalization, international trade, immigration and economic policies at federal and provincial levels. None of these studies, however, paid specific attention to the provincial internationalization policies of public schooling in relation to neoliberal discourses, and more specifically in case of Manitoba.

Neoliberalism and Public Schooling Policies

The study of Basu (2004, p. 621) initiates this discussion by focusing on the “rationalization of neoliberalism in Ontario’s public education system”. It proposed to understand how discursive neoliberal educational reforms were justified in Ontario during a structural readjustment period from 1995 to 2000. The study paid attention to the rise of neoliberalism in Ontario and suggested that, since World War II, Canadian public policies, similar to other developed countries, have been guided by two basic perspectives: *First*, the Keynesian economic perspective that guided national policies for almost thirty years after the war. *Second*, neoliberalism, which became prominent during the 1980s and 1990s (Basu, 2004, pp. 621-622). According to the study, the dominance of neoliberal policy perspectives has been difficult to oppose because of the appealing messages they deliver to the public. These messages are built on efficiency, accountability, and equal support for all school districts in the province. By analyzing government statements and publications from 1995 to 2000, the study examined the reasons why neoliberal policies succeeded in restructuring education governance, funding, and curricula. The author argued that this success has partly relied on understanding of the proper approaches to implement neoliberal policies (Basu, 2004, p. 622).

As the study suggested, with a quick spread of capitalist economic models, neoliberal doctrines to privatize, decentralize, and individualize public services became widely prevailing

in planning and regulating public institutions. Provincially in Ontario, the reforms of the Common-Sense Revolution (CSR) seemed to follow the track of the former administrations in Britain, the United States, and the Alberta model of the “Klein Revolution” that led to evident reductions in debt and deficit levels, minimized role of the province in the economy and a change in the government managerial approach. The dismantling and disapproval of the Keynesian model, especially in education, as Basu argued, was motivated by very interventionist agendas around social matters, such as policing, crime rates and immigration, which ultimately assisted to justify neoliberal changes (Basu, 2004, p. 622).

According to the study, reform initiatives in education reflected many aspects of a neoliberal discourse, such as increased focus on privatization, marketization and performativity in public schools. The legitimization of structural changes was motivated by justifying the urgent need of public schools to elevate their standards and modify their curricula to maintain their competitiveness in the world economy. Since the motive of the CSR was deficit removal and tax decreases, the language of financial efficiency and accountability was prevailing in all aspects of the reform. It involved funding reductions, centralization, amalgamation of small school boards, school closures, standardized assessments, teacher certification, marginalizing teachers’ unions, formation of school parent councils and qualifying students to compete in global market economies (Basu, 2004, pp. 631-632).

The study of Davidson-Harden and Majhanvich (2004) focused more on proposals for, and activities of, privatization in Canadian public education. To understand how privatization has influenced different Canadian educational institutions, the study examined the ways in which education was commodified and marketized. It also analyzed matters of equity, continuity of public funding, and access to educational opportunities. The study underlined two major

connected phenomena: the integration of market language into all education systems; and, the increasing debate around whether education is a commercial commodity or a public service (Davidson-Harden & Majhanvich, 2004, p. 263).

According to the study, privatization processes in public education systems in Canada and other countries are viewed as “a constituent trend within policy discourses and practices reflecting neoliberalism” (269). The term “neoliberalism” was employed as an analytical concept and an outline to understand privatization processes. Thus, it was also viewed as a “set of social and economic policy imperatives which have stressed the increasing employment and shift toward the use of market mechanisms as modes of governance in capitalist societies” (269). In countries where neoliberalism has become dominant, the focus of the state has changed from creating and sustaining social programs to supporting private interests in different areas for economic competition purposes (Davidson-Harden & Majhanvich, 2004, p. 269).

Based on this conception of neoliberalism, the study asserted that the policy direction and political perspective of privatization, as a neoliberal element, was influencing Canadian public education systems at all levels through two major and associated approaches. *First*, in the context of increased private interest in the provision of public education, two opposite understandings of individual rights were posed. Attention has been paid to the importance of property, or corporate, rights versus international human rights, such as the right to education and whether education should be considered as a commodity in market economy, or as a human right as viewed by the Keynesian-welfare state. *Second*, the neoliberal market tools in education, that usually assert competition and increased parental choice, were also impacting all Canadian education systems. In that context, the idea that parents should be able to select their preferred choice to educate their children has been clearly opposing the tradition that an equally accessible public-school

system should be provided to all citizens regardless of their socio-economic status (Davidson-Harden & Majhanvich, 2004, p. 270).

The study highlighted different privatization aspects in Canadian education, particularly in elementary and secondary schools. *First*, education studies in Canada point to a general decrease in per-capita funding of all levels of education (Davidson-Harden & Majhanvich, 2004, p. 271). *Second*, this funding decrease was accompanied by an observable neoliberal trend to motivate and facilitate the private sector participation in the provision of public education, which was observable in some Canadian jurisdictions (Davidson-Harden & Majhanvich, 2004, p. 272). At elementary and secondary schools' level, two additional and associated ways of privatization were examined. *First*, an increased private fundraising at local levels that has led to more inequities in financial resources of school districts based on the economic status of the families living in each school catchment area. *Second*, the increased Public-Private Partnerships (P3s), as a recent form of privatization of public sector, have also impacted on public education systems and the governmental role in that sector (Davidson-Harden & Majhanvich, 2004, pp. 273-274).

The study of Macris (2009, pp. 12-13) focuses this analysis and pays attention to “the dominance of neoliberalism in public schooling” systems and its impacts on education as a public good from a Canadian perspective. The study analyzed the ways in which neoliberalism has reshaped the outline of public schooling by fostering market-driven practices. These practices result from the development of neoliberal education policies and rationales that have become embedded in educational goals. Neoliberal trends, such as privatization, free trade, and decentralization, have prevailed as a threat to the idea of public good and lead to increased social inequities and marginalization. As the author argued, neoliberalism has significantly changed, maybe distorted, local, national, and international educational theories and processes.

The study tried to address the following major question: “How has the dominant neoliberal ideology become manifest through educational policies and pedagogical practices in public spaces of schooling?” (Macris, 2009, p. 16). To suggest an answer to this key research question, the study reviewed and analyzed different related studies to identify the problem of neoliberal educational policies. Attention has been paid to exploring the way in which, and the reason for, neoliberal principles appeal to different individuals and groups (Macris, 2009, pp. 59-60). The study suggested that neoliberal principles, reflected in different practices, had deeply impacted on public schooling and prevailed as a steering context of different socio-cultural processes. Market-driven mechanisms, business rationales, and private interests have been employed by different educational institutions. Meanwhile, the welfare services have been subject to increased fees for economic development and competitiveness purposes (Macris, 2009, p. 108). In conclusion, the study suggested that:

[N]eoliberalism has, undoubtedly, triumphed as the dominant ideology and its greatest victory lies in its ability to attract and convince, many of us, that the concentration of ownership and control of resources in the hands of the few and the powerful is a natural process under the “free” market, capitalist “dogma.” Neoliberalism has convinced us that the extension of neoliberal policy and reform implementation is inevitable; it has convinced us that self-regulation and private enrichment is beneficial; it has convinced us to accept neoliberalism as the only alternative (Macris, 2009, p. 110).

As the study suggested, several writings and actions taken to challenge neoliberal governance models are mostly analytical and critical, which was the adopted approach to this examination (Macris, 2009, p. 114).

The study of Jeannotte (2010) focuses the discussion on the neoliberal impacts in cases of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. It focused on influences of the neoliberal drift of the 1980s and 1990s on the cultural policies of Manitoba and Saskatchewan. It examined these neoliberal influences in relation to the political ideology that prevails in the two provinces, which is social democracy. According to the study, policy-makers have followed the neoliberal drift in some respects, but they had to consider the historical factors that have formed the cultural policy until the late 2000s. In Manitoba, neoliberalism has been modified by pressures between the hinterland and the center cultural trends. In Saskatchewan, it has been moderated by pressures between professional and community-centered cultural bodies (Jeannotte, 2010, p. 303). To examine the influences of this public policy drift at provincial levels in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and because of the lack of academic work on that topic, the study focused on an analysis of governmental cultural documents. Through this analysis, the study followed the track of some cultural measures and examined the way they were developed or adjusted (Jeannotte, 2010, p. 304). The study employed the concept of *neoliberalism* and highlighted three of its prominent aspects. *First*, neoliberal governance conditions, or the business criteria that are built on production and profits. *Second*, instead of dependence on hidden role of markets, neoliberalism achieves its goals through policies and legislations. *Third*, it considers political and social arenas as proper locations for market rationales (Jeannotte, 2010, p. 304).

According to the study, before the 1980s neoliberal drift, Canadian cultural policies had been oriented by a focus on national unity, against local and international pressures, to empower a Canadian cultural identity. As the neoliberal hegemony increased, a greater focus on culture as a commodity began to appear, accompanied by more policy focus on industries of culture and creation. The cultural industries included performance arts, literary arts, public libraries,

museums and galleries, visual arts and crafts, filming, publishing, and music. The creative industries usually include broadcasting, advertising, architecture, design, and interactive programs (Jeannotte, 2010, p. 305). Because of the 1980s neoliberal drift, Manitoba paid more attention to the creative industries and adopted different regulations to maximize the returns of these industries, and to market its different creative products (Jeannotte, 2010, p. 310).

The study of Issel (2010) attracts the attention to the neoliberal impacts on public schools' leadership and funding in BC. It focused on understanding how neoliberal policies have directed school principals to search for more financial resources from the private sector and, consequently, have resulted in increased commercialism in public school systems. To understand how principals' decision-making was impacted by neoliberal policies, the research examined this process in the context of commercialization. A key premise of the study was that school principals were facing an important condition in which socio-political contexts valued economic-based systems. A major concern was related to the extent to which school leaders' self-identities and comprehension of their leadership responsibilities lined up with, or against, new prominent economic orders. The focus was on how school leaders' choices reflect commercialization in schools (Issel, 2010, p. 8). To collect the research data, seven elementary school leaders working in different socio-economic areas were interviewed (Issel, 2010, p. 28).

According to the study, the analysis of education goals during the last decades shows that a focus on political and economic agendas, that line up with business perspectives, has been integrated into social structures. These agendas seem to be less focused on developing critical participative citizens and pay more attention to cultivating human capital that supplies the growing needs of market economies. The market-driven standards of school reforms reflect the hegemony of economic efficiency over other principles and democratic values. Rather than

orienting education in light of concepts of good citizenship and public good, education has been widely viewed and structured to assert performance, efficiency, accountability, and consequently the production of “human capital” (Issel, 2010, p. 17).

A focus of the study was on how neoliberalism impacted on education in BC, which was obvious in the expansion of privatization policy. Privatization of public institutions is a significant element of neoliberalism and is usually embodied in policies that propose to minimize governmental control. Privatization has not only proposed a shift from public to private schooling, but also adjusted market tools to fit public education. The persistent reduction of public education funding was accompanied by a neoliberal privatization trend. A clear illustration of the privatization of public education in BC is the establishment of business firms in school divisions. In 2002, the BC Liberal government adopted a legislation that allows school divisions to create and manage private firms to trade education internationally. Other illustrations of privatization include parental fundraising, business engagement in education, and admitting more international students into public schooling (Issel, 2010, pp. 22-23). In conclusion, the study argued that neoliberalism is the most influential political ideology that weakens democracy and critical citizenship. Market-oriented social systems, economic principles of minimized public funding, and privatized public schooling complicate and discourage school leaders from making educational decisions that affirm socially-oriented educational goals (Issel, 2010, p. 150).

The study of Carpenter, Weber and Schugurensky (2012) analyzed the influence of neoliberal reforms of education on classroom practices of teachers and adult literacy educators in Ontario. Participants of this study were asked to reflect on the influences of the policy changes during the last 20 years on their workplaces. Both school teachers and adult educators mentioned the same issues of privatization, managerialism, and disciplinary accountability standards.

Participants from the two groups also referred to their reduced professional autonomy and a growing “culture of fear” in workplaces (Carpenter et al, 2012, p. 145).

This study paid attention to neoliberalism in the Canadian educational context. As suggested, the shift towards neoliberalism was initiated three decades ago during the federal Conservative government of Mulroney. Their policies were committed to accelerate economic development and efficiency through competitiveness, motivating the private sector, minimizing the role of government in public funding, reducing taxes, deregulation, and free trade. Over the period of the 1980s and 1990s, new governments in Ontario, Alberta, and British Columbia adopted neoliberal policies. Reduced public funding impacted on provincial welfare policies, particularly health care and education policies. The privatization of public goods resulted in income-based inequalities, which are, in the case of Canada and other developed countries, related to factors such as race and gender (Carpenter et al, 2012, p. 147).

According to the study, during the last two decades, Ontario’s educational policy has adopted the same federal policy rationales. It included reformulation of provincial education policies and commodification of education services through international trade partnerships. This movement was especially clear during the eight-years term of the Conservatives, who called their electoral campaign and reform agenda as a *Common Sense Revolution*. They preferred to empower individuals’ economic responsibilities, more than welfare policies, and adopted the exact reform agenda that focused on privatization, reduced taxes and governmental spending, deregulation, and entrepreneurialism. In terms of public education, there has been essential policy changes related to destabilizing teacher labour markets, the privatization of public schooling, and increased standards for curricula and assessment. Adult education was hardly

dealt with in that context, as adult learners were mentioned by the government in different public forums and studies as employees (Carpenter et al, 2012, p. 147-8).

The results of the study show that, in the case of education policy, the government did not minimize its role but rather altered its responsibilities and ways of engagement. Participants noted a decrease of financial supports, increased provincial dominance, and allocating huge amounts of state monies to what was viewed as an inefficient and irrational bureaucracy. That is, the state retreat is mainly from financial supports to public services and from intervention in markets through governmental regulations. In addition, neoliberal changes reduced the extent of teachers' professional autonomy, which led to a major philosophical change in education from a humanistic perspective to an instrumental rationale determined by individual entrepreneurs and global competitiveness (Carpenter et al, 2012, p. 159-160).

In view of the reviewed studies on neoliberal impacts on public schooling policies, some studies have paid attention to Canadian public schooling systems in general (Davidson-Harden & Majhanvich, 2004; and, Macris, 2009), and others paid specific attention to provincial cases, such as Ontario (Basu, 2004; and, Carpenter, Weber and Schugurensky, 2012), Manitoba and Saskatchewan (Jeannotte, 2010), and British Columbia (Issel, 2010). When examining the neoliberal impacts on public schooling policies, specific attention was paid to the neoliberal discourses of marketization (Basu, 2004; Davidson-Harden and Majhanvich, 2004; Macris, 2009; and, Issel, 2010) and privatization (Basu, 2004; Davidson-Harden and Majhanvich, 2004; Macris, 2009; Issel, 2010; and, Carpenter et al, 2012). Those studies suggest that privatization and marketization are the most impactful neoliberal discourses on public schooling systems. They also suggest that, in response to these discourses, several Canadian provinces have

developed neoliberal educational and cultural policies, including Manitoba. However, Ontario and British Columbia seem to be the provinces most impacted by these neoliberal discourses.

Neoliberalism and Internationalization of Public Schooling

The study of Schuetze, Kuehn, Davidson-Harden, Schugurensky & Weber (2011, p. 62), stimulates this discussion by focusing on issues of globalization, neoliberalism, and Canadian schooling. As it suggested, Canadian school systems have been significantly impacted by the economic neoliberal globalization and its habitual inclination to effectiveness, standardization and competitiveness. The authors examined such neoliberal reforms during the last thirty years in three Canadian provinces of Ontario, Quebec, and British Colombia. They analyzed the impacts of these reforms on administrative, teaching, and learning practices.

According to the study, since 1985, there has been a shift in Canadian public schooling systems due to two key changes: (i) the federal financial role; and, (ii) the prevailing global neoliberal drifts towards marketization and privatization (Schuetze et al, 2011, p. 64). The federal allocations and transfers to social services, including education, in different provinces are significant. By the early 1990s, federal transfer payments to the provinces were considerably reduced, which impacted on public education funding. Because of individual and business federal tax cuts, the government revenues and expenditures were reduced. It resulted, they argue, in increased social inequalities that are viewed as a result of a minimal governmental role in economic activities and provision of public services (Schuetze et al, 2011, p. 64). The study suggested that international neoliberal organizations and their policies, such as the WTO, were influential at national levels. The case of education in Canada in relation to the GATS, which is one of the WTO agreements, reflects this international influence. According to the GATS, education has been considered as a tradable service (Schuetze et al, 2011, p. 64).

As the study suggests, during the 1990s and 2000s, provinces of Ontario, Quebec, and British Colombia elected conservative governments to replace social democratic ones. Motivated by more efficiency, competitiveness, accountability, and proper financial policies for the public sector, those provinces adopted high tax cuts and reduced their funding of social services. In terms of education, teaching, and learning allocations, they were also cut. To maintain their quality education, school divisions started to raise their own funds to replace these provincial cuts. Meanwhile, for accountability purposes, provinces relied more on standardized assessment, which reflected an increased distrust in teachers who were usually blamed for what was characterized by low achievement levels in public schooling (Schuetze et al, 2011, pp. 65-66).

In the case of British Columbia, the recruitment of international students in public schooling was considered by the Liberal government, that lasted from 2001 to 2013, as an option to diversify the provincial economy and to create more international trade partnerships. The BC government was also recommended to create a body that would coordinate public and private provision of international education and to assign its marketing efforts to the Department of Economic Development. As a result, since 2000, tuition fees from international students have been a key funding source for many school divisions (Schuetze et al, 2011, pp. 74-75).

The study of Kwak (2013, p. 1858) continues this focus on BC through examining the neoliberal linkage between education and migration policies in Canada and South Korea. The study analyzed the ways in which nation-states developed market settings for international education in response to neoliberal structural adjustments. Specific focus was on the ways in which public education systems have adopted profit-making mechanisms by marketing their programs to international students. Building on data collected from Vancouver and Seoul, the study examined the complex and locally-based results of neoliberal policies.

According to the study, the commodification of public schooling in Canada, which had traditionally been seen as a social service provided for collective good, has been viewed as a response to neoliberal hegemony. It was argued that the commodification of education was an outcome of the systematic development of neoliberal policies that increase deregulated, restructured, and privatized public education. The growth of internationalization, particularly the recruitment of international students, was understood as a reflection of public education commodification in Canada. Some critics considered the neoliberal education hegemony, as reflected in commodified education, a daunting drift that threatens the public access to equal education, social justice, and democracy (Kwak, 2013, p. 1859).

By analyzing governmental immigration and educational records, in addition to data collected from 88 interviews with public officials, private-sector leaders and foreign students, the study examined the state contribution to the development of the international education industry in Vancouver and Seoul, and their relevant partnerships. To examine the role of Canada and South Korea in this regard, the study focused on the ways in which the development of neoliberal immigration and education policies impacted on the move of international students and their families between the two cities. The study also paid attention to the ways in which institutions in the two cities were impacted by neoliberal educational trends (Kwak, 2013, p. 1859). The study suggests that from the 1980s, Canada has adopted a set of neoliberal policies and agendas at the federal and provincial levels. In terms of migration, the policy approach was economically focused and attention has been paid to individuals who have educational and entrepreneurial qualifications. In case of education, the policy approach resulted in a growing privatization and commodification of public schooling (Kwak, 2013, p. 1864).

According to the study, internationalization is currently acknowledged as a key purpose of educational institutions in Canada. Given the neoliberal cuts of public services, the financial returns resulting from offering international student programs seem to be unavoidable. In that context, public schools have developed a variety of internationalization strategies, which included significant changes to curricula and international student exchanges. The recruitment of foreign students was clearly the most observable endeavor (Kwak, 2013, p. 1866). The study suggested that the internationalization process was multifaceted and attracted different players. The prevailing neoliberal education and migration policies in the cities of Vancouver and Seoul, and the contributions of public institutions in the two cities, highlight the need to understand more about the local impacts of globalization (Kwak, 2013, p. 1871).

The study of Johnstone and Lee (2016, p. 1063), builds on critical views of globalization to argue that international education has become an arena to maintain neo-imperial interests embedded in neoliberal economic development and efficiency. Focusing on Canada, the study critically analysed “the global tactics of power and governance strategies in international education policy, as they influence and shape education and immigration policy” in Canada. The study explained the ways in which the OECD plays a key global educational role and how, through different approaches, it empowers international education to flourish in the global knowledge-market dominated by developed countries.

The paper focused on the international context of education policy development and the ways in which this context impacts on policy making at national levels. From a critical view, the authors assumed that globalization ideology embodies a neoliberal and neo-imperial movement. To examine international education policies from the perspective of globalization ideology, the authors studied previous contexts and contemporary processes to develop education policies

(Johnstone & Lee, 2016, p. 1064). Based on analysing current shifts in international education policies in Canada and their consistency with the OECD educational agenda, the study suggests that economic-oriented internationalization policies may represent a new trend, but in essence, they reflect historical interests. From the authors' perspective, the OECD plays a key role to form, legitimize, and perpetuate global neo-imperial interests, which is a role that was played by historical colonial powers (Johnstone & Lee, 2016, p. 1066).

In conclusion, the study suggested that the analysis of education policies should focus on structures of political values and powers. Thus, instead of examining international education as a depoliticised matter, for instance based on student views, other developments and shifts related to international education could be analysed to understand the broader contexts of current global actors. Attention should be paid to neoliberal and neo-imperial agendas embedded in these shifts. As the study suggested, highlighting those values is necessary to decolonize the development of national education policies (Johnstone & Lee, 2016, p. 1075).

The study of Wang (2017, p. 524) attracts the attention once again to the affiliate schools that deliver Canadian public schooling curricula in China. As a comparative education-policy research project, it proposed to analyze: the ways in which Canada and China have recently developed their affiliate schools' policies; the embedded values and agendas in those policies; and, the impacts of those values on the expansion of Canada's affiliate schooling in China. From a descriptive point of view, the study reviewed relevant policy documents, in Canada and China, during the last 25 years. Attention was paid to policy developments and implicit values in this type of partnership between the two countries.

In the case of China, consistent with its economic development, internationalization of education has recently increased. Current economic development policies in China indicate that

the country has adopted a unique approach to neoliberalism that blends market policies with central-state interventions in economic endeavors. This approach is also adopted to educational reforms in China and is manifested in privatization policies that allowed the establishment of Canadian schools with Chinese private partners (Wang, 2017, p. 528). In the case of Canada, public education is basically managed by provincial departments of education, not by a national ministry as the case of China. Each jurisdiction decides its internationalization agenda. Although overseas schools' regulations differ among provinces, they all re-defined the meaning of public schooling in economic language as a commodity, and students as a financial resource (Wang, 2017, p. 532). Wang identifies seven provinces that have affiliate schools/programs in China. Each of those provinces accredits schools to deliver its own curricula and the students usually have the same graduation conditions that the domestic students have in the provincial schools. Consequently, there are differences among Canadian affiliate schools in China. Although English is the first language of instruction, there is no overall strategy to manage those Canadian affiliate schools (Wang, 2017, p. 533).

In the case of Manitoba, Wang (2017) notes that although affiliate schools represent one of five key pillars of the provincial International Education Strategy, the number of Manitoban overseas schools, compared to other jurisdictions, is small. There are two types of affiliations. *First*, having an International Program that delivers a complete Manitoban content in English with other local language courses. *Second*, having a Blended Program that teaches Manitoban courses equally with other local courses. To establish any of these programs, applications have to go through a regulatory process for review, evaluation, and approval. The purpose of this process is to ensure the quality of the affiliate program/school, and the students' ability to obtain the provincial high school diploma and pursue their post-secondary education in Manitoba or other

Canadian jurisdictions (Wang, 2017, p. 535-36). In conclusion, the study suggests that internationalization is an opportunity to empower the neoliberal educational agenda and has reconceptualized the provision of public schooling. The educational collaboration between Canada and China reflect economic-driven policies that consider education as a commodity and students as customers. Although there are ideological variations between the two countries, their economic ambitions seem to be the motive to develop their educational partnerships and the related regulations (Wang, 2017, p. 536).

In view of the reviewed studies on neoliberalism and its impacts on internationalization policies of public schooling, some studies relate neoliberalism to the increased recruitment of international students (Schuetze et al, 2011; Kwak, 2013; and, Johnstone & Lee, 2016). Other studies relate it also to the growth of Canadian affiliate schools that deliver public schooling curricula (Wang, 2017). Although some studies paid attention to the neoliberal impacts on internationalization of public schooling in Canada in general (Schuetze et al, 2011; Johnstone & Lee, 2016; and, Wang, 2017), others focused on provincial cases, particularly British Columbia (Schuetze et al, 2011; Kwak, 2013; and, Wang, 2017). These studies suggest that internationalization policies of public schooling, for instance in the case of British Colombia, are highly driven by neoliberal economic agendas. None of those studies, however, examined in much detail the ways in which internationalization policies of public schooling are associated with, or reflective of, the neoliberal public discourses, such as privatization, marketization, and expanding policy community in the case of Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. The key concepts of this proposed examination are reviewed and outlined in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 3:

Conceptual Outline

Although the last chapter reviews the literature related to internationalization policies of, and approaches to, public schooling in relation to neoliberalism and its discourses in Manitoba's local and national contexts, it highlights the need to analyze some key relevant concepts. Thus, for the purpose of this study and from a broader theoretical and international perspective, this chapter expands the last discussions and reviews the literature to conceptualize the following: *first*, international education and internationalization; *second*, public/education policy, policy formulation, community, and network; and, *third*, neoliberalism and neoliberalization.

International Education and Internationalization

International education as an academic field has been viewed from different perspectives. Historically, it was considered as a sub-field of the theoretical field of comparative education that focuses on comparing national education systems. Thus, it was recognized as an “ideological” movement towards global understanding and cooperation through a type of education, mostly provided by international schools, to globally mobile students (Bunnell, 2007, p. 349; and, Cambridge & Thompson, 2004, p. 161). By the 1990s, perspectives on international education started to reflect both “ideological and pragmatic interests”. From an ideological point of view, international education has been generally articulated as an educational approach to preparation of students as good international citizens by nurturing their interests in global understanding, peace, and cooperation among different nations. Pragmatically, international education became more driven by global economic processes and growing requests for transferable quality educational credentials among students, education systems, and nations (Cambridge & Thompson, 2004, p. 164; and, Matthews, 2002, p. 376).

This may suggest that international education as an academic field has been developed to reflect two separable research interests. First, *education-oriented* interest relates to international understanding, peacemaking, and co-existence amongst different nations. Second, *economic-oriented* interest relates to national competitiveness, profit making, and economic development. In that context, this review outlines two observable approaches to conceptualize international education. The first is more focused on teaching educational contents and practices that nurture international understanding, cooperation, and development. Such conceptualizations are mostly *learning-driven* and employ the more historical term of “international education”. The second approach is more focused on the provision of a variety of international student/education programs, mostly in local institutions or through overseas affiliate ones, for institutional and national economic returns and competitiveness in global markets. Such conceptualizations are mostly *market-driven* and employ the more procedural term of “internationalization”.

Learning-Driven Conceptualizations

In line with the first approach to conceptualize international education, Dolby and Rahman (2008, p. 699) noted that four international education efforts at K-12 levels were significantly developed during the 1960s and 1970s in response to international ideological shifts. As a result, studies that focused on environmental, peace, multicultural, and human rights education were flourishing as academic areas, which continue to attract scholars. In that context, Hayden & Thompson (1995) suggested that the term “international education”, which is widely employed and examined in the literature, implies both general and specific meanings. Generally, it applies to “all educative efforts that aim at fostering an international orientation in knowledge and attitudes”. Specifically, it refers to “an instrument for the preparation of young people to cope with life in an increasingly interdependent world” (pp. 327-328).

Aligned with these conceptions, James (2005, pp. 314-15) offered another definition of international education that is aligned with the learning-driven approach. It indicates to international education as “all educative efforts that aim at fostering an international orientation in knowledge and attitudes and seek to build bridges between countries” (p. 315). In that context, Hill (2012, p. 246) attempted to introduce and examine the concept of *international mindedness* and its relation to international education practices. He argued that international mindedness is embodied in the knowledge about global issues and their interdependency, multiculturalism, and critical thinking that would make the world peaceful through solidarity, tolerance and acceptance of others who think differently. That is, international mindedness is the result of an effective international education. In light of that, Hill (2012) offered a definition for what he called “education for international mindedness”. According to this definition, it means:

The study of issues which have application beyond national borders and to which competencies such as critical thinking and collaboration are applied in order to shape attitudes leading to action which will be conducive to intercultural understanding, peaceful co-existence and global sustainable development for the future of the human race (p. 259).

Such conceptualizations clearly highlight a traditional focus of international education activities on understanding and cooperation amongst different nations. In that context, Knight (2004, p. 8) differentiated between the term “international” used in those conceptualizations and other relevant terms, especially “transnational” and “global”, as follows: First, *international* highlights the idea of nations and indicates to a relationship between, and among, different countries. Second, *transnational*, or cross-boarders, means across nations but does not

necessarily imply the idea of a relationship. Third, *global* refers to worldwide in width and breadth but does not imply the idea of a nation.

Market-Driven Conceptualizations

According to Ball, Dworkin and Vryonides (2010, p. 524), the unfolding of the current political and economic paradigms that impact on social systems, such as education, started with restructuring the world economic system at the beginning of the 1970s. This restructuring was guided by the adoption of neoliberal policies in many countries, which demanded their national governments to limit their welfare role and contribution to areas like education. As a result of commodification and marketization trends, a variety of social services shifted into commodities and opened the doors to the private sector to participate in the provision of public education.

In line with the *market-driven* approach to conceptualize international education, Knight (1994, p. 1) used the term “internationalization” and suggested that it reflects a set of policies and practices that incorporate an international or intercultural component in teaching and learning activities of an educational institution. However, its essence and goals differ from one institution to another. As Wadhwa and Jha (2014, p. 101) noted, in some institutions, internationalization is basically focused on recruitment of international students. Others pay much attention to having overseas affiliate institutions. Currently, educational institutions are developing more comprehensive internationalization strategies that reflect institutional interests in: internationalizing students’ learning experiences; qualifying students for employment through international understanding; and, competing globally through educational collaboration, partnership, and networking with other institutions in different countries.

Because most of internationalization initiatives to date have been at post-secondary, or higher education, levels, conceptualizations of internationalization are more focused on these

institutions. For instance, Knight (1994) suggested that internationalization at post-secondary levels could be defined as:

The process of integrating an international dimension into the teaching/learning, research and service functions of a university or college. An international dimension means a perspective, activity or service which introduces or integrates an international/intercultural/global outlook into the major functions of an institution of higher education (p. 3).

Later, Knight (2004) has argued that based on the changing internationalization rationale, and the expansion of its practices and participants, this concept is best updated to reflect those developments occurring at national, local, and institutional levels. Considering that, she has revisited her last definition of internationalization as follows: “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education” (pp. 10-11).

Knight’s definitions seem to be more focused on domestic internationalization activities with less focus on internationalization activities outside of the country. In that context, Hénard, Diamond and Roseveare (2012, p. 7) argued that “internationalization” of education is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon that, in many cases, refers to home-country, or institutional, internationalization activities by incorporating intercultural and international components into the curricular, extracurricular, teaching, and learning activities. In other cases, the term indicates other growing internationalization activities overseas, such as education delivered through affiliate campuses and partner programs.

Focusing more on K-12 education, Yemini (2012, p. 153) suggested that, at this level, internationalization usually indicates the international schools that mostly provide education for

foreigners and diplomatic communities in a host country. Currently, the concept has been expanded to a broader level that focuses on education of global citizens and is growingly adopted by “local” schools in different countries (Yemini, 2012, p. 153). This view may not focus much on internationalization of “public” schooling that is either provided by provincial/state public schools, or through its overseas affiliate ones in other countries.

In view of this highlighted conceptual gap, the current study proposes the following operational definition of internationalization at provincial public schooling levels. It builds on other conceptualizations of internationalization at post-secondary education levels, particularly that of Knight (2004), Hénard, Diamond & Roseveare (2012), and Yemini (2012). According to this definition, *internationalization of public schooling* is:

A comprehensive process through which a complementary set of educational experiences, social activities and legal services is provided to international students, mostly in local public schooling institutions or through overseas affiliate ones, to ensure their intellectual, physical, and emotional well-being.

Although it seems market-driven, this definition considers the unique status and special needs of public schooling international students. It was suggested that the internationalization of public schooling may have different educational, social, and legal implications that are not necessarily implied in internationalization of post-secondary education. While post-secondary institutions recruit international students above the age of majority, public schooling institutions recruit international students under the age of majority who are more vulnerable as minors living in a host society. Examining these differences between internationalization at the two educational levels is beyond the focus of this study.

Public Policy, Policy Formulation, Community & Network

To help analyze internationalization policy of public schooling in Manitoba, key concepts of *policy*, *policy formulation*, *community* and *network* are now reviewed.

Public/Education Policy

The focus of this study is on a provincial/state public education policy. From the public policy perspective, Knill and Tosun (2012) suggest that a public policy may be defined as “a course of action (or non-action) taken by a government or legislature with regard to a particular issue” (p. 4). As Rizvi and Lingard (2010, p. 4) noted, a public policy, then, indicates the position and practices to be followed by the state, including its different institutions that share the basic characteristics of collective authority. Public policies are usually normative and reflect both objectives and means selected to guide the way the public acts and behaves. A policy may represent types of decisions that are made in the context of other broader decisions adopted by the state decision makers. Policies are often produced in textual formats or written documents. Anderson (2011) offered a more procedural definition of public policy according to which it is “a relatively stable, purposive course of action or inaction followed by an actor or set of actors [mostly government] in dealing with a problem or matter of concern” (p. 6). That is, public policies are to guide different institutional activities in specific and consistent ways.

Focusing on the relationship between public policies and public good, Hazelkorn and Gibson (2018) have examined “what is the public good” and “who and/or what defines it” (p. 3). They argued that these questions are not well addressed in the policy literature. But, in terms of education policies, Hazelkorn and Gibson (2018) suggest that current conceptions of public good are “too strongly situated within the realm of economic ‘utilitarianism’ in contrast to its

traditional and ‘cultural’ lineage which emphasized education’s broader and intrinsic societal contribution” (p. 5), which signals a shift in the essence of education as a public good.

From the education policy perspective, that seems aligned with, and drawn from, the broader public policy literature, Bell & Stevenson (2006, p. 22) argued in their book, titled *Education Policy: Process, Themes and Impact*, that a policy could be partially conceptualized as an analysis of a change and how the change is managed. Policy makers can usually: decide how social settings are perceived; define policy problems; identify possible problem solutions; and, select a particular option. Bell and Stevenson (2006, p. 12) suggest a three-dimensional model to analyze education policies, according to which an education policy has three aspects of *context*, *text* and *consequences*. Policy *contexts* indicate the pre-existing conditions that resulted in the development of a particular policy. Those contexts include social, economic, and political conditions that push to include an issue in a policy agenda. It also considers different interest groups and social activists who pressure policy makers to find a solution to a problematic situation. Policy *texts* refer to policy contents. The analysis of a policy text may help understand the ways in which a policy was drafted, for what reason, the explicit and implicit values it represents, the actions to be decided, and by who. In addition to the clearly mentioned policy concerns, they note, it is important to highlight policy silences, or gaps, when analyzing policy texts. Although the analysis of policy texts should be thoughtful, they suggest, there is always a range of possible interpretations. In terms of policy *consequences*, it relates to different interpretations and implementation of a policy at a variety of institutional levels.

Policy as Text versus Policy as Discourse. Drawing on public policy and education sociology literature, Stephen Ball (2006a) has also suggested an approach to conceptualize education policies. As Ball suggested, a policy has two conceptualizations, “policy as text” and

“policy as discourse”. Each conceptualization partially defines the meaning of policy and both complement one another, as each one is included in the other. According to Ball’s conception “policy discourses...produce frameworks of sense and obviousness with which policy is thought, talked and written about. Policy texts are set within these frameworks which constrain but never determine all of the possibilities for action” (p. 44). According to Ball (2006a, p. 48), viewing policy as “text” signals a high level of individual agency and desirability. Policy actors develop meanings, become influential, contest with others, develop responses, and handle contradictions.

Elaborating his view on “policy as discourse”, Ball (2006a) suggested that discourses are not just “about what can be said, and thought, but also about who can speak, when, where and with what authority. Discourses embody the meaning and use of propositions and words. Thus, certain possibilities for thought are constructed” (p. 48). As Ball (2009, p. 2) mentioned, “discourses” offer compelling understandings of dominant economic and political orders, and public policy problems. Consequently, they appear and manifest to policy makers as acceptable and rational policy problem solutions. According to Ball (2006a, pp. 49-50), in modern societies, we are surrounded by different, inconsistent, and competing discourses and their impacts on policy development are unavoidable. That is, we need to focus more on the complicated and changing ways in which a powerful discourse can be, not just a cause and effect together, but also a barrier, a restriction, and a premise of a different approach. In that context, we should acknowledge the presence of, and examine, those compelling discourses, such as *neoliberalism*, and their governing knowledge structures when analyzing public policies.

