A POLITICAL RESPONSE PERSPECTIVE ON INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN EDUCATION

by

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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION

in

THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES
Department of Administrative, Adult and Higher Education

We accept this dissertation as conforming
to the required standard

THE UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

December 1991

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Date DECEMBER 14, 1991
This study of intergovernmental relations in education explored the nature of school district political responses to provincial government policies in British Columbia. Specifically, it examined the practice of a particular set of political responses (Elkin, 1975): coalition, socialization of the conflict, making use of a supraorganization, exchange, co-optation and penetration.

Based on theoretical and empirical studies of governmental policy making (Doern and Phidd, 1983; Lowi, 1964, 1972; Rowat, 1980; Simeon, 1976) and interorganizational influence (Elkin, 1975; Rhodes, 1980), a three dimensional conceptual framework was developed consisting of policy types, school district types and types of political response. Ministry policy type was classified according to "regulatory" (instructions for school districts to integrate severely handicapped children into regular school programs) and "distributive" (guidelines to school districts for capital expenditure allocations). School district type was distinguished by school board partisanship and regional-metropolitan variants. Ultimately, three school districts were chosen for indepth investigation and comparative analysis.
This study may be regarded as an academic policy analysis using a multi-case study methodology. Based on interviews with key district office personnel and school trustees, along with document analysis and other evidence, the study yielded thick descriptions of the operational characteristics of each political response in action.

This study substantiated the proposition that political behaviour is characterized by certain patterns or regularities. However, while the "language" of organizational response proposed by Elkin (1975) provides insight and guidance for the study of intergovernmental relations, it does not appear to be comprehensive. Other district political responses come into play. Nevertheless, the findings of this study support Elkin's proposition that the political responses of local government organizations are closely associated with their dependency on environmental resources.

Application of the multi-case methodology in this research supports the contention of certain policy researchers that it is possible to combine intensity of study with comparative variations of key variables. The inter-disciplinary nature of this study, along with the systematic use of different kinds of definitions and the interactive opportunities associated with "on site" observation, were found to be very important and necessary features of this qualitative research.
The findings and conclusions suggest that research should be undertaken on other typologies of political influence which were identified in the course of this study. Incorporation of what organizational theorists refer to as "resource dependency theory," or "the political economy perspective" may aid in examining more comprehensively how school districts, as special purpose governments, adapt to provincial government authority.

The study concludes with speculations about the nature and usefulness of school district political responses within the context of local-provincial relations in education.
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This dissertation would not have been completed without the expertise, assistance and encouragement of others. Through this large-scale project, I have truly learned to appreciate the human dimensions of the research enterprise.

I am especially grateful to my research supervisor, Dr. Ian Housego, who shepherded this work to a meaningful conclusion. His wise counsel and high standards deserve emulation. My sincere thanks to members of my research committee, Dr. Dan Brown and Dr. Graham Kelsey, for their always helpful comments and prodigious patience.

Indeed, I wish to acknowledge my immense gratitude, through Dr. Jean Hills, to faculty members in the Department of Administrative, Adult and Higher Education at U.B.C. for teaching me how to think critically and to write and speak carefully.

My sincere thanks also to Dr. Jamie Wallin, Dr. Lorne Downey and Dr. Norman Robinson for their valuable assistance during various stages of this doctoral research. Marina Koskinen always provided cheerful encouragement.

A special thank you is due to members of the Political Science Department at U.B.C., Dr. Paul Tennant, Dr. Keith Banting and Dr. John Shiry for their insightful comments and stimulating perspectives.

My university examiners, Dr. William Griffith and Dr. Donald Fisher, provided stimulating questions and
displayed a wealth of knowledge on my research topic. To them, along with Dr. Donald Blake, Chairperson of my final examination, I extend my heartfelt thanks.

Dr. Richard Townsend, external examiner for this dissertation, has provided me with a rich storehouse of comments and questions for reflection and further study. I very much appreciate his deep interest in my study and will continue to hold his extensive scholarship in the highest regard.

I gratefully acknowledge the financial assistance provided by the Canada Council, the Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada and the University of British Columbia.

Appreciation is due to senior officials of the British Columbia Ministry of Education, notably Jim Carter, former Deputy Minister, Carl Daneliuk, and John Walsh, who provided me with short leaves of absence to write important segments of my dissertation.

I am very grateful to Dr. Dante Lupini, former Superintendent of Schools in School District No. 39 (Vancouver), for his support and expertise. At the same time, I wish to thank the three other Superintendents of Schools and, indeed, all school trustees and school district officials who served as respondents in my study.

The U.B.C. Computing Centre, and the Education Computing Centre, through Dr. Bob Bruce, deserve particular thanks. Bruce McGillivary, who assisted with copious typing in the
final stages of dissertation work, is owed a sincere thank you.

Dr. Barry Lucas kindly introduced me to a whole new body of policy literature and political inquiry. He is a masterful teacher.

School district colleagues, including school trustees, in School District No. 89 (Shuswap) are a wonderful group. Their sustained interest and intellectual curiosity are appreciated.

Friends, such as, Bob and Heather Taylor, Patricia Katcsma, Edith Winters, Sherry Newbold, Bob May, Peter Owen and Alan Nicholls, provided encouragement and assistance in getting this job done. I am particularly grateful to Seonagh Copeland, Basil and Rocky for their commitment, friendship and understanding during what proved to be an extensive project.

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents, Sofi and Frank Bartunek Sr., who taught me that hard work ultimately has a positive outcome.
CHAPTER ONE

THE BACKGROUND, PURPOSE AND NATURE OF THE STUDY

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

The literature and events of the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s in public administration, and its subfield of education, leave no doubt that these are turbulent times politically (Drucker, 1980; Drucker, 1990; Guthrie, 1981; Iannaccone, 1977; Mitchell, 1990; Mosher and Wagonner, 1978; Robinson, 1981; Sackney, 1984; Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Coombs and Thurston, 1980; Townsend, 1988). Observers of education as a social institution view the study of educational politics as important. There is a growing recognition, for example, that the development of skills and strategies for the management of political conflict is a mark of successful organization and leadership.

Political conflict between school districts and ministries of education in Canada reflects the turbulent mood of the times. Relations between these two orders of government have important effects on the course of public education. Yet our understanding of these relations, particularly the responses of local authorities to provincial government policies, is very limited. Deeper insights into the pattern of intergovernmental relations may
accrue from periodic studies of local government response.

The political responses of school districts towards ministry of education policies was chosen as the focus of this research study. In doing so, this research attempts to probe the nature or characteristic patterns of school district political response.

Increasingly it is recognized that difficult policy-decisions are being made in a new era of educational politics. This new era is characterized by confrontation and competition over the goals of education, resources, and the strategies for implementation of goals, and involves a broad mixture of political actors including governments, the public, and a variety of interest groups. Public education is situated in a highly politicized environment. Mitchell (1990:166) observes that professional educators and school policy-makers can draw upon three decades of increasingly sophisticated political research and analysis and, therefore, now appreciate "the essentially political character of public education."

Politicization is obvious in a variety of forms. There are, for example, demands from various interest groups for cost effectiveness, quality, and equity in the delivery of services. These demands involve certain consequences, including conflicts pertaining to the allocation of resources of all kinds, made the more intense because of "tough" economic conditions. Conflict within the public
service sector of education has intensified and has become more visible. At the same time, fewer consensual solutions and more politically negotiated kinds of settlements of educational issues seem to occur.

Robinson (1981:6), for example, in discussing the local level of education, observes that by the late 1970s in both Canada and the United States, teachers, students, school boards, parents, and citizens had all increased their political power at the expense of administrators. Robinson, moreover, notes that elections to school boards are being keenly contested by community groups representing diverse partisan interests. Such contests produce partisan boards; distinct groups of trustees may hold strong ideological views on issues. Thus, lay control affects crucially the political environment internal to school districts.

Public education, however, is not administered solely by school districts. The environment external to school districts, which includes the ministry of education and its policies, must also be considered in any examination of political response. Local political reactions may reflect deep-rooted issues, particularly with respect to social services requiring joint attention; such as, education.

Observers of educational governance, such as Guthrie (1981), Milstein (1976, 1980), Mosher (1975, 1977), and Thomas (1978), state that frequent conflicts occur over the appropriate roles of different levels of government in the
determination and implementation of policy, especially with respect to the locus of control. Thomas (1978:90) suggests that intergovernmental relationships today can be viewed as a matrix of functional policy areas which vary in importance, and not solely as a hierarchy of superior-subordinate ranking. Discussion of political response, moreover, is applicable to a variety of forms of intergovernmental relations in education [see Appendix A].

One Canadian province, British Columbia, served as the setting for this particular study. During the late 1970s and 1980s in British Columbia, a number of events appear to have had a bearing on intergovernmental relations within the Province. Prominent among these events were three large-scale studies: (i) a series of public forums held by the Minister of Education in 1981 to ascertain the state of public education and culminating in a set of recommendations entitled "Education — A Report from the Minister", (ii) the survey of the school system sponsored by the Education Ministry in 1986 and published as "Let's Talk About Schools — A Report to the Minister of Education and the People of British Columbia" and (iii) more recently, the Report of the Royal Commission on Education, conducted under the Inquiry Act of British Columbia and submitted to the Lieutenant Governor of British Columbia during July, 1988.

These studies were extensive. Each served to identify educational issues, to ascertain the state of
public reaction to educational services in British Columbia, and to assist in the formulation of recommendations to the senior level of government. School districts made representations to the various research teams during the course of these investigations. A major implication of these reports was the need to completely revise the School Act of British Columbia, unaltered substantially since 1958. This document, finally revised in 1989, reflects an important statutory basis for the web of relationships among the various authorities involved with public education.