Ball (2006a, p. 49) pays further attention to what he called “policy effects” and suggests that the effect of a policy is essentially discursive when it alters the options that policy makers may have, or consider, and limits their reactions to change. Additionally, the effects of policy as

discourse may include power redistribution. Thus, what some actors suggest does not necessarily have to be considered, as only specific voices are valuable and considerable. In that context, Ball (2006a, p. 51) differentiates between “first order” policy effects, that include adjusting structures or practices of institutions, and “second order” policy effects that relate to the impacts of these adjustments on forms of social justice, access, and opportunities.

When comparing the two approaches of Bell & Stevenson (2006) and Ball (2006a) to analyze and conceptualize education policies, it seems that they reflect each other. Both approaches talk about policy as context/discourse, text, and consequences/effects.

Policy Discourse versus Public Discourse. In relation to policy analysis from the “discourse” perspective, Torgerson (2010, pp. 2-3) offered a helpful distinction between “policy discourses” and “public discourses”. Policy discourses are located in “administrative spheres” that are mostly controlled by an administrative form of modern bureaucracy. Such spheres represent scattered and complicated networks of collaborative and competitive, formal and informal, relationships. Public discourses, however, are located in “public spheres” that allow for logical and critical debates. When compared to “administrative spheres”, “public spheres” are evidently dialogical and their public discourses are more situated in civil societies that include different, but socially interconnected, movements and where individuals can interact, not based on pre-determined norms, but in light of cultural standards of reciprocal communication in the society. As Torgerson (2010, p. 5) argued, contrary to the diverse and dialogical public discourses, policy discourses obviously reflect a setting for monologue. Public discourses are usually embedded in linguistic mediums of the society, but policy discourses relate to organized systems that are, to some extent, isolated in the society. Public discourses present opinions that may influence administrative systems by legitimizing, or de-legitimizing, their policy decisions.

Thus, in order to understand how the term *discourse* is used, the discussions above may suggest that Ball (2006a) employs the word *discourse* with two different meanings: (i) as an *output*; and, (ii) as a *context*. *First*, when he conceptualizes *policy* in general “as text and...as discourse” (p. 44). Here, the *discourse*, or policy “as discourse”, seems more as an *output* of a political, or a policy making, system. The span of policy *as discourse* seems narrow as it prevails more amongst influential policy makers, or the “administrative sphere” that was suggested by Torgerson (2010) when talking about “policy discourses”. *Second*, when Ball talks about “the existence of ‘dominant’ discourses, regimes of truths...like neo-liberalism” (p. 50). Here, the *discourse* seems more as a broader *context* that leads policy makers, explicitly or implicitly, to develop and adopt specific policies. The span of those contextual *discourses* seems wider than the span of the developed policy “as discourse” as they prevail more amongst the interested public, or the “public sphere” that was suggested by Torgerson (2010) when talking about “public discourses”. When a policy is developed *as discourse* and *as text*, it is assumed to reflect and manifest these surrounding and dominant “public discourses”, such as *neoliberalism*. That is, the two types of *policy* and *public* discourses may overlap, or intersect, when a *policy discourse* reflects and aligns with a contextual *public discourse*.

In terms of internationalization policies of education, as Hénard, Diamond & Roseveare (2012, p. 10) suggested, they differ from country to country. Their typical focus is often on study visas, security concerns, and employment of international students. Some countries have well-developed national/federal international education policies, while others have no such policies, or are still developing them. Institutions, particularly at the post-secondary level, develop their own internationalization plans, away from those of their governments. Such plans usually focus on recruitment of international students. In some cases, there might be a conflict between state

and institutional strategies about, for instance, study visas and rules of immigration, which might limit institutional capacities to bring in international students.

In view of this discussion on *policy* conceptualization, particularly Ball's view of policy *as text* and *as discourse*, and considering the proposed definition of *internationalization of public schooling*, another key concept to be employed in this research is *internationalization policy of public schooling*. As operationally employed in this study, it applies to the “different positions, actions, and practices that were developed by the NDP government from 1999 to 2016 to provide a complementary set of educational experiences, social activities and legal services to international students to ensure their intellectual, physical and emotional well-being”. This proposed definition is more applicable to the state/provincial public schooling institutions, rather than private and post-secondary education institutions.

Policy Formulation/Problem Definition

In Canadian contexts, Smith (2003, p. 16) argued that policy “development” can be usefully seen as a rational progression through six stages: problem definition; goal identification; options development; choosing the proper one; implementation; and, evaluation. Rounce (2010, p. 18) has also suggested a five-stages cycle for policy “making”. These are: setting the agenda; defining the problem; designing/formulating the policy; implementing the policy; and, evaluating the policy. Another model was proposed by Howlett (2010, p. 383), according to which the policy “process” has five stages: agenda setting; policy formulation; decision making; policy implementation; and, policy evaluation. According to Howlett's model: agenda-setting is the process by which an issue attracts the government's attention; policy formulation indicates how different solutions of a problem are formulated by governments; decision-making is the process by which governments choose a specific course of action, or inaction; policy implementation

refers to how governments put the adopted policies into effect; and, policy evaluation is the process by which different impacts of public policies are assessed.

These mentioned policy models suggest that the terms of policy “development”, policy “making”, and policy “process” are generally used as synonyms in policy literature. Different authors argued that, agenda setting, policy formulation, problem definition, and policy adoption can be viewed as procedural stages. Although they could be analyzed separately, they are, in most cases, interdependent and lead to each other (Anderson, 2011, p. 85; and, Knill & Tosun, 2012, p. 98). Although the broad focus of this examination is on the early stages of internationalization policy “development”, specific attention will be paid to policy formulation, or policy problem definition, stage. According to Anderson (2011, p. 112), policy formulation highlights two unique endeavors: the general determination of actions to be taken to solve a specific policy problem, which implies policy problem definition; and, formulating regulations that represent accepted statements to be enforced when a policy decision is made.

To understand how a policy problem may be defined, Anderson (2011) suggested that a policy problem is “a condition or situation that produces needs or dissatisfaction among people and for which relief or redress by governmental action is sought” (p. 85). For any condition to be a problem, there have to be criteria based on which it may be considered, mostly by government, problematic and unavoidable. That is, conditions do not turn into problems until they are viewed problematic and brought to the focus of policy-makers, usually by sub-government actors (Anderson, 2011, p. 86). According to Pal (2014, p. 100), a policy problem could be also viewed as a gap between an actual condition and a more desired one. It indicates unachieved demands or governmental promises for improving undesired situations. Policy problems differ in the level of agreement on the principles and possible ways to define a problem or a desired condition.

Knill and Tosun (2012, pp. 98-99) suggest that a policy problem definition recognizes a demand or a harm, explains its causes, identifies individuals responsible for the problem or harm, and indicates how the government can respond to this demand, or remove the harm. The way in which a problem is defined guides the policy makers to its “proper” solution. That is, problem definition highly relates to the next steps of policy making, especially policy formulation and decision making, as the possible solutions of a problem may vary based on how the problem is defined. As Anderson (2011, p. 87) noted, policy problems are usually defined, or viewed, differently by different actors and policy-makers. The position of each actor is usually based on his/her principles, knowledge, and background. Thus, the way in which a problem is defined is based on its rational aspects and the way it is socially structured. In that context, Knill and Tosun (2012, p. 102) suggest that problem definition is not just a result of the interests and values of policy actors, but also emanates from the unique aspects of the problem and its social structures. Some aspects may be upgraded as they relate to a specific solution, while other aspects are downgraded. Such a way of communicating problems is usually known as problem framing. It focuses on the subjective employment of the data on a problem and its significant factors to be meaningful and governable in specific ways.

According to Pal (2014, pp. 103-4), to define a policy problem, three questions may be addressed. *First*, what is the problem indicator and how does it relate to the defined problem. Indicators are expected to be evident and connects to the problem. *Second*, why do we have a problem indicator, or why has the problem happened, and what caused it to happen. *Third*, what is the solution, or the proper approach to face the problem, and by which actors. Addressing these questions depends on the ways in which problems are structured. Some problems are tightly structured. That is, there is a small number of policy makers and few policy options.

Some problems are loosely structured. Thus, there is a variety of policy actors and competing interests and options. In such cases, policy problem definition requires analysts to make their own positions and develop a meaningful conception of the problem.

Rizvi and Lingard (2010, p. 6) suggest that although policies are usually developed in response to actual problems in specific areas, such as public education, policy analysts have to be aware of the discursive impact that policy proposals reflect when identifying a policy problem in a specific way, which could be opposite to what outstanding research, or other members of the policy community, may suggest. Policies suggest solutions to their own problems as the problem structured by policy proposals. Although the essence of a policy problem is not always evident, it is usually manifested in a certain way, or based on a specific perception. In that context, Howlett (2013, p. 23) noted that policy formulation studies highlight the significant role of different players who develop and formulate policy options for policy decision makers. At this stage, only those who have the necessary awareness of a policy problem may participate in discussions around possible solutions suggested to face the policy problem.

Policy Community/Network

According to Howlett (2013, p. 23), different studies have proposed a number of groupings of policy actors that help consider: the important actors in different policy areas; reasons for their collaboration; the way they collaborate; and, impacts of their collaboration on policy development. One of those groupings is the policy community. As Miller and Demir (2007, p. 137) suggested, the concept of a *policy community* is usually employed by scholars in areas of public policy, politics, and public administration to highlight formal and informal interactions that happen amongst governmental bodies, pressure groups, businesses, industrial unions, politicians, and other groups of policy players. Policy community is a particular form of

an interrelated social structure that is usually characterized by irregular types of communications and a resulting policy support that is dependent on the political context and governmental unity. It is a network of interconnected policy makers who are interested in a specific public policy for pragmatic reasons. As Jordan (1990, p. 472) suggested, policy communities represent a specific type of policy networks that have an agreement on specific policy concerns and interests. The ways in which the concept is used reflect the idea that it has connected the two academic fields of public administration and political sciences together. In essence, policy communities imply relatively stable institutional relationships between governmental and non-governmental organizations to coordinate a policy development.

One of the earlier efforts to conceptualize the term “policy community” in Canadian contexts is the work of Lindquist (1992). He defines policy communities as “constellations of actors who share common interests in a broad policy domain” (p. 133). According to this definition, as Lindquist suggested, any policy community handles a variety of issues, some of those issues may attract the concern of specific actors more than others. Consequently, different groups of policy makers come together around specific public policies (Lindquist, 1992, p. 133). Rounce (2010) has also suggested that a “policy community” is:

That part of the system that – by virtue of its functional responsibilities, its vested interests, and its specialized knowledge – acquires a dominant voice in determining government decisions in a specific field of public activity, and is generally permitted by society at large and the public authorities in particular to determine public policy in that field (pp. 18-19).

This definition may reflect Smith’s (2003, p. 29) view that structures of public policy communities are either dominated, or determined, by governments when participating in policy

development. Highlighting those who may have a “dominant voice” in policy development, Pal (2014) has conceptualized policy communities as “groupings of government agencies, pressure groups, media people, and individuals, including academics, who, for various reasons, have an interest in a particular policy field and attempt to influence it” (p. 235). That is, as Miller and Demir (2007, p. 141) suggest, policy communities may include a variety of members, such as: political leaders; professional bureaucrats; authors; policy analysts; scholars who have consistent views; think tanks; and, law experts if they have similar understandings of a policy outputs. Because of their powerful positions and prevailing values, the relationship between policy community members is built on trust, respect, and conflict resolution. As a result, they note, policy communities are usually characterized by a structural stability.

Compared to other policy groupings, as Howlett noted, some literature differentiates on one hand between *policy communities*, where there is a larger number of governmental and non-governmental actors with various levels of knowledge about a policy problem and who freely interact together, and *policy networks*, where there is a smaller number of actors, mostly governmental, who have enough knowledge of a policy problem and interact together in more formal settings (Howlett, 2013, p. 23). On the other hand, when compared to *issue networks*, policy communities include a smaller number of policy makers who have similar interests in specific policy outputs and few circles that may impact on policy decisions without public/parliamentary participation. *Issue networks*, however, include a variety of policy actors who may have opposite opinions on policy outputs and can easily join and leave the policy network, in addition to a variety of circles that might impact on policy decisions. It is possible for a *policy community* to restrict voices that may oppose a policy initiative from participation in policy development. In case of *issue network*, the development of a public policy is expected to

be more inclusive of those voices and bodies that have different views and oppose a proposed policy agenda (Smith, 1991, pp. 235-236; and, Ball, 2008, p. 749). These three commonly mentioned groupings/concepts of *policy network*, *policy community*, and *issue network* could be briefly described in Table 4.

Table 4

Key Characteristics of Policy Network, Policy Community & Issues Network

Grouping Features	Policy Network	Policy Community	Issue Network
Range of Actors	Narrow	Moderate	Wide
Sub-government	Most of actors	Many/Dominant	A few actors
Attentive Public	A few actors	Many/Permitted	Most of actors
New membership	Very restricted	Less restricted	Accessible
Type of relationship	Very tight & formal	Tight & formal/non-formal	Loose & non-formal
Impact on policy	Most actors are influential	Some actors are influential	A few actors are influential

The above discussion, particularly that differentiates between *policy networks* and *issue networks*, might echo Torgerson's (2010, pp. 2-3) distinction between *policy discourses* and *public discourses*. In terms of internationalization, Table 4 may help us make a distinction in this study between *internationalization policy community*, that has a *moderate* number of participants in policy development, mostly government, and *internationalization issue network*, that has a *wide* range of individuals and institutions, public, private, local, national and international, who have different interests and views on internationalization as an issue of public concern.

Focusing on policy community, the most employed term in this study, Pal (2014, p. 235), suggested that members of policy communities can be grouped into two major types of actors: *attentive public* and *sub-government*. Policy decisions, she suggests, are usually made by sub-government actors, particularly elected officials and civil servants, large institutions, and key governmental officials, who usually try to reduce participation of non-governmental actors.

Attentive public refers to outsiders of government whose main impact on the process is focused on creating ideas and debates through academic meetings, journal articles, and lobbying activities. According to Smith (2003, p. 28), the sub-government actors are traditionally at the core of policy-making and basically represent different governmental bodies. They are usually assigned to advisory councils and groups of experts, invited to formulate policy drafts, participate in committees and commissions responsible for policy revision, and have personal access to different decision makers. The attentive public actors include a wide group of organizations, private companies, interest groups, and citizens who support a policy matter, but may not have enough power to participate in policy making. Although the attentive public may be barred from substantial participation, especially if they are against a specific policy discourse, they may establish a context for policy evaluation.

It is worthy to mention that the idea of attentive public was expanded to international levels. As Homeshaw (1995, pp. 528-29) suggested, the impact of international bodies became more critical to many public policies that were believed to be of national interest. For instance, the OECD aggregates, examines, and releases information that is usually deployed to make national policies. Although such international organizations usually impact on public policy development through national governments, they cannot be described as sub-government as they have no official role in national policy-making.

Neoliberalism and Neoliberalization

In their challenge of egalitarian liberalism, as Ball and others argued, neoliberal writings, particularly the work of Friedrich Hayek (1899-1992), were celebrated as a foundation of new social and economic policies. Hayek's writings included a critique of the Keynesian welfare state, and an opposition to trade unions and governmental economic interventions, as they

disable markets to work freely and efficiently. Trade unions, from a neoliberal view, irrationally lift wages above standards that would be set in freely operating markets, as governmental economic interventions constitute unjust and improper disruptions to markets that have an ability of self-regulation (Ball, 2006a, pp. 35-36; and, Steger & Roy, 2010, p. 15). This review outlines three approaches to conceptualize neoliberalism. The first views neoliberalism from a theoretical perspective as an *ideology*. The second views it from a procedural perspective as a *process*. The third approach views neoliberalism from a broader perspective as an ideology, a governance mode, a set of public policies, and a discourse(s).

Neoliberalism as an Ideology

Giroux (2004, p. 495) describes neoliberalism as a “market ideology” and argues that it has flourished, not just through profit making, but also through an ability to re-produce itself successfully. Under neoliberalism, all goods and services are for sale and/or for profit-making. Believing that markets should be the guiding instrument for all political, economic, and social policies, neoliberals perpetually criticize traditional democracy, the idea of public good, the welfare state, and its social principles. In line with this conception of neoliberalism as an *ideology*, Davidson-Harden (2005, p. 19) suggested that a basic assumption of neoliberalism is that markets can best organize the economy, and governments should not intervene in economic activities of modern states according to Keynesian capitalism.

In that context, Saltman (2014, pp. 64-65) suggested that neoliberalism as an “economic doctrine and a cultural ideology” focuses more on both economic and cultural aspects.

Economically, it argues for shifting public goods and services, such as education, to the private sector and removing governmental interventions in markets, particularly labour markets. It also supports free trade and encourages international investment policies that serve the interests of

developed countries more than the developing ones. Culturally, neoliberalism perceives the society as a gathering of self-reliant economic actors, as consumers or as employees. It motivates the citizens to consider themselves individually and privately, not publicly and socially.

Neoliberalism as a Process

According to Peck, Theodore and Brenner (2012), *neoliberalization*, not *neoliberalism*, is a “historically specific, unevenly developed, hybrid, patterned tendency of market-disciplinary regulatory restructuring” (p. 269). They suggest that after the deterioration of the economic systems that had been established after Second World War, neoliberalization appeared as a prevailing “process of regulatory restructuring”. As a market-driven reform, neoliberalization could be seen as a “commodification”, or “marketization”, process that expands commodified and market-oriented social relationships. As they suggested, *neoliberalization* is usually linked to certain regulatory policies such as privatization, deregulation, structural adjustment, trade liberalization, and welfare state reform (Peck, Theodore & Brenner, 2012, p. 270).

Neoliberalism: A Broader View

From a broader perspective, Steger and Roy (2010, p. 11) consider neoliberalism as a comprehensive term. To better understand its essence, we need to acknowledge that it has three interrelated aspects as an ideology, a governance mode, and a set of public policies.

Neoliberalism as an Ideology. Rather than viewing neoliberalism solely as an ideology, Steger and Roy (2010, p. 11) suggest that being an ideology is one aspect of the broader view of neoliberalism. They argue that ideologies usually assemble their key assumptions in clear statements that guide social actions in specific ways. These statements are organized by ideological thinkers to support specific political behaviors and to oppose rival ones. In the case of neoliberalism, its believers are members of a global powerful class that includes senior executives of multinational companies, well-known writers and thinkers, senior professional

bureaucrats, and elected politicians. In advocating neoliberal ideas, those different actors legitimize concepts of free markets in public debates and discourses.

Neoliberalism as a Governance Mode. As Rizvi and Lingard (2010, pp. 117-18) argued, current literature on the concept of governance speaks to a shift in the structure and the way in which governments operate. This shift happened during the 1980s with the emergence of neoliberalism in the capitalist world, especially the UK and the USA. Governance describes a shift from governmental structures, usually directed by political parties and coalitions, to ones that are more responsive to global impacts. In that context, Larner (2000, p. 5) has suggested that neoliberalism usually implies a new type of political and economic “governance” that is based on expanded market relationships. Steger and Roy (2010, pp. 12-13) have also mentioned that neoliberal governance models were embedded in entrepreneurial motives such as self-interest, competitiveness, and decentralized contexts. In line with the self-regulated free-market systems, neoliberal governance models empower individuals and transfer national governments’ powers to local governance bodies and institutions. During the 1980s, a new approach to public administration, called *New Public Management*, was employed by bureaucratic structures in different states. It operationalized neoliberal governance models for the civil service and considered citizens as clients and customers.

Neoliberalism as a Set of Public Policies. As Steger and Roy (2010, p. 14) suggested, neoliberal projects are usually reflected in a set of public policies that could be summarized in what they called “D-L-P Formula”. These are: deregulation of the economy; liberalization of trade and industrial sectors; and, privatization of state corporates. Other policies focus on: reduced taxes for businesses and investors; minimizing social programs and welfare services; downsizing bureaucracy; integrating national economies into regional and international forums;

and, most importantly, development of think tanks, new socio-political institutions, and processes that reproduce neoliberalism.

In line with this broader perspective, Springer (2012) suggested a “discourse” approach to conceptualize neoliberalism as “a mutable, inconsistent, and variegated *process* that circulates through the discourses it constructs, justifies, and defends” (p. 135). Springer (2012, p. 143) has argued that viewing neoliberalism as a “discourse” offers a comprehensive analytical approach that focuses on social interactions more than simple talks. From a broader view, Stephen Ball (2012, p. 3; and, 2016b, p. 1047) has also adopted Shamir’s (2008) definition of neoliberalism, according to which it is viewed as:

A complex, often incoherent, unstable and even contradictory set of practices that are organized around a certain imagination of the ‘market’ as a basis for the universalization of social relations, with the corresponding incursion of such relations into almost every single aspect of our lives.

As Ball (2012, p. 15) suggested, neoliberalism is more than a privatization, or a state attenuation “process”. Although those are key components, neoliberalism operates “on” and “in” the state and its public institutions. In that context, the state remains as a regulator and a market-developer. As a result, neoliberalism becomes existent within, and circulated by, quasi-markets, Public Private Partnerships, more independent state institutions, and endeavors of charitable and voluntary organizations. Chronologically, Ball (2012, pp. 3-4), highlights three different, but interdependent, broad stages/phases in the global development of ‘neoliberalism’ during the last five decades: (i) *proto-neoliberalism*, or the theoretical model framed by Hayek and other economists, which was critical of the dominant Keynesian welfare state and represented an alternative to it; (ii) *roll-back neoliberalism*, or the motivated dismantling of Keynesian state

model and its social-welfare institutions; and, (iii) *roll-out neoliberalism*, or the intentional establishment of neoliberal state institutions, governance styles, and regulations.

Drawing on the above discussions, and for the current research purposes, the concept of *neoliberalism* will be operationally viewed from a broader perspective in relations to policy development as “a discursive ideology and process through which market public discourses, such as marketization, privatization, and expanding policy communities/networks, prevail and relate to the development of public and education policies”. As a result of this discursive *ideology* and the prevalence of market-oriented *public discourses*, neoliberalism is reproduced and becomes hegemonic. In that context, different education *policy discourses*, or the views and opinions of different education policy communities, become subject to, and reflective of, the prevailing neoliberal *public discourses*. Consequently, each newly developed education policy *text* becomes laden with neoliberal values and principles.

As the conceptual outline suggested, the term *discourse* has been used in two different ways: as an *output* in Ball’s (2006a, p. 44) conceptualization of policy as discourse, or policy discourse; and, as a *context* in Ball’s (2006a, p. 50) view of neoliberalism as a dominant public discourse. Considering that operationally, neoliberalism will be viewed twice in relation to public schooling internationalization policy development. Specifically speaking, neoliberalism will be considered as an *output* when its *values* and *principles* are reflected, or embedded, in the developed internationalization policy documents, or *policy as texts*. It will also be viewed as a broader *context* when its market-oriented *public discourses* prevail in the shared views, opinions, and rationales of internationalization policy community, or *policy as discourse*. The following chapter will offer a framework that helps analyze these relationships.

CHAPTER 4:

Internationalization Policies of Public Schooling and Neoliberal Discourses:

Analytical Framework

Building on the conceptual outline of this study, this chapter proposes an analytical framework that is drawn from some writings of Stephen Ball to help understand the ways in which neoliberalism relates to internationalization policies of public schooling. Specifically, the chapter analyzes how neoliberal ideological *values* and *principles* relate to internationalization policy *as texts*, and how neoliberal *public discourses* relate to internationalization policy *as discourse*. To this end, the chapter focuses on three key points: *first*, the neoliberal ideological foundations of public schooling internationalization; *second*, the neoliberal contextual discourses of public schooling internationalization, where an attention will be paid to Ball's views on those contextual discourses; and, *third*, the ways in which neoliberal *values*, *principles* and *public discourses* relate to internationalization policy *text* and *discourse*.

Neoliberal Foundations of Public Schooling Internationalization

According to Giroux (2004, p. 494), the idea of having education systems through which free-market principles and norms are re-produced and legitimized was particularly crucial to the ascendancy of neoliberalism. Thus, formal and informal types of education increasingly became instruments to develop the socio-political foundations required to reproduce the free-market ideology. Apple (2013, p. 211) has examined the reason and ways in which neoliberal policies have been gradually prevailing in education and in the broader society. He argued that these policies are key components of a comprehensive socio-educative strategy, or discourse, to alter the essence of the basic ideas that we have to understand our foundational social institutions. For instance, Apple suggests, the concepts of "freedom" and "democracy" have become extensively

debated and prominent neoliberal intellectuals have successfully participated in reshaping the traditional understanding of these concepts. As a result, new market types of “thin democracy” have often superseded the historical and well-established participative systems of “thick democracy” (Apple, 2013, p. 211).

In line with this, Lynch (2006, p. 3) has suggested that the rationale of corporatized and marketized post-secondary institutions, for instance, has emanated from neoliberal political views that argue for free-markets to supersede democratic governments as a developer of cultural values and standards. Extending this discussion, Wright (2012, pp. 281-282) noted that neoliberal “discourses” view individuals as self-centered and rational players who can compete through markets, as fair competition instruments, for different products, including education. In that context, public education has become increasingly considered as a commodity where markets allow individuals to freely choose from a variety of options. Because the state used to be a traditional provider of public education, “neoliberal discourses” have practically focused on inserting market tools, such as choice, and diversifying the providers of public education. Central to the belief in school choice is the idea is that markets are characterized by competition. Thus, when education providers compete for students, the outcome will be motivating schools to adopt high standards. As Wright argued, the drift to competitiveness had an effect on the essence and type of public education. It has also been a key to replace *social-democratic* types of educational governance by *managerial* models of schooling that are market-oriented.

Focusing on individuals, Lynch (2006, p. 3) suggested that neoliberalism offers a market-oriented conception of citizenship that is broadly contrary to the idea of “rights”, particularly that of health, education, and other welfare-state guaranteed services. Based on that conception, the citizen has been viewed as an economic booster who is self-centered. S/he is a dignified

“consumer” who has the will, resources, and ability to make market-oriented choices. Thus, in the context of neoliberal states, the citizen, not the state, is the one who is liable for her/his personal welfare, and the government is merely a “facilitator” of a market-driven society. According to Davies and Bansel (2007, p. 252), the concept of citizenship has been altered to emphasize more “enterprise and the capitalization of existence itself through calculated acts and investments”. That is, as they suggested, the traditional “passive” view of citizenship in the Keynesian liberalism has been replaced by a self-reliant and “active” type of citizenship that implies, not just social rights and duties, but also obligations and expectations.

In terms of public schooling, as Robertson (2017, p. 300) noted, the neoliberal discourses have been reflected in increasing educational choice, which ultimately lead to more competition in the education sector and engagement of the private sector in the provision of public schooling. Consequently, the goal of education itself was re-conceptualized to focus more on two significant ends: (i) developing stocks of human capital and knowledge; and, (ii) encouraging creative and innovative initiatives, both with the purpose of fostering competitiveness in market-driven global economies. In that context, as Spring (2008, p. 344) argued, the state provided public services, including education, although privatized, continued to be regulated by the state. Competition became a motive of all social institutions, with national and international ones, to establish global free markets. As a result, the neoliberal education trends focused more on privatizing public schooling institutions and positioning them as providers of tradable educational commodities for profit-making purposes.

According to Moutsios (2009, p. 473), international organizations played a significant role in the promotion of neoliberal policies and practices in different education systems. Key attention has been paid to production of human capital and preparing a qualified work force to

promote world economies. Education policies have focused on increased productivity and global competitiveness. In that context, the GATS has permitted the liberal mobility of capital to states that have market-driven education systems and identified four permissible types of service trade. These are: cross-border supplies; consumption abroad; commercial presence; and, presence of natural persons. In terms of education, it resulted in: exporting teaching supplies, assessment materials, distance, and online learning; increasing international study; establishment of affiliate institutions in other countries; and, exchange of educators and researchers.

In order to commodify education as an internationally tradable service, Ball, Dworkin and Vryonides (2010, p. 524) suggested that the neoliberal global trends led education systems to adopt specific funding, curricular, teaching, assessment, and teacher training practices. In different jurisdictions, public education policies became firmly associated with the economic competitiveness and knowledge-centered economies. In that context, post-secondary education in European countries was viewed as a global market commodity. From a Canadian perspective, Fallon and Poole (2016, pp. 1-2) noted that market-driven education policies were reflected in increased educational choice, performance standards, standardized tests, more accountability measures, and competitiveness. Such policies constructed specific definitions of public schooling policy problems based on which involving the private sector to provide public education, either independently or jointly with public education institutions, became an acceptable policy problem solution. Adopting private business practices and instruments was depicted as key tool to tackle reduced funding, labour market demands, and equity concerns, which opened the doors to privatize public education in several ways.

According to Wadhwa and Jha (2014, pp. 101-102), the 1995's GATS, and the resulting commodification of public education, has rationalized the development of internationalization

policies of public education in different jurisdictions and led international organizations, particularly the World Bank and the OECD, to play a key role in policy development, financing, and implementation. Thus, local education policies have been increasingly impacted by national and international political perspectives, which have raised intense discussions around educational ends and means. For instance, the rationale of internationalization policies of post-secondary institutions has developed over time from a tool of international development and academic collaboration to be more driven by fostering national economic competitiveness. Although these changes were proposed by international organizations, they continue to acknowledge the importance of the nation state's sovereignty. Szyszlo (2016, pp. 3-4) argues that, recently, internationalization has been developed as an innovative educational practice and a change process. It usually implies a change of values, structures, practices, positions, and education policies that ultimately lead to more adjustments to internationalization standards. Consequently, as Szyszlo suggested, different internationalization practices cannot be analyzed separately from the broader socio-economic changes happening at local, national, and international levels.

In the context of these global neoliberal drifts that led to the commodification of public education, internationalization policies and strategies have increased. According to Cover (2016, p. 174), internationalization has developed as an influential “discourse” that has been employed for political purposes. As a rational and inescapable option to challenge global education trends, Cover suggests, this discourse has served to legitimize internationalization practices without much public criticism. Consequently, as Tarc, Clark and Varpalotai (2012, p. 1) noted, the internationalization of public education, as a response to neoliberal globalization, has been adopted by ideologically different governments and was energized by a variety of approaches to internationalize educational institutions.

Reflecting and manifesting global neoliberal values and principles, Sanders and Stewart (2004, p. 201) noted that international knowledge and skills have come to be seen as critically important to a country's economic well-being. In line with this, internationalization policies have been developed with the intention to: develop the citizens' awareness of world systems, cultures, and affairs; prepare professional leaders in different businesses who are able to deal with opportunities and threats on the international stage; teach other languages in addition to English; and, relate domestic students to other young students from/in other countries and learn to think about their joint futures. To achieve these goals of internationalization, Saunders and Stewart argue, actions should be taken at local, provincial, and federal levels.

Neoliberal Discourses of Public Schooling Internationalization

According to Apple (2013, p. 211), there may be a consensus among academic analysts, social activists, educators, and school leaders on the general characteristics and impacts of the neoliberal policies that have been widely adopted in education across different societies. The increasing marketization, privatization, educational choice, standardized testing, and competition among institutions, these and other discursive trends, have been proposed to prove that what has been practiced in teaching, learning, and school leadership is clearly inappropriate and needs to be replaced by proper neoliberal policies. Nation-states have been re-structured, and profit-making opportunities in public education have been expanded. Not only public educational opportunities have been commodified, but education policies themselves as well. As Rizvi and Lingard (2010, p. 2) noted, internationally, there was a significant change in policy making that has emanated from, and fostered, globalized capitalism and the prominence of a neoliberal doctrine. This change has reframed the processes through which public policies are made. Previously, those policies were mostly made within national contexts but, now, are far more

exposed to global impacts. While national regimes continue to have a final authority to make their national policies, the essence of this authority has altered. It has become deeply impacted by conditions of global economy and political landscape.

The development of current education policies in some jurisdictions may help explain these global neoliberal changes in educational policy making. In the case of Britain, for instance, Wright (2012, pp. 280-281) noted that neoliberal discourses had impacted on education policies for a long period, particularly through public school choice. While traditional liberal discourses viewed the state as a guarantor of social rights, neoliberal discourses have re-shaped the state as a facilitator of free-markets, which are assumed to be effective instruments for citizens to willingly achieve their interests. The flood of neoliberal political discourses had significantly impacted on the ways in which the state manages and provides public services. According to Wright (2012, p. 282), neoliberal education initiatives were basically guided by the free-market assumptions, including freedom of choice, competition, and performance standards. In 1988, the Education Reform Act (ERA) was adopted to give parents a right to choose a school for their children, which ultimately resulted in quasi-markets in public education. Further, parents were treated as consumers and public schools were viewed as providers of educational products.

In terms of internationalization policies, Matthews and Sidhu (2005, pp. 62-63) suggest that global neoliberalism has introduced the internationalization industry as a widely private commercial industry. In internationalization, and other relevant industries, global neoliberal discourses were dominant. To understand how different local, national and global powers shape internationalization practices and experiences, Matthews and Sidhu argue, current methodologies and approaches to examine globalization need to be revised. They suggest that the development of internationalization policies and practices does not simply relate to the ways in which schools

enroll foreign students, deliver curricula and change their structures. It also relates to the constraints that are growingly enforced by global neoliberal agendas.

One of the authors who extensively analyzed the relationship between global neoliberal discourses and education policies in Britain and other jurisdictions is Stephen Ball. As Wang (2011, p. 143) argued, Ball's works are prominent in the area of education policy analysis for a long period. A key aspect of his analysis is viewing different education policies from a discourse perspective. Although Ball pays more attention to the British educational reforms, his approach also considers the developments of global neoliberal trends in a variety of other jurisdictions.

Stephen Ball and the Sociology of Education Policy

According to Young and Diem (2017, p. 3), during the last three decades, an increasing number of education policy scholars started to focus more on critical approaches to analyze educational policies and practices. The writings of Stephen Ball from the United Kingdom, and Michael Apple from the United States, have been particularly significant. They questioned the traditional approaches to studying education policy making, clarified impacts of power and ideology on policy making, and boosted a new critical trend in educational policy studies.

One way to introduce Stephen Ball to this research study is through his contributions to the development of "policy sociology in education". According to Gunter (2013, p. 219), for more than three decades, Ball has offered an important collection of empirical, conceptual, methodological, and guiding writings that have analyzed different education policies related to school systems, organizations, curricula, as well as how markets and social classes interact. As a result, he has clearly contributed to the establishment of an academic area focused on the critical study of education policies. As Lingard and Sellar (2013, p. 267) noted, in three of his early studies on: *Politics and Policy Making in Education* (1990); *Reforming Education and Changing*

Schools (Jointly with Bowe & Gold, 1992); and, *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-structural Approach* (1994), Ball with others have established the basis of “policy sociology in education”, which was viewed as an academic field that employs social science theories and approaches to study education policies. It fostered the critical and contextual examination of education policies, acknowledged that a policy is not just a text, but processes as well, and considered the reciprocal relations between individual agency and social structures in education policy development.

Ball (2006b, pp. 3-4) paid attention to the practical function of theory in academic works as a conceptual instrument for analysis and an approach to reflexivity. He explained how he was impacted in general by some influential theorists in the way he undertook research. Two French theorists were most provoking, fruitful, and useful to him: Michel Foucault and Pierre Bourdieu. Both had a critical awareness of how sociology establishes an object for theorizing, and how individual views and conceptions play a role in constituting objects for social research. Thus, instead of focusing on broad theories and abstractions, the two scholars paid much attention to “the practice of social science and social research” (p. 3). According to Serpieri and Grimaldi (2014, p. 92), Ball acknowledges that both Foucault and Bourdieu have differently impacted on his understanding of knowledge as changing, interactive, and experience-based. Ball viewed Foucault in terms of how his ideas have shifted and developed from time to time, and how he persistently re-considered and re-interpreted his previous writings. Foucault used to highlight weaknesses in his examinations, select new research problems, and filter his research approaches. Bourdieu was also viewed in terms of his changing views on the nature of social reality and the attention he paid to the significance of reflexivity. Different from other critics, as

Serpieri and Grimaldi mentioned, Ball considers this change in Foucault and Bourdieu's conceptualizations as a development more than an instability.

According to Zantena and Kosunen (2013, p. 241), although Ball's writings have assimilated different perspectives of other scholars, his theoretical standing reflects more the impacts of Foucault and Bourdieu. Ball's approach to social research, however, is unique. It is usually theory-oriented, ethnographic/field-based, aware of differences in personal tendencies, institutional traditions, and social contexts. That is why Ball (2006b, p. 4) resists being labelled as a Foucauldian or a Bordieuan. Although it was possible for him to fully adopt their thoughts, what he wanted more is to learn from them and present their ideas. As Ball (2009) described his own approach to academic research in general, he wanted to "understand rather than rush to judgement" (p. 1). As he noted, his previous and current theoretical and conceptual works are more "pragmatic" and "eclectic". Thus, he uses a "variety of analytic tools to understand, interpret and begin to explain the phenomenon" (Ball, 2009, p. 1).

Lingard & Sellar (2013, p. 277) argued that Ball's writings suggest useful prospects for the "policy sociology in education" in global neoliberal contexts. He directs the attention to important implications of globalization for methodological approaches to social sciences. As Apple (2013, p. 213) suggested, in view of a variety of Ball's writings, particularly about neoliberalism and performativity, and considering his critical examination of the ways in which education policies are developed, it is clear that he personally has essential and justified educational, political, and ethical concerns with the whole neoliberal project. Instead of just presenting different debates, Ball focuses most of his analysis, including his book titled *Global Education Inc.*, on relationships among people, positions, organizations, and on mapping out the tangled networks in which all of those parties interact.

Neoliberalization of Public Schooling Policies: Ball's Views

According to Ball, Dworkin and Vryonides (2010, pp. 523-24), there is a lot of research that examines current educational reforms in global neoliberal contexts where education has been viewed as a key component in world economy, not just as a tradable commodity, but also as a means to develop highly skilled labour forces required for national economic competitiveness. Because of economic demands and relevant political interests in public service reform, education was growingly exposed to deep processes of commodification, commercialization and privatization. Such processes were stimulated by liberalization of international trade through international bodies and agreements, such as the WTO and the GATS.

As Apple (2013, p. 210) noted, in his efforts to understand these processes, Ball has adopted structural, post-structural, and critical approaches. He focused on the global and local dynamics of neoliberalism and examined the impacts of these dynamics on macro and micro education policies and practices in addition to their resulting struggles. Keeping in his mind the “neoliberalization of the educational world” (p. 210), Ball examined power dynamics among policy networks that included a variety of individual actors, groups, institutions, political, and economic structures. Thus, as Apple (2013, p. 209) noted, Ball's writings on education marketization, privatization, profit-making, and the observable effects of neoliberal agendas on education are significant to make sense of his variety of academic interests. For the purpose of this examination, some of these writings are presented in the following pages.

By examining some of Ball's writings over the period from the 1990s until present, it could be suggested that there are three major discourses that have consecutively attracted Ball's attention in his analysis of the ways in which neoliberalism prevail and relate to the development of different education policies. While Ball did not pay more attention to international education

in particular, his analysis of those neoliberal discourses may be expanded to internationalization policies of public schooling. The discourses that attracted Ball's attention are: public education marketization, privatization, and expanding policy communities/networks. In view of the ways in which the term "discourse" is used as an *output* and a *context*, these neoliberal *public discourses* are more viewed as contexts in which market-driven education *policy discourses* are developed. Based on Ball's writings, these discourses could be examined as follows:

Public Education Marketization. According to Robertson (2017, pp. 296-97), at the global level, the international trade partnerships and agreements represent a key starting point to examine global education markets. In the context of those agreements, education markets were developed through: eroding the idea of education as a state-provided service; standardizing the educational practices to be exchangeable in global markets; and, positioning those educational practices as public services that are subject to international trade agreements. As Levin (2007, p. 51) noted, at national levels, a variety of reform proposals have focused on empowering education systems to adopt market tools, assuming that markets lead to high efficiency levels. Supporters of education markets believe that families can select a better educational choice for their children, and school practices will improve, when schools compete in markets for new students and the associated funding. Such proposals were clear in England, where families have been given a right to choose the school to enroll their children.

According to Zantena and Kosunen (2013, p. 240), Ball has dedicated much of his writings to examine education markets. His focus on that area started with the adoption of the 1988 *Education Reform Act* (ERA) that, they suggest, originated education markets reform in England. Since then, Ball has analyzed the *Act* in several articles and employed the term "markets" in his discussions. In one of his first articles on this topic, Ball (1990, p. 85) examined

the ideological roots that led the British government to establish public education markets. In addition to equality and social justice concerns, Ball explored the effects of market mechanisms on the structure of schooling, values of education, teaching profession, and teacher work conditions. In this study, Ball (1990, pp. 88-89), focused on understanding how the ERA created education markets and suggested that education markets include five key components: parental choice, competition, diversity of providers, funding, and organization. Increased parental choice was a key principle of the conservatives' education policy since they assumed power in the United Kingdom in 1979. It implies that parents should be allowed to enroll their children in a school of their choice, not just that in their neighborhood. The *Act* permitted all schools to enroll students up to their standard capacity. That is, schools that have low enrollments could now compete to increase student numbers up to their standard levels.

However, from a neoliberal perspective, Ball (1990, p. 90) has argued that there is an essential element that is missing in this assumed education market and, consequently, it is not an actual market. For instance, the choices made by parents, or consumers, do not directly relate to returns, or profits, of schools, or education providers. That is, there are no financial deals and a true market is profit-driven. Neoliberal intellectuals have tried to substitute this missing component by advocating for voucher schools built on the idea that parents are granted vouchers for each child with a specific value based on age, which can be exchanged within school systems. Thus, parents may exchange their vouchers to pay the school fees for their children and the government, then, converts these vouchers into cash paid to those schools.

Continuing this discussion, Ball (1993, p. 3) focused more on issues of education markets, parental choice, and social class. He examined some theoretical underpinnings of education markets and attempted to develop a sociological model to study and analyze those

markets. The study raised questions about the different impacts of market mechanisms on schooling and families. It focused on education markets from theoretical and practical sides. In this study, Ball (1993, p. 4) argued that the adoption of market mechanisms in education is basically a “class strategy” that proposes to re-produce a particular social order and ethnic privilege. To examine how the education market works as a strategy to privilege a specific social order, Ball suggests, it is necessary to analyze the interaction among three significant components: the interests of education providers; the interests of students/families; and, the ways in which the state controls performativity of market institutions.

As Ball (1993, p. 15) noted, the market alternative that considers parental choice fulfills the needs of both students and state was strongly prevailing. However, a more analytical focus needs to be on the relationship between: individual interests and national goals; educational equality and system efficiency; and, economic and social ends of schooling. As Ball and Youdell (2007, p. 7) suggested, the evolution of what are usually called quasi-markets in education depends basically on the adoption of school choice in public education systems, so that parents can select among different school choices. Choice was made possible by diversifying education providers, together with other measures that include enrolment-based school funding and publishing a variety of local school features and results to help parents select a choice for their children. Associated with the promotion of choice was a reduction of bureaucratic rules in order to promote the active recruitment of students with stimulated competition among schools. Thus, schools that are poorly performing and fail to attract enough numbers of students may be closed, otherwise raise their performance standards to compete in the market.

Public Education Privatization. According to Lubienski (2006, p.4), marketization and privatization, although closely relevant, are not synonymous. In essence, privatization indicates

the removal of public control. It implies a change in the governance model of an activity, or a resource, from public to private sector. Different forms of privatization do not necessarily require the pre-existence of markets. That is, diversity of suppliers or providers, profit-making, and competitiveness are not crucial conditions of privatization. But, because markets are dependent on private property rights, they necessitate private properties and rules. Thus, privatization, or the shift to the private sector, could be viewed as a necessity for marketization, or for the establishment of markets. As Lubienski (2006, p. 5) suggested, in essence, markets rely on private exchanges of commodities and services. The expansion of market rules occurs through different ways of privatization. The term “privatization” is mostly used to refer to different processes that include: liberalizing trades through minimized regulations and barriers on capital exchanges; creating service markets by employing market mechanisms for the provision of social services; and, engaging the private sector in the provision of public services.

As Ball, Thrupp and Forsey (2010, p. 229) noted, during the early 21st century, privatization became a significant aspect of education policies in many jurisdictions. In different forms, it has been implied in policy shifts in nations that have different political, economic, and social settings. The increased education privatization also corresponds with the growth of multinational capital and its corporations. The rapid expansion of the private business role in public education was stimulated by expanded markets of public education. To different states and international organizations, privatization was viewed as an appealing innovative alternative for public sector reform as it could reduce costs, increase productivity and profitability, especially during times of economic recession. Ball and Youdell (2007, pp. 7-8) have observed an increasing movement among different states to adopt forms of education privatization, or to privatize aspects of public schooling. They differentiate between two types of education

privatization. *First*, privatization “in” public education, or “endogenous privatization”. Such initiatives focus on employing private sector values, instruments, and practices to manage public schooling from business perspectives. *Second*, privatization “of” public education, or “exogenous privatization”. Such initiatives focus on actual engagement of the private sector, for profit-making purposes, to provide, manage, or design public educational services, which ultimately change, amongst other things, the ways in which curricula are designed and delivered and the ways in which student achievement is assessed.

Focusing more on the privatization issue, Ball (2007) published his book *Education plc* that sets out to provide an understanding of the private sector role in public education. In this book Ball employs the concept of the “competition state” to examine the education privatization phenomenon. As suggested, the “competition state ‘aims to secure economic growth within its borders and/or to secure competitive advantages for capitals based in its borders’ by promoting the economic and extra-economic conditions necessary for competitive success” (p. 3). As Ball (2007, p. 13) noted, for the state to achieve this goal, there is no public service that should be free from private business contribution. The role of the state is, then, re-conceptualized to guarantee, not to provide or fund, public education. In that context, the state is viewed more as a market-developer, or a facilitator. In this work, Ball (2007, p. 114) examined the contributions of business organizations in current forms of education governance through their membership in social networks and policy communities that seem impactful on education policies.

In that context, Ball (2009, p. 83) has examined in-depth some specific features of public education privatization and analyzed contributions of education businesses to the provision of a wide range of educational services nationally in the UK and internationally. He further examined some types of privatization “of”, “in” and “through” education systems and policies. In this

work, Ball (2009, p. 84) suggested three ways in which the private sector relates to education policies. *First*, is what he calls “organizational recalibration, selling improvement and mediating policy”. It relates to selling of policies as retail products for improvement in educational institutions. That includes selling of policies, such as professional training programs, intellectual materials, consultations, and other educational services, as tradable products. *Second*, is what Ball (2009, pp. 88-89) calls “the colonization of the infrastructures of policy”, which may include: producing policy documents and solutions by education businesses for state-related policy problems; exporting ‘state work’ to private sector institutions; and, circulating new policy discourses as a result of the participation of these businesses in writing reports and offering advices, consultations, and recommendations to the state. In such cases the private sector agents function within the state departments as members of policy development communities. *Third*, is what Ball (2009, pp. 93-94) calls “the global reach of education business”. It highlights the idea that, like other private businesses, educational firms are increasingly diversifying their activities to reach new markets at international levels. This international expansion of education firms is partially facilitated by growing liberalization of international trade in public services. As Ball (2009, pp. 95-96) argued, this work maps out different ways in which businesses are involved in education policies at different levels through offering policy recommendations, consultations, evaluations, and partnerships. It includes an increasing exchange of experts between state departments and private education businesses.

Public Education Policy Community/Network. The discussion above may signal a relationship between the increased education privatization and expanding education policy communities/networks. According to Lingard and Sellar (2013, 276), Ball’s writings suggest that the development of current education policies is no longer the duty of national governments. It

became networked and carried out through a variety of formal and informal, public and private, processes. Ball (2008, p. 748) focused on this change in education policy making and argued that a new “experimental” and “strategic” governance model has been strengthened by networking relations amongst new education policy communities. It brings new types of actors into policy making, endorses “new policy discourses”, and empowers new policy outcomes. This is viewed as a reflection of a new type of state power, individual agency, and social structures. It implies the emergence of new state structures that “govern” through “governance”. Although the network approach to governance does not overrule other types of policy structures, it reflects more an agreement amongst markets, bureaucracies, and networks to adopt specific policies.

In that context, Ball (2008, p. 749) employs the term “network” for analytic and descriptive purposes to highlight a governance type that links and harmonizes markets and bureaucracies and could support/replace other governance types. The term refers to an approach, or an instrument, that uncovers and represents public relations in education policy development. The way in which Ball employs the term focuses on a particular type of networking relationship known as “policy community”. As Ball suggested, it stimulates private businesses to deliver public educational services and circulates new “education policy discourses” (p. 749).

According to Ball and Exley (2010, p. 155), although policy communities/networks in general are partially unstable groupings of positions and institutions, such as think tanks and social businesses, they facilitate the flow of policy ideas and actors. They also reflect “relational processes” and “social structures”. Thus, network members may shift among locations and between private and public organizations, nationally and internationally. Some may have different positions concurrently or consecutively. Policy notions are supported and circulated within and outside of networks by the intellectual efforts of its members that include notion

repetition, re-articulation, or quotation. Ball's (2008, pp. 750-51) analysis of networks focuses on types of power relations. Such relations, and their influences, are not fully new. What is new is their particular deep level of involvement with the state public institutions. Those actors are usually members of different committees, boards, and councils that are associated with, and represent, the state in its daily businesses and may shift across and within such groups.

As Ball and Exley (2010, p. 163) suggested, networks and their innovative discourse reflect a state reform to exercise a new type of a "smart" governance that implies the adoption of more flexible bureaucracy, dialogue, and creativity. Ball (2008, p. 761) has further argued that it is important to highlight the discursive and political role of such networks, through which other actors are given the chance to participate in policy development. Within those networks: discussions on educational policy problems and their solutions are initiated; new relations are developed; and, new principles and types of actions are represented and supported.

The following Figure 4 may represent the relationship between these three neoliberal public discourses and the development of different market-driven education policy discourses.

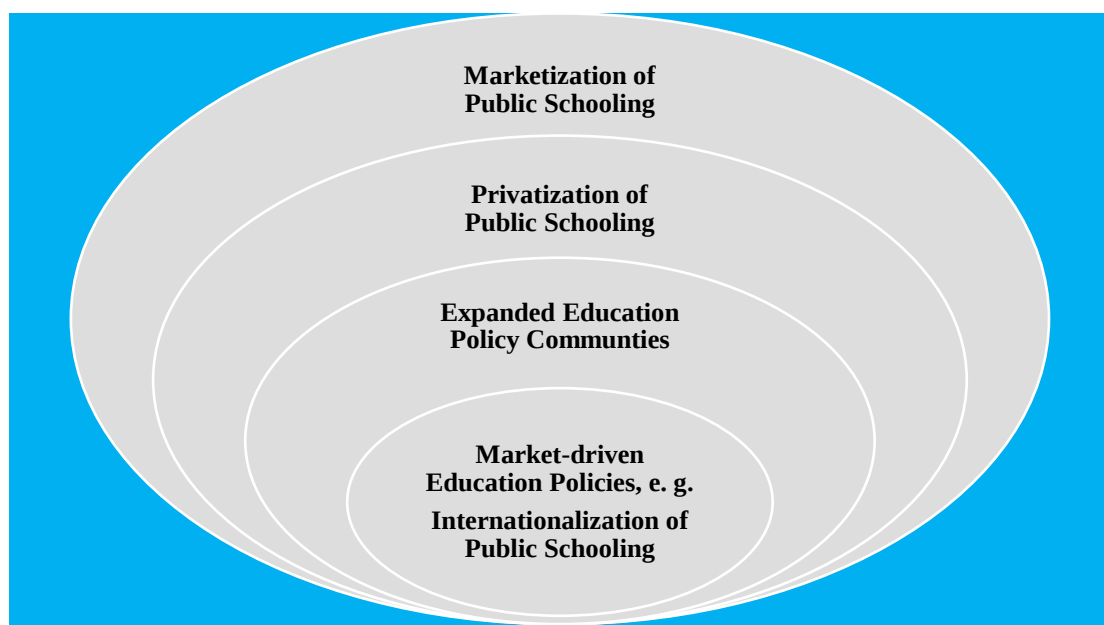


Figure 4: Neoliberal Public Discourses and Market-driven Education Policy Discourses.

The Figure suggests that the neoliberal public discourses of marketization, privatization, and expanding policy communities/networks lead to the rationalization and development of market-driven education policy discourses, such as internationalization policy.

Neoliberalism and Public Education Policies

The discussions above may suggest that the essence of global neoliberalism, its values, principles, and public discourses are usually reflected in different market-driven education policies that Ball viewed *as texts* and *as discourses*. Elaborating more this conceptualization, Ball (2015, p. 311) argued that the distinction between policy *as text* and policy *as discourse* focuses the attention on the idea that policies are usually contested, reconciled, and variably presented by different actors in different textual outlines. Meanwhile, policies are developed and framed by underlying discursive values and principles about individuals and society. Considering the wide range of writings on policy analysis, as Ball notes, there is more focus on policy as text than policy as discourse. That is, much attention is usually paid to what is stated or documented, rather than to how those policy texts were formulated and developed. Thus, Ball (2006a, p. 48) suggested that in policy development, it is not questionable that there is both individual agency and structural constraints. But, when analyzing a policy, we need to focus more on the evolving relationships between individual agency and social constraints, and their reciprocal interactions, rather than any of them separately.

According to Bell and Stevenson (2006, p. 18), Ball's idea of policy *as text*, on one hand, acknowledges the ability of policy actors to formulate policy and shape its procedural, structural, and long-term aspects. So, it clarifies the extent of agency power those actors exercise over policy making processes. Ball's idea of policy *as discourse*, on the other hand, implies that policies are also constrained by social conditions that strongly limit the ability/choices of actors

when developing a policy. It assumes that the way in which a policy is formulated, and the prevailing trends that surround policy development, determine and limit the power of policy actors. As Bell and Stevenson noted, Ball builds on the work of Foucault and suggests that discourses offer criteria based on which structures of truths and knowledges are developed, and within which policy decisions are made.

Neoliberal Values/Principles and Education Policy Texts

In terms of how neoliberal values and principles relate to the development of different education policy texts, Ball (1998, p. 122) described what has been called “the new orthodoxy”, or the policy changes that have been happening in developed nations in the relationship between governments and education. He described five main aspects of this change: (i) promoting state economies by strengthening the relationship between education, labour market, production, and trade; (ii) improving student achievement of job-related knowledges and skills; (iii) exercising more central oversight over delivered contents and evaluation methods; (iv) minimizing public spending on education; and, (v) maximizing community participation in educational decision making and increasing parental choice. The underlying premise of this policy change is neoliberalism, or market ideology, that facilitates spontaneous and unplanned, but creative, responses to market mechanisms. Ball (1998, p. 127) argued that these new doctrines of educational policy may be adopted by, and achieved within, different socio-cultural contexts, while are also being impacted by those contexts.

Elaborating how to highlight these neoliberal values and principles in different policy texts, Bell and Stevenson (2006, p. 12) suggest that a policy *text* generally indicates the content of policies itself. The analysis of this text may help understand how a policy is formulated, what the goal of a policy is, what are the reflected values in a policy, explicitly or implicitly, what

actions are to be taken and by which actors. It is worth mentioning that the analysis of a policy *text* should not be oversimplified. Even in cases of clear policies, there could be a variety of interpretations, and it is significant to highlight the policy silences, or gaps, in addition to the clearly mentioned concerns. In this regard, Rizvi and Lingard (2010, p. 6) noted that once an issue appears on the governmental agenda, ideas continue to compete in different ways, from suggested actions to inescapable interest exchanges, when developing a policy. Thus, when developing a policy text, there are usually efforts to gratify, manage, and reconcile opposing positions and principles. Meanwhile, policy texts usually aim to present their intended message as a public interest, or for the public good, and veil whose positions they truly reflect.

Neoliberal Public Discourses and Education Policy Discourses

In terms of how global neoliberal public discourses relate to the development of national education policies and their discourses, Ball (1998) suggests that such ideological discourses are often “localized” and “recontextualized” in different jurisdictions. As he argued:

While it may well be possible to discern a set of principles or a theoretical model underlying policy – neoliberalism, new institutional economics, public choice theory or whatever – these rarely if ever translate into policy texts or practice in direct or pristine form. National policy making is inevitably a process of bricolage: a matter of borrowing and copying bits and pieces of ideas from elsewhere, drawing upon and amending locally tried and tested approaches, cannibalising theories, research, trends and fashions (p. 126).

This suggests that the development of national education policies, that reflect neoliberal public discourses, is a gradual process to align different ideas and values together. According to Ball (2016, pp. 549-50), education policies are generally movable, not in portable packages, but in gradual practices. They are received in particular ways, that differ from one place to another,

for specific purposes. Those policies may have similar impacts that could relate to governance models or adopting global ideas. When analyzing education policies, Ball suggests, we need to think about how the “global” is reflected in the “national” and consider the extent to which the national contexts are crucial to the development of global policies as well.

Highlighting this reflexive relationship between *global* and *local* contexts of education policies, Bell and Stevenson (2006, p. 4) suggest that educational policy development is a responsive process in which state, provincial, local, and institutional bodies exercise power and employ resources. The essence of the relationship between those collaborating, may be competing, levels may differ from time to time based on the prevailing social and political discourses and their proposed policies. Campbell (2002) examined how different ideological views impact on public policies and ways in which they relate to policy development. Campbell suggested that the “discourse” is a “mechanism” through which different political and economic ideas relate to public policy development. As argued:

Studies have tried to identify how the taken-for-granted paradigms and normative frameworks that reside in the background of policy-making episodes, and of which policy makers are often unaware, constrain policy making, as is often claimed. To do so, they have explored how the structure of political discourse and language shapes how policy ideas are communicated and translated into practice. Typically, they maintain that pre-existing discursive structures (i.e., concepts, metaphors, linguistic codes, rules of logic, etc.) contain cognitive and normative elements that mediate which policy programs policy makers can best perceive, understand, articulate, and as a result, which policy ideas they are likely to adopt (p. 32).

Which signals the idea that public discourses work as parameters within which policy makers develop policy problems and their solutions. In this regard, John (2012) argued that “the way to explain how political systems make and implement policy is to specify the interests, resources, interrelationships, constraints, and norms of the actors under study” (p. 11). That is, neoliberal, and other, discourses relate/lead to specific policy discourses/understandings amongst key policy makers who develop the policy text considering the policy and public discourses.

In relation to those policy actors, Ball (2016, pp. 557-58) highlights once again the role of policy communities/networks. While those groupings interrelate individuals and organizations, they also facilitate the transfer of global neoliberal discourses, practices, and policies related to, for instance, school organization, leadership, assessment, measurement, and blended learning. Educational programs, notions, and concepts transfer through those policy networks, and attain credibility and support while adjusted to local conditions. In that context, Ball (2012) views the significance of “policy transfer” that works a “diverse ragbag of ideas which attempt to capture and model the ways in which policy knowledge circulates globally” (p. 10). As he argued, it is an “umbrella concept” that is widely employed by different authors. It describes different situations that may include: cases when national policy-making bodies adopt an innovative education policy that is developed somewhere else; pressures exercised by international bodies to adopt a particular policy; and, structural adjustments (Ball, 2012, p. 10).

As mentioned earlier, this analytical framework will be employed to understand how the development of public schooling internationalization policy, *as text* and *as discourse*, in the local context of Manitoba was related to, and reflective of, global neoliberalism, its *values, principles* and *public discourses*. The next chapter discusses in more depth the research methodology and methods in relations to the conceptual outline and analytical framework.

CHAPTER 5:

Methodology and Methods

According to the Canadian *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (2014), qualitative research requires scholars to analyze social settings in light of documents, discourses, actions, reasons and ways in which the research participants interpret and assign meanings, not just to what they did or said, but to what others did or said as well. The focus of some qualitative research goes beyond the participant own experiences to examine personal relationships and organizational processes. Qualitative research is also framed by the personal perception of the researcher and how s/he observes or analyzes a phenomenon. That is why qualitative researchers employ a variety of methods and approaches and pay attention to clarify the trustworthiness of their research conclusions (Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, 2014, pp. 139-40).

Guided by the conceptual outline and analytical framework that is informed by works of Stephen Ball, and specifically draws on his conceptualization of policy as *text* and as *discourse*, this chapter describes the research methodology and methods. As a subjective, interpretive and qualitative investigation, the chapter proposes to: *first*, discuss the case study as the research methodology; and, *second*, discuss the research methods employed to collect the research data in order to examine the development of Manitoba internationalization policy of public schooling in relation to neoliberal discourses from 1999 to 2016.

Research Methodology: The Case Study

According to Petty, Thomson and Stew (2012, p. 378), a research methodology indicates the theoretical, philosophical, and political underpinnings of an academic research and their

implications for employing specific research methods and practices. Creswell (2013, p. 22) suggested that the process of qualitative inquiry is usually evolving, inductive, and framed by the researcher's approach to obtain and analyze research data. In some cases, qualitative research questions could be adjusted during the study as needed to better analyze a research problem. When analyzing the data, the researcher pays enough attention to the development of a detailed explanation of the examined phenomenon.

The case study, as a qualitative methodology, is an approach based on which a researcher accomplishes the following: *First*, investigates a real and bounded setting (case), that could be an education system or a policy in a specific country or a state/province, across a delineated period of time. *Second*, collects intensive and exhaustive data by targeting key participants and through different means that could be documents, observations, and interviews. *Third*, presents the case description, analysis, and conclusions in relation to other similar cases (Creswell, 2013, p. 97; Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtler, 2006, p. 15; and, Gerring, 2004, p. 342).

Case studies are usually conducted in actual geographical, organizational, and institutional contexts that allow case boundaries to be determined. Those boundaries could be determined based on the type of research participants, individuals and groups, or based on their positions and responsibilities within the case contexts. Researchers are recommended to clearly identify their case boundaries by definitions, contexts, time, places, and activities. The purpose is to offer detailed descriptions that are narrowly focused to address specific research questions. By focusing on bounded cases and peculiar units for analysis, case studies are usually differentiated from other methodological approaches that have a broader focus (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 253-54; Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 546; and, Lodico, Spaulding & Voegtler, 2006, p. 269). Given that Manitoba is the only Canadian province that has adopted an *International Education*

Act, the case study methodology offers more specific and focused analysis that helps understand the associations between the development of Manitoba internationalization policy of public schooling and neoliberal public discourses during the period from 1999 to 2016.

Research Methods

A research methodology is a general research strategy that informs the procedures and instruments to be used to obtain and analyze research data and, thus, develop knowledge. (Petty, Thomson & Stew, 2012, p. 378; and, Mackenzie & Knipe, 2006, p. 5). Once a methodology has been selected, research methods, or data collection instruments, can be decided (Petty, Thomson & Stew, 2012, p. 380). Lodico, Spaulding and Voegtle (2006, p. 15) suggest that researchers working in case studies usually employ observations, interviews, and document analysis as key data collection instruments.

Considering the relationship between public schooling internationalization policy and neoliberal discourses, Campbell (2002, p. 32) suggested that there are different approaches to collect data to examine how a political and economic “discourse”, such as neoliberalism, impacts on policy making. One approach is through in-depth analysis of different policy texts to understand the ways in which policy makers define policy problems and solutions. Another approach is to interview policy makers who can explain the policy options and describe the ways in which they perceived the solutions of a policy problem.

Policy Document Analysis

An important source of this research data was document analysis. According to Atkinson and Coffey (2011, p. 79), the development and use of documentary information has contributed to interpretive investigations in different ways. A variety of research questions, they suggest, cannot be answered properly without document analysis. Documents represent an important

means for communication through which different organizations establish realities and other types of appropriate knowledge. As Fitzgerald (2007, pp. 279-280) suggested, document analysis requires locating, analyzing, interpreting, and drawing conclusions about the provided analysis. In fields such as educational administration, document analysis may be useful in historical examinations and case studies.

As Bowen (2009, pp. 29-30) mentioned, documents are historical records that include foundational information and chronological accounts, which may help scholars examine historical backgrounds of different phenomena and understand contexts that impacted on them. Further, the data drawn from documental texts can be employed to interpret relevant data collected from other sources, such as interviews. Documents, as Bowen (2009, pp. 27-28) added, may take different forms including governmental and institutional reports and records, meeting agendas and minutes, recorded and televised scripts, brochures, diaries, maps, charts and newspaper articles. Documents may also include different contents, such as words and images.

Document content analysis is a broad term that is usually employed by different scholars to analyze documental texts. It is an organized coding and categorization process to examine enormous amounts of documented information. The analysis may identify the types and forms of written words or images, their frequencies, relationships, and structures, in addition to the prevailing discourses in the texts. The purpose is to determine the characteristics of a document content by clarifying its key messages, outcomes, and the recipients of those messages (Vaismoradi, Turunen & Bondas, 2013, p. 400; and, Stemler, 2001, p. 1). During the preparation stage, and based on the research problem, researchers decide about the units of analysis, which could be specific sentences, paragraphs, or sections of pages (Elo & Kyngas, 2008, p. 109).

Internationalization Policy Documents. This study focuses its analysis on five internationalization policy documents issued by the NDP government of Manitoba. These documents were selected as the most relevant ones. Two criteria were identified to select a policy document: (i) to be issued by the provincial government, particularly its executive or legislative branches, during the period from 1999 to 2016; and, (ii) the document content to be fully, or significantly, focused on international education and internationalization practices/regulations in Manitoba. The analyzed documents are briefly described in Table 5.

Table 5

A List of Analyzed Governmental Documents

N	Document/Publication Title	Approved/Adopted By	Year
1	Reaching Beyond Our Borders: The Framework for Manitoba's International Activities	The NDP Government of Manitoba	2005
2	International Education Strategy of The Province of Manitoba 2009-2013	The NDP Government of Manitoba	2009
3	The International Education Act (IEA)	The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba	2013
4	International Education Regulation (Regulation 218/2015)	The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba	2015
5	Code of Practice and Conduct Regulation (Regulation 1/2016)	The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba	2016

As the table shows, the selected policy documents were issued during the period between 2005 and 2016. The first two documents were adopted by the NDP government through its Cabinet, or executive branch. The last three documents were adopted by the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba and seem to complement each other. The five documents mapped-out and regulated different international education/internationalization activities, at all educational levels, from the provincial government perspective during the examined period.

Approach to Policy Document/Text Analysis. According to Atkinson and Coffey (2011, p. 81), in many cases, it is useful to approach document analysis from an interpretive point of view and a focus on document content organization. An essential question to be answered when analyzing a document revolves around the type of reality a document creates and how it creates that reality. In that context, as Sofaer (1999, p. 1111) noted, documents are analyzed to describe a situation or a set of situations. The analysis may pay more attention to the meanings embedded in a document language or in an image. Such studies may also focus on recognition of priorities, assumptions, and values implied in a document.

An approach to document content analysis is the *inductive approach* according to which, as Elo and Kyngas mentioned, qualitative data is prepared for analysis through data codes, categories, and abstractions. Data coding means that, while reading the text, notes and sub-headings are listed on the margins to describe the specific focus of each data unit. Based on merging similar sub-headings together, data categories could be created in different sheets. Next, the data categories are grouped into more abstract headings that generally describe the essence of the data (Elo & Kyngas, 2008, pp. 109-111). Content analysis in general slightly differs from thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a qualitative research approach that intends to recognize and identify patterns, or themes, implied in the analyzed data. Through a careful reading of the data and reviewing its codes and categories, thematic analysis focuses on revealing deducible ideas from an entire document, or sets of documents, which results in unique and detailed qualitative accounts of the data (Vaismoradi, Turunen & Bondas, 2013, p. 400; and, Bowen, 2009, p. 32). As Bowen suggested, although content analysis and thematic analysis are different from each other, document analysis as a repetitive process may include elements of both approaches (Bowen, 2009, p. 32). Although this study followed an *inductive approach* to analyze

the content of the selected internationalization policy documents, attention has been paid to identifying common themes revealed by the analyzed data.

The policy document analysis proposed to address the first sub-question. Thus, it is focused on understanding how these policy documents identify the internationalization policy problem and its solution in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. Considering the proposed conceptual outline and analytical framework that relate neoliberal *values* and *principles* to the development of internationalization *policy texts*, attention was paid to the ways in which internationalization policy documents, or *policy as text*, reflect neoliberal *values* and *principles*. In that context, neoliberalism has been primarily viewed as an *output* of the policy development when its market *values* and *principles* are reflected in the *policy texts*.

In his assessment of document analysis, Fitzgerald (2007, p. 280) argued that documents are rich sources for data. They enable researchers to: determine the important characteristics of a specific event, action, or context; demonstrate credible interpretations and understandings; ensure the validity and credibility of the research and its conclusions; raise debates on their own interpretations; and, connect theory into practice and policy decisions. Atkinson and Coffey (2011, p. 79) advised that when using such a method, researchers must ensure that it fits their research purposes. Documents are developed, published, and used by social organizations to represent specific realities. They, however, do not evidently present the organizational actions, or determine the ways in which decisions are made. Although documents demonstrate specific types of information and employ persuasive language, they do not substitute for other types of data, as we cannot understand through written documents the ways in which an organization operates on daily basis. Similarly, we cannot consider documents, even if official, as enough proof of the message they intended to deliver to the public.

Qualitative Interview Analysis

A second important source of data for this research were qualitative interviews conducted with research participants interested in internationalization of public schooling. According to DeMarrais (2004, p. 54), the interview is a qualitative technique through which an inquirer has a dialogue with participant(s) to answer some questions related to a specific topic. Questions are usually directed to the participants for their answers, views, and perspectives on particular issues. It is a personal discussion in which a researcher collects data, thoughts, and views from research participant(s). Because this conversation is mostly focused on the topic of the study, the inquirer needs to clearly decide about the study's purpose, procedures, and participants to be interviewed.

Interviews may be employed either as a basic data collection tool, or with other tools, such as document analysis and participant observation. In all cases, interviews are intended to collect descriptive data based on the participant own expressions, so that the inquirer can understand the ways in which they interpret the examined phenomenon from their perspective (Bogdan & Biklen, 2007, p. 103). As Cohen and others suggested, there are different types of research interviews, including: informal conversational interviews; standardized open-ended interviews; and, close-ended quantitative interviews. In terms of the standardized open-ended interviews, which was employed here, the exact questions to be asked to all the participants, and their order, are usually decided before the interview. Participants are generally expected to answer the same set of questions (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, pp. 352-53).

Research Participants & Interview Technique. For this research purposes, an initial list of all potential research participants was developed. The list included 69 names of people who were purposefully selected based on their political, professional, or non-governmental positions and interests in internationalization of public schooling. Only 41 potential research

participants, whose contact information was available, were contacted and invited to participate in a research interview. Amongst the invitees, only 20 accepted the invitation to participate. The twenty participants were categorized, based on their positions, into two major groups, sub-government and attentive public. In this research, the sub-government includes the sub-categories of elected politicians, educational professionals (e. g. teachers, school principals, and school-divisional leaders), and bureaucrats (e. g. civil servants, and school-division secretary treasurers) in different departments. The attentive public includes the sub-categories of private sector, non-governmental, academic, and media actors/bodies. The research participants and their different positions/affiliations are listed in Table 6.

Table 6

A List of the Research Participants

Participant Position	Research Participant	Senior Politician	Senior Professional	Senior Bureaucrat	Private Sector	Non-government	Academic
Sub-Government	1		X				
	2		X				
	3			X			
	4		X				
	5	X					
	6		X				
	7			X			
	8		X				
	9	X					
	10		X				
	11			X			
Attentive Public	12						X
	13					X	
Sub-government & Attentive Public	14			X			X
	15		X	X			
	16			X	X		
	17				X	X	
	18		X	X	X		
	19					X	X
	20		X		X	X	

As the table suggests, the last seven research participants had concurrent, or consecutive, affiliations to the two major categories, or sub-major categories. This transition between different

sub-government and attentive public positions created a challenge to the categorization of these participants and their responses, so that they were put together in a third category. The table also suggests that most of the research participants held professional and/or bureaucratic positions. The interviews were One-on-One, taped, lasted for an hour on average, and were conducted mostly during the 2016/17 school year, after the NDP government left office. The interviews focused on addressing a set of standardized open-ended questions. Interview transcripts were sent back to different research participants for their feedback, editing, and correction. Although the interview questions focused on the development of K-12 international education in general in Manitoba, analytical attention has been paid to the internationalization of public schooling institutions in particular. Appendixes A, B & C of this study offer more information about the interview invitation, consent form, and schedule.

Approach to Interview Data/Policy Discourse Analysis. Once the interview data has been collected and transcribed, the next steps were focused on data analysis, which is normally interpretive and reflexive. The analytical process includes: developing plain units of meanings; classifying and categorizing these units of meanings; structuring descriptions of data contents; and, interpreting the data (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007, p. 368). Thus, as Creswell (2013, p. 180) noted, the analysis includes data organization/preparation, coding, and description.