Other events include the integration of handicapped children into regular school classrooms, adjustments in the formula for provincial-local cost-sharing, and provincial measures associated with financial restraint. Also, sweeping legislative changes introduced in 1987 now place the regulation of the teaching profession under a College of Teachers and provide for an expanded scope of teacher-school board collective bargaining. Such provincial initiatives have an impact on intergovernmental relations and invite political responses by local education authorities. In a contemporary way, they also serve as a backdrop to the purpose of this study and the nature of the problem.
PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

The public school systems in Canada's provinces are administered by two types of government. One type is represented by the ministries of education. The other is controlled by local school boards or county councils. The inclination of researchers has been to focus on one or the other of these types (Awender, 1979). Relations between the ministry and school districts or counties remain largely unexplored. As a result, literature on this topic is scarce.

This study addressed a largely unexplored topic. It focussed on the political responses of certain types of school districts in British Columbia to selected provincial education policies.

Theodore Lowi (1964, 1972) suggests that there are distinctive patterns of political activity generated by different types of policy. He argues for increased research on the subject of different "arenas of power", or policy environments. This study addressed Lowi's proposition in creating and applying a scheme or framework for understanding certain facets of intergovernmental behaviour in British Columbia.

Using this framework, the main purpose of the study was to describe the nature of the political responses of selected school districts to different policies of the Ministry of Education in British Columbia over nearly a three year period, August, 1978 to June, 1981. A particular
typology of six political responses was chosen for analysis: coalition, socialization of the conflict, setting up or making use of a supraorganization, exchange [negotiation], co-optation and penetration.

Two policies of the Ministry of Education were selected for study: (i) the integration of handicapped children into regular schools; and (ii) the funding of capital expenditure projects in school districts. The first is typical of a "regulatory" form of policy. The second represents a "distributive" type of policy.

Three urban school districts were included in the study. Two of the districts are situated in the metropolitan Vancouver area. The third school district is located on Vancouver Island. These school districts represent three types of local authority in education: partisan metropolitan, non-partisan metropolitan, and non-partisan and non-metropolitan (Bartunek, 1981).

The study also had three secondary purposes. These pertained to the empirical investigation of one typology of political response, the construction and application of a conceptual framework, and the conduct of research using a "multi-case" mode of inquiry.

The empirical purpose involved an examination or "test" of the usefulness of a particular set of political response categories proposed by Elkin (1975). His categories were derived theoretically and had not been investigated
empirically. The question was, would they be useful for describing local political responses in the context or environment of ministry of education and school district relationships? An in-depth field study of one large metropolitan Vancouver school district undertaken prior to this research, but in conjunction with it, suggested their use might be worthwhile (Bartunek, 1979).

The conceptual purpose was to delimit the study using a three dimensional construct of policy types, types of school district, and types of political response.

Furthermore, a multi-case approach, involving case studies of three different types of school district, was chosen for the purpose of describing the differences in the pattern of political responses, if any, across different types of school districts to the two respective types of provincial policies.

In addition to these research purposes, other reasons for undertaking this study were that: (i) most studies of policy types have focussed on policy formulation, not policy consequences or political response (Shiry, 1976; Simeon, 1976; Wilson, 1981) and (ii) while some valuable research has been conducted on general intergovernmental relations in Canada, particularly federal-provincial affairs (Simeon, 1976; Wilson, 1979; Ivany and Manley-Casimir, 1981), there is a dearth of work on this topic from a political response perspective.
NATURE OF THE PROBLEM

The history of relations between local authorities and central governments in education predates Confederation. These relations, like the interactions among governmental authorities in jurisdictions other than education, often have proven to be intricate and uncertain. Awender (1979:609) observes that "one of the major dilemmas confronting Canadians throughout most of their history has been that of intergovernmental relations." Historically, the political arena in British Columbia has provided many issues of contention.

Periodic attempts by the Ministry of Education to consolidate school districts, disagreements over what should constitute appropriate curriculum standards, and regular demands by school districts for greater local autonomy serve as examples. Ungerleider (1987:135), for example, observes that educational finance and "the proper relationship" between provincial and local authorities in education "have been two inextricable issues since the early years of this century in British Columbia."

From a political perspective, school districts and provincial ministries of education are often locked in a struggle over issues with respect to power-sharing, finance, and the execution of a host of educational responsibilities.
and functions. The participants in this struggle have a stake in the outcomes of the various issues. They probe the character of intergovernmental issues in an attempt to understand and control the struggle because they have a practical stake in doing so.

The student of intergovernmental relations also has a stake — an analytical one — in understanding the character of practical and theoretical issues. This analytical interest invites certain broader questions. For example, do governments really comprehend the nature and scope of the intergovernmental relationships from which many educational issues arise? Assuming not, for lack of evidence, then ancillary questions are as follows: What kinds of conceptual perspectives or approaches might be useful for understanding intergovernmental relations? And subsequently, what kinds of intergovernmental research might be undertaken? Such questions were asked early during the course of general literature reviews of the subject and assisted in the development of the study.

The real impetus for these questions, however, stemmed from the concentrated media attention on local-provincial issues during the late 1970s in the Province of British Columbia. In this observer's view, school district-Ministry of Education relations appeared to be much more intense and fractious in British Columbia than in the provinces of Manitoba and Ontario, two provinces where the
observer had resided and conducted general educational research prior to emigrating to British Columbia. School districts in British Columbia appeared to be constantly duelling with the Provincial Government on a broad range of intergovernmental issues.

As a result of these early observations and continued interest in the local responses of school districts to provincial government policies, an in-depth case study of the Vancouver School District was undertaken to gain further insight into the character of local-provincial relations in education. This field study, involving all senior, central office administrators in School District No. 39 (Vancouver) and the Vancouver Board of School Trustees, was also meant to serve as the basis for a later, more focussed study. Results of this single case study assisted in the formulation of clearer purposes for further research.

DELIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The complexity of intergovernmental relations in education, and the analytical approach of this study necessitated that certain restrictions be placed on the scope of this research. Selection of the three different types of school districts in the Province of British Columbia was determined according to partisan and
metropolitan criteria. The two Ministry of Education policies, integration of the handicapped and the funding of capital expenditure projects, were chosen over other potential policies for analysis. Alternate typologies of political response, as outlined in Chapter Two, might have been employed in this research. Elkin's typology, however, was chosen because it was most suggestive of the means by which local authorities manage their interdependence with respect to other organizations.

The methodology used to conduct this research was the "multi-case approach", sometimes referred to in the literature as the comparative case approach. The choice of this approach resulted in "thick descriptive data" which gave rise to insights into the patterns of intergovernmental relationships. At the same time, the applicability of the results to other provinces remains limited. This limitation is due to the qualitative nature of the research methodology and to the selection of only three districts, all in one Canadian province, as the sample for this study.

Three "intervening factors" should be considered in any replication: (i) the three year time frame of this study, August 1978 to June 1981, (ii) the dynamic changes in British Columbia education subsequent to this period, and (iii) the use of triangulation, in the form of a variety of data, requiring intensive analysis and, correspondingly, an extensive commitment of time.
OVERVIEW OF THE DISSERTATION

The dissertation is divided into nine chapters. Chapter One sets the context of the study, the purpose of the study, the nature of the problem, delimitations, and the organization of the dissertation.

Chapter Two provides an understanding of key concepts and in related literature. It emphasizes the concept of political response (Elkin, 1975) in intergovernmental relations and related variables such as policy type (Lowi, 1964, 1972), and type of school district. Furthermore, it provides certain insights into the notion of policy impact, an abstract concept important to understanding the association amongst policy, school district and political response type.

Using these variables, Chapter Three presents a scheme for examining intergovernmental relations and conducting research of political response within the intergovernmental arena. This chapter also lists the research questions, summarizes the procedures used for sample selection and data collection, and discusses the method used to analyze the data.

Chapters Four to Eight inclusive provide findings and discuss the various political responses of the different types of school district, (i) partisan metropolitan, (ii)
non-partisan metropolitan and (iii) non-partisan and non-metropolitan. The use of these responses is associated with the Provincial Government policies of integrating handicapped children into regular schools and capital expenditure funding. Particular attention is paid to providing descriptions of Elkin's categories of political response in action. Introductory comments, findings and discussion, including certain conclusions pertaining to the individual responses are provided in each of the chapters.

Chapter Nine of the dissertation summarizes the findings, presents the conclusions of the study, and discusses certain implications for research and practice.

In a supplementary way, the appendices support and expand upon certain aspects of the study.
CHAPTER TWO

POLICY TYPES, POLITICAL RESPONSE AND SCHOOL DISTRICTS:
A REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

This chapter presents a review of the literature relevant to the dissertation topic. The multi-faceted nature of local-provincial relations leads to the discussion of interrelated concepts such as types of policy, types of political response and types of affected school districts. Together and individually, these concepts assist in probing for the characteristics of school district political response to Ministry of Education policies. In what follows in this chapter, each of these major concepts is addressed and defined for the purposes of the dissertation.

TYPES OF POLICY

A classification scheme devised by Lowi (1964, 1972) suggests a relationship between public policies and their consequences. What inspired Lowi in the early 1960s to formulate a typology of political activity was the apparent disorder and inconclusiveness of predominant approaches to political study. Lowi (1964) questioned the suitability of political case studies, done up to this point in the United
States. The political case studies he surveyed exhibited "discrete facts" rather than "cumulative" elements which would facilitate a comparative analysis of cases. Lowi proposed a scheme for cumulating, comparing, contrasting, and generalizing about the findings of political case studies. This classification scheme is based upon the following argument (Lowi, 1964: 688):

(1) The types of relationships to be found among people are determined by their expectations — by what they hope to achieve or get from relating to others. (2) In politics, expectations are determined by governmental outputs or policies. (3) Therefore, a political relationship is determined by the type of policy at stake, so that for every type of policy there is likely to be a distinctive type of political relationship.

Public policies, for Lowi, are defined in relation to their impact or perceived impact on society. Accordingly, Lowi formulated certain categories of public policy. He hypothesized that different policies correspond to different government activities or arenas of power. This point of view has since been accepted by Adie and Thomas (1982); Shiry (1977); Simeon (1976); and Wilson (1978, 1981). Lowi suggested that each arena is characterized by disparate patterns of political activity. In other words, each type of policy constitutes a different "policy prism." These policy types or prisms serve as indicators of ensuing political activity with varying degrees of clarity and precision.

A comprehensive analysis of Lowi's work undertaken
by Shiry (1977) found that "regulatory" and "distributive" types of policies appear to be most useful for research purposes. These two indicators of consequent political activity, according to Shiry, are "narrower in their impact" and hence have more precision (Shiry, 1977: 84).

Rather than providing succinct definitions of the different policy types, Lowi essentially describes the meaning of each of his policy types in relation to each other. By choosing to define the types only in relation to each other, he leaves their individual meaning unclear. Other shortcomings of the Lowi typology are cited by Harman (1978:17): "(1) not all the categories are logically exclusive, and (2) there are empirical difficulties because the policy types are expressed in non-quantitative terms."

In the opinion of this writer, the shortcomings stated by Harman are not major ones. Survey research of the quantitative kind advocated by Harman may not have uncovered the complexity of political behaviour found through the case study mode of investigation used in this research.

A more significant problem is the lack of clarity in each of Lowi's policy types. Secondary sources were consulted, therefore, in order to describe more fully the meaning and usage of regulatory and distributive policies.

Makielski (1980: 27), for example, notes the following differences between regulatory and distributive policies:
Regulatory policies are designed to control behaviour. Frequently they are attempts to prevent behaviours that are considered to be economically or socially dangerous .... Some regulatory policies may actually be aimed at protecting what is considered to be an important interest. Land use zoning, for instance, can preserve the quality of residential neighbourhoods .... The original justification for regulating the airways was to prevent one radio station's programmes from drowning out another's.

Distributive policies are those which provide direct (and usually economic) benefits to a group. Government subsidies, whether to farmers, corporations, cities, school districts, or hospitals, are the most common examples.

The value of Lowi's typology is that it directs the attention of the political researcher to patterns of political activity resulting from policy decisions. In referring to policy consequences, or outcomes based on a classification of policy types, Lowi stresses that it is not only the actual outcomes, but the expectations as to what the outcomes can be, that shape the issues and determine their politics (Lowi, 1964: 707). This emphasis on expectations and consequences underlines Lowi's preoccupation with the concept of policy impact.

What may appear as a simple concept dealing with the effects of public policy actually represents a complex political process. Grumm (1975: 443) describes the variety of meanings inherent in the policy impact process as follows:
"Impact" can be a very broad term, indeed, and one that can have many aspects and dimensions. On a temporal dimension, impact can be felt immediately, or in the short run, or in the long run. In terms of stages or phases, it could be primary, secondary, or tertiary, and so on. Impact may be direct, or indirect, latent or manifest, intended or unintended. It may be regarded in respect to its effect on individuals, groups, society, the physical environment, the structure of the political system, inputs to the system, or subsequent policy outputs of the system.

As a result, policy decisions of a provincial government may have wide-ranging political effects on local government. One impact of a ministry of education policy within a school district, for example, may be the wholehearted implementation of it. On the other hand, in another school district it may evoke resistance and result in minimal compliance. A degree of order can be imposed on our understanding of policy-related problems if "impact" is viewed as a pattern of political happenings emanating from a policy decision or output (Grumm, 1975: 443).

Dye (1978) and Sharkansky (1970) advocate that the concepts of economic and political impact, as understood in financial relations between governments, be considered in the study of policy impact generally. The application of the concept of impact (as it is used in revenue-sharing, for example) to intergovernmental relations in education is especially apt, since most provincial education policies have financial overtones, if they are not altogether financial in nature.
Certain political aspects or dimensions of financial impact appear then to have an application to the political responses of local education authorities. The following ones, suggested by Juster (1977), are noteworthy:

(1) examination of the various political issues raised by general revenue-sharing, (2) the extent to which state and local government officials supported or opposed the programme, (3) the assessment of state and local government officials of the impact of revenue-sharing on local politics and decision-making, (4) their views about the consequences of revenue-sharing for intergovernmental relations, and (5) their preferences for adjusting the revenue-sharing programme in the years ahead.

Understanding the political complexities of intergovernmental relations as outlined by Juster may be facilitated if the researcher concentrates on respective portions of this broad subject for analysis. This being the approach taken in this study, it was thought that clarity in the formulation of research questions and the research endeavour overall might better be kept under control. Hawley and Lipsky (1976: 3), furthermore, note:

There has been very little research on the political consequences of intergovernmental relationships, and even less has been done to conceptualize the nature of these relationships so that a framework in which they might be analyzed parsimoniously can be developed.

The concept of policy impact, if left loosely defined, is suggestive of other possible kinds of political
activities such as those strictly internal to school districts and policy implementation. Therefore, the term "impact" as used in this study is defined more categorically. It refers to the nature of the types of political response used by three school districts with respect to selected policies of the Ministry of Education. It does not focus on political activity internal to these districts often associated with policy implementation.

The concept of policy impact suggests that classification or categorization generally would be an appropriate analytical tool for identifying and describing political interaction between governments. The classification of policies according to type, for example, is regarded by many policy researchers as an important element for the analysis of policies and their impact (Adie and Thomas, 1982; Hayes, 1981; Lowi, 1964, 1972; Salisbury and Heinz, 1970; Shiry, 1977; Simeon, 1976; Wilson, 1978, 1981).

According to the perspective outlined above, policies determine politics. The policy impact notion of the policy process is an alternative to the conventional view where political behaviour is seen to determine policy. Investigation of the meaning of "impact" was helpful in distinguishing different policy types -- regulatory and distributive, and the various possible outcomes or consequences; such as, "political response."
TYPES OF POLITICAL RESPONSE

As noted earlier, the political reactions of school districts to provincial education policies serve as the focal point of this study. A basic premise of this research is that public policies have a political impact. Policies can and often do stimulate responses from the organizations to which they directly apply, as well as to other organizations in the environment. Easton (1965: 127) considers it vital "to trace out the consequences of these outputs as they affect the environment" if there is to be a comprehensive understanding of policy relationships. This study has attempted to accomplish this objective.

The concept of impact presented by Grumm (1975) and Lowi (1964, 1972) characterizes intergovernmental relations as a stimulus-response relationship. For example, if ministry policy is viewed as the stimulus, school district reaction is the response. This notion of stimulus and response is referred to by Evan (1972: 78) as applicable to interorganizational study, of which intergovernmental relations is, of course, a special case. Evan notes that the pattern of research in organization behaviour has been exactly the reverse of the stimulus-response variety found, for example, in behaviouristic psychology.

Evan suggests that the study of interorganizational relations should start with the assumption that
organizations function as "open systems" which necessarily engage in various kinds of exchange with their respective environments. Such open systems are analogous to living organisms. The need to focus on human behaviour or activities motivated by forces outside or external to the organism has long been a premise of research in social psychology. Skinner (1965: 42) underlines this need as follows:

The practice of looking inside the organism for an explanation of behaviour has tended to obscure the variables which are immediately available for a scientific analysis. These variables lie outside the organism, in its immediate environment and in its environmental history .... These independent variables are of many sorts, and their relations to behaviour are often subtle and complex, but we cannot hope to give an adequate account of behaviour without analyzing them.

This analogy may be used in relation to governmental organization. Public policies can be viewed as responses to perceived stressful conditions in the environment of the political authority issuing the public policy. Public policies, however, no matter how well intentioned, often create new situations of stress. Those authorities or local governments responsible for implementation appear to perceive the stress most acutely. Thus, the belief is that internal responses of particular organizations can be explained by stimuli from outside the organization.

Intergovernmental relations are sometimes referred
to as "the hidden dimension of government" (Awender, 1979). This view may have been widespread in the past. The growing interdependence of organizations suggests that intergovernmental relations, and other forms of interorganizational activity, are becoming increasingly visible. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978: 92), for example, state that as a consequence of the growing interdependence of organizations, organizations make more demands on each other in order to obtain a degree of control over each other's activities. The objective for doing so, according to these writers, is to predictably meet or protect thereby the needs and interests of each.

The essence of the argument so far concerning political response is as follows: The concept of policy type, and its inherent notion of impact, assist in viewing the complexity of political relationships associated with intergovernmental relations. Political influence is the general means by which governmental organizations attempt to control their interdependence. The mutual exchange of influence is analogous to a stimulus-response relationship among living organisms. Local response, in the form of political influence, is exerted on the Ministry of Education either when school districts are reluctant or unable to comply with ministry policies (the stimuli), or else when they wish to affect the distribution of provincial benefits (Bartunek, 1979, 1981a, 1981b).
The manner in which school districts respond to ministry policies is important. It has been found, for example, that organizations which are constantly subjected to successful influence attempts by external organizations place themselves in situations where their long term survival is threatened (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978: 95). In order to protect their autonomy and to reduce constraints, the local school district may take actions to influence reciprocally the objectives and demands of the central authority.