The interview data analysis proposed to address the second sub-question. Thus, it is focused on describing the structure of internationalization policy community, at federal and provincial levels, and the institutional and provincial rationales to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. Considering the proposed conceptual outline and analytical framework that relate global neoliberal *public discourses* to the development of internationalization *policy discourse*, attention was paid to the ways in which the research

participant views, opinions, and internationalization rationales, or *policy as discourse*, reflect the contextual neoliberal *public discourses* of marketization, privatization, and expanding policy community/network. In this regard, neoliberalism has been primarily viewed as a broader *context* for internationalization policy development when its public discourses prevail in the policy community views and opinions.

Analyzing Internationalization Policy as Discourse. It is worthy to mention that while this research uses Ball's notion of *policy as discourse*, the approach to analyze the interview data is not presented as a form of *discourse analysis* such as *critical discourse analysis*. As generally explained by Bhatia, Flowerdew and Jones (2008), discourse analysis was historically considered as an approach to linguistics' research. However, it has been currently viewed as an interdisciplinary area of study. This type of study is usually defined as "the analysis of linguistic behavior, written and spoken, beyond the limits of individual sentences, focusing primarily on the meaning constructed and interpreted as language is used in particular social contexts" (p. 1). As they suggested, this conception implies two key ideas. *First*, the language could be analyzed, not just as words, clauses, or sentences, but also as "text". *Second*, the language should not be analyzed as written guidelines, but as an instrument for "social action". Thus, current discourse analysis approaches pay much attention to the "language in use" and have been employed by scholars in different disciplines including: linguistics, sociology, and organizational studies (Bhatia, Flowerdew & Jones, 2008, p. 1).

The analysis of this research interview data, however, focuses more on the development of internationalization policy "as discourse". In that context, Fallon and Poole (2016, p. 4) suggest that "discourse" is an analytical term that may help us understand, and produce, social realities. Discourses involve power that powerful groups efficiently use to develop systems of

“truth” and “knowledge” and present them as normal choices that serve the interests of all citizens in society. Analyzing a policy “as discourse” focuses more on the way in which different processes of policy development are framed by illustrative and compelling practices that construct our perception of different policy problems and their proposed solutions. As Liasidou and Symeou (2018, p. 151) suggested, policy analysis from a discourse perspective has been commonly employed in education with a focus on understanding how policy “texts” empower specific “discourses” and resist others. The analysis also pays attention to the irregular and multifaceted essence of such discourses and underlines how power is embedded in the prevailing discourses, as they discursively empower specific meanings, more than others, and establish compelling values based on which education policies are developed.

According to Bacchi (2000, pp. 47-48), policy as discourse studies attempt to examine the constraints enforced by discourses through construction of meanings. They draw attention to how policy problems are structured in the context of a discourse. The assumption behind policy as discourse analysis is that it is improper to think that governments deal with problems that are already existent in the society. Instead, problems may be defined, or structured, in the policy proposals that offer solutions to those problems. Thus, policy as discourse analysts outline policy as a discourse within which a policy problem is defined and its solution is formulated, not as a reaction to an already existent problematic condition. The focus of the analysis, then, is not on already existing problems, but on problematization of conditions. As Potter (2004, p. 612-13) suggested, policy as discourse analysis could be based on a variety of data sets that include texts and talks. However, the major sources for data used to analyze discourses in general include focus groups, documents, and interviews. In such analysis, interviews have a purpose that is different from other types of research analysis. They are structured to maintain a space for

specific practices to happen and for interviewees to reflect on discursive materials. In order to facilitate the analysis, interviews attempt to be reactive and focus on key arguments.

In his assessment of qualitative interviews, Krauss (2005, p. 762) mentioned that a key feature of human social settings is the development of meaning, or those linguistic descriptions that constitute a participant perception of a setting, and based on which actions are determined. Meanings are sometimes mentioned by qualitative researchers as perspective cultures, norms, understandings, social realities, ideologies, and beliefs. Research participants, as human beings, have an internal motivation to comprehend and construct meanings out of their daily situations. Participants extract meanings from, or assign meanings to, social events and experiences. Thus, as Miller and Glassner (2011, pp. 144-45) suggested, one of the strengths of qualitative interviews is that they offer the chance to gather, and precisely investigate, narrative descriptions of social experiences. Further, interviews develop descriptions that enable scholars to study ambiguous results of previous research, clarify the essence of social issues, and examine the settings in which those issues were developed. However, as Harris and Brown (2010, p. 2) noted, given the personal characteristic of interviews, participants may be inclined to give answers that the researchers want, or expect. That is, the data collected from interviews is usually expected, and may not fully reflect the participants' personal perspectives.

The following Figure 5 aligns the conceptual outline and analytical framework together with the research methods. It shows that, in this study, *neoliberalism* is viewed as *an ideology* (values and principles) and *a process* (through which market public discourses prevail). In terms of *internationalization policy of public schooling*, it is viewed *as text* and *as discourse*. The Figure shows also that, in this study, the internationalization policy documents represent the

policy as text and the interview data, or the participant views, opinions and rationales, represent internationalization *policy as discourse*.



Figure 5: Research Methods in Relation to the Conceptual/Analytical Outline.

As Figure 5 signals, the document analysis pays attention to the ways in which the policy documents, or *policy as text*, reflect neoliberal *values* and *principles*. When analyzing the interview data, attention is paid to the ways in which the participant views, opinions, and rationales, or *policy as discourse*, reflect the contextual global *neoliberal public discourses* of marketization, privatization and expanding policy community/network.

Research Rigor

According to Lodico, Spaulding and Voegtle (2006, pp. 7-8), in qualitative research, and to interpret or explain a participant view and constructed meaning, qualitative researchers usually develop constructivist and interpretive, or naturalistic, frameworks. Constructivist scholars resist the assumption that a social reality could be deconstructed into its smaller components and argue that, for better understanding, the reality to be analyzed as a whole that is inseparable from the social, cultural, and economic contexts in which it exists. Consequently, they analyze social settings based on their contextual conditions. Creswell (2013, p. 24) suggested that from a social constructivist perspective, individuals try to understand the experiences they have in their daily lives and construct personalized meanings of their daily situations. Those meanings are usually:

various and disparate; relate to specific things, or to other persons; and, lead the researcher to consider different perceptions, not just the common ones. That is why the researcher has to basically rely on the participant understanding of a social setting.

According to Tobin and Begley (2004, pp. 390-91), to ensure a qualitative research integrity and quality, the research approach should be rigorous. Rigor is the means that reflects the legitimacy of the research procedures. If unescorted by rigor, it is possible that a study may not add to human knowledge. They suggest that one way to ensure the research rigor is research “goodness”. It reflects the research rigor and relates to the essential aspects of the research procedures, so that it should be demonstrated throughout the research. As they suggested, there are six criteria for “good” qualitative and interpretive studies: theoretical foundation that offers an epistemological position and guides the research; methodological approach that offers a specific rationale for the research; appropriate methods for data collection; representation of the researcher and the participant views in the research context; presentation and interpretation of the participant views through meaning making; and, connecting the research into practice.

Reflecting on Tobin and Begley’s six criteria, this study examines the development of internationalization policy of public schooling, in relation to neoliberal public discourses, in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. An analytical framework that helps examine this relationship has been developed and a case study methodology is employed. The research data was collected through two different methods, policy documents and qualitative interviews. The following two chapters present the analysis of the policy documents and the interview data.

CHAPTER 6:

Internationalization Policy Problem, Solutions, and Neoliberal Ideology:

A Policy Document Analysis

Drawing on the proposed conceptual outline and analytical framework, and through the analysis of some key internationalization documents, this chapter proposes to: *first*, characterize the problem of public schooling internationalization policy in the selected documents; *second*, describe the proposed solution(s) to internationalization policy problem. These two points, policy problem and solution(s), will be analyzed together in each of the policy development stages; *third*, highlight some silences/gaps in public schooling internationalization policy; and, *fourth*, examine the ways in which internationalization policy documents/texts reflect, or align with, neoliberal ideological values and principles. In that context, neoliberalism is primarily viewed as an *output* of internationalization policy development when its market values and principles are reflected in the developed policy documents/texts.

To characterize the problem of internationalization policy of public schooling and its solution(s) in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016, the five selected documents were categorized into two distinct sets of documents. Each set, it is argued, represents a unique stage in the policy development, with a specific view of the internationalization policy problem and its solution. The first set includes two documents: (i) *Reaching Beyond our Borders: The Framework for Manitoba's International Activities* (2005); and, (ii) *The International Education Strategy of The Province of Manitoba 2009-2013* (2009). These two documents, it is argued here, represent more an international trade-driven stage in policy development that lasted from 1999 to 2013. The second set includes three documents: (i) *The International Education Act* (2013); (ii) *The International Education Regulation* (No. 218/2015); and, (iii) *The Code of Practice and Conduct*

Regulation (No. 1/2016). These three documents, it is argued here, represent more an immigration-driven stage in policy development, which lasted from 2013 to 2016.

An International Trade-Driven Stage

This stage started with the beginning of the NDP government of Manitoba in 1999 and continued until the adoption of the IEA in 2013. During that period, two key internationalization policy documents were issued by the NDP government: the *Reaching Beyond our Borders* document, which partially focused on international education as one of Manitoba's significant international endeavors; and, the *International Education Strategy*, which was the first document that mapped out the field of international education from a provincial perspective. Following an inductive approach to analyze the content/text of these documents, it resulted in the following descriptive data codes, categories, and abstractions/themes shown in Table 8.

Table 8

Data Codes, Categories & Abstractions/Themes of the First Set of Documents

Document	Data Codes	Data Categories	Abstractions
Reaching Beyond our Borders	Internationalization economic context	Economic necessity & rational of internationalization	Internalization is a key determinant for MB's economic development
	Economic rationale of internationalization		
	Corporate nature of international activities		
	Building internationalization capacities		
	International engagement		
	Internationalization objectives		
	Internationalization as an economic determinant		
	Economic rationale of internationalization		
	Global benefits of internationalization		
	Building local institution's capacities		
	Potential growth of internationalization		
	MB's interest in developing the sector	Variety of internationalization approaches	
	Social & long-term returns of internationalization		
	Attracting international students		
	Global demand for MB's education		
	Global demand for MB's ed. services		
	Provision of quality education for domestic students		
	Manitobans studying abroad		
	Returns of studying aboard		
	Comprehensive internationalization strategy	Comprehensive internationalization strategy	
	Consulting educational institutions		
	Governmental approach to internationalization		
	Marketing International Education (IE) programs		

	Building capacities of MB’s IE providers	Building capacities of IE providers	Working with different partners to promote and market IE.
	Financial support to MB’s IE providers		
	Variety of capacity-building initiatives		
	Informing/training MB’s IE providers		
	Tracking the growth of IE		
	Working with MB’s IE providers		
	Supporting all urban & rural IE providers		
	Marketing MB’s IE opportunities	Marketing MB’s quality IE	
	Targeted markets to recruit Int. Students (ISs)		
	Assessing marketing strategies		
	Working with national/international bodies	Networking with different partners	
	Representing MB at national levels		
	Monitoring international engagements		
	Working with ethno-cultural groups		
International Education Strategy of The Province of Manitoba	Importance of international cooperation	Benefits & goal of internationalization	The economic & cultural value of internationalization
	Growth of internationalization globally		
	Necessity to compete globally		
	Socio-economic returns of internationalization		
	International demand for MB’s education		
	Manitobans studying abroad		
	Maximizing the returns of IE		
	The need for an informed IE strategy		
	The role of the government		
	The role of the IEB		
	Development of the strategy		
	Outline of the strategy		
	The broad aim of IE		
	Defining IE		
	IE activities		
	Goals of IE		
	Purpose & benefits of ISPs	Recruitment of international students	Building institutional capacities to recruit international students
	Economic gains of ISPs		
	Offering quality ISPs		
	Engaging ISs		
	Connecting with graduate ISs		
	Retaining ISs	Engagement in international education projects	Variety of internationalization approaches
	Exporting MB’s ed. services		
	Connecting with funding institutions		
	Developing & delivering ed. programs		
	Coordinating institutional efforts		
	More international engagement		
	Nature of offshore education	Offering Manitoba’s education programs overseas	
	MB’s offshore education		
	Lack of attention to offshore education		
	Gains of offshore education		
	The role of the IEB		
	Increasing offshore affiliate programs		
	Marketing MB through offshore education		
	Student and staff mobility	Mobility of Manitoba students & staff	
	Importance of student and staff mobility		
	Supporting institutional initiatives		
	Internationalizing teaching and learning	Internationalization of teaching &	
	Meeting global educational demands		

	The coordinative role of the IEB	learning activities	
	The role of the government		

As Table 8 suggests, the second document was clearly built on, and complements, the first one. Both documents clearly used a very similar language and had the same vision. From a broader economic perspective, they were focused on “the pursuit of progressive trade liberalization” (The Government of Manitoba, 2005, p. 4), and paid attention to a variety of approaches to internationalize public education at all levels in Manitoba.

After its election in 1999, the Doer NDP governmental interest in developing Manitoba’s economy was clearly evident. In 2001, the government formed what was known as the Premier’s Economic Advisory Council (PEAC), whose purpose was to offer suggestions on key economic issues and recommend actions for their implementation. Its membership included leaders of society, Aboriginal representatives, and people from business, labour and education sectors. In 2002, the Council produced a document known as *Manitoba’s Action Strategy for Economic Growth*, which respectively focused on education, research and innovation, investment, government, immigration, energy and local communities (The Government of Manitoba, 2003, p. 2). According to the Strategy, the New Democrats were interested in the education of future labour force and in facilitating the access of all Manitobans to equal educational opportunities, regardless of where they live, or how old they are. The NDP government believed that the investment in education would create trust in local communities and young Manitobans (The Government of Manitoba, 2003, p. 3).

Internationalization Policy Problem

Focusing more on the international dimension to grow the local economy, the NDP government issued the *Reaching Beyond our Borders* document (2005), in which it identified a wide range of international activities, including international education. The document argued

that, increasingly, international partnerships are reinforced by a network of relationships among regions, jurisdictions, businesses, learning institutions, societies, and individuals. Given that, Manitoba has a significant role to perform (The Government of Manitoba, 2005, p. 3). With regard to this role, the document stated that the “role exists for the Province in promoting trade between Manitoba-based companies and industries with growing markets abroad. Similarly, the Province has a primary role in attracting investment, immigrants, students, tourists and new technology to Manitoba” (p. 4). In this document, the NDP adopted a clear economic vision for the province according to which “Manitoba will be recognized internationally as a competitive economic centre, a lucrative destination for investment, an attractive location for immigration and international study, and a caring member of the global community” (p. 6).

This vision highlights a focus on trade, and broader economic, development in Manitoba through attracting international investors, immigrants, and student. For this vision to be achieved, the government adopted three broad objectives for its activities: *First*, to reflect a strategic and corporate-driven approach to international endeavors. *Second*, to reinforce the provincial reputation globally through the empowerment of local capacities, strengths, and resources. *Third*, to facilitate the access of international communities to local cultures and experiences, so that Manitobans can connect to international affairs, contribute to international development, and protect their interests at the global stage (The Government of Manitoba, 2005, p. 6).

Thus, the policy documents of this stage made clear a connection between international trade development and the recruitment of international students in particular. The premises of this relationship were embedded in the economic development-centered international vision of the government and the corporate-driven objectives to achieve this vision. In that context, the *Reaching Beyond our Borders* document argued that quality education is the cornerstone to

achieve economic growth, social development, democratic advancement, and minimize social inequalities. As the document stated:

international education is a highly competitive but growing sector that contributes an estimated \$4.5 billion to Canada's economy. The potential for further growth is significant, with robust annual increases in international student enrolments. The Province is committed to working with our partners in the educational community to develop this sector fully in Manitoba and realize significant educational and economic returns (p. 21).

Elaborating more this relationship between international education, particularly the recruitment of international students, and the broader economic development, the provincial *International Education Strategy* mentioned that "the internationalization of education has vast potential for increasing intercultural awareness and promoting global understanding. International learners enhance Manitoba's social fabric, bring unique perspectives to our classrooms and contribute to our economic and community development" (p. 2).

Thus, in terms of policy problem at this stage, the document analysis suggests that internationalization of public schooling was primarily viewed more from an international trade development perspective as a tradable commodity to potential international students, which ultimately contribute to the provincial economic development. However, the international education sector was not, at that time, adequately developed to make this contribution. As a result, public schooling was considered as one of the potential strengths and resources for economic development in the province. That is why the NDP government proposed, through the two documents, to promote international education in general, at all educational levels, and to develop public schooling international student programs in particular.

In that context, the document analysis reveals a key theme that relates to the commodification of Manitoba public schooling, particularly through the provision of tuition payable international student programs as well as marketing them to potential international students as a commodity. Those students, whether recruited to local schools or admitted in overseas affiliate ones, pay high tuition fees. As Tamtik (2018, p. 20) mentioned, international education is not supported financially by the province, so all international student expenditures are covered through their tuition fees. Consequently, school divisions charge each student on average some \$12,000 annually to fund their education. For school divisions that enroll international students, these fees constitute a source of extra revenues, additional to those funds allocated by the provincial government and the funding raised through local property taxes.

The *Reaching Beyond our Borders* document signaled this commodification. It stated that “... Manitobans can be reassured that sharing our educational expertise internationally supports, rather than detracts from, provincially focused efforts (p. 21). The provincial *International Education Strategy* has further indicated: “it is important for Manitoba institutions to take advantage of this trend so our province and people can compete in the global marketplace, play a role in addressing global issues and engage in meaningful international co-operation... sharing our educational expertise with international learners is only one side of the story” (p. 2). Although not explicitly mentioned, a statement like “sharing our educational expertise” that has been used in both documents clearly reveals the idea of “selling” Manitoba public schooling. This meaning was made evident through the attention paid to marketing Manitoban educational institutions as providers of high-quality education to international students.

The NDP government proposed to globally publicize Manitoba’s international education programs and to boost the rising provincial reputation as a provider of creative and flexible

education. To do so, the government intended to target a few markets with inclusive publicity plans that focused on maximizing the numbers of students coming to Manitoba from the targeted countries (The Government of Manitoba, 2005, p. 22). The International Education Branch was also engaged with local international education providers to create publicity documents such as orientation handbooks for K-12 and post-secondary international students. These documents were supportive to educational institutions that were in the early stages of providing an international student/education program (The Government of Manitoba, 2008, p. 55). The Branch had also a rich website that supplemented its paper publicity documents. During that stage, the International Education Branch paid particular attention to some promising markets, including India, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and Austria. In cooperation with the different interested institutions, the IEB continued its efforts to explore the promising markets to recruit international students (The Government of Manitoba, 2008, p. 54).

Internationalization Policy Problem Solution

In response to the perceived internationalization policy problem, and explaining how international education could better contribute to international trade and the broader economic development, the *Reaching Beyond our Borders* document signaled the government's intention to issue an international education strategy. The strategy engaged local education providers with a variety of governmental departments and proposed to promote Manitoba's reputation as a provider of high-quality educational programming, services, and products to international students (The Government of Manitoba, 2005, p. 22). In 2009, the government launched the strategy, which was centered on achieving the provincial vision to develop Manitoba's economy. In doing so, it shed more light on the provincial view to promote international education in order to contribute to economic development and welfare (The Government of Manitoba, 2009, p. 4).

Thus, in terms of policy problem solution at this stage, the document analysis suggests that internationalization of public schooling was much viewed as an internationally tradable commodity to potential foreign students. The government has clearly intended to “advance international education” (The Government of Manitoba, 2005, p. 21) and encouraged all public education institutions, and individuals, to “take advantage of the opportunities that international education affords” (The Government of Manitoba, 2009, p. 3). In that context, the NDP government adopted what might be called as an *expansive two-dimensional* solution to the public schooling internationalization policy problem. The proposed solution focused on: (i) adopting a variety of approaches to internationalize public education; and, (ii) engaging public education institutions at all levels in internationalization activities.

From the outset, the strategy adopted a broad definition for international education as “the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, function or delivery of education” (p.5). It also identified five internationalization activities that were seen to complement each other and which could be embraced by different institutions. These activities were adopted by the International Education Branch as goals to be achieved and to be the foundation of the Strategy itself (The Government of Manitoba, 2009, pp. 5-6). Specifically, it paid attention to: (i) the recruitment of international students; (ii) contracts and projects of international education; (iii) overseas education and affiliations; (iv) international mobility of Manitoba students and staff; and, (v) internationalization of local campuses. To engage different education providers, the strategy mentioned the provincial commitment to support all interested educational institutions in building their capacities to embrace international education at both K-12 and post-secondary levels (The Government of Manitoba, 2010, p. 14; and, The Government of Manitoba, 2012, p. 14). Thus, internationalization had been expanded

horizontally, by adopting different approaches to internationalize public education systems, and vertically, by engaging all educational institutions, at K-12 and post-secondary levels, and assisting in building their internationalization capacity.

For public schooling institutions to be engaged in internationalization activities, attention was paid to building their internationalization capacities. As the strategy stated, it “focuses on what government can do to help build the capacity of Manitoba schools to pursue and succeed in international education initiatives” (p. 10). The IEB played a key role in this regard, particularly to build institutional financial and professional capacities. *Financially*, the Branch offered an interest free International Education Loan Fund (IELF) to interested educational institutions. The government granted those institutions a maximum of \$50,000 to start an international student program. The loan was granted to different school divisions that had newly embraced internationalization (The Government of Manitoba, 2008, p. 55). *Professionally*, the IEB organized presentations and consultation meetings with local education institutions to share information related to international education. It also offered professional development workshops on international education and closely supported the Manitoba Council for International Education (MCIE), which is a non-governmental organization, through different consultations, particularly that relate to the best practices to recruit international students and their home-stay arrangements (The Government of Manitoba, 2012, p. 15; The Government of Manitoba, 2013, p. 12; and, The Government of Manitoba, 2014, p. 14).

It is observable that the capacity building efforts were completely focused on the local education institutions, especially to start their international student programs. That may signal a focus on recruitment of international student as a key internationalization approach that may

significantly contribute, more than other approaches, to economic development in Manitoba.

This focus was evident in the next stage of internationalization policy development.

An Immigration-Driven Stage

This stage started with the development of the *International Education Act* (IEA) in 2013 and continued to the end point of this research in 2016, with the election of a new Progressive Conservative government. During that period, three key public schooling internationalization policy documents were issued by the NDP government: the *International Education Act*, which was the first of its kind in Canada; the *International Education Regulation*; and, the *Code of Practice and Conduct Regulation*. The last two documents were issued to complement the IEA. Following an inductive approach to analyze the content/text of these documents, it resulted in the following descriptive data codes, categories, and abstractions/themes shown in Table 9.

Table 9

Data Codes, Categories & Abstractions/Themes of the Second Set of Documents

Document	Data Codes	Data Categories	Abstraction/ Themes
The International Education Act (IEA) (2013) The International Education Act (IEA) (2013)	The institutions subject to the Act	Designation process & conditions of IE provision in Manitoba	The provincial role in the management/ organization of international student/education programs
	Register of designated IE providers		
	Designation without application		
	Institutions that may apply for designation		
	Content of applications for designation		
	Designating other IE providers		
	Provisionally designated providers		
	Refusing the designation of an IE provider		
	Conditions to designate language schools		
	Conditions to designate ISPs		
	Effect of designation conditions		
	Other designation conditions		
	Voluntary cancellation of a designation		
	Suspension & cancellation of a designation		
	Prescribing a code of practice and conduct	Providers' Code of Practice and Conduct	
	Purpose of the code		
	Content of the code		
	Compliance with the code		
	Providers to report to the Director	Providers' obligations & prohibitions	
	Content of providers' reports		
	Maintaining a list of recruiters & agents		
	Prohibition of misleading conduct		
	Director of International Students		

	Inspecting the IE providers	The Director of International Students and his/her powers	The conditional provision of international education in Manitoba
	Inspectors		
	Inspection guidelines		
	Court role to support inspectors		
	Prohibition of inspectors’ obstruction		
	Evaluating IE education providers	Compliance to the IEA and its Code of Practice & Conduct	
	Evaluation charges		
	Results of evaluation		
	Imposing sanctions for non-compliance		
	Actions against non-compliant providers		
	Order to comply & its content		
	Duty to comply		
	Court orders to comply		
	Effect of suspension on ISs		
	Appeal by providers and recruiters		
	How to appeal		
	Court decisions		
	providing information about IS	Handling information about international students	
	Restrictions on handling ISs’ information		
	The use of ISs’ information		
	Sharing the ISs’ information		
	Immunity against misuse of the ISs’ info.	Offences and Penalties	
	Providing IE without designation		
Providing false information			
Cases of offences			
Penalties	IEA’s regulations & their scope		
Regulations by the Lieutenant Governor			
Ministerial regulations			
Scope and application of regulations			
International Education Regulation (2015)	Prescribed education providers	Prescribed education providers & designation requirements	
	Prescribed providers’ applications		
	Maintaining institutional records		
	Submitting annual reports		
	Designation fees		
Code of Practice and Conduct Regulation (2016)	Accuracy of the provided information	Providers and recruiter’s responsibilities	
	Availability of information provided to ISs		
	Admitting qualified international students		
	Informing ISs about misleading agents		
	Recruiters’ obligations		
	Providers’ obligations re: recruiters		
	Agents acting as recruiters		
	Actions of providers re: dishonest agents		
	Supports provided to ISs		
	Dispute resolution		
	Annual review of compliance		

As Table 9 suggests, the three documents clearly have the same focus and employed a very similar language. From a regulatory perspective, the documents are solely centered on the provision of international student/education programs through local education institutions. They

outline the conditions based on which different education institutions at all levels in Manitoba, K-12 and post-secondary, may organize and provide such programs.

Internationalization Policy Problem

In the early 2010s, the federal government reviewed the ways in which international students come to Canada through the immigration *International Student Program* (ISP). As a result, *Citizenship and Immigration Canada* (CIC), in collaboration with other federal, provincial, and non-governmental partners, proposed a set of adjustments to ensure the program integrity. These adjustments, that were implemented from the beginning of 2014, included limiting the issuance of study permits to students admitted into Designated Learning Institutions (DLI) in different provinces and territories, and ensuring that international students are actually enrolled and progressing in their programs of study (The Government of Canada, 2015, p. 2).

Locally in Manitoba, the way in which some international students were being treated attracted some media attention. In December of 2012, the CBC News channel interviewed several international students who spoke about the way they were recruited by their private post-secondary education provider. The students reported that recruitment agents of this institution had misguided them about the type of programs they would be enrolled in, as well as their ability to live and have a job in the province after arrival. Students also complained about the quality of education they were offered, which did not qualify many of them for admission at the hosting University of Manitoba (CBC Radio Canada, 2013).

In response to the federal revisions of the ISP, and considering the local context, the NDP government worked with the CIC to maximize the ISP integrity and standardize data collection and dissemination with the CIC and other jurisdictions. The adjustments restricted the issuance of study permits to international students admitted to Manitoba Designated Learning Institutions.

Other students admitted to non-designated institutions were allowed to enter Canada only as visitors. In line with these changes, the provincial International Education Branch suggested guidelines for a new piece of legislation, the *International Education Act* (IEA), to protect international students and Manitoba's reputation. The IEA intended to create a list of designated learning institutions that could admit international students if complied with the CIC adjustments and adhered to a Code of Practice and Conduct (The Government of Manitoba, 2013, p. 12; The Government of Manitoba, 2014, pp. 13-14; and, The Government of Manitoba, 2015, p. 12). In her introduction of the Act, *Bill 44*, the Minister of Advanced Education and Literacy, Ms. Erin Selby, mentioned that the purpose of the IEA was to provide more protection to international students coming to Manitoba. The *Act* intended to develop regulations for local providers of international education, and their recruiters, to ensure that international students are recruited with integrity (The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, May 13, 2013, p. 1177).

During the second reading of *Bill 44*, Minister Selby linked the IEA to the adjustments of the ISP and the new conditions to issue study permits for international students. The Minister confirmed that the *Act* would offer key directions to designate Manitoban institutions, as well as codifying best practices related to the recruitment of international students and the supports offered to them. The Act granted the government an exclusive power to create a provincial harmony in international education and ensure the good treatment of international students, their families, and other stakeholders. Thus, the Act intended to promote international education in Manitoba and ensure its integrity through the development of a provincial list of DLI that could admit international students at all levels of education in the province (The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, May 23, 2013, p. 1671). During the third reading of *Bill 44*, the new Minister of Education and Advanced Learning, Mr. James Allum who replaced Minister Selby, mentioned

that by ensuring students' safety, the IEA will maintain the provincial reputation as a provider of quality education for international students who come to Manitoba (The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, Nov. 28, 2013, p. 495).

Thus, in terms of policy problem at this stage, the document analysis suggests that internationalization of public schooling was viewed more from an immigration development perspective. International students were considered, after completing their secondary and post-secondary education and becoming skilled workers, as potential permanent residents of Manitoba and future Canadian citizens. However, the ways in which those students had been recruited, and treated, were not aligned with this expectation. As a result, the government developed more restrictive regulations and protective measures to be followed by the institutions when providing international student programs and recruiting international students to those programs. Although the development of the IEA appeared to be motivated by the federal amendments of the ISP, it clearly signals the NDP governmental interest in international students as permanent residents and skilled workers who can contribute to economic development in the province. This interest in a skilled work force was clear in Manitoba during the period of the NDP government. As a result, the government targeted, from the beginning of its term, to increase the number of the Provincial Nominee Program candidates, for both skilled and business applicants, from 2,100 to 3,000 annually (The Government of Manitoba, 2005, p. 16).

In that context, the document analysis reveals a key theme that relates to the primary focus of the NDP government at this stage on the recruitment of international students to local public schooling institutions. It was clear that the documents issued at this stage did not discuss any of the five internationalization approaches that were mentioned during the last stage, except for the provision of international student/education programs and, consequently, the recruitment

of international students. This focus on the recruitment of international students seems consistent with, and builds on, the governmental intention during the international trade-driven stage to commodify public schooling, particularly through the provision of tuition-payable international student programs and marketing them to potential international students. To retain international students as skilled workers and future Canadian citizens, the NDP government allowed the “qualified international learners who graduate from Manitoba post-secondary institutions to apply to become permanent residents in Manitoba” (The Government of Manitoba, 2005, p. 16). It further supported “the transition of international students wishing to become skilled workers and landed immigrants, with special consideration given the need for skilled workers in both francophone and rural communities” (The Government of Manitoba, 2009, p. 6).

Internationalization Policy Problem Solution

In response to the perceived internationalization policy problem, the NDP government developed the *International Education Act*. It made Manitoba the first Canadian jurisdiction to have a legislation designated to ensure the good treatment of international students and the integrity of the provincial providers of international education and their student recruiters. The Act developed regulatory procedures to designate education institutions that are entitled to admit international students (The Government of Manitoba, 2014, p. 13). Highlighting the provincial measures to protect international students, the Act stated in its preamble that:

international students make significant social, cultural and economic contributions to Manitoba... the establishment of practice and conduct standards for Manitoba’s education providers and their recruiters in dealing with international students provides protection for those students while also enhancing Manitoba’s education reputation.

Thus, through protecting international students, the Act intended to protect and maintain Manitoba's reputation as a provider of high-quality education for potential international students. According to Section 2, the *Act* applies to the following local education providers:

(a) a university; (b) a college; (c) a degree-granting institution; (d) a school division; (e) a private school; (f) a regional vocational school; (f.1) the Manitoba Institute of Trades and Technology continued under The Manitoba Institute of Trades and Technology Act; (g) a private vocational institution; (h) a language school; (i) a prescribed education provider.

That is, all Manitoba education institutions at K-12 and post-secondary levels, public and private, that provide educational, or training, programs for international students, and recruit international students, are subject to this Act.

Thus, in terms of policy problem solution at this stage, the document analysis suggests that internationalization of public schooling was viewed more from an immigration perspective and international students have been considered, after graduation, as future citizens and skilled workers who can contribute to economic development in the province. To this end, policy documents have clearly focused on regulating the provision of international student programs and the ways in which international students are recruited and treated. This link between internationalization, immigration, and economic development was clear in the 2012 Throne Speech, which stated that: "immigration and skilled labour are central to our economic development strategy. Attracting more international students supports both of these" (The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 2012, p. 3). Based on this premise, the International Education Act and its regulations were developed.

In June 2014, the adopted IEA was employed to create a list of Manitoba Designated Learning Institutions that may admit international students. The NDP government also formed

the International Education Act Working Group (IEAWG), that included members from various institutions, to draft a *Code of Practice and Conduct*, which was later included in the ministerial regulation of the IEA and declared in 2016 (The Government of Manitoba, 2015, p. 12; and, The Government of Manitoba, 2016, p. 70). The Code regulation focused on protecting international students and required local international education providers to make certain information available to students. It also regulated the recruiters' responsibilities towards international students, such as acting with integrity, and the providers' responsibilities towards their recruiters, particularly that relate to training them (The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, 2016).

Internationalization Policy Silences/Gaps

Based on the proposed conceptual outline and the definitions of internationalization of public schooling and its policy, four key gaps or silences could be highlighted in public schooling internationalization policy in the case of Manitoba. These silences/gaps relate to: the international student tuition fees; the educational focus of internationalization policy documents; the management of international student programs; and, the social needs and legal responsibility for public schooling international students.

Firstly, unlike the Manitoba *Public Schools Act* that clearly states in section 75 that “no school board shall charge tuition fees”, public schooling internationalization policy documents, particularly the *International Education Act*, did not have such a statement that prohibits school divisions from collecting tuition fees from international students. That clearly signals the NDP governmental permission to school boards to collect the amounts they consider as appropriate tuition fees from international students according to the market levels.

Secondly, although describing different approaches to internationalize public education and regulating the provision of international student/education programs, policy documents did

not pay enough attention to the educational aspect of public schooling international students. For instance, no much attention was paid to the educational programming, or the special educational needs, of international students and how they differ from other groups of public schooling students. When adopting the IEA, the Liberal MLA, Mr. Jon Gerrard, has criticized the Act's focus and questioned its necessity. As he stated, "most of the things in this legislation deal with, you know, recruitment of students, they don't necessarily deal with the quality of education, the outcomes of the students in terms of, for example, students coming here to learn English, how well they learn English" (The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba, Nov. 28, 2013, p. 497). That may signal a significant role that was played by Manitoba Trade and Manitoba Immigration in policy development and their focus on non-educational concerns.

Thirdly, despite the complex structure of public schooling international student programs and the variety of potential contributors to their decision making (e.g. program leaders, school principals, school boards, provincial and federal governments, overseas recruitment agents, students, and their parents), policy documents did not address the management of those public schooling international student programs. For instance, it did not specify the student admission criteria, tuition fees, numbers of students to be admitted, educational contents to be delivered to those students, teaching, and assessment methods. The documents also did not mention the leadership of those programs and the qualifications required to lead a public schooling international student program.

Fourthly, and last, the analyzed internationalization policy documents have generally talked about internationalization at all educational levels, K-12 and post-secondary, assuming that they have similar interests, approaches, and responsibilities for international student. As suggested in this study, internationalization of public schooling is essentially different from

internationalization of post-secondary institutions. At the post-secondary levels, institutions deal with international students above the age of majority and their key concern is to focus on the competitive educational aspect, or the quality of education provided to international students. At the public schooling levels, institutions deal with international students under the age of majority. Thus, in addition to their focus on the quality of education provided to those students, the institutions are expected to pay further attention to the social needs of the students and the legal responsibilities to ensure their intellectual, physical, and emotional well-being.

Internationalization Policy Texts and Neoliberal Ideology

A key concern of this chapter is to highlight the way in which internationalization policy documents/texts reflect neoliberal values and principles. According to Altbach (2015, p. 2), public education has been recently viewed as an internationally tradable commodity. It is no longer viewed as a basic set of required skills, values, attitudes for good citizenship and participation in democratic society, or as a major contributor to the public good of the society. It is growingly viewed as a commodity to be sold to consuming students, in order to develop the skills required in marketplaces, through multinational businesses, educational institutions, and other education providers. This movement has important implications for the ways in which we think about education, knowledge ownership and transfer, and the role of citizens in modern societies. These implications are significant for internationalization of public schooling. As Matthews (2002, p. 379) argued “internationalisation comprises a particular configuration of neoliberal globalisation ideology”. For education commodification purposes, the neoliberal market ideology offered a variety of performativity measures, benchmarks, competencies, standards, and outputs. As a result, education policies have increasingly reflected a language of productivity, competition, quality standards, and capital development. In such contexts, as

Matthews (2002, p. 383) noted, public schools have been encouraged to admit international students for profit-making purposes and to meet their increasing financial needs.

In the case of Manitoba, as Antony and others suggested, the recruitment of public education international students has been viewed as a revenue source for education systems. As a result of the commodification of Canadian education in global markets, the idea that international students should be viewed in terms of international development for the source country, and as a cultural benefit for the host country, has been abolished. This commodification was facilitated by the liberalization of trade in services internationally. The most impacted public service was education, particularly in post-secondary institutions. Thus, international education has been considered, when offered to international students, as a tradable commodity (Antony, Black, Frankel, Henley, Hudson, Land, Lewycky, Ternette & Tychonick, 2007, p. 30).