Influence is a fundamental element in the process of political interaction between individuals and groups. It occurs in transactions or exchanges which have behavioural consequences. Picus (1991) suggests that a routine purpose of intergovernmental grant instruments is to steer recipients to some desired behaviour or outcome. Picus observes, for example, that the State of California during the 1980s successfully enacted a series of incentive programmes designed to encourage school districts to allocate increased resources toward instructional expenditures. In this case example implementation decisions were left up to the recipients rather than to state specifications. Thus, intergovernmental grants were embedded effectively in the school funding formula to stimulate desired local action.

Similarly, case study findings on the politics of
public school choice during the era of educational reform in Minnesota found that legislators can exert significant leverage on the restructuring of public schools (Mazzoni, 1991). This research suggests that intergovernmental political influence occurs within a spectrum of different policy arenas. The arenas possess unique characteristics and may be essentially stable or alternately unstable and dynamic. Mazzoni adds that powerful influence strategies are available to top-level officials to buttress their persistent efforts at personal persuasion.

Given that modern organizations exist in a complex environment composed of other organizations, norms and situational factors, it follows that there will be a certain degree of interdependence between organizations and related environmental characteristics. Hodge and Anthony (1979:62) refer to this interdependence as environmental interface, in that the organization will establish linkages with the environment in order to maintain a degree of openness between the organization and its environment. Linkages and political responses, however, are not synonymous terms. Linkages, for purposes of this study, are deemed to be constituent parts of political responses.

In discussing linkages, Hodge and Anthony (1979:62), moreover, suggest the following important consideration:

The organization must decide which mechanisms and processes it will use to interface with its
environment and the extent to which the interface shall function. For example, the organization must decide such practical issues as ... Who should provide the organization with information on customer/client needs and satisfaction, and how shall it be provided? ... And how shall the organization interact with government regulatory agencies?

Townsend (1971) in a study of school board policy-making in Chicago, noted that the work on interorganizational analysis by Thompson and McEwan (1958) might be used as an alternative conceptualization for describing school system politics. This alternative suggests that conflict and collaboration between organizations can involve the strategic use of various types of interaction such as coalition, co-optation, bargaining and competition (Townsend, 1971:263). Moreover, in an earlier study, Tennant (1962) studied the degree and means of school board influence on the Government of British Columbia. Tennant's study identified certain direct and indirect means by which school boards enlisted support for local influence. This study also discussed political responses used in selected areas of educational administration. The political responses of one type of educational authority to another may be thought of as ways in which organizations exert influence.

A search of the literature resulted in the identification of several typologies of organizational influence. Four such sets are outlined in Figure 1. These typologies of organizational influence are briefly
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<tr>
<td>Reward</td>
<td>Coalition</td>
<td>Problem-Solving</td>
<td>Education/Communication</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coercion</td>
<td>Co-optation</td>
<td>Persuasion</td>
<td>Participation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Expertness</td>
<td>Exchange</td>
<td>Bargaining</td>
<td>Facilitation and Support</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legitimacy</td>
<td>Penetration</td>
<td>Coercion</td>
<td>Negotiation</td>
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<tr>
<td>Identification</td>
<td>Socialization of the Conflict</td>
<td></td>
<td>Co-optation</td>
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<td>Setting Up or Making Use of a Supraorganization</td>
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<td>Manipulation</td>
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<td>Coercion</td>
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**Figure 1**

Select Typologies of Organizational Influence
summarized in Appendix B. Two of the four typologies have been tested empirically (Heskett, 1972; Scharpf, Reissert, and Schnabel, 1978). The set described by Heskett (1972), for example, has been applied to a major American study of intergovernmental relations in education (Milstein, 1976). This particular typology is sometimes referred to as power bases (French and Raven, 1959; Freisen, 1975).

The two other sets of organizational influence (Elkin, 1975; Kotter, Schlesinger, and Sathe, 1979), do not yet appear to have been investigated empirically. Both have elements in them which correspond to the empirically investigated typologies. This suggests perhaps the importance of these elements and their prevalence in practice.

Elkin's typology of political response stemmed from his research in comparative urban politics, particularly local government in England and the United States. He noted, for example, that local governments in England were more dependent for resources on the central authority or national government than were their American counterparts on state or national governments. In this respect, he provided the following observations:

The degree of bargaining varies, as does the degree of dependence, and so a variety of types of relationship are present, running from the use of intricate strategies to extract resources which attempt to draw in attentive publics, to insulated routinized patterns, where the professional
relationships of civil servants dominate the proceedings.

Elkin's objective was to formulate certain concepts in order to enable a better analysis of the differences he discovered in comparative urban politics. He acknowledged that organizations such as local governments have what he calls "defined geographic competency", which here is taken to mean legitimate authority within given boundaries. He maintained that much of what is interesting about local governments was situated outside of the organizational boundaries (Elkin, 1975: 162). In this sense, Elkin shared the point of view of Evan (1972), Pfeffer and Salancik (1978) and Tennant (1962).

Elkin supported his call for the use of more specific concepts to analyze interorganizational or intergovernmental relations by also observing the following shortcomings in present approaches:

It is also worth noting that at present systems approaches in urban politics are unsatisfactory because the conceptualization is often at so high a level of generality that in practice concepts seem to be headings for a lengthy list of variables and little else. Such system theorists start with concepts whose scope is so broad as to encompass an enormous range of empirical exigencies which means that the concepts lack any cutting edge.

Elkin advocated the following concepts for the study of intergovernmental relations: coalition, socialization of
the conflict, setting up or making use of a supraorganization, exchange (negotiation), co-optation, and penetration [see Figure 2]. Elkin predicted the usefulness of these concepts for understanding reciprocal influences within a network of governmental organizations. He concurred with Thompson who suggested earlier that each of the organizations in this kind of network has a domain, or sphere of competence, which it seeks to protect or expand (Thompson, 1967).

Elkin suggested that the local organization which serves as the focus of study in the interorganizational network has a range of available strategies by which to manage its dependence on other organizations (Elkin, 1975: 174). In addition to providing "a language" for the understanding of some of the basic problems of comparative politics, Elkin also took note of other characteristics of local authorities, such as, the political culture, the presence of political parties, and the classification of local authorities as "city" or "metropolitan" in type. Such characteristics, specifically the classification of the local school board as partisan or non-partisan in membership and the school district as metropolitan or non-metropolitan, are also taken into consideration in this research. A prime reason for doing so was, in conjunction with other factors, to ascertain the differences, if any, among districts.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLITICAL RESPONSE</th>
<th>DEFINITION (Elkin, 1975)</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COALITION</td>
<td>refers to attempts by the focal organization to join with others, for example, to make the provision of some resource more predictable.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT</td>
<td>is an attempt to widen the scope of conflict by involving previously uninvolved parties, who, hopefully will alter the balance of opinion and resources facing the organization dispensing the resource.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SETTING UP OR MAKING USE OF A SUPRAORGANIZATION</td>
<td>refers to the attempt by the focal organization to shift the arena of decision to one in which it is more favoured. This may be done by shifting the decision to an already existing organization in which the focal actor and the other organization are &quot;members&quot; or working towards setting up such an arena.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO-OPTATION</td>
<td>refers to attempts by the focal organization to incorporate into its own decision-making structure the organization on whom it is dependent so as to assure regular support for its activities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCHANGE</td>
<td>occurs when the focal organization attempts to bargain with the organization on whom it is dependent. Each may offer an increase in some resource or an increase in the reliability of its provision.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PENETRATION</td>
<td>refers to attempts by the focal organization to penetrate the organization on whom it is dependent, usually by trying to introduce some of its personnel into the latter. This is the reverse of co-optation.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2
The Elkin Typology
Additional reasons for using the Elkin typology are available. For example, this typology does not appear to have been applied empirically to the study of intergovernmental relations in education. Moreover, several of Elkin's organizational responses were found to be present in the in-depth case study of intergovernmental relations involving School District No. 39 (Vancouver) which was conducted by the author prior to this particular research (Bartunek, 1979). This finding added weight to the potential utility of these political responses.

That preliminary study of one local authority in education resulted in the following queries: Do school districts, other than the one in the preliminary study, use political responses, such as, those reflected in the Elkin typology? If so, what are the operational characteristics of such responses? Would the political responses of school districts categorized according to different partisan and metropolitan types be similar or different with respect to regulatory and distributive policies? And what might these patterns of political activity look like? This dissertation attempts to answer these questions.

Before establishing a scheme for the classification of school districts according to partisan and metropolitan variants, it is acknowledged that other categories of impact may be formulated; such as, political activity internal to school districts and their implementation profiles. However,
it should be kept in mind that the study of political response is the focus of this research. The other two categories of impact are not emphasized analytically.

It should be understood that the concept of impact used in this research is behavioural in nature. The different categories of possible impact -- political response, internal politics, and policy implementation -- may be highly interrelated in practice. In this study, however, certain analytical distinctions have been drawn to focus on the description of one category of policy outcomes or consequences, political response.

A major difference exists, for example, between types of political response and policy implementation. Policy implementation is oriented to the internal environment of school districts and refers to ways in which school districts attempt to execute or install ministry of education policies. Political response, on the other hand, may or may not be oriented to the execution of ministry policies. This concept refers to how local districts generally reacted to features of the external environment. This reaction is contingent upon the respective states of their internal environments and assessments of opportunities and constraints in the external environment.

Classification of school districts according to type, moreover, assists in examining political responses under differing conditions of local governance. Also of
interest is whether school districts expressed their responses to ministry policies similarly or differently.

TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT

In an extensive review of intergovernmental studies, Rhodes (1981) cautions that the literature on the topic of interorganizational analysis reveals certain limitations of the interorganizational approach. According to Rhodes (1981:88), the literature of interorganizational analysis rarely explores the consequences of interdependent behaviour, particularly the use of strategies for policy making, but rather tends to be concerned with variations in the patterns of interaction for their own sake.

To counter the apparent weakness of interorganizational analysis for policy studies, Rhodes (1981:88) emphasizes the need to incorporate consideration of what Perrow (1972:199) refers to as the "figure", or the interactions of organizations, as well as the "ground", or the values and the distribution of power within an organization. The importance of "ground" for understanding intergovernmental relations is underlined by Simeon (1976). In his study of policy-making within Canadian federalism, contextual factors such as the interests brought to bear on the policy process and the wider environment are considered to be important determinants of interactions.

Rhodes (1981:90), however, underlines the point that
the literature on intergovernmental relations may be unsuccessful to date in reconciling the analysis of the context with the analysis of interactions. Nonetheless, Rhodes (1981:90) maintains that the literature on intergovernmental relations demonstrates that the link between ground and figure is essential to any attempt at explaining interactions and their consequences for policy.

Iannaccone and Lutz (1974:29) state that educational governance can be viewed from the perspective of the ideological and demographic dimensions of political subcultures such as school districts, or what Perrow and Rhodes refer to as the "ground". If educational governance is viewed from this perspective, according to Iannaccone and Lutz, then major differences exist in the political behaviour of urban and non-urban school districts. Differences, of course, can also exist within both categories of district. The struggle for local control of education in metropolitan areas, for example, is generally regarded as being different from that in urban areas. One characteristic difference is the evidence of local civic (partisan) political parties in some metropolitan school districts of Canada.

The significance of the term "metropolitan" also bears examination. For purposes of this study, it is deemed to be a very large and densely populated urban area, comprised of several distinct communities and a number of
different local governments. This meaning of the term closely resembles, but is not synonymous with, the geographic boundaries and jurisdiction of the regional district form of government in British Columbia and elsewhere in Canada. A functional description presented by Norton Long (1973: 36-37) is instructive:

... In large measure, the metropolitan area is a kind of natural governmental ecology in which institutions, groups and governments have developed a system of largely unintended cooperation through which things get done and the area considered as a system functions. The owls and the field mice, the oaks and the acorns, the flora and the fauna of the woodlot have worked over time a most effective system of unintended cooperation that, barring catastrophe, preserves and maintains a systemic balance, though one that evolves over time. By and large, we accept a similar system of unintended cooperation for running our economy. ... The metropolitan area as a system for handling common problems is a going concern. The rather considerable problems of very large populations living under great diversity of governments have been managed.

Local civic political parties (other times referred to in the literature as civic action movements) in Canadian education are particularly a metropolitan phenomenon (Williams, 1977:3). Such civic parties attempt to mobilize public support by sponsoring a slate of candidates to school board office. These civic parties tend to display ideological differences (Neilsen and Robinson, 1980). For purposes of this study, therefore, school districts with local party representation on the school board are referred
to as partisan in nature. Other school districts are regarded as non-partisan.

Peterson (1974:350) and Williams (1977:3) state that school board members do not tend to be elected because of their affiliation with political parties, and seldom claim to represent a particular segment or group within the community. Research in the politics of Canadian education, however, shows that school board elections are not completely non-partisan. Work by Williams and others (1977:3) on educational governance in metropolitan Toronto found the following characteristics pertaining to the struggle for local control: (i) in some localities the political party network did play a major, though low profile, role in school board election campaigns; (ii) school board candidates did not avoid existing political party machinery; and (iii) in several locales, according to Williams (1977:3), notably Toronto, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Montreal, "citizen-action movements" actively campaign for their candidates' election to school board office.

The involvement of civic political parties, or citizen-action movements, makes for a partisan struggle among competing ideologies and groups. The objective of each of these political groups is to win local control of education. This competition raises the question whether the partisan or non-partisan basis of the struggle for local control in metropolitan communities is reflected in school
district relations with the ministry of education.

An awareness of the distinction between "figure" and "ground", where "ground" is classified according to different types of school district, assists in addressing this research question. The types of school district of interest to this study are illustrated in Figure 3. There are four such types: (i) partisan metropolitan, (ii) non-partisan metropolitan, (iii) partisan and non-metropolitan and (iv) non-partisan and non-metropolitan.

As previously stated, the notion of intergovernmental relations assumes a certain interdependence. The school district, as a dependent organization and governmental unit, is embedded in a larger system of governments. Yet Bacharach (1982:20) in discussing the interorganizational and political dimensions of school districts suggests that researchers are unclear whether to "analyze" the organization as a whole, as a composite of individuals, or as a composite of groups.

Viewing the school district as a composite of groups, the approach chosen for this research is preferable according to Bacharach (1982:20), since an approach to the organization as an harmonious whole assumes that organizations are rational systems of interdependent units "functionally held together by a common goal." At the same time, the individual level of analysis, specified through the approach of loosely coupled systems, is deemed to be
### Figure 3

Types of School District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Metropolitan</th>
<th>Non-Metropolitan</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partisan</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Non-Partisan</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Ideological Posture</td>
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deficient by Bacharach (1981:21), since "there is a tendency to overemphasize the chaotic nature of action in organizations."

Examination of the actions of what Bacharach refers to as "collectivities of individuals within an organization or the organization as a composite of groups is preferred for the above reasons." Another reason is that the potential of the group approach has not been fully developed. Bacharach (1982:22) underlines his faith in the research potential of the group perspective of school districts as follows:

... A third alternative that focusses on the group best reflects the realities of school district governance and administration, while taking into account the holistic and individualistic perspectives. What is needed is an approach to school districts that affords the researcher the opportunity: to adopt a holistic but integrated view of the school district; to use concepts that are amenable to comparative analysis; to examine the interorganizational and intraorganizational aspects ...; and to emphasize the dynamics of organizational process.

This chapter has presented a review of the literature on certain fundamental variables or features of intergovernmental relations. The review determined that intergovernmental relations is multi-faceted in nature, comprised of types of policy, types of political response and types of affected school district. Moreover, it assisted in providing an understanding of the theoretical basis of
political response. Further exploration of the political responses of local education authorities to the provincial level of government may provide new insights into the political consequences of policy decisions.

Chapter Three describes the conduct of the inquiry. It outlines the conceptual framework of the study, the research questions, and the research design.
CHAPTER THREE

THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK, RESEARCH QUESTIONS
AND RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter consists of three major components. They are the conceptual framework which outlines the association among certain variables and dimensions, the research questions which guide the study, and the research methodology. Definitions of key terms used in this study follow the conceptual framework. Several considerations are presented with respect to research methodology. These include a description of how the sample of three school districts was chosen, an overview of the "multi-case" methodology, data collection, and a summary of the means used to analyze data.

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Policy type, type of political response, and type of school district were chosen as the main variables in this research study, preliminary to data collection and analysis. Through repeated inspections of the data and further analysis, these variables assisted in maintaining a focus on
the identification, description and comparison of political response characteristics as shown in Figure 4.

In turn, aspects of these variables served as classificatory labels for data analysis and description. For example, policy is differentiated according to two types — regulatory and distributive. The types of political response are those found in the Elkin typology. At the same time, four possible types of school district were distinguished: (i) partisan metropolitan, (ii) partisan non-metropolitan, (iii) non-partisan metropolitan, (iv) non-partisan and non-metropolitan. Subsequent research, however, determined that there were no instances of the partisan non-metropolitan school district in British Columbia.

As this study is exploratory and descriptive in nature, one representative case of each of the three remaining types of school district was selected for analysis. Of most interest for purposes of this study, however, was the variable, political response. Consequently, the construction of "expanded definitions" for the six types of political response assisted greatly in obtaining descriptions of the nature or operational characteristics of each political response.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

The vocabulary of public policy and politics is often characterized by a wide range of possible meanings.
FIGURE 4
Conceptual Framework
Definitions, therefore, are provided for terms fundamental to this study so as to establish their meaning and ensure consistency of use. Several different kinds of definitions assisted in the conduct of this study: lexical or constitutive, denotative, theoretical, statutory or legal, and the formal, expanded variety. The constitutive definitions which immediately follow, according to Dunn (1981:283), give meaning to terms by using other synonymous words. This kind of definition is most frequently found in dictionaries. It is informal or suggestive and reflects a connative form of meaning using the simplest or shortest means for identifying or explaining the matter to be defined (Hayakawa, 1978:53).

An expanded definition, on the other hand, is a type of formal definition. It provides the class, group, or category in which the term belongs, as well as the distinctive characteristics which distinguish the term from other members of the particular class (Weisman, 1975:202-203). This kind of definition resembles the scientific process of classification. It frames the meaning of the term to be defined by listing qualities, making comparisons, and/or itemizing elements or components (Weisman, 1975:203). The formal, expanded definitions constructed in the course of this study for each of the six political responses are an outcome of systematic classification of empirical data. They are found at the beginning of each of the
subsequent chapters; that is, Chapters 4 through 8 of this dissertation. These respective definitions are also summarized in Chapter 9 of the study.

Certain constitutive definitions necessary to the conduct of this study follow:

Policy

This term denotes the expression by government of an authoritative stance which structures a future course of action in relation to certain problem situations.