During the 2000s, the potential of increasing numbers of international students in Manitoba has motivated the NDP government to stimulate educational institutions, particularly the post-secondary ones, to provide international student/education programs. The move to develop such programs, as Antony et al noted, was market-oriented and proposed to develop an internationally recognized quality education that is focused on student achievement, and through which Manitoba internationalization industry could be legitimized. As local institutions become more involved in the recruitment of international students, they requested international tuition-fees comparable to other providers in the global market (Antony et al, 2007, pp. 34-35).

In that context, privatization was silently sliding into public schooling in Manitoba through adapting to, or adjusting with, market mechanisms. The provincial move to stimulate all provincial institutions to compete and recruit international students reflected the governmental attempt to reconceptualize the essence of education in the province (Antony et al, 2007, p. 38).

At the beginning, the NDP government was reluctant to encourage the flow of private businesses into public schooling. That includes businesses that offered free educational technologies to public schools in return for school televised programs with commercial advertisements. But, as Antony et al. suggested, the problem of increased costs of public education has encouraged the government to think about privatization as a solution. Consequently, there were different ways in which the provision of public schooling was engaging to private businesses. Provincial public education has been subjected to a strong movement towards trading to schools, trading in schools and trading education like other tradable commodities (Antony et al, 2007, pp. 26-27).

Reflecting more neoliberal values and principles, the above document analysis suggests that public schooling in Manitoba has been considered a commodity that is clearly tradable and marketable to potential international students. Thus, neoliberalism and its ideological values and principles have been reproduced by internationalization policy text. The analysis also highlights a relationship between internationalization, international trade, immigration, and economic development policies in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. The following Table 10 briefly compares the two proposed stages of internationalization policy development.

Table 10

Internationalization Policy Development Stages in Manitoba, 1999-2016

Development Stage	International Trade-Driven Stage	Immigration-Driven Stage
Policy Formulation		
Time Frame	1999 to 2013	2013 to 2016
Policy Problem Definition	Internationalization of public schooling was viewed more as a means for international trade development. However, it was not initially developed to achieve that.	Internationalization of public schooling was viewed more as a means for skilled workers immigration development. However, it was not initially regulated to achieve this purpose.
Policy Problem Solution	Attention was paid to five approaches to internationalize public schooling in local and overseas affiliate institutions.	Attention was solely paid to the provision of international student programs in local institutions.
Revealed Theme(s)	Public schooling was commodified and marketed to international students.	A primary focus was on recruitment of international students to local schools.

When compared to each other, Table 10 suggests that, although distinct and have different priorities, the two stages were interconnected and lead to each other. It also suggests that the internationalization policy development in Manitoba, throughout the time-frame of this research, had primarily economic purposes rather than educational or international developmental ends. The NDP government tried to achieve these economic purposes directly and indirectly. In the short-term, it viewed public schooling from an international trade perspective as a tradable commodity to international students. In the long-run, the government sought to retain those students as skilled workers who can join the labour force and contribute to economic development. Thus, Manitoba was gaining doubled, direct and indirect, benefits from internationalization, particularly from the recruitment of international students. Figure 6 may represent this relationship between internationalization, international trade, immigration, and economic development policies in Manitoba:

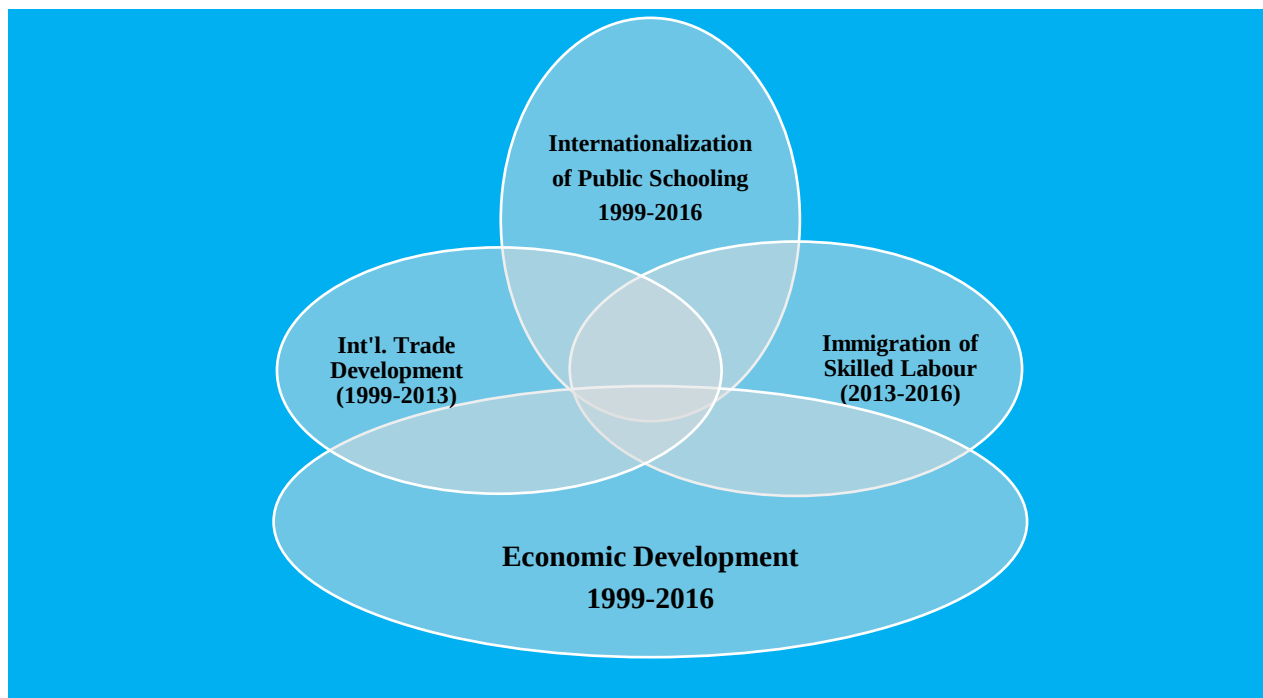


Figure 6: The Overlaps Between Internationalization, International Trade, Immigration, and Economic Development Policies in Manitoba 1999-2016.

As the Figure suggests, from 1999 to 2013, internationalization policy development was overlapped more with international trade development in Manitoba. From 2013 to 2016, the policy development was associated more with immigration development in the province. But, ultimately, internationalization of public schooling has contributed to the achievement of the provincial economic development plans during that period. These relationships were clear throughout different NDP governmental policy documents.

In terms of these economic contributions of internationalization, governmental reports mentioned that the recruitment of international students made a key economic contribution to Manitoba. In 2012, for instance, there were more than 7,200 international students in the province and their economic contribution was more than \$229 million (The Government of Manitoba, 2014, p. 4). In 2015, the number of those students had increased to more than 10,200 and their economic contribution to the province was over \$320 million, which ultimately made international education one of the provincial top twenty tradable “commodities” (The Government of Manitoba, 2016, p. 70).

CHAPTER 7:

Internationalization Policy Community, Rationales, and Neoliberal Discourses:

An Interview Data Analysis

Drawing on the proposed conceptual outline and analytical framework, and through the analysis of qualitative interview data, this chapter proposes to: *first*, describe the structure of internationalization policy community at the federal level; *second*, describe the structure of internationalization policy community at the provincial level; *third*, identify the institutional and provincial rationales to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba; and, *fourth*, examine the ways in which the participant views and opinions on the structure of policy community and their rationales reflect the neoliberal public discourses of marketization, privatization, and expanding policy community/network. In this regard, neoliberalism is primarily viewed as a broader *context* for internationalization policy development when its market public discourses are reflected in the policy community views, opinions and rationales.

Federal Level Policy Actors

To examine the federal contribution to policy development in Manitoba, qualitative interviews were conducted with twenty participants in this study and each was asked about her/his understanding of the federal level involvement – governmental, non-governmental, and pan-Canadian – in the development of Manitoba public schooling internationalization policy. The interviews documented a range of perceptions of the federal involvement depending on the particular position and awareness of the informant. On one hand, some participants highlighted the idea that, constitutionally, education is a provincial jurisdiction and as such the federal government has little or no involvement. As one senior professional indicated: “I don’t see any evidence of that. That’s not to say it doesn’t exist, but, because education is a provincial

responsibility, there may be [federal] policies and procedures that are favorable to international education, but, really, they don't play a role" (Participant 10, p. 9). Another senior politician noted: "I actually had very little to do with any federal agency when it came to our international education... Just as we allowed the school divisions to develop theirs independently, the federal government allowed the provinces to develop theirs independently" (Participant 9, p. 11).

On other hand, other participants believed that the federal government, in general, played a key role related to internationalization policy development, especially for those students who want to come and study in Canada. In the words of one senior bureaucrat:

The federal government's role was important because students and parents who were going to be coming here, the very first place they would look at is to see what is the involvement of the federal government. They want to know what Canada is about, what are Canada's rules, way before they would look at what Manitoba's rules are... So, you need to know who we are as Canada, but then you need to figure out where in Canada you're going... (Participant 3, p. 10).

Consistent with this opinion, another participant, who was a senior professional, mentioned that the federal government was encouraging and assisting different provinces to embrace international education at various levels. As the participant stated:

Well, the federal government, I think in-spirit, wants us to have students come and students to go, this fits their mandate... So, again, beyond the federal government establishing some guidelines and encouraging people to do something, I think, they might sponsor some fairs and those kinds of things... I don't know this for sure, but I would guess that, probably, the federal government funds some trips for people to go recruiting [international students] (Participant 2, pp. 5-6).

So, notwithstanding education is a provincial jurisdiction and the federal government has no constitutional role in provincial education systems, it plays a key role related to immigration, which directly relates to international students coming to Canada. A senior provincial politician commented: “I don’t remember having any particular connection with the feds in my time... on international education issues, or any discussions in that respect. Of course, there are federal rules related to immigration and student arrival and all that kind of stuff that’s out there” (Participant 5, p. 8). Similarly, an attentive public participant observed: “In international education, federal governments played the role of, you know, immigration rules. So, study permits, off campus work permits all year, things tied to study” (Participant 17, p. 13). Thus, if there was any update to student immigration rules, which was the case mentioned in the document analysis during the immigration development-driven stage, it usually impacts on international education, particularly on students who are coming to study in Canada.

In addition to the federal immigration role, the participants mentioned the role of the federal Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade. In this regard, one provincial bureaucrat mentioned:

[The federal government’s] foreign trade people realized that services were one of the fastest growing things worldwide, not just educational services, not just commodities, not just raw materials, or computers and desks and so forth, but, actual services, educational services... all kinds of services were one of the fastest growing elements of the economy internationally and Canada had to get onto it... they realized that services were a growing aspect of the international trade and wanted to promote that in Canada (11, p. 12).

In line with this expansion in international trade in services, the federal government played a collaborative role with provincial governments and educational institutions, at K-12 and

post-secondary levels, related to marketing their international student/education programs to potential international students. According to an attentive public participant: "...they play a small role in marketing in terms of branding... So, really those are the only two ways that they are involved in international education, the immigration role and marketing, and their marketing is really minimal when you compare it to other federal [governments] (Participant 17, p. 13).

That marketization/marketing role may reflect a neoliberal discourse that has facilitated the commodification of public schooling and the development of its internationalization policy. Inter-provincially, there was another body that contributed to the development of public schooling internationalization policy at provincial levels, which is the Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC). In this regard, a research participant mentioned that: "CMEC tries to bring together all the ministers and deputy ministers. Ministries once a year and deputies twice a year... So, international education was often discussed at CMEC and so we would find out what other provinces were doing and of course that informed our thinking" (Participant 3, p. 8). One of the issues that was discussed at the CMEC level was branding Canadian education for promotional purposes. According to a research participant, who was a senior provincial politician and contributed to these discussions:

They were looking to brand Canadian education systems for international purposes or promotion.... We had some concerns about how we would brand it because, as I said before, some jurisdictions were growing for the sake of growing, and I think we were growing in a way that was more manageable, more sustainable, and more concerned about quality and integrity of the program (Participant 9, p. 10).

Which signals, once again, the federal focus on the promotion of Canadian international education/student programs. With the growth of international education activities in different

provinces, international education became a priority discussion at the CMEC meetings. As a participant, who represented Manitoba in those meetings, noted:

In the exposure that I had to CMEC during my time...international education was one of the featured priority items at every meeting that I went to. By and large, it was about the enhancement of recruitment in general, but not exclusively, because I think there was a sense from the international community that they might like Manitoba to start sending their students elsewhere in the world as well (Participant 5, p. 9).

That is, in addition to the focus on recruiting international students to come and study in Manitoba, discussions at that level were extended to focus on Canadians who are interested in study abroad. The CMEC discussions also covered the federal immigration rules and its impacts on provincial internationalization policies. According to a senior provincial bureaucrat: "...they weren't involved in making policy in Manitoba, but there was an ongoing issue with the federal government with respect to their immigration rules. So, this was often a topic of discussion at CMEC..." (Participant 3, p. 9).

In addition to these bodies, another federal non-governmental body was the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE). It plays an academic and advisory role in internationalization policy at K-12 and post-secondary levels. In this regard, a former senior professional bureaucrat mentioned: "...they have a kind of research role and they provide information to universities and so on, but, on a very practical level, I don't know. I think they also provide information to the governments, provincial and federal governments" (Participant 18, p. 12). As explained by a CBIE board member:

The whole function of CBIE has been to broaden the federal government's sense and the provinces' sense of what internationalization means, and they've been around for a long

time. They have been around for fifty years. Their board has people from the provinces, people from the K-12 sector, people from both languages, people in various kinds of administrative roles, people from the colleges and the universities. So, it is the most representative body concerned with international education (Participant 19, p. 12).

One of the contributions of the CBIE was its assistance in the development of the federal *International Education Strategy* and expanding the concept of internationalization to include different international education activities, particularly increasing the recruitment of international students and encouraging Canadians to study abroad. As the participant explained:

Their beginning conception of the federal international strategy was to double the number of students coming to Canada by the year 2020. To me, that is a very narrow way of thinking about internationalization, as I said before, but it has to be repeated again and again because I think that too many people think about internationalization only in terms of its contribution to the Canadian economy. It brings billions of dollars of wealth and brings educated citizens and so forth. The fact remains that Canada has a terribly low participation rate in terms of sending its students abroad (Participant 19, pp. 7-8).

This discussion indicates that a variety of bodies at the federal level contributed in some way to the development of internationalization policy in Manitoba. The federal Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) had a significant and direct role in this regard. Other federal departments had more supportive roles. For instance, the DFAIT contributed to marketing provincial international student/education programs. Some of those bodies, particularly the CMEC and CBIE, play more advisory roles. This unusual role of federal, governmental and non-governmental, bodies in internationalization policy may reflect the neoliberal discourse of expanding policy communities/networks to include actors/institutions that have no official

authority/role in provincial education policy development. Although the role of these federal bodies in internationalization policy was significant, it was less coordinated, particularly with provincial policy makers. As it was signaled by a participant, who was a senior bureaucrat, there was a lack of inter-governmental coordination between federal and provincial governments regarding international education. As s/he stated:

So, when I became director... the federal government had announced that it was going to develop a brand for education in Canada. This came as a surprise to provinces who were responsible for education; they announced they were going to do it in 2006. It wasn't a public announcement, but they at least let us know about it (Participant 16, p. 17).

That is, some federal initiatives were not well communicated with the provincial and institutional levels. This type of coordination seems was missing, not just among federal and provincial levels, but also between the concerned federal departments at the national level. As observed by a participant, who led a divisional international student program:

What we would like to see is a little bit more collaborative approach because sometimes at the federal level we have some discrepancies. Sometimes we have the feeling that the right hand doesn't necessarily talk to the left hand, and with the federal government is the same. Sometime there are rules, but they are not clear. The much clearer one is the post-secondary, but, when it comes to the K-12...we have to go to an immigration consultant to do so... We wish that we have more clarity at the different levels, that provincials speak to the federals, and among the federals, they speak more among themselves, Citizenship and Immigration with the Trade Commission (Participant 8, pp. 10-11).

This lack of a coordinated federal role in the development of internationalization policy is understandable because education is a provincial jurisdiction. However, in terms of international

education, it might be worthy to have some level of communication and coordination amongst all concerned federal bodies on one hand, and amongst federal and provincial, governmental and non-governmental, bodies on the other.

Provincial Level Policy Actors

Focusing more on the provincial level, where public schooling internationalization policy was developed, the research participants were asked to identify the most active actors in that policy development in Manitoba during the period of the last NDP government. From their responses, some points could be highlighted, including: (i) the development of public schooling internationalization practices and policy initiatives; (ii) the key sub-government policy actors; and, (iii) the attentive-public policy actors and policy community diversity.

Developments of Internationalization Practice and Policy

While the broad focus on this thesis is on internationalization policy development, the responses of the research participants paid attention to the key developments of public schooling internationalization practice as well as policy in Manitoba. According to the interview data, the story began in the middle of the 1990s with a few school principals, and their divisional leaders, who initiated the interest in international education and internationalization of public schooling in some school divisions. As explained by a participant who was a provincial bureaucrat:

You had some individuals that had very entrepreneurial kind of things... they came out of a teaching, public education, system and then they developed this entrepreneurial aspect through the international education, bringing students to Manitoba from Brazil, from Asia, from Europe, and so forth and bringing them in (Participant 11, p. 11).

Speaking more specifically another participant commented: “Obviously it was people like Gerald McLeod and people who were lobbying the provincial government to begin to move in

that direction. I think Gerald Farthing, the retired Deputy Minister, he was very open to listening to the potential that international education had” (Participant 20, p. 8). Those first actors were clearly working in public schooling system. As mentioned by a research participant, the initial provision of international student programs was “largely driven by the school divisions” (Participant 13, p. 20). To launch international student programs in their school divisions, those first actors focused on recruiting international students. As noted, regarding “bringing students in, actually, all the work was done by the school divisions and by the universities and colleges” (Participant 18, p. 11). In that context, the provision of international student programs in Manitoba started primarily with a few Winnipeg school divisions, followed later by some rural divisions. As mentioned by a participant in this regard:

It is largely the city divisions that were the most active...not all of the city divisions... So, Seven Oaks does not have an international student recruitment program... They were not talking about the same things as the other school divisions, which would be at that time St. James Assiniboia, Pembina Trails, and River East Transcona. All of them had very active international education programs. Lord Selkirk School Division is the only one outside of the city that was super active (Participant 16, p. 15).

With the efforts of those first actors, and the support of their public-school divisions, internationalization practices, especially the recruitment of international students, have expanded in Manitoba. Gradually, over the period from 1999 to 2016, school divisions supported each other to provide international programs across the province. According to a research participant: “Manitoba school divisions that got into international education and recruitment have supported this initiative over the years. I think that they’ve come to probably rely on each other. Now, it’s a long-standing phenomenon” (Participant 15, pp. 13-14). As a result, public school divisions came

to have well-established programs with their own marketing and recruitment teams. According to a research participant: “some of the school divisions have actually hired people to recruit international students. That is their job” (Participant 9, p. 9).

Thus, public school divisions, with the support of the NDP government to build their capacities, which was mentioned by the 2009 provincial internationalization strategy, were leading the internationalization of public schooling and marketing it to international students. According to a participant: “It was very much, I would say, market driven and not government driven. Governments been, in my opinion, followers in this...” (Participant 17, p. 19), which signals that public school divisions were exposed to market mechanisms and, with the policy making authority they have, they embraced internationalization as a market-driven phenomenon. With a growing number of public school divisions that provide international student programs, and a growing economic potential of internationalization, the NDP government started to exert more control on international education. As mentioned by another participant:

The government was more of...it wasn't a big player in all of that. It was these people getting together and taking leadership and doing what they have the legal right to do, and that their school divisions approved...but, bit by bit the province wanted to take more control of some of the policies and regulations (Participant 18, p. 11).

By the early 2010s, with the increased numbers of international students in Manitoba's public schooling institutions and their potential to be permanent residents and future citizens, the government started to pay particular attention to regulating the provision of international student and education programs and the recruitment of international students to local institutions. As mentioned by a participant who was a school superintendent:

The proliferation of these programs has required their interest and their involvement to make sure that this is done in an ethical and moral fashion and that we're not exploiting kids, we're not setting up a two-tiered system for students that favors one group or one nationality or one set of visitors over another. So, I think that regulation has been the result of the program growing and realizing that we need to regulate this (Participant 10, p. 10).

When describing the policy development, the relationship between public schooling internationalization, international trade, immigration, and economic development policies was clear in the NDP government policy. As a senior provincial politician commented:

During the Gary Doer years, they established a Healthy Child Committee of Cabinet, I forget if immigration was at the table or not, but, a variety of departments, probably five or six, were at the table. And that was also a germinator of policy development... So, because immigration was such a priority for government, and then because international education would fit within that context, then it would become a subject matter for interdepartmental discussion and... some of that would have happened in that Healthy Child Committee (Participant 5, p. 11).

Which reveals that a variety of departments played a role in internationalization policy development. Recognizing the potential of internationalization as a means for broader economic development, either through viewing it as an internationally tradable service or as a source of skilled labour force, the NDP government initiated communications with the school divisions that provide international student programs. These communications engaged top officials of the Department of Education and the International Education Branch that was established in 2000 for such purposes. In this regard, a senior civil servant mentioned:

Some ministers took a pretty active role. One in particular that was pretty active and, of course, the bureaucrats, or government officials, were very involved, and myself, and some other senior people, and of course everyone in the international educational unit that was very involved. And we met with school divisions fairly regularly to talk about international education, and so they were pretty involved. And of course, we had ongoing contacts. Sometimes it was difficult... (Participant 3, p. 8).

In those policy development discussions, the NDP government's interest seemingly was focused on linking international education to its economic priorities. As mentioned by a participant: "The province, through the Department of Education, could be connecting what's happening in international education more closely to their economic policy, to their policy on trade, to their policy on tourism. They could be collaborating with education [institutions] to develop strategies and policies that would enhance those other areas" (Participant 20, p. 10). This signals, once again, that the internationalization of public schooling as a market-driven activity was initiated by local school divisions. Later, the NDP government, based on its provincial economic development agenda, employed public schooling internationalization as an economic development tool throughout the period of its mandate.

Sub-Government Policy Actors

When asked about the contributors to internationalization policy development at the provincial level, the research participants identified a variety of departments, elected politicians, educational professionals, and bureaucratic actors. The *first* department that was clearly involved in policy development was the Department of Advanced Education and Literacy, which was later amalgamated with the Department of Education and renamed by the NDP government as the

Department of Education and Advanced Learning ⁽⁵⁾. Within the department, the Ministers and Deputy Ministers were generally key players. According to a participant who was a provincial civil servant in the International Education Branch:

Certainly, the government has been very much involved...the provincial government, meaning the Deputy Minister and the Minister, really make the decisions at the highest level. We can, you know, develop a strategy internally based on research in other jurisdictions [or] based on consultation and share it that with senior government staff. But ultimately, it's really their decision if that's a direction we are going to go, or if they want to change things. So, yes, absolutely the provincial government, and they also fund our [International Education] Branch as well as our staff and provide operating dollars (Participant 7, pp. 7-8).

That is, the role of senior departmental staff, politicians and civil servants, was key in policy development. Highlighting more the role of the Education Minister, and other top officials of the Education Department, a senior civil servant participant stated:

Well, so mostly it was with the Minister, the Minister of Education. But he/she had to take certain things...for example every agreement with those affiliate schools, had to be approved by Cabinet...so he/she had to take that to Cabinet.... And, of course, if we wanted to make any expenditures or have a budget to support that, we had to go to Treasury Board and that had to be approved in our budget by Treasury Board. So, Treasury Board, committees of Cabinet such as Priorities and Planning, had this

⁽⁵⁾ For most of the time of the last NDP government, there were two departments responsible for education in Manitoba and whose names underwent a number of changes. One department was responsible for K—12 education, which is mostly mentioned here as the *Department of Education* and its minister as the *Minister of Education*. Another department was responsible for post-secondary education, which is mentioned here as the *Department of Advanced Education and Literacy*. By Oct. 2013, the two departments were amalgamated together into the *Department of Education and Advanced Learning*.

oversight, and over time they took more and more of an interest in what was going on in international education. It was never a really big interest but over time the interest did grow (Participant 3, p. 11).

Until the Department of Advanced Education and Literacy was existing independently from the Department of Education, its Minister Erin Selby was particularly involved in the development of the *International Education Act*. As noted by the above participant: “Minister Selby, when she was in office, was quite involved. By involved I mean she was the one, as I recall, who led the efforts to create that *International Education Act*... So, she was very involved in that part of the process” (Participant 3, p. 9). The Deputy Minister of Education was also substantially engaged in the policy development process. In the words of one participant, who was a school superintendent, in this regard: “Majority of my conversations at the provincial level have been, obviously, with the Deputy Minister of Education” (Participant 6, p. 12).

The International Education Branch, as well as other education units, played important roles in policy development. According to a participant, who was an Assistant Superintendent: “Certainly, the International Education Branch, it would be my thinking that they would be the most directly involved. I also think the Independent Education Unit, within the Instruction, Curriculum and Assessment Branch [was involved], because they take the direct role in terms of oversight of the affiliate schools” (Participant 15, p. 15). The Branch played a collaborative role with other governmental bodies at the provincial and federal levels. Its policy networking role was described by one of its directors as follows:

The Branch of International Education, which was the most active...engaged folks with the Education Administration Services that helped with the overseas schools, and the School Programs division which was responsible for the inspections. On the international

side, we worked with our colleagues in International Relations and Trade. So, we were co-located with Manitoba Trade at that time and worked very closely with them, which made some sense because they had officers overseas that were engaged in other components of the activity (Participant 16, pp. 18-19).

This quote points to a provincial “internationalization policy community” that includes governmental actors who were engaged in policy development in Manitoba. It also highlights a *second* provincial department that was engaged in policy development, particularly in its early stage, which was Manitoba Trade. As confirmed by a participant who had different public and private education sector positions: “Well, the Trade Department certainly was connected” (Participant 18, p. 13). The role of the Trade Department was described in some detail by a senior NDP politician, who held a ministerial office during the 2000s, as follows:

The Trade Department would play more of a significant role in trying to enrich memorandums of understanding or letters of agreement with different countries...and whether that was at the K-12 or post-secondary level, it depended on what the objectives were for the Trade Department and what they hoped to achieve, but they also would have had some input from the colleges and universities as well in that case (Participant 9, pp. 11-12).

Thus, Manitoba Trade was cooperating with all educational institutions that provide international education/student programs. As mentioned in the policy document analysis, the focus on trade development has been clear during the early stage of policy development and has led to the commodification of public schooling as an internationally tradable service. At the provincial level, a *third* department that has contributed to the policy development was Manitoba Immigration. As a participant, who was a provincial civil servant in the International Education

Branch when the IEA was developed, noted in this regard: "... that's really the most important, I would say, Education and Immigration departments" (Participant 7, p. 10).

That highlights, once again, the relationship between international education and immigration policies, which was evident in the economic plans of the NDP government to develop the province. As mentioned by a participant who held different public and private education positions: "They were trying to boost the population in Manitoba and so on. I am sure that they put on a lot of pressure to recruit international students, but also to change the regulations so that they could stay and work and so on" (Participant 18, p. 13). In that context, there was some cooperation between the International Education Branch and the provincial Immigration Department with regard to the Provincial Nominee Program as a channel for international students to immigrate to Manitoba. In this regard, a research participant, who was a civil servant in the IEB, mentioned:

Well, I would say, in addition to education, immigration, which is now, by the way, is part of the Education [Department]. The new provincial government brought that branch into this department. So, I mean, immigration is very important to us because we work closely with the Provincial Nominee Program. So, you know, the intent is to attract international students to Manitoba, assist them with finding work, they are allowed to work 20 hours/week. Following graduation, they're allowed to apply for a post-graduate work permit, which allows them to work beyond graduation and then, depending on if they meet the requirements, to apply for the Provincial Nominee Program, which gives them an opportunity to settle in Manitoba and raise families. So, you can see this definite link between education, work, and immigration (Participant 7, p. 9).

Thus, because of the perceived interconnection between international education and immigration plans during the time of the NDP government, the following Conservative government has added the immigration portfolio to the mandate of Manitoba Education and Training. As mentioned in the policy document analysis, the federal immigration role in policy development has been clear during its late stage and has led to a focus on the provision of international student programs. At the provincial level, during the early 2010s, the role of Manitoba Immigration had also increased after the federal Citizenship and Immigration Canada changed the rules of its International Student Program. These changes were a key driver to develop internationalization policy in Manitoba, which was culminated in the IEA. It was the view of a participant, who was a civil servant, that:

The only role that the federal government has, or impact it's had on Manitoba, is with the International Student Program. That's a program that's managed by what used to be Citizenship and Immigration Canada, which is now Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. So, we do have some obligations to the federal government with regards to informing them about all the Designated Learning Institutions, but other than that we pretty much run our own show (Participant 7, p. 9).

Based on this evident role of Manitoba Immigration, some participants argued that the Manitoba Immigration was the key actor in the development of internationalization policy, particularly the IEA. As explained by an attentive public/private sector participant:

The problem is that there are people, key people, within the Immigration Department who heard the word 'student recruitment agent' and thought that is equal to 'immigration recruitment agent' and therefore the legislation for immigration must be copied and put into student recruitment agencies. But, the reality is that for most international students,

it's a very different consumer - if you will - than someone who is desperate to leave their country because of political reasons, or because of economic reasons. They're a lot more likely to be exploited, whereas an international student who typically has multiple choices around the world is not as right for exploitation. So, therefore you don't need the same kind of protections in place (Participant 17, p. 12).

Elaborating more the restrictions imposed by the International Education Act and its regulations related to the international student recruitment agents, the participant mentioned:

In reality, it was the Department of Immigration that was really driving the agenda, because anything that was coming up, like from schools, towards the International Education Branch was basically ignored... Like I said, I think the Immigration Department had lots of success and they're really brave and said we need to reduplicate this everywhere because it's really good, not understanding the landscape of what international students are. The reason I can be confident in saying that is because, as MCIE, we had conversations and we had a presentation by someone who [was] within the International Education Department, and this is years before the International Education Act, who basically said student recruitment agencies need to be stopped, and that was their mentality (Participant 17, p. 14).

These comments suggest that the federal immigration changes were viewed by the provincial Immigration Department as an opportunity to duplicate their immigration regulations by developing a provincial *International Education Act* to regulate the provision of international education/student programs to international students. Those programs were viewed as the paths to permanent residence status and Canadian citizenship. With regard to the CIC amendments of the International Student Program, the attentive public/private sector participant noted:

That was the impetus for having to have legislation at the provincial level, because the federal government said provinces have to decide how to create this Designated Learning Institutions list. So, then, that gave the reason for the province to make legislation, not all provinces have made legislation, so they don't have to, they could just make regulations within existing legislations. So, that was the reason why they needed, in their eyes, an International Education Act (Participant 17, p. 15).

The contributions of Manitoba Immigration continued until the very last stage of policy development, particularly the development of the regulations of the *International Education Act* (IEA). In this regard, another participant, who was an Assistant Superintendent, noted: "... if you look at the development of the Code of Conduct and Practice, the committee had those stakeholders at the table, immigration was there, and they helped, they provided support and consultation around those pieces, which was very important" (Participant 15, p. 16).

The discussion above suggests that Manitoba Education, Manitoba Trade, and Manitoba Immigration, and their civil servants/bureaucratic staff, were the most influential contributors to the development of internationalization policy at the provincial level during the period from 1999 to 2016. The role of the Department of Advanced Education and Literacy, which was later merged by the NDP government into the renamed Department of Education and Advanced Learning, was important in terms of developing the policy documents and, where necessary, defending them through the Legislature. However, Manitoba Trade appears to be influential at the early stage of internationalization policy development. During its late stage, Manitoba Immigration played a significant role policy development, particularly in the development of the *International Education Act*.

Attentive Public Actors

When asking the research participants about the contributions of the attentive public, such as members of private sector, non-governmental bodies, and academics, to the development of internationalization policy in Manitoba, a variety of actors were identified. A *first* key non-governmental institution that has contributed to policy development is the Manitoba Council for International Education. When asked about the attentive public's contribution in general, one participant, who had different public and private education sector positions, noted:

Well, I think so, but probably and mostly through the organization that they created, the Manitoba Council for International Education. The other reality in Manitoba is that everybody knows everybody. So, the Deputy Minister of Education would not create regulations without the input from all those people. So, it would have been a kind of collaborative approach, I am sure, probably through that Council (Participant 18, pp. 13-14).

Given the large number of public and private educational institutions represented by the MCIE, its policy networking role was significant. A *second* attentive public actor that has been noted by the research participants was the newcomer advocates and representatives who contributed to internationalization policy development. One participant, who was a senior provincial politician, described the contribution of those advocates as follows:

I also know that newcomer advocates and representatives were a very important part of the conversations that we were having and they were sort of community groups, whether they were representing a particular group in Manitoba or a broader group, those folks certainly met with me many times as being critical to trying to understand the full experience of an international student in Manitoba and not just treating it as simply an

educational responsibility, but, a broader responsibility to ensuring safety and security of the individual and the family, their integration into the community, their wellbeing, which only leads to academic success... (Participant 5, p. 12).

As explained by another participant, such newcomer advocates and representative work closely with the established immigrant groups across the province who seek to sponsor their overseas relatives and bring them in as international students. According to one participant who had academic interest in internationalization:

Well, you have also local cultural associations too. I think that's also an area because as you get new immigrant groups more established in Manitoba, like the Vietnamese community is very well established. So, you know, just that more and more of them are bringing cousins and brothers, and one of the ways that they will bring them is to study. I mean they're actually a player as sort of saying "let's make it easier". But their intention of bringing their nephews to study and go to high school, pay the tuition, is that they will be able to become permanent residents eventually (Participant12, p. 22).

These comments highlight once again the relationship between internationalization and immigration policies, not just from the NDP governmental perspective, but from the attentive public view as well. The Department of Education engaged, and collaborated, with such stakeholders in internationalization activities in general. As a participant mentioned:

In my exposure to it, it was internally developed from the [Education] Department and my broader conversation with community academic institutions, private providers and, of course, any other interested in those subject matters. So, I think it was very collaborative in that respect. I mean, if memory services correctly, there was some push back from some of the institutions and some of the sectors, but that's to be understood, because they

have a line of business and they don't want to complicate it by others... (Participant 5, p. 11).

Thus, the policy community was diverse and a variety of sub-government and attentive public actors have contributed to the development of internationalization policy in Manitoba. Some research participants, however, mentioned the dominant role of the governmental bureaucrats, or sub-government, especially in the development of the *International Education Act*. As a participant, who held public and private sector education positions, mentioned: "I think the Act would've come more from the province and from the bureaucrats of the province drawing up the legislation, and I don't think there would be that much input from school divisions other than the province looking at what school divisions were doing in terms of recruiting students" (Participant 20, p. 13). In line with this view that considers the government, and its bureaucrats, the key actor, some participants viewed that the attentive public was not really engaged until the policy was developed. As mentioned by a research participant: "It was all after the Act had been introduced, then there was opportunity for consultation and the only real opportunity on the Act itself were those community hearings at the legislative building" (Participant 17, p. 17). This view was supported by the responses of other participants who noted that the focus of the NDP government was more on provincial public education/schooling institutions. As mentioned by a senior civil servant participant:

We were more focused on the public-sector institutions, so we met with private institutions from time to time, but the involvement of the private institutions was quite a bit less than the public institutions because our focus was on getting things straightened out in the public sector and making sure that was working right. So, there was

involvement by these other parties, but it wasn't as much as the public...we engaged them more than the private ones (Participant 3, p. 13).

These comments highlight the very limited role that was played by attentive public actors, particularly the private sector, in the development of public schooling internationalization policy in Manitoba. Some participants went further and mentioned that the sub-governmental actors developed the policy without public participation. According to one attentive public/private sector participant:

There was no consultation...before the *Act* was passed. That was a decree...the *International Education Act* was a decree by the Premier. So, the schools in Manitoba, whether they be private language schools, K-12 schools, post-secondary, public, private...from my understanding that was a very top down, the government implementing policy to solve a problem that they thought existed (Participant 17, pp. 9-10).

Which signals that the internationalization policy problem was defined only by the NDP government in light of its development plans. It is worth mentioning that, at that time, the public generally seemed not fully aware of the development of a public schooling internationalization policy in Manitoba. As another attentive public participant mentioned: "I don't remember any attention being paid to any of those things. There are Acts for all sorts of things" (Participant 13, p. 20). The participant added: "... it hasn't drawn a lot of public attention and it probably means it's operating smoothly" (Participant 13, p. 18). Thus, although the "internationalization policy community" has clearly expanded to include different federal and provincial, sub-governmental and non-governmental actors, those who significantly contributed to the internationalization policy development in Manitoba were primarily sub-governmental actors.