Policy Impact

It is a term increasingly used in policy analysis and research to connote a host of consequences, either anticipated or unanticipated, emanating from a policy decision. In this study it refers to the following particular kind of consequence or impact:

Political response. A type of political behaviour or course of action used by an organization to react to its external environment. In this study the types of political response which serve as the focus for research are those suggested by Elkin (1975); that is, coalition, socialization of the conflict, making use of a supraorganization, penetration, exchange (negotiation), and co-
Policy Type

Policies are often classified according to different types depending on the nature of the problem situations addressed and the intent of the policies. Policy types are not usually mutually exclusive. Classification of policies into types tends to accentuate certain features of policy. The two types of policy of interest in this study are classified as follows:

Regulatory. A policy which either prescribes or emphasizes a particular course of action so that non-compliance with it is difficult and minimal. This class of policy mainly involves the control of human behaviour.

Distributive. A policy providing direct benefits to a group and which is characterized by the ease with which broad interpretations of it are possible on the part of target groups. This class of policy is mainly financial in nature.

School District

For purposes of this study, a school district is deemed to be a "single purpose" or "special purpose" form of
local government, providing only schooling services instead of the range of services offered by a municipality. This organizational usage of the term also reflects what Bacharach (1982:22) refers to as "a holistic but integrated view" of the school district. This view holds that the school district is a "composite of groups". It accommodates the statutory or legal definition of a school district outlined in the School Act of British Columbia. According to Section 1 of the Act, a school district is an area of land. Correspondingly, Section 80(2) of the School Act stipulates that all corporate powers are vested in the school board.

School District Type

Differentiation of school districts according to partisan and metropolitan characteristics is as follows:

Partisan metropolitan. A school district within an urban area designated as metropolitan which also has a local political party represented on the school board.

Partisan non-metropolitan. A school district within an urban or rural area, but not a metropolitan one, which has a local political party on the school board.
Non-partisan metropolitan. A school district within a metropolitan area without a local political party on the school board.

Non-partisan and non-metropolitan. An urban school district outside of a metropolitan area without a local political party on the school board.

**Typology**

A particular form of classificatory scheme or definition in which non-arbitrary and ordered distinctions are made with respect to the subject matter.

**Politics**

A form of behaviour characterized by competition and conflict between organizations and groups seeking to influence authoritative decision-making for purposes of creating a desired outcome or form of order out of diversity.

**Intergovernmental Relations**

A form of governmental relationships primarily referring in this study to the provincial context of interactions between local school districts and the Ministry of Education.
Operational Characteristics

The behavioral properties of individual political responses determined as a result of qualitative analysis; that is, what is referred to in this study as the feature, attribute, and intergovernmental linkage of the response.

Feature. A prominent and general characteristic of a political response amenable to increasingly specific differentiation or classification into attributes and intergovernmental linkages.

Attribute. An inherent property or characteristic closely associated with or issuing from a specific "feature" of a political response.

Intergovernmental Linkage. An element or property associated with the respective "attribute" of a political response and which serves as a key ingredient in the interaction between the local school district and the Ministry of Education. The linkage may be an organizational structure, a communication channel, a belief or ideology, a conflict or any such element which characterizes the use of a political response.
RESEARCH QUESTIONS

As stated previously, this research on local-provincial relations in British Columbia education consists of three variables: type of policy, type of political response, and type of school district. The variable political response serves as the focus of this study.

The main problem for investigation was to describe the nature of a particular set of political responses.

Several specific research questions stemmed from the main problem. These were distinguished as follows:

Identification of Operational Characteristics

(i) Did the three types of school districts employ the political response categories chosen for analysis and, if so, how might each of these responses be characterized operationally with respect to district and policy types?

(ii) What were the operational characteristics for this typology of six political responses?

Comparison of Operational Characteristics

(i) Were there any differences in the operational characteristics of individual political responses when associated with different school districts and policy types and, if so, how did the operational characteristics differ?

(ii) Were there any differences for school district and policy type in the operational characteristics of the typology of six political responses and, if so, how did the operational characteristics differ?
SAMPLE SELECTION

Early in the course of this research, a preliminary case study of one Metropolitan Vancouver area school district was conducted in order to gain some insight into ministry-school district relations (Bartunek, 1979). The school district selected was coterminous with the City of Vancouver [see Appendix C]. It had a partisan school board.

Interviews were conducted with twenty-three informants: fifteen senior, central office officials and eight of the nine school trustees. The findings of this preliminary study led to many questions. One question was whether there were other school districts with civic political party representation on their school boards. A second question was conditional on the first. If there were civic political party representation on other school boards, then what might the political responses of these districts be in comparison to school districts with non-partisan school boards?

A questionnaire was subsequently devised and distributed to presidents of local teachers' associations (who monitor school district activities, particularly the school board, very closely). This questionnaire, which appears in Appendix D, was administered to a panel of sixteen such presidents. The survey determined that there were eight school districts of the partisan type, and all of these districts were situated in the metropolitan Vancouver
area. No partisan districts were identified outside of this metropolitan region of British Columbia.

Subsequently, the superintendents of schools in those school districts situated in the three metropolitan areas of British Columbia -- Victoria, Vancouver and Prince George -- were contacted in order to ascertain the reliability of the results of the questionnaire administered to the presidents of the local teachers' associations. Additionally, various other knowledgeable persons affiliated with the British Columbia School Trustees Association, the Provincial headquarters of the British Columbia Teachers Federation, and the Department of Political Science at the University of British Columbia, were contacted for the same purpose. These additional sources confirmed that there were only eight school districts of the partisan type, and all were situated in the metropolitan Vancouver area.

Since there are eleven school districts located within the metropolitan Vancouver area, there were therefore three non-partisan metropolitan school districts in the Greater Vancouver area. A select sample of non-partisan and non-metropolitan school districts also was compiled. This "purposive sampling" resulted in the construction of a typology of school district types as outlined in Figure 3. Subsequently, one case was chosen from each of the three groups of school districts outlined in Appendix E.

Background data on British Columbia school districts
were obtained from a variety of sources in addition to the presidents of the local teachers' associations. These sources were the British Columbia School Trustees Association (B.C.S.T.A.), British Columbia Teachers Federation (B.C.T.F.), and the Ministry of Education. The range of information outlined in the background data assisted in the selection of the three cases for intensive study. All three districts were urban ones.

Because of the sensitive nature of this research, assistance was received from various knowledgeable persons in gaining entry for the purpose of collecting data. For example, the selection of the appropriate non-partisan and non-metropolitan school district for study was difficult since the majority of school districts in British Columbia were representative of this class. Therefore, after identifying eight school districts of this category for possible in-depth study [see Appendix E-3], this researcher and his faculty supervisor called upon the senior administrative staff of the British Columbia School Trustees Association to assist in the final determination.

The case study carried out preliminary to this research also assisted in the selection of an example of a Ministry of Education policy to reflect each of the two types of policy under study. In the preliminary study, a list of Ministry of Education policies was identified which, from the school district's point of view, contained
particularly contentious ones. Ranked high among the policies to which the school district responded politically were the integration of handicapped children into regular classes, and financial policies in general. The financial policies included capital expenditure projects planned by the school district. As a consequence of this finding and further study of regulatory and distributive policies, two examples were selected. Integration of handicapped children was selected as an example of regulatory policy. Capital expenditure was chosen as an example of distributive policy. The respective policy statements and the legislative authority underlying each of these two policies are outlined in the Appendices [see Appendix F].

MULTI-CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

This investigation consists of several case studies. Case studies are exploratory and descriptive in nature. As such, they are designed to gain familiarity with a phenomenon and achieve new insights into it, especially where there is little knowledge and understanding of the phenomenon to serve as a guide (Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook, 1967). Cases involve the intensive study of selected phenomena. Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook suggest that the following characteristics are indicative of case studies:
(a) The attitude of the investigators is one of alert receptivity, of seeking rather than testing; (b) there is an exploratory element related to the intensity of the study of the situation selected for research i.e. "one attempts to obtain sufficient information to characterize and explain both the unique features of the case being studied and those which it has in common with other cases;" (c) there is a reliance on the integrative powers of the investigators and on their ability to draw together many bits of information into a unified interpretation.

The nature of field studies as a particular type of research design also warrants review. Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook (1967:50) in defining a research design as "the arrangement of conditions for collection and analysis of data in a manner that aims to combine relevance to the research purpose with economy in procedure" state that it follows that research designs differ according to the research purpose. Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook provide four broad groupings of research purposes below. These authors state that the first is characteristic of exploratory studies, the second and third pertain to descriptive studies, and the fourth purpose is characteristic of research which tests causal relationships:

(1) to gain familiarity with a phenomenon or to achieve new insights into it, often in order to formulate a more precise research problem or to develop hypotheses; (2) to portray accurately the characteristics of a particular individual situation, or group (with or without specific initial hypotheses about the nature of these characteristics); (3) to determine the frequency with which something occurs or with which it is associated with something else (usually, but not
always, with a specific initial hypothesis); (4) to test a hypothesis of a causal relationship between variables.

Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook (1967: 51) caution that the different types of design are not mutually exclusive. Elements of two or more of the four broad groupings noted above may be present in any given research.

Similarly, Guba and Lincoln (1981:371) acknowledge that the content of a case study is determined chiefly by its purpose and that any case study may have multiple purposes. These authors, moreover, present four classes of purpose and state that the classes include most of the purposes found in case studies (Guba and Lincoln, 1981: 371):

(i) to chronicle, that is, to develop a register of facts or events in the order (more or less) in which they happened; (2) to render, that is, to depict or characterize; (3) to teach, that is, to provide with knowledge, or to instruct; and (4) to test, that is, to "prove" or to try.