Rationales of Public Schooling Internationalization

Before approaching the discussions that were focused on the contextual neoliberal public discourses and the ways in which the participant views and opinions reflect these discourses, the research participants were asked about the public schooling internationalization policy problem, or the rationale of public schooling internationalization in Manitoba. Attention was paid to the institutional and governmental rationales as follows:

The Rationale of the Providing Institutions

Although the primary focus of this study is on the provincial internationalization policy, the research participants were asked about the public schooling internationalization policy problem from the perspective of their institutions, or why they and their institutions were involved in public schooling internationalization, particularly in the provision of international student programs. They weighed two key motivational reasons: economic and educational ones with their responses varying as follows:

Economic Rationale. Some participants weighted more the economic motivation to internationalize public schooling. Clearly, the focus on economic, or financial, returns of internationalization characterized the responses of the attentive public and the private sector participants. In this regard, an attentive public participant mentioned:

It's why we exist. This is the beauty of having a private institution because we have one master, the customer. There is no political influence. There is no agenda. If we don't provide a good service, I do not exist. So, as a business, our goal is to function as a business which involves making a profit. As a service that I am providing, as an imperative, I must provide good quality education. So, the two go hand in hand, if I don't have a good quality product, because none of our students are on scholarships, none of

our students are here because they have to be here, they're all here because they're paying to be here... (Participant 17, p. 22).

This economic rationale was prevalent amongst, not just the attentive public participants, but the sub-government ones as well. As clearly mentioned by one senior educational bureaucrat:

In my view, at least, that the dominant motivation was economic, [that is] my view from what I could see... Largely, for school divisions, they saw, as I said, they had capacity, had access capacity, so they could sell chairs, and to school divisions with declining enrolment this made sense... it seems to me that it's more about the economic side. The cultural and other benefits are more, I think, secondary (Participant 11, pp. 14-15).

According to this view, there were a variety of reasons to consider the economic potential of public schooling internationalization, including the available "capacity" in local schools. In that context, another senior provincial politician said: "... at the end of the day when you're in government you do focus a lot of your time and energy on understanding the economics of everything. That's usually what drives and defines a lot of the things that we would do..." (Participant 9, p. 16). At the school-divisional level, the economic rationale was also justified. A school superintendent, whose division has a flourishing international student program, stated:

I have to be honest with you too, there is a financial part, you know, international ed. is not funded by the province or the federal government, so, there is a fee that's expected and that [has] to be paid, but I also want to say to you here the money that we take in, if there is any extra money after all the expenses that been paid, it goes directly back into the schools and into the system where the students are (Participant 6, p. 14).

As this statement suggests, the public schooling international student programs are not supported financially by the province and, as a result, there is a need to think about the cost of

running those programs and collecting tuition fees from international students to cover their education costs. However, a participant who had an academic interest in internationalization described the focus on the economic returns of internationalization in Manitoba as follows: "... it's economic with ethical, like, I mean if you just said let's get international students, forget about giving them health care, this and that. But, you know, we still have a firm *Act*" (Participant 12, p. 28), which signals that the IEA was developed to offer certain protections to international students who are recruited to local educational institutions. In that context, some participants went further and criticized the primary focus of some institutions on the economic potential of international education. As a School Superintendent stated:

You know, one of the concerns I have in the field is that if it becomes too much of a for-profit enterprise, then there is a tradeoff between the quality of what you're offering and the amount of profit you make... If we bring over students under the age of majority, we have to recognize that they're in some ways vulnerable. And I think we need to conduct the international education programs in a way that is more parental, more care giving, and I think those things need to be looked after (Participant 1, p. 8).

A key point made by this participant was that while post-secondary institutions deal with international students who are above the age of majority, public schooling institutions deal with under the age of majority international students who live in Manitoba away from their families. Thus, those students do need, not just a quality education, but also a "parental" and "care giving" international education programming.

Educational Rationale. Some other participants placed more weight on an educational rationale and indicated that, in their view, it was basically an educational motivation that justified the initiatives to internationalize public schooling. As mentioned by one participant who was a

School Superintendent in a division that was not actively engaged in the recruitment of international students: "...for us it's educational, it's not something where we budget revenue... there is very little revenue coming into us from the students we take and in fact we take six or seven a year at no charge in some years. That's all we take. So, for us it's never been economic" (Participant 1, p. 6). Another School Superintendent, whose division has a vibrant international student program, highlighted a cross-cultural/global awareness educational rationale stating: "Personally, I believe that our kids, as I mentioned earlier, should have exposure to people from around the world to get to know them as friends and to hear from their perspectives, and vice versa..." (Participant 2, pp. 7-8). This participant added that: "I think education still has to be the most important, and if it wasn't, we wouldn't put money back into the schools... So, we're taking funds and putting it directly back into schools" (Participant 2, pp. 8-9). These comments suggest that it was the educational returns and benefits to domestic students that were most important to some local international education providers. When talking about the types of these educational returns, multicultural education has been highlighted. As a senior provincial politician stated:

In my view, it was more about the cultural benefit and having an international presence in our schools. It was about the experience that it could provide, not only for the students coming to Canada but for Canadian born students, to broaden their worldview and get a better understanding of the world... So, for me, it was more about the cross-cultural understandings, to expose our students to as many cultures and as many perspectives as possible to enrich our students [education] in that way and have them think critically about the world (Participant 9, pp. 15-16).

The above comment illustrates that when talking about educational returns of public schooling internationalization, the "cross-cultural" educational piece seems most important

among other educational returns. But, considering that Canada, including Manitoba, is well known as a multicultural country that has different cultural, ethnic, and linguistic groups, and the classrooms already have diverse populations, the question to be asked is: was there a need for more diversity in Manitoba classrooms? Or, how the recruitment of international students in particular would enrich the classroom teaching and learning activities? In other words, was it a real educational rationale, or an actual economic motive, to internationalize public schooling?

Economic and Educational Rationale. A third and the largest group of the research participants suggested that the motivations to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba was both educational and economic. As one participant, who was an Assistant Superintendent, stated: “I think those are the two biggest drivers. There are other drivers as well, I am sure, but I think those are the two biggest ones in terms of an organization standpoint, and why we would be actively recruiting international students...” (Participant 15, p. 19). Another School Superintendent said: “our main focus is the educational, cultural, and I have to also say there is the financial piece, but it’s not for profit making, it is for taking in to cover the expenses...” (Participant 6, p. 15). According to one director of a divisional international student program, the two rationales are necessary for each other: “I think one cannot be really dissociated from the other, there is no way... they cannot really be detached” (Participant 8, p. 16). The participant described what s/he saw as both their educational and economic benefits, and the ways in which revenues generated from international student fees could be used to support other divisional programs and alleviate local education taxes, as follows:

As it turned out, as we continued to grow, we saw that we could achieve all different things and benefits equally, including the economic piece. So, students can be exposed to the Canadian culture. We also learn from them about the world in general, from their life

experiences... they're in our homestay, they are part of our classrooms and schools, so, they bring an immense wealth of knowledge. They bring the world to us. But, at the same time, as we grow up, we also saw that there was a direct impact financially, so that allow us not to increase the taxes in our community, and the money that was generated was put back right away into our community. You know, we have the summer school for the refugees and the newcomers. So, this money went directly for the benefit of our local students (Participant 8, pp. 14-15).

The responses regarding this dual educational and economic rationale may highlight two key ideas. *First*, for these participants, the importance of educational returns out-weighted the importance of economic ones. As one provincial senior civil servant suggested:

It was both, both were strong rationales. What I tried to do was to say both were important but what I also wanted to do was be clear about which was most important. And so, I said the economic rationale was important. We need to pay attention to that, it matters to people, it matters to the province, the school divisions and organizations, but the stronger reason had to be educational (Participant 3, p. 16).

Thus, for this group of participants, the economic benefits always come second to the educational returns of the international student programs. According to a participant, who was a School Superintendent:

To me it has to be about education, it has to be about the advantages to the system and the advantages to the students coming in and their families, and also the advantages to us. I think we've been true to that. I think we still true to that. At the same-time we're not going to run this at a loss, so as long as the program has been self-sustaining, the

financial benefit was secondary, [and] has always been secondary to the educational and cultural value of the program (Participant 10, p. 11).

Second, relevant to the first point is that the economic returns of internationalization are not, for these participants, the ultimate purpose to be achieved, but to maintain the international student programs and to improve the quality of education provided to all students, the domestic and international ones. As an Assistant Superintendent participant stated:

I think school divisions have learned – may-be school divisions knew this from the outset as they brought in more international students – that [international education programming] requires a great level of investment to do it well. So, today it's not about generating a whole lot of additional revenue, it's about maintaining programs and kind of enriching the experience of our domestic students, and providing probably a much-needed service, in terms of educational programming, for international students (Participant 15, p. 22).

Similarly, another attentive public participant who was a CBIE Board member observed that the institutions that provide international education have discovered “a whole series of other things that has to do with how the international students fit/integrate with the student body generally...” (Participant 19, pp. 14-15). In that context, a participant who held public and private education sector positions made a useful distinction between the school and divisional levels in terms of their rationale to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba. As s/he stated:

So, the motivation is always at least dual, maybe more, because in a public system you're dealing with different groups that have different motivations. So, you have to make it appealing to more than one group. So, the people who have to pay the bills in the school division they would say we have no right to bring foreigners here and give them a free

education, meanwhile we collect big taxes from the local people to get education. So, if they're going to come, they have to pay, and they should pay enough that we can actually cover, more than cover, their cost. Maybe if we add a couple of students to each class, we can actually make some money. So, if you didn't have that explanation, it will never happen because people would not support it. On the education side, most of the people working in the schools, and most of the parents who were positive about this, their thinking, well, it's just good for our kids to have these foreign students with them. You know, especially when we first started, it was sort of that everybody was in love with the idea of globalization and so on and getting the kids to know about the world in a real way with real people (Participant 18, p. 15).

Drawing a distinction between the educational motivations of school leaders and the economic agendas of school trustees, this participant noted that: "the people in the school, their motivation was not economic because they don't deal with the money and a lot of the parents [as well]. But, the decision makers who say whether it can happen or not, like the board, they have to take into account the money as part of their decision" (Participant 18, p. 16).

It is worth mentioning that other research participants observed additional motivations for public schooling internationalization in Manitoba. Some of those factors were related to school divisional concerns. In that context, some participants highlighted the declining enrollments, especially in some rural school divisions, as an explanation of the focus on the recruitment of international students. In this regard, as an Assistant Superintendent participant noted that:

Initially when organizations look at recruiting international students, I think one of the primary motivators or drivers is economic to bring in more students. And we also – specifically in K-12 over the last 15-20 years – we have been in decline in terms of our

enrolment in particular in rural areas when we look at our communities and the size of our families. I mean we have been in decline and it has an impact on programming, on staffing and I think, in some jurisdictions, international education was seen as a way to maybe, not necessarily prop up, but, because there is certainly space available ... Today, we have schools in many of our communities that are a third empty, some [are] half empty, so we have capacity in terms of facilities, and certainly in terms of teachers. I think that was part of it (Participant 15, pp. 18-19).

In cases of declining enrollments, as described above, the internationalization of public schooling, particularly the recruitment of international students, has appeared as an acceptable solution to school divisional decision makers in order to maintain their schools open, enrich educational environments, and secure some extra funds to support public schooling. In the words of one rural Assistant Superintendent: “It’s much more about bringing in manageable numbers, because we have the capacity, we have the space, we have the teachers, we have the programs, it helps us continue those programs” (Participant 15, p. 20). In this regard, another participant stated: “I would say that it’s helping some schools remain viable and have the capacity to run a more robust program than they would without the extra students” (Participant 1, p. 7).

This discussion suggests that the internationalization of public schooling, and the provision of international student programs, was an appealing approach to the providing institutions, and the government, to maintain the viability of some, mainly rural, school divisions, not just in order to keep some public schools open, but also to protect the employment opportunities of their staff. That clearly suggests that the economic rationale and financial returns outweighed the educational rationale that was suggested as the primary reason to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba.

The Rationale of the Provincial Government

The discussion above on the institutional rationale to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba is not detached from the provincial government's rationale, as the NDP government developed its policy to assist and regulate the school divisional internationalization practices. The research participants were also asked about the internationalization policy problem from the perspective of the NDP government, or why the government developed an internationalization policy for public schooling. A variety of participants highlighted the idea that the government's interest in public schooling internationalization was more focused on the long-term developmental aspects in Manitoba, particularly economic development. In this regard, one participant noted that: "... the government has the ability to focus on development in a bigger sense, in a broader sense, less specific. So, I would say they, at least the ones [officials that] I dealt with, were interested in this larger vision of how this could help with development in Manitoba, like making the province better known and that sort of things" (Participant 18, p. 19). Speaking more specifically, an academic research participant highlighted the importance of immigration stating that: "I think the provincial perspective is so linked to immigration...it's really linked to immigration" (Participant 12, p. 27). Focusing more on the long-term economic development, a participant who held public and private education sector positions stated:

Another aspect of the provincial government thinking, for a time anyway – maybe still is, I don't know – is that Manitoba needs population and it's unknown as a province and this is one good way of generating more knowledge about Manitoba. It's kind of a long-term thing. The more people who come here and study, who know us and who know about us, and now even stay to work and so on, that's good for the province. Good for the province's image and economy in a broad sense (Participant 18, pp. 17-18).

Thus, from a provincial perspective, having a growing population was seen as a pre-requisite for economic development, and one useful strategy to increase Manitoba's population is through internationalization, especially the recruitment of public schooling international students who come early to Canada and may be more easily integrated into Canadian culture and society. This link between internationalization, immigration, and economic development seems clear, not just at the highest level of government in Manitoba, but also at the level of the Department of Education in particular. As a senior NDP politician in Manitoba stated: "What we wanted to do in terms of the government in Manitoba, and a key part of that, was the promotion of immigration, promotion of diversity, because both of those things were sure to make us stronger" (Participant 5, p. 16). In this regard, the participant added:

As I said, immigration had been a cornerstone in the government's economic development strategy. So, international education is simply a feeder of that broader strategy... So, I think there was both the economic development element for sure, but, I think it went hand in hand with a broader idealism around education and strengthening our own province through diversity and at the same time engaging with the rest of the world on what we have to offer (Participant 5, pp. 15-16).

At the sub-departmental level, the International Education Branch had also adopted the same rationale that relates public schooling internationalization to immigration and the broader economic development in the province. In this regard, a senior civil servant stated:

In terms of the stated government goals, we needed to make sure this fits in within their rubric of economic development, the immigration priorities, and supporting learning. There were a series of government priorities that we would look for, coming from the Throne Speech, from the Budget, which are the key documents for the government and

we would make sure that we're in line with that as much as possible (Participant 16, pp. 23-24).

Focusing on this relationship between internationalization, immigration, and economic development, and explaining more the role of the Branch, the research participant added:

So, just as a matter of public policy, the government sometimes delivers strategies...

More commonly it delivers two major documents every year, one of which is the Throne Speech, which sets the government's legislative agenda, and the other one is the Budget Speech, which sets the government's spending priorities. And every single civil servant in the provincial bureaucracy should be looking at those to see how their work ties in. So, when I was talking about the economic development, the immigration, the education piece, that never came from us. What we were saying is ok, we're good public servants, we see where the government is going, we want to make sure that our initiatives tie into those priorities, that's all, that's all of this meaning (Participant 16, p. 26).

This discussion suggests that internationalization of public schooling, particularly the recruitment of international students, was an approach to achieve the NDP government economic development agendas. At the early stage of policy development, as the policy document analysis suggested, there was much focus on providing Manitoba public schooling, as an internationally tradable commodity, to foreign students. Considering that international students are potential permanent residents and future citizens who can contribute to economic development in the province, much attention of the government was paid to regulating the provision of international student programs and the ways in which international students are treated. This focus on regulating the locally provided international student programs and recruitment of international students was clear at the late stage of policy development.

Policy Development and Neoliberal Public Discourses

A key concern of this chapter is to examine the ways in which the participant views and opinions on the structure of policy community and their rationales reflect the neoliberal public discourses of marketization, privatization, and expanding policy community/network. To this end, the research participants were asked about the marketization and marketing efforts of public schooling international student programs to potential international students, and the involvement of the private sector in internationalization and its policy development. Analytical attention was also paid to the expanding internationalization policy community/network.

The Marketization, and Marketing, of Public Schooling

The research participant interviews paid attention to the marketization of Manitoba public schooling and marketing its international student programs to potential international students as a tradable commodity. According to some responses, there was a shift at the federal and provincial levels related to the diversification of internationally tradable products and services to include educational services. Federally, as was described by an attentive public participant:

The one thing I have seen a change in the federal government... you know, back in 2000s, early 2000s, education was very much not seen as a trade issue, where is now it's very much top of mind for overseas, like Brazil, Japan, and Korea, and these places. They're seeing education as a major [international commodity], like the Trade Departments are getting it, that it's an export service that Canada has. Whereas if I went there in 2000s, their reaction would've been education is not an export service, you know (Participant 17, p. 18).

This diversification of internationally traded products and services was also adopted by provincial governments, including Manitoba. As an attentive public participant noted:

They clearly understood that international education has a trade component. So, in that sense they were very supportive. I mean, the fact that they had a department [Branch], they were resourcing it, that department did recruiting activities, you know, attending overseas missions and working with the industry. So, they were very positive in terms of looking to grow this, looking to grow international education in Manitoba, and that's continued, you know. They've come out and said they have tied their focus markets to sort of the trade agenda in terms of those being, I don't have these all right, but Brazil, Mexico, China, India, I think [these] are the four runways (Participant 17, p. 28).

Thus, the federal and provincial governments assisted different education institutions in marketing their international student/education programs. The federal government became regularly engaged in international education marketing fairs with provincial jurisdictions and educational institutions at the K-12 and post-secondary levels. As mentioned by a participant who was a provincial civil servant: "...the federal government may have some role in leading some of these international student recruitment missions. So, for example, Global Affairs Canada may initiate a mission to certain countries and then will consult all the provinces to find out who is interested and who wants to be part of that" (Participant 7, p. 11). At the provincial level, the IEB was collaboratively engaged with local institutions in international education marketing. As a School Superintendent participant described this role:

I think the clear stand that I can give you is through the Ministry of Education, through International Education and the people involved in that. They brought the players together, they brought school division reps together, they brought the stakeholders together with the common goal of one voice, one vision, you know, one perspective for Manitoba (Participant 10, p. 15).

Those marketing and promotional efforts were completely focused on the locally provided international programs and the recruitment of international students to study in Manitoba. In that context, the IEB assisted different institutions in identifying target countries as markets to recruit international students. As mentioned by a senior civil servant:

What we did was we surveyed everybody and then we put them into a list of active, emerging, and exploratory markets, primary and secondary for each of those, understanding that we needed to visit the primary ones, the active ones, once a year, the emerging ones once every two years, and the exploratory if we could get to it, because we didn't have money (Participant 16, p. 29).

It is worth mentioning that, notwithstanding these governmental supports to promote international student/education programs, the providing school divisions played the key role in marketing their own programs. As mentioned by a school divisional leader:

I think, in K-12, it is somewhat decentralized, because not every school division is engaged with recruiting and enrolling students. And every school division that does has their own processes around it. I think we probably invest in, we certainly do...we have a small advertising budget. Our coordinator does travel to various places around the world promoting our school division as a place to potentially study, especially for high school students... (Participant 15, pp. 24-25).

All those promotional efforts, either by the province or individual institutions, clearly signal the commodification of public schooling in Manitoba. They have exploited several “advantages” in the province to market their international student programs. As one participant, who had an academic interest in internationalization, stated:

So, Manitoba has certain advantages. If you want to talk about the economics of it: first of all, you know that Manitoba's fees for international students are among the lowest in the country, number one. Number two, the cost of living in Manitoba is much lower than in Ontario or Quebec or Alberta or BC. Number three, safety, relatively speaking, we're a relatively safe province. Number four, we're, largely speaking, a multicultural community to begin with, so Ukrainian, Filipino communities, Chinese communities and so on and so forth. So, there are a number of advantages (Participant 19, p. 17).

Which suggests that, public schooling in Manitoba has been clearly exposed to market mechanisms as a tradable and marketable commodity to potential international students. Notwithstanding these promotional efforts, Manitoba, as Figure 2 mentions in page 17, is still less active than several other provinces, particularly Ontario and British Columbia, in terms of the enrolments of international students in public education institutions.

Private Sector Engagement

When asking the research participants about the engagement of the private sector in public schooling internationalization and policy development, their responses differentiated between the private sector's independent provision of K-12 international education, and its involvement in public schooling internationalization. On the one hand, there were a variety of ways in which the private sector was independently providing K-12 international education in general. For instance, there are local private schools that offer international student programs. Some of those schools are more focused on English language learning. A School Superintendent participant noted that: "Well, I know that there are some private schools, Heartland Downtown, their director I know he is in business because he used to be a school trustee... So, there are some private actors out there who are highly engaged in international education" (Participant 2,

p. 6). This focus on teaching English as a second language to international students has grown. As an attentive public participant suggested: "...that component has increased as a result of some people who have seen teaching English as an additional language a business opportunity. So, Heartland is a good example" (Participant 20, p. 11). Most of those institutions offer their programs locally and recruit international students to their programs.

On the other hand, there were different ways in which the private sector was involved in public schooling internationalization in Manitoba. *First*, through the Manitoba affiliate schools that offer Manitoba's public schooling curricula. The owners of those schools are usually business people from other countries. In this regard, a senior civil servant participant noted: "So, we were not as pro-active as I thought we should be, and we certainly weren't as successful as I thought we should be, but we were seeking out opportunities to partner with people in other countries to set up these schools" (Participant 3, pp. 24-25). Currently, as Table 3 mentions in page 13, Manitoba has a small number of those affiliate schools and programs in other countries. *Second*, through the private recruitment agencies that recruit international students to the local providing institutions. As noted by a School Superintendent participant:

I mean there are private institutions that we deal with, I don't know if they're Manitoba based or not, or if they're more internationally based. So, if you're bringing Brazilian students in, I think the agent tends to be Brazilian representing a Brazilian company or group. So, there isn't, to my knowledge, a group in Manitoba that recruits on behalf of the province. So, the private institutions, when I read that, is all of those agencies that make those connections with school divisions (Participant 10, p. 9).

That is, those recruitment agents usually represent private businesses that work from overseas and recruit international students to different institutions in different countries. *Third*,

through public partnerships with private education businesses to deliver public schooling curricula in other countries with less restrictions than the overseas affiliate schools. An example of those private businesses is Maple Bear Global Schools, which is a Canadian-based business.

Regarding those partnerships, a senior NDP politician stated:

A good example would be Maple Bear Schools. It's private schools that essentially came out of Manitoba, both of the principal owners are from Manitoba. So, they worked with us in terms of curriculum development, in terms of the brand, and most of the curriculum that's been developed by this private company is based on Manitoba's curriculum. That in itself has resulted in numbers of students from Brazil coming to Manitoba as well for exchanges, or for studies (Participant 9, p. 6).

The focus of such Public-Private Partnerships (P3s) is usually on providing some of Manitoba's public schooling curricula to overseas students in other countries. As the participant noted: "So, we've got some course approvals with Maple Bear Schools in Brazil and Maple Bear is international, so they could work with us on a number of different schools in a number of different countries to grow the Manitoba brand as they would be capable, and as we would be capable of supporting that" (Participant 9, p. 7). *Fourth*, through the private sector engagement in internationalization policy development in Manitoba. In this regard, most participants expressed the view that the private sector was allowed very little involvement in policy development when compared to public schooling institutions. A one senior civil servant noted:

I don't know for sure. I know from my involvement, as I said earlier, most of my focus was on the public sector. Because it seemed to me that was where most of the activity was, and it seemed to me that was our most direct responsibility, and it seemed to me that we had to get that sorted out first (Participant 3, p. 23).

In case of those private education businesses that have partnerships with the public education institutions, they also did not contribute much to policy development. As a senior NDP politician noted regarding the Maple Bear role: “I could say... with Maple Bear, not that they shape our policy. Our policy, I think, assists in some ways in shaping their mandate. They work with us very closely as far as how they expand their footprint too” (Participant 9, p. 12). This comment serves to highlight, once again, the view that internationalization policy development was basically a sub-governmental assignment. Considering Ball and Youdell’s (2007, pp. 7-8), two approaches to privatize public education, “endogenous privatization” and “exogenous privatization”, it seems that most of the private sector contributions to the internationalization of public schooling in Manitoba could be more described as “exogenous privatization”. As Ball and Youdell suggested, this approach focuses on engaging the private sector, for profit-making purposes, to provide, manage, or design public schooling, which is very clear in the case of Manitoba affiliate schools and student recruitment agencies.

Internationalization Policy Community/Network

This study differentiates between the notions of “internationalization policy community” that refers to those actors who have significantly contributed to policy development, and “internationalization issue network” that refers to those actors interested in internationalization issues and which has clearly expanded in Manitoba to include a wide range of less influential local and overseas, public and private, interested individuals and institutions. Focusing more on the policy community, the discussions above suggest that the structure of internationalization policy community, as an educational policy, has expanded from a traditional set of provincial sub-governmental actors who have the constitutional power to propose/develop Manitoba’s education policies, mostly in the Department of Education, to include a variety of provincial and

federal, sub-governmental and non-governmental, policy actors. A senior NDP politician, who held her/his office in the 2010s, described this policy community as follows:

It seemed to me that there was a very solid community in place [that] had already been established around K-12 international education that I inherited and seemed to have a very solid foundation from my arrival into the job... As I said, it seemed to me that there was a solid relationship in place between the academic institutions, school divisions, private providers, and then community advocates for new comers. Generally speaking, there is probably many more elements to the configuration of that international education policy community than I've described (Participant 5, p. 14).

In line with this view, another School Superintendent participant stated that: "...my understanding is that it was diversified, there was involvement, there was opportunity for participation, I think so" (Participant 10, p. 10). A reason of this policy community diversity was explained by another participant, who was a provincial senior civil servant, as follows:

I'd say it was fairly diversified. One of the reasons I'd say that is because of the strong role that school divisions play and then secondarily what private institutions were doing around language training and other kinds of training. I would say it was fairly diversified....we had a strong role, we had a big role, the Department [of Education] had a strong big role, but we tried to be a partner in what was going on (Participant 3, p. 14).

Although a statement such as "we had a strong role" indicates that the provincial sub-governmental actors were the key participants in policy development, the policy community was expanded, especially to include federal sub-governmental and non-governmental actors. As a civil servant participant stated: "Obviously, it grew... So, initially, starting with very few school divisions being involved in relatively few schools. Then it grew broader and, of course, it grew

also with groups that were related to this area, so, it's expanded" (Participant 11, p. 14). These statements, and the previous discussion on the policy community structure, reveal that the internationalization policy community has expanded at the provincial level to include, in addition to the Department of Education, other sub-governmental and non-governmental actors, e. g., the Immigration and Trade Departments and the MCIE. At the federal level, it has also expanded to include further sub-governmental and non-governmental actors, e.g., CIC, DFAIT, and CBIE. However, the private sector contributions to policy development continued to be limited.

This chapter generally suggests that the development of internationalization policy of public schooling as discourse in Manitoba was surrounded by three global neoliberal public discourses of marketization, privatization, and expanding policy community/network. When describing the policy community structure and the internationalization rationales, the participant views and opinions reflected the influence of these prevailing contextual discourses. In that context, the governmental rationale to internationalize public schooling was clearly economic-driven more than being education-oriented. While the last two chapters, particularly their last sections, try to address the major research question that revolves around the ways in which the development of public schooling internationalization policy in Manitoba, from 1999 to 2016, was related to global neoliberal discourses, the next chapter will conclude these discussions and highlight the key research findings and implications.

CHAPTER 8:

Discussion, Conclusions, and Implications

According to Davies and Bansel (2007, p. 254), the global adoption of neoliberal governance models has restructured the relationship between the state, the private sector, and the public. The private sector interests became the focus of the state socio-economic policies. In that context, social service institutions that were primarily funded as part of the social well-being, particularly health and educational services, became viewed more as market commodities. All public services, including education, become primary targets of the neoliberal market economies. Such services, in many jurisdictions, lost their free status and became tradeable products in the market. In the case of Canada, as Albo (2002, pp. 51-52) suggested, because of the changes that neoliberalism had brought to Canadian state strategies, the entire system of the state was restructured through deregulation, privatization, and marketization processes. A variety of agreements on international trade and judiciary rulings have legitimized more protections of the private business rights. Governmental departments, at both federal and provincial levels, have been restructured to empower the role of those that handle economic affairs and limit those handling welfare and social activities.

This chapter concludes the previous analysis of public schooling internationalization policy development in relation to neoliberal discourses in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. The chapter proposes to: *first*, offer an interpretation for the development of a neoliberal market-driven internationalization policy of public schooling by a social democratic government in Manitoba; *second*, present the key conclusions of this examination; and, *third*, highlight some implications for public schooling internationalization policy development and for further research in that area.

Social Democracy and Neoliberalism: Bridging the Gap

In Canadian contexts, the neoliberal logics proposed to assimilate all sectors of human society. This goal was usually presented in terms of free market policies that endorse a language of accountability, efficient performance, competition, and consumption. Although moderated by traditional social democratic environments that were highly impacted by liberal principles, neoliberalism has resulted in more accountability, choice, and competition (Grimmett & Young, 2012, pp. xii-xiii). To help understand the relationship between neoliberal public discourses and the development of public schooling internationalization policy during the period of the last NDP government, it may be helpful to review some key ideological developments of the NDP.

Social Democratic Roots

According to Wiseman (2016, pp. 4-5), the history of social democracy extends back to 1895, when the first Canadian Independent Labour Party (ILP) was created in Winnipeg. The ILP was re-established in 1920 as a result of what Wiseman describes as Manitoba's most dramatic political event in the twentieth century, the 1919 General Strike of Winnipeg. During the 1930s, the ILP was renamed the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (CCF) and later, in 1961, it became known as the New Democratic Party. Since then, social democratic principles became rooted in the political milieu of Manitoba. Values of freedom, equality, anti-discrimination, and the collective economic and social platforms continue to be embraced by the NDP. As Wesley (2011, p. 157) noted, similar to the major trend of the political history in Manitoba, the ideological bases of the NDP are focused on regional, ethnicity, and class issues.

In June 1969, Manitobans elected the first provincial NDP government in Canada. Since then, the NDP has become a political power in the province (Black & Silver, 2012, p. 1). The essence of the New Democrats' message, as Wiseman suggested, has been to confirm that they

embody a barrier against Conservative policies that would decrease Manitobans' social welfare services (Wiseman, 2016, p. 18). During the 1970s, as Wesley (2011, p. 158) noted, the New Democrats continued to adopt a center-left position with a non-radical belief in social democracy that had coupled a classical socialist focus on security and community with a liberal-democratic principle of individual freedoms.

Third-Way Era

According to Black and Silver (2012, p. 3), after the 1999 elections, the NDP adopted a vision that was focused on five principal issues. These were: (i) maintaining and improving health services; (ii) increasing post-secondary programs, particularly those focused on apprenticeship training; (iii) increasing immigration to the province; (iv) investing more in the hydroelectric sector for export purposes; and, (v) developing a competitive tax system. As Frankel (2013, pp. 273-74) argued, when the Doer government took office it realized that it could not bear the political responsibility for adopting fully a welfare style of government nor could it avoid the legacy of the previous Filmon Conservative government, which led the NDP government to adopt policies that reduced social welfares.

According to Wesley (2011, pp. 163-64), the Doer NDP platform in 1995, which was titled *Rebuilding Manitoba Together*, signaled this shift towards the "progressive center". The Doer government, Wesley argued, recognized the challenges to the Keynesian model that existed in a global neoliberal context and adopted the *Third Way* approach to social democracy. According to Giddens (1999), "...the overall aim of third way politics should be to help citizens pilot their way through the major revolutions of our time: *globalization, transformations in personal life* and our *relationship to nature*" (p. 64). As he suggested, the Third Way approach

redefines the relationship between the citizen and the society and reshapes the essence of their rights and obligations based on the principle of “no rights without responsibilities” (p. 65).

In case of Manitoba, Moyes (2016, p. 59) suggested that Doer’s leadership approach was groundbreaking as it significantly adjusted the marketing strategy of the NDP and its key values. Instead of continuing as Manitoba’s party of far-reaching social services and increased taxes, the New Democrats adopted a *Third Way* approach, modelled on that of the British New Labour Party, and blended together classical social democracy and neoliberal values. As Moyes (2016, p. 75) noted, in their new pragmatic approach in Manitoba, the new democrats adopted many of the economic aspects of the British *Third Way*, in particular having economic growth targets, balanced budgets, and lower taxes. They also adjusted their position regarding the private sector engagement and their traditional prudence towards markets. Rather than a controlling strategy, the NDP became increasingly open to employing the private sector and markets as a means of productivity and creativity, which was clear in the governmental support for the expansion in international trade.

Woolford and Thomas (2011, p. 115) similarly described the Manitoba NDP’s – and Premier Gary Doer’s – interest in the *Third Way* approach to politics, which, they suggest, aimed to eliminate the barriers between social democracy and neo-liberalism by supporting markets, with a commitment to avoid its potential negative impacts on vulnerable groups. As Moyes (2016, p. 77) noted, although the New Democrats in Manitoba did not adopt identical *Third Way* policies to those of the British New Labour; nevertheless, the alignment of their positions and policies demonstrates the impact of the *Third Way* approach. Woolford and Curran (2011, p. 590) argued that the Manitoba NDP government adopted *Third Way* ideas as a strategy to import a variety of neoliberal policies that included retreating from the provision of social services and

involving the citizens more. Woolford and Curran argued that the government marketed such neoliberal policies in social democratic formats. For example, the private sector provision of public services was framed as a type of community development.

According to Black and Silver (2012, p. 4), when Greg Selinger took over as Leader of the NDP and Premier in 2009, his government generally continued to adopt the centrist approach of the Doer years, rather than the activist and equality-driven approach of the previous NDP premiers of Manitoba. In this regard, Frankel (2013, p. 279) argued that under both Doer and Selinger's leadership, it was manifest that the *Third Way* approach was the ideological foundation that has impacted on the formulation of a variety of public policies in Manitoba, including criminal justice, cultural, and immigration policies.

Internationalization Policy of Public Schooling

According to Frankel (2013, p. 276), by the 1990s, newly elected social democratic governments in Canada were confronted by national and international neoliberal market discourses. They have reacted usually by adopting some clear neoliberal aspects. In case of Manitoba, the NDP government did not fully put aside the democratic values on which its support had traditionally rested. Although they became firmly connected to a global neoliberal system, they continued, from a pragmatic point of view, some aspects of their social democratic inheritance. As Woolford and Thomas (2011, p. 129) noted, the NDP government was clearly not aggressive in its implementation of neoliberalism, however, the neoliberal rationale clearly impacted on public policy development in the province.

When elected in 1999, the NDP government quickly revised some controversial policies of the previous Conservative government. Thus, it proposed to develop education, allocate more funds to K-12 and post-secondary institutions and freeze the tuition fees of the later one (Black

& Silver, 2012, p. 3). As Antony and others argued, although some actions of the last NDP government reflected some deviation from the previous Conservative direction, it is difficult to claim that it had completely adopted a social democratic program (Antony, Frankel, Henley, Lewycky, Olsen, Rudy, Scarth, Young, 2003, p. 10). For instance, as Young (2016) noted, many Canadian jurisdictions have shifted to a 100 % governmental funding formula of public education. However, charging property taxes in Manitoba continued as a key funding source for public schooling. After the election of the NDP, there were discussions on how budgets ought to be developed by school divisions, with a focus on the power of school boards to charge property taxes. Both the PC and the NDP governments supported school boards' power to collect property taxes, and the full governmental funding of public education was never an option in the case of Manitoba (Young, 2016, p. 39).

In terms of public schooling internationalization policy, it is suggested that the *Third Way* approach was also the foundation based upon which the NDP government bridged the gap between its social democratic roots and global neoliberalism and developed a market-driven internationalization policy for public schooling. The development of this policy, particularly the growth of public schooling international student programs, represented a window of opportunity for these global neoliberal public discourses to commodify, marketize, and privatize public schooling in Manitoba. Although market-driven and linked to economic development plans, the NDP governmental approach to internationalize public schooling continued to include some important social democratic aspects. For instance, the NDP government granted international students free health care (which was cancelled later by the following Conservative government). As it has been mentioned before, the *International Education Act* was also developed to protect international students and to ensure that their recruiters are acting with integrity.

Conclusions of the Study

This study has broadly sought to examine the ways in which the development of public schooling internationalization policy in Manitoba was related to neoliberalism and its global public discourses from 1999 to 2016. Table 10 summarizes this examination as follows:

Table 10

A Summary of the Research Questions, Methods, and Focus of Data Analysis

Major Research Question	Research Sub-questions	Research Methods	Research Purposes	Focus of Data Analysis	Conclusions & Implications
How was the development of internationalization policy of public schooling in Manitoba, from 1999 to 2016, related to global neoliberal discourses?	How was the problem of public schooling internationalization policy defined and its solution formulated in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016?	Policy document analysis (Chap 6).	Examine the ways in which the policy problem was defined and its solution was formulated.	Highlight the extent to which the policy documents, or the policy as text, reflect neoliberal values and principles.	To be presented in the following pages.
	How was the public schooling internationalization policy community structured and what were their rationales in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016?	Interview data analysis (Chap 7).	Examine the structure of the policy community, at federal and provincial levels, and their rationales.	Highlight how the participant views and opinions, or the policy as discourse, are aligned with the neoliberal public discourses.	

Guided by an analytical framework drawn from some works of Stephen Ball, and using the case study as a methodology, this study proposed to: (i) examine the ways in which the public schooling internationalization policy problem was defined and its solution was formulated from 1999 to 2016. Attention was paid to highlight the extent to which internationalization policy documents reflect neoliberal values and principles; and, (ii) examine the structure of the internationalization policy community, at federal and provincial levels, and the rationales to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. Attention was paid to highlight the ways in which the participant views and opinions reflect the contextual neoliberal public discourses of marketization, privatization, and expanding policy community/network. The key

conclusions of this study are clustered into four sets related to: the conceptual and analytical premises of this examination; internationalization policy problem and its proposed solution; internationalization policy community and their rationales; and, internationalization policy and neoliberal public discourses in Manitoba.

1- Conceptual and Analytical Premises

This research was guided by a conceptual outline, that reviewed some key relevant concepts, and an analytical framework, that was informed by some works of Stephen Ball, in order to analyze the development of public schooling internationalization policy in relation to neoliberal discourses. The conceptual outline and analytical framework suggest the following:

1.1 A distinction between *international education* and *internationalization*. As an academic field, international education has been developed to reflect two different academic interests and approaches. The first is an education-oriented interest in international co-existence, understanding, and peacemaking amongst different nations. Thus, some conceptualizations focused on teaching/learning educational contents and practices that promote international understanding, cooperation, and development. Such concepts are more *learning-driven* and employ the historical term of *international education*. The second is an economic-oriented interest in national competitiveness, profit making, and economic development. In line with that, some conceptualizations focused on the provision of a variety of international student/education programs for institutional and national economic returns and competitiveness in global markets. Such concepts are more *market-driven* and employ the procedural term of *internationalization*.

1.2 A distinction between *internationalization policy community* and *issue network*. Another distinction made in this study was between the notions of *internationalization policy community* that refers to those actors who can significantly contribute to the policy development,

and *internationalization issue network* that refers to those actors who are interested in public schooling internationalization issues. While the policy community has a smaller number of participants in policy development, mostly sub-government, the internationalization issue network has a wide range of individuals and institutions, public, private, local, and international, who have different interests and views on internationalization.

1.3 The discourse as an *output* and a *context*. The term *discourse*, based on Ball's writings, and as employed in this study, has two different meanings: as an *output* and as a *context*. *First*, when Ball conceptualizes policy in general "as text and...as discourse", the term discourse seems to be an *output* of a political, or a policy making, system. The span of policy as discourse is narrow as it prevails more amongst governmental policy makers. *Second*, when Ball talks about "the existence of 'dominant' discourses, regimes of truths...like neo-liberalism", the term discourse seems to be a broader *context* that leads policy makers to develop/adopt specific policies. The span of these broader *public discourses* is wider than the span of the developed *policy as discourse* as they prevail more amongst the interested publics. When a new policy is developed as text and discourse, it in turn reflects and manifests the surrounding dominant public discourses, such as neoliberalism. The two types of discourses may overlap, or intersect, when a *policy as discourse* reflects and manifests a surrounding dominant *public discourse*.

1.4 Neoliberalism as an ideology, a process, and an ideology and process: There are three approaches to conceptualize *neoliberalism*. The first views neoliberalism from a theoretical perspective as an *ideology*. The second views it from a contextual perspective as a *process*. The third views neoliberalism from a broader perspective as an *ideology and a process*. For the purpose of this research, the concept of *neoliberalism* was operationally viewed from a broader perspective in relations to policy development as "a discursive ideology and process through

which market public discourses, such as marketization, privatization, and expanding policy communities/networks, prevail and relate to the development of public and education policies”. As a result of this discursive *ideology* and prevalence of market-oriented *public discourses*, neoliberalism is reproduced and becomes hegemonic. Thus, education policy discourses, or the views and opinions of education policy communities, become subject to, and reflect, the prevailing neoliberal *public discourses*. As a result, each newly developed education *policy as text* becomes laden with neoliberal *values* and *principles*.

1.5 Stephen Ball and the analysis of neoliberal discourses. One of the authors who extensively analyzed the relationship between global neoliberal discourses and education policies in the UK and other jurisdictions is Stephen Ball. By examining some of his writings over the period from the 1990s until present, it is suggested that there are three global neoliberal public discourses that have consecutively attracted Ball’s attention in his analysis of the ways in which neoliberalism prevail and relate to the development of different education policy discourses. Although Ball did not pay more attention to international education, his analysis of these public discourses could be expanded to internationalization policies. These discourses are: public education marketization, privatization, and expanding policy communities/networks.

2- Internationalization Policy Problem and its Proposed Solution

In response to the first sub-question, and based on the analysis of five key policy documents, this research proposed to examine the ways in which the internationalization policy problem was defined and its solution was formulated in Manitoba. The policy document analysis suggests that there were two stages for internationalization policy development: an international trade-driven stage from 1999 to 2013; and, an immigration-driven stage from 2013 to 2016. The analysis also suggests the following:

2.1 Policy problem and solution during the international trade-driven stage. At the first stage, internationalization policy problem was viewed more from an international trade development perspective as a tradable commodity to potential international students, which may contribute to the broader economic development in Manitoba. However, the international education sector at that time was not well developed to make this contribution. As a result, the NDP government had adopted what is called here as an *expansive two-dimensional* solution to the public schooling internationalization policy problem. The proposed solution focused on: adopting a variety of approaches to internationalize public schooling; and, engaging public education institutions, at all levels, in internationalization activities. The document analysis revealed a key theme related to the commodification of public schooling in Manitoba at this stage, particularly through the provision of tuition-payable international student programs and marketing them to potential international students as a commodity.

2.2 Policy problem and solution during the immigration-driven stage. At the second stage, the internationalization policy problem was viewed more from an immigration development perspective. International students were considered as potential permanent residents of Manitoba and future citizens, after completing their secondary and post-secondary education and becoming skilled workers. However, the ways in which those students had been recruited and treated were not aligned to meet this expectation. As a result, the NDP government developed more restrictive regulations and protective measures to be followed by the institutions when providing international student programs and recruiting international students to those programs. The document analysis revealed a key theme related to the primary focus of the government at this stage on the recruitment of international students to local public schooling institutions that provide international student programs.

2.3 Internationalization policy silences/gaps. Four key silences, or gaps, were highlighted in the internationalization policy documents in Manitoba. They relate to: the international student tuition fees; the educational focus of policy documents; the management of public schooling international student programs; and, the special social and legal needs of public schooling international students. In terms of the educational focus, internationalization policy documents did not pay much attention to the educational programming, or the special educational needs, of international students in public schools and how they are different from other groups of public schooling students. In terms of management, despite the complex structure of the international student programs, and the variety of contributors to their decision making, policy documents did not clarify, for instance, how to manage those public schooling international student programs or the qualifications of those who can manage them.

2.4 The primary economic focus of internationalization policy documents. When comparing the two stages of policy development together, it is suggested that internationalization policy in Manitoba during the examined period had primarily economic purposes rather than educational ends. The government achieved these economic purposes directly and indirectly. Directly, international education was viewed from an international trade perspective as a tradable commodity to international students. Indirectly, the government focused more on retaining those students as skilled workers and future citizens who can join the labour force and contribute to economic development. Thus, Manitoba has gained double economic benefit, both direct and indirect benefits, from the internationalization of public schooling.

3- Internationalization Policy Community Structure and Rationales

In response to the second sub-question, and based on the analysis of interview data obtained from 20 participants, this research proposed to examine the structure of

internationalization policy community, at federal and provincial levels, and the institutional and provincial rationales to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. The interview data analysis suggests the following:

3.1 An important federal involvement in policy development. At the federal level, there was a variety of bodies that contributed in some way to the internationalization policy development in Manitoba. The federal Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) had a significant direct role in provincial internationalization policies of public schooling. The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT) had also contributed to marketing provincial international student/education programs. Other bodies, particularly the Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC) and the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE), played more advisory roles. Although the role of the federal bodies in internationalization policy was important, there was a lack of coordination, especially between federal and provincial governments, regarding international education.

3.2 The significant role of the provincial sub-government in policy development. At the provincial level, the departments of Manitoba Education, Manitoba Trade, and Manitoba Immigration, and their staff, were the most influential contributors to internationalization policy development at the provincial level during the examined period. The role of the Department of Education was important throughout in terms of developing the policy documents and, where necessary, defending them through the Legislature. Manitoba Trade also appears to be influential at the early stage of the internationalization policy development. During its late stage, Manitoba Immigration played a key role in the policy development, particularly in the development of the *International Education Act*. Although a variety of federal and provincial bodies were involved,

those who significantly contributed to the policy development in Manitoba were primarily the provincial sub-government actors.

3.3 The limited contribution of the attentive-public to policy development. At the provincial level, one key attentive non-governmental institution that has contributed to policy development is the Manitoba Council for International Education (NCIE). Because of the large number of public and private educational institutions represented by the MCIE, its policy networking role was significant. Notwithstanding that the policy community was viewed by most of the participants as diverse, some participants, however, mentioned the dominant role of the government bureaucrats, especially in the development of the *IEA*.

3.4 The institutional rationales to internationalize public schooling. From the providing institutions perspective, some participants weighted more the economic motivation to internationalize public schooling and others placed more weight on an educational rationale. The largest group of this research participants viewed that both educational and economic motivations drove the internationalization of public schooling in Manitoba, but the importance of the educational returns out-weighted the importance of the economic ones. However, the study suggests that the provision of international student programs was an appealing approach, particularly to the providing institutions, to maintain the viability of some mainly rural school divisions, not just in order to keep some public schools open, but also to protect the employment opportunities of their staff. That clearly implies that the economic rationale out-weighted the educational one, which was viewed as the primary reason to internationalize public schooling in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016.

3.5 The governmental economic rationale to internationalize public schooling. From the perspective of the provincial NDP government, internationalization of public schooling,

particularly the recruitment of international students, was an approach to achieve the government's economic development plans. At the early stage of policy development, there was much focus on providing Manitoba public schooling as an internationally tradable commodity to foreign students. Considering that international students are potential permanent residents and skilled workers, who can contribute to the economic development in the province, much attention has been paid to regulating the provision of international student programs and the ways in which international students are recruited. This focus on regulating the locally provided international student programs and recruitment of international students was much clearer at the late stage of policy development. Having a growing population was considered as a pre-requisite for economic development, and one useful strategy to increase Manitoba's population is through internationalization, especially the recruitment of public schooling international students who come early to Canada and may be more easily integrated into Canadian culture and society. This link between internationalization, international trade, immigration, and economic development was clear at the highest levels of government in Manitoba, particularly at the level of the Department of Education and its branches.

4- Internationalization Policy and Neoliberal Discourses in Manitoba

In response to the major research question, and to achieve the research broad purpose, this study examined how the development of public schooling internationalization policy in Manitoba was related to global neoliberalism and its public discourses from 1999 to 2016. When analyzing the policy documents, attention was paid to highlight the extent to which the documents reflect neoliberal values and principles. When analyzing the interview data, attention was also paid to the ways in which the participant views and opinions on the structure of policy community, and their rationales, reflect the contextual global neoliberal public discourses of

marketization, privatization, and expanding policy community/network. In this regard, the interview data analysis suggests the following:

4.1 Internationalization policy documents and neoliberal ideology: Reflecting more neoliberal values and principles, the internationalization policy document analysis suggests that public schooling in Manitoba has been considered a commodity that was clearly tradable and marketable to potential international students. The analysis highlights a relationship between internationalization, international trade, immigration, and economic development policies in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. From 1999 to 2013, internationalization policy was driven more by an interest in international trade development. From 2013 to 2016, the policy was oriented more towards immigration development. The policy development has ultimately contributed to the provincial economic development during the examined period.

4.2 Exposing Manitoba public schooling to market mechanisms. In terms of the first neoliberal discourse related to the marketization/marketing of public schooling, the interview data analysis suggests that the federal and provincial governments have clearly assisted the providing institutions in marketing their international education/student programs. In addition to its immigration role, the federal government became regularly engaged in international education marketing fairs with the provincial jurisdictions and different educational institutions. At the provincial level, the International Education Branch was collaboratively engaged with the local institutions in marketing their international programs. The Branch assisted different institutions in identifying target countries as markets to recruit international students. All these promotional efforts, either by the governments or the individual institutions, clearly signal that the public schooling in Manitoba has been exposed to market mechanisms as a tradable and marketable commodity to potential international students. Regardless of those promotional efforts, Manitoba

was still less active than several other provinces, particularly Ontario and British Colombia, in terms of the enrolments of international students.

4.3 An enhanced role for the private sector. In terms of the second neoliberal public discourse related to the privatization of public schooling, the interview data analysis suggests that, on one hand, there were a variety of ways in which the private schools/institutions were independently providing K-12 international education. There were local private schools that offer international student programs. Some of those schools were more focused on English language teaching. On other hand, there were different ways in which the private sector was involved in public schooling internationalization in Manitoba. *First*, are the Manitoba affiliate schools that offer Manitoba's public schooling curricula. The owners of those schools are usually business people from other countries. *Second*, are the private recruitment agencies that recruit international students to the local providers of international education. *Third*, are the public partnerships with private education-businesses to deliver public schooling curricula in other countries with less restrictions than the overseas affiliate schools. An example of these private businesses is Maple Bear Global Schools, which is a Canadian based business. *Fourth*, is the private sector participation in internationalization policy development. In this regard, most participants expressed the view that the private sector was allowed very little involvement in the policy development when compared to public schooling institutions.

4.4 An expanding internationalization policy community/network. In terms of the third neoliberal discourse, the interview data analysis suggests that the *internationalization issue network* has clearly expanded in Manitoba to include a wide range of less influential local and overseas, public and private, interested individuals and institutions. As for *internationalization policy community*, the study suggests that it has also expanded in Manitoba from a traditional set

of sub-government provincial actors who have the constitutional power to make Manitoba education policies, mostly in the Department of Education, to include a variety of provincial and federal, sub-governmental and non-governmental, policy actors. At the provincial level, the policy community has expanded to include, in addition to the Department of Education, other sub-governmental and non-governmental actors, e. g., the immigration and trade departments and the MCIE. At the federal level, it has also expanded to include further sub-governmental and non-governmental actors, e.g., CIC, DFAIT and CBIE. But, the private sector contributions to the internationalization policy development was clearly limited.

4.5 Internationalization policy development and neoliberal discourses. The study generally suggests that the development of internationalization policy of public schooling in Manitoba was related to the neoliberal public discourses of marketization, privatization, and expanding education policy community/network. In the context of these discourses, the policy had primarily economic purposes rather than educational ends. The NDP governmental rationale to internationalize public schooling was clearly economic driven rather than being education oriented. The study suggests that the development of public schooling internationalization policy, particularly the growth of public schooling international student programs, manifested a window of opportunity for these neoliberal public discourses to commodify, marketize, privatize, and expand the policy community of public schooling in the province from 1999 to 2016. Although market driven and linked to economic development plans in the province, the governmental approach to internationalize public schooling included some social democratic aspects. For instance, the NDP government granted international students free health care. The *International Education Act* was also developed to protect the international students and to ensure that the recruitment agencies are acting with integrity.

Implications of the Study

Given the discursive nature of internationalization and its political acceptability as a strategy for facing some perceived educational challenges, a further question to be raised is: could Manitoba develop a role model *international-public* school system that first and foremost ensures the permanent access of the domestic students to free, equitable, and quality public schooling opportunities, and at the same time provides affordable, equitable, quality, and socially caring international student programs to international students. Said differently, could Manitoba establish some protective “border checkpoints” between the Manitobans’ right to free, equitable, and quality public schooling opportunities, and the overseas families’ interest in having affordable, equitable, quality, and socially caring international education opportunities for their children in our local public schools. The following section offers some implications related to internationalization policy development and further research in this area.

Implications for Policy Development

The implications related to internationalization policy development draws on the policy documents analysis, particularly the policy gaps and silences, and on the interview data analysis, particularly the structure of internationalization policy community. These implications are more evaluative of the policy development, implementation, and effects.

For Manitoba to maintain public schooling as a public good for its domestic students, on one hand, it may be important to highlight the previously mentioned ideals that Henley and Young (2008, pp. 3-4) proposed as parameters to help understand the meaning of “public” in “public schooling” in Canadian contexts. These are: “public accessibility and equality”; “public funding”; and “public control”. Ensuring the implementation of these principles is suggested to maintain the access of the domestic students in Manitoba to free, equitable, and quality public

schooling. This accessibility of the domestic students must be clearly stated as the first and foremost priority of the public schooling institutions before embracing internationalization. Then, if there are vacant spaces that may last in the foreseeable future, public school divisions may recruit international students. Public schooling institutions need to make this decision very carefully and consider all potential demographic changes in their localities.

When recruiting international students, on the other hand, it may be important for the internationalization policy to fill out the four key gaps that were highlighted in the document analysis. That is, there may be some guidelines to the tuition fees to be collected by the school divisions from international students. Considering that those students are potential future citizens, these fees could be made “affordable”. There may be also some financial supports, or scholarship programs, for the distinguished students or those who may need these scholarships in the case of a family tragedy that leads to losing their family supports. Those scholarships may be provided by school divisions, provincial, and federal governments.

In terms of the educational focus of internationalization policy, it may be important to consider that the K-12 international students are different from other immigrant or newcomer students. They are coming to Canada and Manitoba as “customers/consumers” of Canadian public schooling and have expectations that are not necessarily similar to that of the rest of the students. Their educational backgrounds are mostly different. As mobile students, if their expectations are not met, there is a potential to move to other international education providers in national or international jurisdictions. That is, keeping in mind the quality of the programs, the curricula might be adjusted, the assessment processes may be clear and well communicated, and the graduation requirements may be stipulated in the policy documents. If the relevant rules of the *Public Schools Act* apply to the international students as well, although different, it could be

clearly mentioned in the *International Education Act*. The key concern to be highlighted here is that those students are mostly living away from their families and are very vulnerable as minors. Then, it is worthy to pay attention to their social needs and legal rights, and the responsibilities for those students to ensure their intellectual, physical, and emotional well-being.

In terms of the management of international student programs, given the complex structure of those international programs, their decision making processes, and the variety of stakeholders, policy documents may specify some key managerial concerns, such as admission criteria, payable tuition fees, and numbers of students to be admitted. It is also important to mention who can lead those international student programs and whether they have to have educational backgrounds, business and marketing experiences, or both together. In this regard, the document and interview data analysis revealed that Manitoba Trade and Manitoba Immigration played a key role in policy development, which may explain why there was no a clear educational focus for the internationalization policy. As an educational policy, it is important that Manitoba Education be the key player in internationalization policy development, implementation, and evaluation. It may also be important to allow the families of those international students, and their representatives (e. g. host families), to have a voice in public schooling internationalization policy and decision-making processes.

Implications for Further Research

This study draws the attention to the *internationalization of public schooling* as a market-driven phenomenon. As an emerging academic research area, it is focused on the education of the fast-growing population of public schooling international students, not just in Manitoba, but in Canada generally. A key focus for further research might include an examination of the differences between, and various approaches to, the internationalization of public schooling and

post-secondary institutions. The current study may open the doors widely to critical research that focuses on the extent to which the recruitment of public schooling international students may impact on the equality of educational opportunities provided to Manitoba domestic students regardless of their socio-economic backgrounds. We may also examine from a critical perspective how those public schooling international student programs are provided equitably to different international students regardless of their countries of origin or ethnic and cultural backgrounds, and why some school divisions do not offer such programs. Further attention may be paid to: the educational and social programming of public schooling international students as mobile “customers” of public schooling; the management and leadership styles of the locally provided international student programs; and, the finances of these programs, their generated monies, and the ways in which the fees are spent. A comparative study of the internationalization of public schooling in different provinces, with a focus on the global economic and political changes, may also worth attention. From the legal perspective, attention may be paid to the responsibilities of/for those public schooling international students who are minors and living in Canada, away from their families, for study purposes.

Considering the growing interest of a variety of stakeholders in internationalization of public schooling (e. g. international organizations, multi-national businesses, governments, public school divisions, non-governmental organizations, and overseas families), for a variety of reasons (e. g. financial needs, economic development, quality education, immigration, and multicultural education), it is suggested that focusing an academic attention on the different aspects and developments of this phenomenon in public schooling institutions seems crucial to protect and maintain the access of the new generations of Manitoban domestic students to free, equitable, and quality public schooling opportunities.

References

- Albo, G. (2002). Neoliberalism, the state, and the left: A Canadian perspective. *Monthly Review*, 54(1), 46–55. Retrieved from [http://www.yorku.ca/albo/docs/2002/Neoliberalism,%20the%20state%20and%20the%20left%20\(2002\).pdf](http://www.yorku.ca/albo/docs/2002/Neoliberalism,%20the%20state%20and%20the%20left%20(2002).pdf)
- Alboim, N. (2011). From international students to permanent residents: Policy considerations. *Canadian Diversity*, 8(5), pp. 15–19. Retrieved from <http://web.a.ebscohost.com/uml.idm.oclc.org/ehost/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=6e4a5305-c8ef-4f17-ad7c-bf4212ab3f54%40sdc-v-sessmgr02>
- Altbach, P. (2015). Knowledge and education as international commodities: The collapse of the common good. *International Higher Education*, pp. 2–5. Retrieved from <https://ejournals.bc.edu/ojs/index.php/ihe/article/viewFile/6657/5878>
- Anderson, J. (2011). *Public policymaking: An introduction*. Boston, MA: Wadsworth.
- Antony, W., Black, E., Frankel, S., Henley, D., Hudson, P., Land, W., Lewycky, D., Ternette, E. & Tychonick, R. (2007). *Privatization: The Public Service Trojan Horse*. Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives. Retrieved from https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/Manitoba_Pubs/2007/State_of_Public_Services_2007.pdf
- Antony, W., Frankel, S., Henley, D., Lewycky, D., Olsen, G., Rudy, T., Scarth, T., Young, J. (2003). *Fragile recovery: The state of public services in Manitoba*. Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives–Manitoba. Retrieved from https://www.policyalternatives.ca/sites/default/files/uploads/publications/Manitoba_Pubs/mbstate_public_services.pdf

- Apple, M. (2013). Between traditions: Stephen Ball and the critical sociology of education. *London Review of Education*, 11(3), pp. 206–217. doi.org/10.1080/14748460.2013.8409
- Arnone, (2005). To what ends: Educational reform around the world. *Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies*, 12(1), pp. 79–95. Retrieved from <https://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1290&context=ijgls>
- Atkinson, M. & Coleman, W. (1992). Policy networks, policy communities and the problems of governance. *Governance: An International Journal of Policy and Administration*, 5(2), 154-180. Retrieved from <https://onlinelibrary-wiley-com.uml.idm.oclc.org/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1468-0491.1992.tb00034.x>
- Atkinson, P. & Coffey, A. (2011). Analysing documentary realities. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research*, (pp. 77–92). (3rd Ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Bacchi, C. (2000). Policy as discourse: What does it mean? Where does it get us? *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 21(1), 45–57. DOI: 10.1080/01596300050005493
- Ball, S. & Exley, S. (2010). Making policy with ‘good ideas’: Policy networks and the ‘intellectuals’ of New Labour. *Journal of Education Policy*, 25(2), pp. 151–169. doi.org/10.1080/02680930903486125
- Ball, S. & Youdell, D. (2007). *Hidden privatization in public education*. Education International 5th World Congress. Retrieved from http://pages.ei-ie.org/quadrennialreport/2007/upload/content_trsl_images/630/Hidden_privatisation-EN.pdf
- Ball, S. (1990). Markets, inequality, and urban schooling. *The Urban Review*, 22(2), 85–99. Retrieved from <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/BF01108245>

- Ball, S. (1993). Education markets, choice and social class: The market as a class strategy in the UK and the USA. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 14(1), 3–19.
doi.org/10.1080/0142569930140101
- Ball, S. (1998). Big policies/Small world: An introduction to international perspectives in education policy. *Comparative Education*, 34(2), 119–130.
doi.org/10.1080/03050069828225
- Ball, S. (2006a). *Education policy and social class: The selected works of Stephen J. Ball*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ball, S. (2006b). The necessity and violence of theory. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 27(1), pp. 3–10. doi.org/10.1080/01596300500510211
- Ball, S. (2007). *Education plc: Understanding private sector participation in public sector education*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ball, S. (2008). New philanthropy, new networks and new governance in education. *Political Studies*, 56, 747–765. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-9248.2008.00722.x
- Ball, S. (2009). Privatising education, privatising education policy, privatising educational research: Network governance and the ‘competition state’. *Journal of Education Policy*, 24(1), 83–99. doi.org/10.1080/02680930802419474
- Ball, S. (2012). *Global education INC.: New policy networks and the neo-liberal imaginary*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ball, S. (2015). What is policy? 21 years later: Reflections on the possibilities of policy research. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 36(3), pp. 306–313. DOI: 10.1080/01596306.2015.1015279

- Ball, S. (2016a). Following policy: Networks, network ethnography and education policy mobilities. *Journal of Education Policy*, 31(5), pp. 549–566.
doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2015.1122232
- Ball, S. (2016b). Neoliberal education? Confronting the slouching beast. *Policy Futures in Education*, 14(8), pp. 1046–1059. DOI: 10.1177/1478210316664259
- Ball, S., Dworkin, A. & Vryonides, M. (2010). Globalization and education: Introduction. *Current Sociology*, 58(4), pp. 523–529. DOI: 10.1177/0011392110367987
- Ball, S., Thrupp, M. & Forsey, M. (2010). Hidden markets: The new education privatization. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 31(2), pp. 229–241. DOI: 10.1080/01425690903541228
- Basu, R. (2004). The rationalization of neoliberalism in Ontario's public education system, 1995–2000. *Geoforum*, 35, pp. 621–634. doi:10.1016/j.geoforum.2004.03.003
- Baxter, P. & Jack, S. (2008). Qualitative case study methodology: Study design and implementation for novice researchers. *The Qualitative Report*, 13(4), 544–559.
Retrieved from <http://www.nova.edu/ssss/QR/QR13-4/baxter.pdf>
- Beck, K. (2013). Making sense of internationalization: A critical analysis. In: Y. Hébert & A. Abdi (Eds.), *Critical Perspectives on International Education*, 43–59. Rotterdam, The Netherlands: Sense Publishers.
- Bell, L. & Stevenson, H. (2006). *Education policy: Processes, themes and impact*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Bhatia, V., Flowerdew, J. & Jones, R. (2008). Approaches to discourse analysis. In: V. Bhatia, J. Flowerdew & R. Jones (Eds.), *Advances in discourse studies*, (pp. 1–17). London, UK: Routledge.

- Black, E. & Silver, J. (2012). *Manitoba's NDP: Time to return to its social democratic roots*. Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives–Manitoba. Retrieved from <https://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/commentary/manitobas-ndp-time-return-its-social-democratic-roots>
- Bogdan, R. & Biklen, S. (2007). *Qualitative research for education: An introduction to theories and methods*. (5th Ed.). Upper Saddle River, NJ: PHI Learning Private Limited.
- Bowen, G. (2009). Document analysis as a qualitative research method. *Qualitative Research Journal*, 9 (2), pp. 27–40. Retrieved from: <https://www.emeraldinsight.com/doi/pdfplus/10.3316/QRJ0902027>
- Bunnell, T. (2007). The international education industry: An introductory framework for conceptualizing the potential scale of an ‘alliance.’ *Journal of Research in International Education*, 6(3), pp. 349–367. DOI: 10.1177/1475240907083201
- Cambridge, J. & Thompson, J. (2004). Internationalism and globalization as contexts for international education. *Compare*, 34(2), pp. 161–175. DOI: 10.1080/0305792042000213994
- Campbell, J. (2002). Ides, politics, and public policy. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28, 21–38. doi: 10.1146/annurev.soc.28.110601.141111
- Canadian Institutes of Health Research, Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council of Canada, and Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada (2014). *Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans*. Ottawa, ON: Secretariat on Responsible Conduct of Research. Retrieved from http://www.pre.ethics.gc.ca/pdf/eng/tcps2-2014/TCPS_2_FINAL_Web.pdf

- CAPS-I (2018). *Guide to public schools in Canada: 2018-2019*. Ottawa, ON: CAPS-I. retrieved from https://caps-i.ca/wp-content/uploads/2019/01/CAPS-I-Guide-Full_2018_FinalWeb.pdf
- Carpenter, S., Weber, N. & Schugurensky, D. (2012). Views from the blackboard: Neoliberal education reforms and the practice of teaching in Ontario, Canada. *Globalization, Societies and Education*, 10(2), pp. 145–161. doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2012.647401
- CBC Radio Canada (2013). *Manitoba bill aims to protect international students*. Winnipeg, MB. CBC: Available at: <http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/manitoba/manitoba-bill-aims-to-protect-international-students-1.1411806>
- CBIE (2012). *A world of learning: Canada's performance and potential in international education*. Ottawa, ON: CBIE. Retrieved from: <https://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/CBIE-A-World-of-Learning-2012-EN.pdf>
- CBIE (2013). *A world of learning: Canada's performance and potential in international education*. Ottawa, ON: CBIE. Retrieved from: https://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Report_Research_Flagship_2013_EN.pdf
- CBIE (2014a). Canada's schools abroad: Expanding the pathways. *CBIE Market Reports*, 1, pp. 1–4. Retrieved from: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED566126.pdf>
- CBIE (2014b). *A world of learning: Canada's performance and potential in international education*. Ottawa, ON: CBIE. Retrieved from: <https://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/05/CBIE-Flagship-2014-E-WEB-RES-final.pdf>
- CBIE (2015). The integration challenge: Connecting international students with their Canadian peers. *CBIE Research in Brief #2*, pp. 1–8. Retrieved from: <https://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/CBIE-Research-in-Brief-2-The-Integration-Challenge-EN.pdf>

- CBIE (2016). *A world of learning: Canada's performance and potential in international education*. Ottawa, ON: CBIE. Retrieved from: <https://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/A-World-of-Learning-HI-RES-2016.pdf>
- CMEC (2013). *The role of education agents in Canada's education systems*. Toronto, ON: CMEC. Retrieved from: <https://www.cmec.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/326/The-Role-of-Education-Agents-EN.pdf>
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2007). *Research methods in education*. (6th Ed.), New York, NY: Routledge.
- Cosco, L. (2011). *Canadian overseas schools: A unique approach to the export of Canadian education*. Vancouver, BC: Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. Retrieved from: https://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/filefield/overseas_canadian_schools_final.pdf
- Cover, D. (2016). The discursive framing of international education programs in British Columbia. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, 180, pp. 169–201. Retrieved from: <https://esj.usask.ca/index.php/cjeap/article/view/42899>
- Creswell, J. (2012). *Educational research: Planning, conducting, and evaluating quantitative and qualitative research*. 4th Edition, Boston, MA: Pearson Education.
- Creswell, J. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. (3rd Ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications, Inc.
- Cudmore, G. (2005). Globalization, internationalization, and the recruitment of international students in higher education, and in the Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology.

- The Canadian Journal of Higher Education*, XXXV(1), pp. 37–60. Retrieved from:
<http://journals.sfu.ca/cjhe/index.php/cjhe/article/download/183491/183440>
- Davidson-Harden, A. & Majhanvich, S. (2004). Privatisation of education in Canada: A survey of trends. *International Review of Education*, 50, pp. 263–287. Retrieved from:
https://www.jstor.org/stable/4151599?seq=1#page_scan_tab_contents
- Davidson-Harden, A. (2005): *Restructuring and governance of teacher education in Ontario, 1995-2003: Exploring global policy discourses and local practices*. London, ON: University of Western Ontario.
- Davies, B. & Bansel, P. (2007). Neoliberalism and education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 20(3), pp. 247–259. DOI:
 10.1080/09518390701281751
- Davis, P. (2000). The relevance of systematic reviews to educational policy and practice. *Oxford Review of Education*, 26(3&4), pp. 365–378. DOI: 10.1080/3054980020001882
- DeMarrais, K. (2004). Qualitative interview studies: Learning through experience. In K. DeMarrais & S. Lapan (Eds.), *Foundations for research: Methods of inquiry in education and the social sciences* (pp. 51–68). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Doherty, R. (2007). Education, neoliberalism and the consumer citizen: After the golden age of egalitarian reform. *Critical Studies in Education*, 48(2), pp. 269–288. DOI:
 10.1080/17508480701494275
- Dolby, N. & Rahman, A. (2008). Research in international education. *Review of Educational Research*, 78(3), pp. 676–726. DOI: 10.3102/0034654308320291

- Elo, S. & Kyngas, H. (2008). The qualitative content analysis process. *Journal of Advanced Nursing* 62(1), 107–115. Retrieved from:
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2007.04569.x>
- Embleton, S., Gold, N., Lapierre, A. & Stevenson, M. (2011). Canada's International Education Strategy: Focus on scholarships. *CBIE Research Series*, pp. 1–24. Retrieved from:
<https://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/CBIE-research-cdn-intl-education-strategy-E-WEB.pdf>
- Evans, M. & Shields, J. (2010). The third sector and the provision of public good: Partnerships, contracting, and neo-liberal state. In C. Dunn (Ed.), *The handbook of Canadian public administration* (pp. 305–318). 2ed Edition, Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Fallon, G. & Poole, W. (2016). Introduction to the special issue: Manufacturing consent for the privatization of education in Canadian contexts. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, 80 (November 2016), pp. 1–13. Retrieved from:
<https://journalhosting.ucalgary.ca/index.php/cjeap/article/view/42892/30749>
- Fitzgerald, T. (2007). Documents and documentary analysis: Reading between the lines. In A. Briggs & M. Coleman (Eds.), *Research methods in educational leadership and management*, (pp. 278–294). (2ed), Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Frankel, S. (2013). Poverty reduction in Manitoba under neoliberalism: Is the Third Way an effective way? *Manitoba Law Journal*, 36(2), pp. 269–299. Retrieved from:
<https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/manitob36&div=43&id=&page=>

- Gerring, J. (2004). What is a Case Study and what is it good for? *American Political Science Review*, 98(2), pp. 341-354. Retrieved from:
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0003055404001182>
- Giddens, A. (1999). *The Third Way: The renewal of social democracy*. Oxford, UK: Polity Press.
- Giroux, H. (2004). Public pedagogy and the politics of Neo-liberalism: Making the political more pedagogical. *Policy Futures in Education*, 2(3 & 4), pp. 494–503. Retrieved from
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.2304/pfie.2004.2.3.5>
- Grimmett, P. & Young, J. (2012). *Teacher certification and the professional status of teaching in North America: The new battleground for public education*. Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Gunter, H. (2013). On not researching school leadership: The contribution of S. J. Ball. *London Review of Education*, 11(3), pp. 218–228. doi.org/10.1080/14748460.2013.840982
- Harris, L. & Brown, G. (2010). Mixing interview and questionnaire methods: Practical problems in aligning data. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 15(1), 1–19. Ret. from:
<http://repositorio.minedu.gob.pe/handle/123456789/2867>
- Hayden, M. & Thompson, J. (1995). International schools and international education: A relationship reviewed. *Oxford Review of Education*, 21(3), 327–345. Retrieved from:
https://www.jstor.org/stable/1050876?seq=1/analyze#page_scan_tab_contents
- Hazelkorn, E. & Gibson, A. (2018). Public goods and public policy: what is public good, and who and what decides? *Higher Education*, (Nov. 2018), pp. 1–15.
doi.org/10.1007/s10734-018-0341-3
- Hénard, F., Diamond, L. & Roseveare, D. (2012). *Approaches to internationalisation and their implications for strategic management and institutional practice: A guide for higher*

- education institutions*. Paris, France: OECD. Retrieved from:
<http://www.oecd.org/education/imhe/approaches%20to%20internationalisation%20-%20final%20-%20web.pdf>
- Henley, D. & Young, J. (2008). School boards and education finance in Manitoba: The politics of equity, access and local autonomy. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy, Issue #72*, pp. 1–25. Retrieved from:
<https://journalhosting.ucalgary.ca/index.php/cjeap/article/view/42753>
- Henley, D. & Young, J. (2009). Trading in education: The Agreement on Internal Trade, labour mobility and teacher certification in Canada. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, 91, 1–26. Retrieved from:
<https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/EJ842520.pdf>
- Hill, I. (2012). Evolution of education for international mindedness. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 11(3) 245–261. DOI: 10.1177/1475240912461990
- Homeshaw, J. (1995). Policy community, policy networks and science policy in Australia. *Australian Journal of Public Administration*, 54(4), 520–532. Retrieved from:
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1467-8500.1995.tb01165.x>
- Howlett, M. (2010). The policy process. In C. Dunn (Ed.), *The handbook of Canadian public administration* (pp. 383-400). (2ed Ed.), Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- Howlett, M. (2013). *Canadian public policy. Selected studies in process and style*. Toronto, ON: University of Toronto Press.
- Issel, B. (2010). *Educational Leadership, School Commercialism, and Neoliberal Policy: Understanding Elementary School Principals' Decision-Making*. Vancouver, BC: Faculty of Graduate Studies, The University of British Columbia.