Guba and Lincoln emphasize that the purposes differ in at least three respects. For example, each of the purposes has a factual orientation, an element of interpretation and a judgmental quality. Furthermore, Guba and Lincoln (1981:373) cross the four purposes mentioned with the three elements -- fact, interpretation and evaluation -- in order to construct a typology of case studies [see Appendix G]. Each cell in the typology,
moreover, is divided into an "action" and a "product" dimension respectively. Guba and Lincoln (1981:272) relate that "the verb describes what the case study analyst does in preparing that kind of case study, while the noun indicates the nature of the resulting case study."

The typology of case studies is useful for discussing the class of purpose specific to this investigation. All four purposes are reflected to varying extents. The exploratory and descriptive nature of this study, however, dictates that the primary purpose most closely resembles a rendering activity in the sense of illuminating meanings. Testing, in the sense of attempting to ascertain the usefulness of Elkin's typology of local government political response, is another important purpose of this investigation.

Kerlinger (1973:406) concurs with Selltiz, Jahoda, Deutsch and Cook concerning the characteristics of exploratory and descriptive field studies. Moreover, he suggests that the strengths as well as the weaknesses of such studies be considered. Chief strengths, according to Kerlinger, are that exploratory studies are strong in realism, significance, strength of variables, theory orientation, and heuristic quality. Kerlinger maintains that since this type of research aims to discover or describe relations, it is indispensable to scientific advances in the social sciences. On the other hand, Kerlinger notes that
certain weaknesses should be kept in mind. An example is that because of its ex post facto character, the statements of relations in field studies are weaker than in experimental research. Other complications, says Kerlinger, are that the field situation almost always has a plethora of variables and a lack of precision in measurement. Nevertheless, Kerlinger (1973: 407) values field studies highly because he reminds us that "of all types of studies, they are closest to real life."

George (1979) recommends that a synthetic approach be used for the descriptive comparison of case studies. He uses the term "method of structured focussed comparison" since the comparative analysis of cases is both structured and focussed. It is focussed because it deals with only certain aspects of the case and structured because it employs general questions to guide the data collection and analysis of cases (George, 1979). The present study reflects this general application of structure and focus across three cases.

In this kind of case study approach, the similarities and differences between various classes of phenomena become the focus of attention. According to Smelser (1976), the difference chosen for comparison may be matters of degree, traits, relationships or type.

In this study, the following variables served as the basis for comparison:
(a) types of political response  
(b) types of policy  
(c) types of school district

The politics of the policy process in education is an under-researched topic in Canada. However, several doctoral dissertations and masters' theses or special projects in the politics of Canadian education have used a case study format. Some notable examples of doctoral dissertations are the studies conducted by Housego (1964), Martin (1968) and Stapleton (1975). A master's thesis by Stapleton (1971) and a special project conducted at the master of education level by Proctor (1980) are instructive too. A doctoral dissertation in political science by Shiry (1977) also used the case study approach. In this latter study, several cases served as the basis for the investigator's finding that different patterns of political activity resulted from different types of policy. Moreover, Lowi (1964, 1978) strongly recommends that the comparative case study approach [or multi case study as it is referred to in this dissertation] be used to study the political consequences of different types of policy.

Organizational theory, when considered as a tool for understanding how organizations function, can be advanced through the multi-case approach. Mouzelis (1973: 66-68), for example, finds fault with both the single case study approach and the survey method. The single case study,
according to Mouzelis, has methodological weaknesses, since there is uncertainty whether its findings are applicable to other organizations, and since, by definition, one cannot ascertain relationships between variables in a comparative manner (that is, through an examination of how they differ in other organizations). On the other hand, Mouzelis sees the survey method as producing perhaps more "generalized and methodologically more valid findings -- but of a superficial or trivial character." Mouzelis (1973: 68-69), therefore, seems to concur with Lowi in providing this rationale for what he refers to as "the usefulness of the comparative study of many organizations":

...comparative study does not automatically mean survey study. The conflict between methodological rigour and deep insight is not as insurmountable as we often like to think it is. We are not necessarily forced to a sweeping and superficial examination of hundreds of cases once we abandon the intensive one-case study. By strategically choosing a few cases (say two to five), it is possible to combine intensity of study with comparative variations of significant variables.

And by the 'intensive-comparative' approach of a few similar cases, generalizations can be built up, valid in well-circumscribed and narrow organization contexts. It is in this way that systematic knowledge, having a cumulative character, can be developed. Moreover, such limited knowledge could become a sound basis for the formulation of organizational typologies; typologies which are not arbitrarily constructed, but which are closely tuned to research findings and the requirements of theory. It is by such tactics that ultimately we may achieve wider generalizations cutting across bureaucracies with the most various aims and within the most various cultures.
The multi-case or comparative case study approach represents a particular type of research design among a range of alternative methodologies; such as, observation, experimentation, questionnaire surveys, and the interview technique. As such, the research design outlined in this comparative case study reflects what Labovitz and Hagedorn (1976:55) refer to as "the logical manner in which individuals or other units are compared or analyzed" while at the same time serves as "the basis for making interpretations from the data." The multi-case approach of this study is deemed to be an appropriate choice of research method, since the aim is in keeping with the desire "to describe, decode, translate or otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not the frequency, of certain more or less naturally occurring phenomena in the social world" (Van Maanen, 1979: 520).

The multi-case approach is a qualitative form of inquiry. While this form of research can encompass quantitative measures, and indeed in many cases should do so, it has certain features which distinguish it from the predominantly quantitative variety of research. Das (1983: 301) states that qualitative research combines the rational and intuitive approaches to knowledge and focusses typically on the unfolding of "process" rather than "structure". Other distinctions between qualitative and quantitative research are implicit in the response to the question of the reason
for an emerging interest in qualitative research (Das, 1983: 302-305):

The frequent use of survey research and the fact that even minor variations in survey design can affect response rates has made researchers question the nature and quality of the variables used in organizational research. ... Given these findings, there seems to be very little reason for being overly fascinated by any research tool. This increasing disenchantment with traditional research tools has brought some researchers to unconventional and qualitative methodology.

There is an increasing preference today for a more holistic view of organizational behaviour; that is, certain organizational researchers today are interested in understanding the gestalt or the totality of behaviour of the unit under study.

It may very well be that certain organizational phenomena cannot be validly measured at all without using qualitative techniques. ...Qualitative tools may facilitate the understanding of complex social interaction typical of all large organizations, since it provides a forum for integrating knowledge emerging from different disciplines and inductively synthesizes them.

Through qualitative research the investigator is able to record and understand political behaviour from the perspective of informants and their particular circumstances. The approach allows for the use of different kinds of data at the same time -- interviews, observations, and various types of written materials or documents. Unlike quantitative research, the potential response options are open-ended rather than closed or standardized in nature. Insight into the case study mode is provided by Mason and
Bramble (1978:34) and Mintzberg (1979:586) respectively:

Case and field studies are very similar. Usually, case studies involve looking at one person, group, project, institution or agency. They are basically intensive investigations of the factors that contributed to characteristics of the case under investigation. (Patton, 1982:7).

Measuring in real organizational terms means first of all getting out into the field, into real organizations. Questionnaires often won't do. Nor will laboratory simulations, at least not in policy research. ... We do not yet understand enough about organizations to simulate their functioning in the laboratory. It is their inherent complexity and dynamic nature that characterize phenomena such as policy making (Mintzberg, 1979:586).

The research literature suggests that the comparative case study approach is sometimes referred to by alternative labels. Among others, some examples are multi-site qualitative research, comparative field study, comparative research, qualitative case study, and the multi-case approach. Long (1982:2) notes that the case study, in its several variations, may very well be the most popular mode of inquiry in the literature of educational politics and policy study. At the same time Long (1982:2) recognizes as did Bordeleau et al (1977) and Townsend (1977) that "the weight and balance of studies in the field of educational politics and policy-making in Canada show that few studies attempt a comparative treatment, and works in which a theoretical scheme coherently informs an analysis of facts or events are few in number".
Although use of the designation "comparative case study" is more prevalent in the literature than "multi-case study", the latter designation more aptly reflects the research orientation of this study. For example, the focus of this research endeavour was to ascertain and describe the essence, and consequent usefulness, of selected political responses. Comparison, on the other hand, served as a secondary, but important, device for building formal definitions of key terms, for extending meanings, and for identifying the distinguishing characteristics and differences in the use of political responses.

There are few examples of multi-case or comparative studies involving school districts. Yet multiple case studies are considered important for certain research questions where there is a need to provide broad generalization as well as consideration for the complexity of subject-matter (Hakim, 1987:64). Accordingly, findings from the three case studies in this research were synthesized so as to ascertain and describe the nature or operational characteristics of political response.

DATA COLLECTION

As this research is ex post facto in nature, consideration of historical method, particularly the concept
of "source-based knowledge" is important. Topolski (1976: 393-395), for example, reviews several possible ways of classifying source-based knowledge and suggests that the classification of potential data into "direct" and "indirect" sources is essential for methodological analysis in historical research.

Both direct and indirect sources of data were used in carrying out this study. Direct sources consisted of published and unpublished materials. Indirect sources consisted of selected interviews within each of the districts. Unpublished materials were comprised of board minutes and district policy manuals from each district. Published literature pertaining to each of the two policy issues under consideration was also reviewed. This review was undertaken to gain familiarity with each of the two provincial policies prior to the collection of more focussed data within school districts.