- James, (2005). International education: The concept, and its relationship to intercultural education. *Journal of Research in International Education*, 4(3), pp. 313–332. DOI: 10.1177/1475240905057812
- Jeannotte, S. (2010). Going with the flow: Neoliberalism and cultural policy in Manitoba and Saskatchewan. *Canadian Journal of Communication*, 35, pp. 303–324. Retrieved from: <https://www.cjc-online.ca/index.php/journal/article/view/2184>
- John, P. (2012). *Analyzing public policies*. (2ed Ed.), New York, NY: Routledge.
- Johnstone, M. & Lee, E. (2014). Branded: International education and 21st-century Canadian immigration, education policy, and the welfare state. *International Social Work*, 57(3), pp. 209–221. DOI: 10.1177/0020872813508572
- Johnstone, M. & Lee, E. (2016). Canada and the global rush for international students: Reifying a neo-imperial order of Western dominance in the Knowledge Economy era. *Critical Sociology*, 43(7-8), pp. 1063–1078. DOI: 10.1177/0896920516654554
- Jordan, G. (1990). Policy community realism versus ‘New’ institutionalist ambiguity. *Political Studies*, 38(3), pp. 470–484. Retrieved from: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1990.tb01082.x>
- Katz, J. (1970). Canada and international education. *The Phi Delta Kappan*, 51(5), pp. 271–273. Retrieved from: https://www-jstor-org.uml.idm.oclc.org/stable/20372627?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents
- Kizilbash, Z. (2011). Branding Canadian Higher Education. *CBIE Research Series*, pp. 1–9. Retrieved from: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED549854.pdf>
- Knight, J. (1994). Internationalization: Elements and checkpoints. *CBIE Research*, 7, pp. 1–14. Retrieved from: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED549823.pdf>

- Knight, J. (2004). Internationalization remodeled: Definition, approaches, and rationales. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 8(1), pp. 5–31. DOI: 10.1177/1028315303260832
- Knight-Grofe, J. & Deacon, L. (2016). Canada's global engagement challenge: A comparison of national strategies. *International Journal*, 71(1), pp. 129–143. DOI: 10.1177/0020702015622994
- Knill, C. & Tosun, J. (2012). *Public policy: A new introduction*. Hampshire, UK: PALGRAVE MACMILLAN.
- Komljenovic, J. & Robertson, S. (2017). Making global education markets and trade. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 15(3), pp. 289–295.
doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2017.1330140
- Krauss, S. (2005). Research paradigms and meaning making: A primer. *The Qualitative Report*, 10(4), pp. 758–770. Retrieved from:
<https://nsuworks.nova.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1831&context=tqr/>
- Kunin, R. & Associates (2009). *Economic impact of international education in Canada: Final Report Presented to Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada*. Vancouver, BC: RKA, Inc. Retrieved from:
https://globalhighered.files.wordpress.com/2009/10/rka_inted_report_eng.pdf
- Kunin, R. & Associates (2016). *Economic impact of international education in Canada: An Update-Final Report Presented to Global Affairs Canada*. Vancouver, BC: RKA, Inc. retrieved from:
https://www.international.gc.ca/education/assets/pdfs/Economic_Impact_International_Education_in_Canada_2016_Update.pdf

- Kwak, M. J. (2013). Rethinking the neoliberal nexus of education, migration, and institutions. *Environment and Planning*, 45, pp. 1858–1872. Retrieved from:
<https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1068/a43493>
- Larner, W. (2000). Neo-liberalism: Policy, ideology, governmentality. *Studies in Political Economy*, 63, 5–25. Retrieved from <https://www-tandfonline-com.uml.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdf/10.1080/19187033.2000.11675231?needAccess=true>
- Lee, E. & Johnstone, M. (2014). A production of education migrants: A case study of South Korean transnational families in Canada. *International Social Work*, 60(2), pp. 307–320. DOI: 10.1177/0020872814539987
- Leitner, H., Sheppard, E., Sziarto, K. & Maringanti, A. (2007). Contesting urban futures: Decentering neoliberalism. In: H. Leitner & E. Sheppard (Eds.), *Contesting neoliberalism: Urban frontiers*, (pp. 1–25). New York, NY: The Guilford Press.
- Levin, B. (2007). The lessons of international education reform. In S. Ball, I. Goodson & M. Maguire (Eds.), *Education, globalization and New Times*, (pp 47–63). London, UK: Routledge.
- Liasidou, A. & Symeou, L. (2018). Neoliberal versus social justice reforms in education policy and practice: Discourses, politics and disability rights in education. *Critical Studies in Education*, 59(2), 149–166. Retrieved from <https://www-tandfonline-com.uml.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdf/10.1080/17508487.2016.1186102?needAccess=true>
- Lindquist, E. (1992). *Public managers and policy communities: Learning to meet new challenges*. *Canadian Public Administration*, 3(2), 127–159. Retrieved from
<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/pdf/10.1111/j.1754-7121.1992.tb00685.x>

- Lingard, B. & Sellar, S. (2013). Globalization, edu-business and network governance: The policy sociology of Stephen J. Ball and rethinking education policy analysis. *London Review of Education*, 11(3), pp. 265–280. Retrieved from <https://www.ingentaconnect.com/content/ioep/clre/2013/00000011/00000003/art00007>
- Lodico, M., Spaulding, D. & Voegtler, K. (2006). *Methods in educational research: From Theory to Practice*. San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass.
- Lubienski, C. (2006). School choice and privatization in education: An alternative analytical framework. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, 4(1), pp. 1–27. Retrieved from http://a100educationalpolicy.pbworks.com/f/Lubienski_choice.pdf
- Lynch, K. (2006). Neo-liberalism and marketisation: The implications for higher education. *European Educational Research Journal*, 5(1), pp. 1–17. Retrieved from <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.2304/eej.2006.5.1.1>
- Mackenzie, N. & Kriple, S. (2006). Research dilemmas: Paradigms, methods and methodology. *Issues in Educational Research*, 16, pp. 1–11. Retrieved from <http://msessd.ioe.edu.np/wp-content/uploads/2017/04/Handout4L4pages11-Research-Dilemmas-etc.pdf>
- Macris, V. (2009). *The dominance of neoliberal ideology in public schooling and possibilities for reconstructing the common good in education*. Edmonton, AB: University of Alberta. Retrieved from: https://era.library.ualberta.ca/items/d2c80057-2bc5-42e0-a144-c8fec1491c35/view/a16f8bc5-1233-4269-91d9-80bce095a78a/Macris_Vicki_Fall-202009.pdf

- Matthews & Sidhu (2005). Desperately seeking the global subject: International education, citizenship and cosmopolitanism. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 3(1), pp. 49–66. doi/abs/10.1080/14767720500046179
- Matthews, J. (2002). International education and internationalisation are not the same as globalisation: Emerging issues for secondary schools. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 6(4), pp. 369–390. doi.org/10.1177/102831502237642
- McCartney, D. (2016). Inventing international students: Exploring discourses in international student policy talk, 1945–75. *Historical Studies in Education*, 28(2), pp. 1–27. Retrieved from: https://historicalstudiesineducation.ca/index.php/edu_hse-rhe/article/view/4457
- Miller, H. & Demir, T. (2007). Policy communities. In F. Fischer, G. Miller & M. Sidney (Eds.), *Handbook of public policy analysis: Theory, politics, and methods*, (pp. 137–147). Boca Raton, FL: Taylor & Francis Group, LLC.
- Miller, J. & Glassner, B. (2011). The “inside” and the “outside”: Finding realities in interviews. In D. Silverman (Ed.), *Qualitative research*, (pp. 131–148). (3rd Ed.), Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.
- Moutsios, S. (2009). International organisation and transnational education policy. *Compare*, 39(4), pp. 467–478. DOI: 10.1080/03057920802156500
- Moyes, M. (2016). *The Doer/Dexter model: Political marketing and the NDP 1988 to 2009*. Winnipeg, MB: Faculty of Graduate Studies, University of Manitoba. Retrieved from: https://mspace.lib.umanitoba.ca/bitstream/handle/1993/31228/Moyes_Michael.pdf?sequence=3
- Owens, D. (2006). Creating a high performance public school system in Manitoba. *Policy Series No. 30*, The Frontier Centre for Public Policy, pp. 1–16. Retrieved from:

<https://fcpp.org/files/9/PolicySeries30CreatingHighPerformancePublicSchoolsInManitoba.pdf>

Pal, L. (2014). *Beyond policy analysis: Public issue management in turbulent times*. (5th Ed.).

Toronto, ON: Nelson Education Ltd.

Peck, Theodore & Brenner, (2012). Neoliberalism resurgent? Market rule after the Great

Recession. *The South Atlantic Quarterly* 111(2), 265–288. doi.org/10.1215/00382876-1548212

Petty, N., Thomson, O. & Stew, G. (2012). Ready for a paradigm shift? Part 2: Introducing

qualitative research methodologies and methods. *Manual Therapy*, 17, pp. 378–384.

<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.math.2012.03.004>

Potter, J. (2004). Discourse analysis. In M. Hardy & A. Bryman (Eds.), *Handbook of data*

analysis, (pp. 607–24). London, UK: SAGE.

Prince Edward Island Education Governance Commission (2011). *Charting the way: Education*

governance discussion paper. Charlottetown, PE: The Department of Education and

Early Childhood Development. Retrieved from:

http://www.gov.pe.ca/photos/original/EECD_DPO2011.pdf

Rizvi, F., & Lingard, B. (2010). *Globalizing education policy*. New York, NY: Routledge.

Robertson, S. (2017). Making education markets through global trade agreements. *Globalisation,*

Societies and Education, 15(3), pp. 296–308. Retrieved from:

<https://doi.org/10.1080/14767724.2017.1345408>

Rounce, A. (2010). *Does public opinion count? Tuition fees, student support, and public opinion*

in Saskatchewan, 1991–2004. Ottawa, ON: Carleton University.

- Rounce, A. (2013). Investing in Manitoba's future: Post-secondary education between 1999 and 2013. *Manitoba Law Journal*, 36(2), pp. 225–268. Retrieved from:
<https://commentary.canlii.org/w/canlii/2013CanLIIDocs345.pdf>
- Saltman, K. (2014). *The politics of education: A critical introduction*. Colorado, US: Paradigm Publisher.
- Sanders, T. & Stewart, V. (2004). International education: From community innovation to national policy. *Phi Delta Kappan*, (November 2004), pp. 200-205. Retrieved from:
<https://journals-sagepub-com.uml.idm.oclc.org/doi/pdf/10.1177/003172170408600307>
- Schuetze, H., Kuehn, L., Davidson-Harden, A., Schugurensky, D. & Weber, N. (2011). Globalization, neoliberalism and schools: The Canadian story. In: L. Olmos, C. Torres & R. Heertum (Eds.), *Educating the global citizen in the shadow of neoliberalism: Thirty years of educational reform in North America*, (62–84). Sharjah, UAE: Bentham Science Publishers Ltd.
- Scott, C., Safdar, S., Trilokekar, R. & El Masri, A. (2015). International students as ‘Ideal Immigrants’ in Canada: A disconnect between policy makers’ assumptions and the lived experiences of international students. *Comparative and International Education*, 43(3), pp. 1–17. Retrieved from:
<https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1353&context=cie-eci>
- Serpieri, R. & Grimaldi, E. (2014). Expert interview: Interview with Stephen J. Ball. *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 6(1), pp. 88–103. Retrieved from:
http://ijse.padovauniversitypress.it/system/files/papers/2014_1_5.pdf
- Smith, B. (2003). *Public policy and public participation: Engaging citizens and community in the development of public policy*. Halifax, NB: Atlantic Regional Office, Health Canada.

Retrieved from:

https://atrium.lib.uoguelph.ca/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10214/3139/Smith_Public_Policy_and_Public_Participation_Engaging_Citizens_and_Community_in_the_Development_of_Public_Policy_complete.pdf?sequence=24&isAllowed=y

Smith, M. (1991). From policy community to issue network: Salmonella in eggs and the new politics of food. *Public Administration*, 69, 235-255. Retrieved from:

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/j.1467-9299.1991.tb00792.x>

Sofaer, S. (1999). Qualitative methods: What are they and why use them? *Health Sciences Research*, 34(5), 1101–1118. Retrieved from:

<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/articles/PMC1089055/pdf/hsresearch00022-0025.pdf>

Spring, J. (2008). Research on globalization and education. *Review of Educational Research*, 78(2), pp. 330–363. DOI: 10.3102/0034654308317846

Springer (2012). Neoliberalism as discourse: Between Foucauldian political economy and Marxian poststructuralism. *Critical Discourse Studies*, 9(2), pp. 133–147. Retrieved from: <https://doi.org/10.1080/17405904.2012.656375>

Steger, M. & Roy, R. (2010). *Neoliberalism: A very short introduction*. New York, US: Oxford University Press.

Stemler, S. (2001). An overview of content analysis. *Practical Assessment, Research & Evaluation*, 7(17), 1–10. Retrieved from:

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Steven_Stemler/publication/269037805_An_Overview_of_Content_Analysis/links/547e0aba0cf2de80e7cc402a/An-Overview-of-Content-Analysis.pdf

- Symons, T. & Page, J. (1984). *Some questions of Balance: Human resources, higher education and Canadian studies*. Ottawa, ON: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada.
Retrieved from: <https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED246704.pdf>
- Szyszló, P. (2016). Internationalization strategies for the Global Knowledge Society. *CBIE PhD Research*, (Jan. 2016), pp. 1–7. Retrieved from: <https://ir.library.carleton.ca/pub/13105>
- Tamtik, M. (2018). International education in Manitoba: Exploring leadership practices in policy contexts. *Canadian Journal of Educational Administration and Policy*, 187, pp. 18–30.
Retrieved from: <https://jhistsex.org/index.php/cjeap/article/view/43160>
- Tarc, Clark & Varpalotai, (2012). Theorizing International Education: (Shifting) contexts, concepts, methods. *Canadian and International Education*, 41(3), pp. 1–3. Retrieved from: <https://ir.lib.uwo.ca/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1272&context=cie-eci>
- Tardi, G. (2010). Departments and other institutions of government. In C. Dunn (Ed.), *The handbook of Canadian public administration* (pp. 25-51). (2ed Ed.), Don Mills, ON: Oxford University Press.
- The Council of the Federation (2011). *Bringing Education in Canada to the World, Bringing the World to Canada: An International Education Marketing Action Plan for Provinces and Territories*. Ottawa, ON: Council of the Federation Secretariat. Retrieved from: https://www.cmec.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/264/COF_Bringing_Ed_to_Canada_Eng_final.pdf
- The Department of Justice, Canada (2013). *A Consolidation of the Constitution Acts 1867 to 1982*. Ottawa, Ontario: Government Services Canada. Retrieved from: https://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/pdf/const_e.pdf

The Government of Canada (2012). *International education: A key driver of Canada's future prosperity*. Ottawa, ON: The Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada. Retrieved from:

https://www.international.gc.ca/education/assets/pdfs/ies_report_rapport_sei-eng.pdf

The Government of Canada (2014). *Canada's international education strategy: Harnessing our knowledge advantage to drive innovation and prosperity*. Ottawa, ON: The Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. Retrieved from:

<https://international.gc.ca/global-markets-marches-mondiaux/assets/pdfs/overview-aperçu-eng.pdf>

The Government of Canada (2015). *Evaluation of the International Student Program*. Ottawa, ON: Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Retrieved from:

<https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/resources/evaluation/isp/2015/e3-2013-isp.pdf>

The Government of Manitoba (2003). *Manitoba's Action Strategy for Economic Growth*.

Winnipeg, MB: The Government of Manitoba. Retrieved from:

<https://www.gov.mb.ca/finance/budgets/pubs/budget2003/cedc.pdf>

The Government of Manitoba (2005). *Reaching beyond our borders: The framework for Manitoba's international activities*. Winnipeg, MB: The Government of Manitoba.

Retrieved from: <https://www-deslibris-ca.uml.idm.oclc.org/ID/231022>

The Government of Manitoba (2007). *Competitiveness, Training and Trade Annual Report 2006-2007*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Competitiveness, Training and Trade. Retrieved from:

https://gov.mb.ca/jec/reports/2007_2016_fiscal/2007-16_pdfs/06-07_ctt_ar.pdf

- The Government of Manitoba (2008). *Competitiveness, Training and Trade Annual Report 2007-2008*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Competitiveness, Training and Trade. Retrieved from: https://www.gov.mb.ca/jec/reports/2007_2016_fiscal/2007-16_pdfs/ar_ctt_07_08.pdf
- The Government of Manitoba (2009). *International education strategy for the province of Manitoba 2009-2013*. Winnipeg, MB: International Education Branch. Available at: <https://digitalcollection.gov.mb.ca/awweb/pdfopener?smd=1&did=19314&md=1>
- The Government of Manitoba (2010). *Manitoba Advanced Education and Literacy Annual Report 2009-2010*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Advanced Education and Literacy. Retrieved from: https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/ar_ael_0910/report.pdf
- The Government of Manitoba (2012). *Manitoba Advanced Education and Literacy Annual Report 2011-2012*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Advanced Education and Literacy. Retrieved from: https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/ar_ael_1112/report.pdf
- The Government of Manitoba (2013). *Manitoba Advanced Education and Literacy Annual Report 2012-2013*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Advanced Education and Literacy. Retrieved from: https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/ar_ael_1213/report.pdf
- The Government of Manitoba (2014). *Manitoba Education and Advanced Learning Annual Report 2013-2014*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Education and Advanced Learning. Retrieved from: https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/ar_edu_1314/report.pdf
- The Government of Manitoba (2015). *Manitoba Education and Advanced Learning Annual Report 2014-2015*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Education and Advanced Learning. Retrieved from: https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/ar_edu_1415/report.pdf

The Government of Manitoba (2016). *Manitoba Education and Advanced Learning Annual Report 2015-2016*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Education and Advanced Learning.

Retrieved from: https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/ar_edu_1516/report.pdf

The Government of Manitoba (2018). *Manitoba Education and Training Annual Report 2017-2018*. Winnipeg, MB: Manitoba Education and Training. Retrieved from:

https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/ar_met_1718/report.pdf

The Government of Manitoba (ND1). *Education excellence: All you need for a world-class education*. Winnipeg, MB: IEB. Retrieved from:

<https://digitalcollection.gov.mb.ca/awweb/pdfopener?smd=1&did=19343&md=1>

The Government of Manitoba (ND2). *Establishing an affiliated Manitoba school program outside of Canada*. Winnipeg, MB: IEB. Retrieved from:

<https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/k12/iep/teaching.html>

The Government of Manitoba (ND3). *Joint Statement of Benefits of Internationally Affiliated Schools Offering the Manitoba Curriculum*. Winnipeg, MB: IEB. Retrieved from:

<https://www.edu.gov.mb.ca/k12/iep/teaching.html>

The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba (2013). *The International Education Act*. Winnipeg, MB:

The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Retrieved from: <https://web2.gov.mb.ca/bills/40-2/b044e.php>

The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba (2015). *The International Education Regulation*.

Winnipeg, MB: The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Retrieved from:

http://web2.gov.mb.ca/laws/regs/current/_pdf-regs.php?reg=218/2015

The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba (2016). *Code of Practice and Conduct Regulation*.

Winnipeg, MB: The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Retrieved from:

http://web2.gov.mb.ca/laws/regs/current/_pdf-regs.php?reg=1/2016

The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba (Nov. 19, 2012). Speech from the Throne. Retrieved

from: https://www.gov.mb.ca/legislature/hansard/40th_2nd/vol_01/h01.html

The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba (May 13, 2013). *Hansard of the Second Session-Fortieth*

Legislature of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Vol. LXV, No. 40. Available at:

http://www.gov.mb.ca/legislature/hansard/40th_2nd/hansardpdf/40.pdf

The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba (May 23, 2013). *Hansard of the Second Session-Fortieth*

Legislature of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Vol. LXV, No. 46B. Available at:

http://www.gov.mb.ca/legislature/hansard/40th_2nd/hansardpdf/46b.pdf

The Legislative Assembly of Manitoba (Nov. 28, 2013). *Hansard of the Third Session-Fortieth*

Legislature of the Legislative Assembly of Manitoba. Vol. LXVI, No. 13B. Available at:

http://www.gov.mb.ca/legislature/hansard/40th_3rd/hansardpdf/13b.pdf

Tobin, G. & Begley, C. (2004). Methodological rigour within a qualitative framework.

Methodological Issues in Nursing Education, 48(4), pp. 388–396. Retrieved from:

<https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1365-2648.2004.03207.x>

Torgerson, D. (2010). Policy discourse and public spheres: The Habermas paradox. *Critical*

Policy Studies, 4(1), 1–17. DOI: 10.1080/19460171003714914

Trilokekar, R. & Kizilbash, Z. (2013). IMAGINE: Canada as a leader in international education.

How can Canada benefit from the Australian experience? *Canadian Journal of Higher*

Education, 43(2), pp. 1–26. Retrieved form:

<http://journals.sfu.ca/cjhe/index.php/cjhe/article/view/2103/184057>

- Trilokekar, R. (2009). International education as soft power? The contributions and challenges of Canadian foreign policy to the internationalization of higher education. *Higher Education*, 59, pp. 131–147. DOI 10.1007/s10734-009-9240-y
- Vaismoradi, M., Turunen, H. & Bondas, T. (2013). Content analysis and thematic analysis: Implications for conducting a qualitative descriptive study. *Nursing and Health Sciences*, 15, 398–405. Retrieved from: <https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/epdf/10.1111/nhs.12048>
- Wadhwa, R. & Jha, S. (2014). Internationalization of Higher Education: Implications for policy making. *Higher Education for the Future*, 1(1) 99–119. DOI: 10.1177/2347631113518399
- Wang, C. (2011). Power/knowledge for educational theory: Stephen Ball and the reception of Foucault. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 45(1), pp. 141–156. DOI: 10.1111/j.1467-9752.2011.00789.x
- Wang, F. (2017). Canadian offshore schools in China: A comparative policy analysis. *Journal of Education Policy*, 32(5), pp. 523–541. Retrieved form: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/full/10.1080/02680939.2017.1303545>
- Wesley, J. (2011). Staking the progressive centre: An ideational analysis of Manitoba party politics. *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 45(1), 143–177. <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/426231>
- Wiseman, N. (2016). Is the NDP Manitoba’s natural governing party? *Prairie Forum*, 39(1), 1–26. Retrieved from: <https://journals.uregina.ca/prairieforum/article/view/237>
- Woolford, A. & Curran, A. (2011). Neoliberal restructuring, limited autonomy, and relational distance in Manitoba’s nonprofit field. *Critical Social Policy*, 31(4), 583–606. DOI: 10.1177/0261018311415571

- Woolford, A. & Thomas, J. (2011). Exception and deputization under today's NDP: Neo-liberalism, the Third Way, and crime control in Manitoba. *Canadian Journal of Law and Society, Volume 26*(1), pp. 113–132. <http://muse.jhu.edu/article/426911>
- Wright, A. (2012). Fantasies of empowerment: Mapping neoliberal discourse in the coalition government's schools policy. *Journal of Education Policy, 27*(3), 279–294. Retrieved from: <https://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/02680939.2011.607516>
- Yemini, M. (2012). Internationalization assessment in schools: Theoretical contributions and practical implications. *Journal of Research in International Education, 11*(2), pp. 152–164. DOI: 10.1177/1475240912452205
- Yemini, M. (2014). Internationalization of Secondary Education—Lessons from Israeli Palestinian-Arab Schools in Tel Aviv-Jaffa. *Urban Education, 49*(5), pp. 471–498. DOI: 10.1177/0042085913478622
- Young, J. & O'Leary, B. (2017). *Public funding for education in Manitoba*. Winnipeg, MB: Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives–Manitoba. Retrieved from: <https://www.policyalternatives.ca/publications/commentary/public-funding-education-manitoba>
- Young, J. (2016). Education and the Manitoba election 2016: Issues and non-issues, value and values. In K. Levasseur, A. Rounce, B. Ferguson & R. Koop (Eds), *Understanding the Manitoba election 2016: Campaigns, participation, issues, place*, 39-40. Winnipeg, MB: University of Manitoba Press. Retrieved from: https://uofmpress.ca/files/manitoba_election2016.pdf
- Young, J., Levin, B. & Wallin, D. (2008). *Understanding Canadian schools: An introduction to educational administration*. (4th Ed.), Toronto, ON: Nelson.

Young, M. & Diem, S. (2017). Introduction: Critical approaches to education policy analysis. In

M. Young & S. Diem (Eds.), *Critical approaches to education policy analysis: Moving beyond tradition.*, (pp. 1–17). Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.

Zantena, A. & Kosunen, S. (2013). School choice research in five European countries: The circulation of Stephen Ball's concepts and interpretations. *London Review of Education*, 11(3), pp. 239–255. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14748460.2013.840984>

Zheng, J. (2010). Neoliberal globalization, higher education policies and international student flows: An exploratory case study of Chinese graduate student flows to Canada. *Journal of Alternative Perspectives in the Social Sciences*, 2(1), pp. 216–244. Retrieved from: <https://www.japss.org/upload/8%20-%20japss%20zheng.pdf>

Faculty of Education

Interview Schedule

Introduction

At the start of the meeting I will go over the consent form with the participants and get them to sign it off. I will also get their permission to record the interview and turn on the recorder.

Interview Questions

Thank you for agreeing to this interview and for signing the consent form. I am very interested in studying Manitoba's K-12 international education policy and I am hoping that you will be able to help me get a good understanding of some aspects of this.

- 1- Could you please describe for me **your involvement in international education in general**, the nature of your current/previous position and how has it been related to K-12 international education policy making in Manitoba since 1999?
 - Identify your position/role related to international education and dates of assumption.
 - How did your focus on international education evolve over the time you were in it?
 - How did your responsibilities fit into/contribute to a broader provincial interest in international education?
- 2- In the last question we focused specifically on your work and your roles. Could we now focus for a while on your views on **how K-12 international education developed more generally in Manitoba** over the last two decades?
 - From your perspective, how Manitoba's K-12 international education developed since 1999?
 - Was there, in your view, a clear provincial K-12 international education agenda?

- What would you say are the key elements that make up K-12 international education in Manitoba?
 - Has the focus on these key elements of K-12 international education changed over time? If yes, how and why?
- 3- OK, building on the last question, can we talk about the policy community, or those who have been **the main players/advocates for K-12 international education in Manitoba**?
- Which people and which organizations have been the most active?
 - What about the federal government?
 - How about the provincial government, which departments and units were most involved?
 - How about the interested publics, private institutions, and non-governmental bodies?
 - Has the role of any of these parties changed over time since 1999?
 - Would you say that the K-12 international education policy community was diversified or dominated by a specific number of influential people/offices?
- 4- I would like to explore more **the rationale behind, or the ultimate goal of, the involvement in K-12 international education**? [I know we have touched on some of this already, but I'd like to examine it further]. Can we start with **your involvement**, what was your personal/organization's rationale behind that involvement?
- Was it an economic rationale (e.g. to generate funds to support other activities) or, educational rationale (e. g. cross-cultural/global education).
 - Did it change at all over time? If yes, why?
 - Who was articulating this rationale?
 - Which documents may represent these ideas?
- 5- Ok, if we can now switch this a bit and talk about **the provincial involvement in K-12 international education as a whole**. What do you think was the provincial rationale behind that involvement?
- Was it an economic rationale (e.g. to generate funds to support other activities) or, educational rationale (e. g. cross-cultural/global education).
 - Did it change at all over time? If yes, why?
 - Who was articulating this vision?

- Which documents may represent these ideas?
 - Was the private sector involved in this process at the provincial level?
 - How was Manitoba's perspective to recruit new international students, or to create markets for your educational programs?
- 6- Finally, how would you overall assess the development of the provincial K-12 international education policy over the last 17 years?
- What are the positive aspects that you see in its development?
 - What are the negative aspects that you see in its development?
 - How do you see the repercussions of the development of this policy?
- 7- Could you suggest other participants who were actively engaged in K-12 international education policy development in Manitoba for interview?



230 Education Building,
University of Manitoba,
Winnipeg, Manitoba,
Canada R3T 2N2.

Faculty of Education

Invitation Letter

Abdelhady Elnagar,
PhD Candidate,
Dept. of Ed. Admin., Foundation and Psychology,
Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba.
Email: elnagar@myumanitoba.ca

Date:

Dear Madam/Sir:

My name is Abdelhady Elnagar, and I am an international PhD candidate at the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. Currently I am conducting a research that examines K-12 international education policy-making in Manitoba. It proposes to: *First*, document the growth of K-12 international education sector in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. *Second*, identify K-12 international education policy community members in Manitoba during that period and examine the extent to which the policy community was dominated by specific members, or diversified and included different participants. *Third*, examine how K-12 international education policy problem was defined by different members of the policy community and how they formulated its solution in Manitoba during the examined period. *Further*, it will analyze the development of K-12 international education policy in the political context at provincial, national and international levels.

I am writing to invite you to participate in this research study and I would like to briefly describe my research as follows:

Research Project Title: International education policy-making and neoliberal drifts: A case study of Manitoba

Researcher: Abdelhady Elnagar, graduate student.

Advisor: Prof. Jon Young, jon.young@umanitoba.ca

To complete this study, I am hoping to interview individuals who participated in the discussions around K-12 international education policy making in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. In order to assure confidentiality, please contact me directly at elnagar@myumanitoba.ca if you are interested in participating in the study. The interview would take from 60 to 75 minutes and would be held at a place and time convenient to you. The interview would be digitally audio-recorded and transcribed by me. You may be asked later for a follow up interview that may continue for no more than thirty (30) minutes as well. The purpose is to get more clarifications and understanding of one or more points discussed in our first meeting.

For the purpose of writing a detailed study and documenting my evidence, **anonymity cannot be promised or maintained throughout the investigation.** The fact is that the international education policy community in Manitoba is very restricted and its members are easily identifiable. So, disclosed and identifiable information, such as name, current or previous position, may be used as part of the analysis and to write my PhD thesis. When citing or quoting a remark or an observation from the interview, it may be attributed to you in person or to your current/previous position. You may require not attributing a specific remark or an observation to you in person or to your current/previous position. In such case, it will be attributed to either "a sub-government participant" or "an attentive public participant".

To ensure **confidentiality**, however, all responses will be kept strictly in a locked file cabinet or a password protected computer. Only my advisor and I will have access to the confidential data. By May 2019, I will delete the recordings from the hard drive. Transcriptions, or any other files, will be also shredded and electronic data trashed by myself by this deadline. The findings of the study will be used for presentations, publications, and to inform the development of my thesis. At the end of the process, you will receive a five (5) pages summary of the final thesis report via email.

Please be advised that you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. In such case, I will destroy any interview data that I may obtained from you and will not include it in my study. You also have the right to only answer the questions you feel comfortable answering. Before citing or quoting any information from the interview, you will have the opportunity to revise, delete, and edit any information you wish from the transcript of your interview. If you agreed to participate, a copy of the interview questions will be emailed to you before the interview, so that you can gather their thoughts. Individuals who choose to do the interview **will be provided with a consent form to sign that provides more information about the study.**

This research has been approved by the Education/Nursing Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba. If there are questions or concerns about this project contact any of the above-mentioned persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at 474-7122, or email: humanethics@umanitoba.ca

Thank you for your time and consideration.

Abdelhady Elnagar
PhD Candidate,
Faculty of Education,
University of Manitoba.

Email: elnagar@myumanitoba.ca
Tel: 204 698 2118



Faculty of Education

230 Education Building,
University of Manitoba,
Winnipeg, Manitoba,
Canada R3T 2N2

Consent Form

Abdelhady Elnagar,
PhD Candidate,
Dept. of Ed. Admin., Foundation and Psychology,
Faculty of Education, University of Manitoba.
Email: elnagar@myumanitoba.ca

Date:

Dear Madam/Sir:

My name is Abdelhady Elnagar, and I am an international PhD candidate at the Faculty of Education at the University of Manitoba. Currently I am conducting a research that examines K-12 international education policy-making in Manitoba. It proposes to: *First*, document the growth of K-12 international education sector in Manitoba from 1999 to 2016. *Second*, identify K-12 international education policy community members in Manitoba during that period and examine the extent to which the policy community was dominated by specific members, or diversified and included different participants. *Third*, examine how K-12 international education policy problem was defined by different members of the policy community and how they formulated its solution in Manitoba during the examined period. *Further*, it will analyze the development of K-12 international education policy in the political context at provincial, national and international levels. I would like to briefly describe my research as follows:

Research Project Title: International education policy-making and neoliberal drifts: A case study of Manitoba.

Researcher: Abdelhady Elnagar, graduate student.

Advisor: Prof. Jon Young, jon.young@umanitoba.ca

Thanks very much for your interest to participate in this study. This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information. The interview would take from 60 to 75 minutes and would be held at a place and time convenient to you. The interview would be

digitally audio-recorded and transcribed by me. You may be asked later for a follow up interview that may continue for no more than thirty (30) minutes as well. The purpose is to get more clarifications and understanding of one or more points discussed in our first meeting.

For the purpose of writing a detailed study and documenting my evidence, **anonymity cannot be promised or maintained throughout the investigation**. The fact is that the international education policy community in Manitoba is very restricted and its members are easily identifiable. So, disclosed and identifiable information, such as name, current or previous position, may be used as part of the analysis and to write my PhD thesis. When citing or quoting a remark or an observation from the interview, it may be attributed to you in person or to your current/previous position. However, you may require not attributing a specific remark or an observation to you in person, or to your current/previous position. In such case, it will be attributed to either "a sub-government participant" or "an attentive public participant".

This option will be available when you revise the transcript of your own interview and before citing or quoting any information from this transcript to write my PhD thesis. So that, you will have the opportunity to revise, delete, and edit any information you wish from the transcript of your own interview before citing or quoting it. You will also then have the opportunity to request not attributing a specific remark or observation to you in person. The transcript of the audiotaped interview will be transcribed by me and returned to you via email, so that you can revise, delete, edit your responses, and recommend not attributing a specific remark(s) to you in person before citing or quoting you. This should take about 30 minutes to review. You will have two weeks to review your transcript and respond to my email, after which I will assume that you are comfortable with the information and I will proceed with citing or quoting them in my analysis and writing my thesis. The results of this study may be used for publication and presentation purposes, and to inform the development of my dissertation.

Please be advised that you have the right to withdraw from the study at any time by emailing me in person at: elnagar@myumanitoba.ca. In such case, I will destroy the consent form you signed, any interview data that I may obtained from your interview, and not include it in my study.

To ensure confidentiality, however, all responses will be kept strictly in a locked file cabinet or a password protected computer. Only my advisor and I will have access to the confidential data. By May 2019, I will delete the recordings from the hard drive. Transcriptions, or any other files, will be also shredded and electronic data trashed by myself by this deadline. The University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board (s) and a representative(s) of the Research Quality Management/Assurance Office may also require access to your research records for safety and quality assurance purposes. The electronic data will be erased or trashed, and the hard data will be shredded once the study is complete.

Sincerely,

Abdelhady Elnagar
PhD Candidate,
Faculty of Education,
University of Manitoba.
Email: elnagar@myumanitoba.ca

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time, and /or refrain from answering any questions you prefer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation. The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way. This research has been approved by the ENREB. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Coordinator (HEC) at 474-7122. A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

PLEASE ADD SIGNATURE

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

The email address to which a summary of the final thesis report can be sent:

E Mail:

I am willing to be contacted for a follow up interview by Mr. A. Elnagar

Yes: _____ No: _____