As soon as permission was granted to conduct the study within each of the districts, the policy index and school board minutes in each district were reviewed. The policy index facilitated the identification of district policy relating to each of the policy types. The school board minutes which were examined covered the beginning of the calendar year in which the integration policy was announced, to the conclusion of the gathering of interview data -- that is, January, 1978 to June, 1981. In reviewing
school board minutes, notes were made of items relative to the research questions.

Published materials of various kinds were also consulted subsequent to field work and concurrent with other kinds of data collection activity. These materials were publications emanating from organizations with a stake in the two policies under study. Examples of such published materials were the School Act, provincial statutes other than the School Act, Ministry of Education policy circulars, Debates of the Legislative Assembly (Hansard) for the Province of British Columbia, the British Columbia Teachers Federation Newsletter, "Education Today" - the official organ of the Ministry of Education, various publications of the British Columbia School Trustees Association, such as, "From the Legislature" and "The Newsletter", and news-related items carried by community newspapers in British Columbia.

Those interviewed within each school district were selected senior central office officials, elected trustees, and the most senior member of the executive committees of the local teachers' and principals' associations who had knowledge of the responses of their districts to the two provincial government policies. Respectively, in each district these respondents were the superintendent, the secretary-treasurer, the supervisor of special services, the chairman of the board, at least one school trustee other
than the chairman (the one who had served longest on the board), and the presidents of the local teachers' and principals' associations. A minimum of eight interviews was held in each district. An additional interview was held at the suggestion of the superintendent of schools in the partisan metropolitan district for a total of twenty-five interviews in all.

Permission to conduct this study and to hold interviews was obtained by initially contacting the superintendent of schools in two of the districts. In the third district, the non-partisan and non-metropolitan type, initial contact was made with the chairman of the school board and the superintendent concurrently. Subsequently, a letter was sent to them formally requesting permission to conduct the study [see Appendix H]. Included with this correspondence was a brief summary of the proposed study.

Upon gaining entry, an "advance organizer" was sent to each of the respondents some days before the interview was to be held [see Appendix I]. This communication served to focus the topic of the upcoming interview for respondents and confirmed the date and the time of the interview. Interviews were most often held in the offices of the principal informants and mostly consumed the greater part of a range of one to two hours.

The instrument used to collect these indirect data consisted of a semi-structured interview guide [see Appendix
J]. It was thought best to keep the key interview questions broad in scope rather than specific so as to allow the informants to speak from their experience and insights as fully as possible. At opportune times during the course of each interview, various "probe questions", as outlined in Appendix J, were asked of respondents in order that facets of the topics under discussion might be enlarged upon. These questions which elicited additional data were adjusted in keeping with the flow of the interview and the role of the informant in the district.

Extensive notes were taken during the course of each interview. As soon as feasible after the conclusion of each interview, these notes were expanded upon with the use of a tape recorder. The purpose of using a tape recorder was to reconstruct and store as full a version of the interview proceedings as possible. The taped proceedings of each interview were transferred unabridged from tape into written text. This step was undertaken to facilitate the classification and interpretation of data according to the research questions and the formal, expanded definitions of each political response.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

This stage of the study consisted of both general and specific steps. The research questions, for example, served as the general and, in a sense, ultimate basis for
the classification of all data. Interview questions on the other hand, served as a specific means to subdivide the data into more readily understandable and detailed elements for analysis. At later stages in the analysis, formal, expanded definitions for each type of political response were identified. These formal, expanded definitions, initially formative, evolved into summative ones and assisted in the further understanding of each political response type.

The written texts of the twenty-five interviews were initially classified according to type of school district. The eight or more written texts pertaining to each district were then searched in turn using Elkin's definition of each political response type for answers to the key interview questions and certain probe questions.

The search for pertinent data was facilitated in that during each interview, sets of questions pertaining to each of the two policy types had been asked in rotation and were recorded. However, regardless of this ordering of raw data, there remained considerable overlap or fusion in the answers of respondents to the various categories of political response and policy type.

Therefore, in order to ensure the identification of all relevant data, it was decided to colour-code the segments of the written text which corresponded to the interview questions for a particular policy type. Each time a particular answer to an interview question was colour-
coded, the coded response was transferred from the written text to 38 cm. x 28 cm. paper sheets with matrices outlined so as to group the data.

Each of these sheets reflected the research questions, the different groups of interviewees, and the type of school district under study for each of the two policy types respectively. On each of these sheets, for example, a matrix was constructed consisting of a row of categories along the top margin listing the types of respondent -- district official, trustee, president of the local teachers' association, and president of the local administrators' group -- and a column of categories along the left margin listing sets of interview questions. Each set of interview questions corresponded to one of the major research questions of the study. In this way, most of the cells in the matrix eventually were filled with data pertinent to the analysis and interpretation of trends.

Colour-coding and grouping of data also included attention to responses other than those outlined by Elkin. The data were examined in this respect using the three typologies of political influence other than Elkin's [see Figure 1]. As a result of this examination, certain other possible responses, as discussed in Chapter 9, were identified. The individual political responses in the typology under investigation, however, were found to be expressed broadly enough by Elkin to accommodate other less
generally defined responses.

After grouping the data according to policy type, respondents, and research questions, it was decided to synthesize the material by writing a summary of findings in order to determine and describe the kinds of patterns evident. Subsequently, a detailed and lengthy summary was made of each of the political responses according to types of school district and each of the two policy types respectively.

This initial summary of patterns provided valuable insights with respect to general differences in political activity as they related to types of school district and policy types. This summary, however, proved to be of limited use in determining the nature or operational characteristics of each political response. Therefore, it was decided to re-examine the raw data for more explicit categories or properties of Elkin's political response types. As a result, formal, expanded definitions were constructed from the general meaning provided by Elkin (1975), other literature on the selected political responses, and considerable review of the interview data. This undertaking yielded a more appropriate basis from which to identify the operational characteristics of the political responses.
FORMAL, EXPANDED DEFINITIONS

Formal, expanded definitions played an important part in subsequent analysis of the data and the presentation of findings. The systematic identification and classification of basic properties, for example, enabled finer distinctions to be made in the data and consequently more focussed interpretation of each response in action. Formal, expanded definitions, therefore, serve a valuable purpose in qualitative inquiry.

The need to identify the features and attributes of each response became evident early in the classification and summarization of data. The Elkin typology provided only vague notions of how each response might be exercised in practice. Consequently, the literature from which Elkin derived his meanings of each political response was consulted to obtain further clarification. This literature (Schattschneider, 1975; Thompson, 1967; Guetzkow, 1966), along with Elkin's (1975) perspective and initial analyses of data, assisted in the identification of a class of characteristics for each response. These indicators were used together with Elkin's definition of each response in a tentative or formative way to further analyze data and to summarize findings. Upon reviewing summaries of the evidence compiled for each response with the supervisor of this doctoral dissertation, it became evident that these explicit definitions, formal and expanded in nature, would be helpful
for further probing the operational characteristics of each political response.

After considerable reflection and research on the role of definitions generally, and for each of the political responses under study, the value of formal, expanded definitions for making distinctions in the presentation of findings and for addressing questions of validity and reliability was clear. A particular doctoral dissertation in educational administration (Moore, 1973) was helpful in showing how vague or unclear terms might be broken down into more specific parts. Selected literature in political science (Chandler and Plano, 1982; Schattschneider, 1975; Roberts, 1971; Selznick, 1953) and organizational theory (Handy, 1976; Evan, 1976; Thompson, 1967; Guetzkow, 1966) was consulted to ascertain the range of possible characteristics for each political response. In doing so, care was taken to protect what Patton (1980) refers to as the inductive nature of the organizing patterns in the research already in place.

The published materials of various kinds, relating to the responses of organizations with a stake in the two policies under study, assisted in the establishment of formal, expanded definitions. These secondary sources also provided important evidence for substantiating the political responses in action.

The summaries of findings on hand and the literature
on the subject assisted in the clearer specification of properties for the classification of findings. Explicit characteristics were then listed for each political response as outlined in the following chapters presenting the data and findings. These respective characteristics or elements of the formal, expanded definitions may be of assistance to other researchers in furthering the understanding of political response patterns.

The formal, expanded definitions subsequently facilitated more ordered distinctions or the "typological" classification of each political response into features, attributes and intergovernmental linkages. This step served as a classificatory basis for the presentation of evidence and the description of findings. The political response of coalition, for example, was categorized according to three features with two corresponding attributes for each feature. At the same time, the intergovernmental linkage of external organizations, by means of which school districts coalesced, is correspondingly identified in the ensuing operational characteristics of coalition.

This combination of features, attributes, and intergovernmental linkages constitutes what is referred to in this dissertation as the operational characteristics of the individual political response. These operational characteristics, in turn, may be viewed as constituting a more refined or "typological" definition of each political
response.

For the purpose of protecting the identity of school districts, pseudonyms were used for types of school district. Coding of this kind was particularly valuable in the synthesis phase, as the analytical distinctions based on partisan and metropolitan variants would have been awkward to handle. Reference to each of the two policy types as integration of the handicapped and capital expenditure, rather than as regulatory and distributive, also served to maintain a realistic perspective.

The pseudonyms used for the actual names of the school districts in this study correspond to the types of school district shown in Figure 5.

Findings related to the use of each political response are presented and discussed in Chapters 4 to 8 of this dissertation. Each chapter presents findings and discusses the operational characteristics of one political response only. However, as the political responses are not mutually exclusive, certain data were found to be applicable to more than one response. This tendency is reflected most obviously in the overlapping nature of certain operational characteristics.

Chapter Four deals with the use of coalition as a political response.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
<th>PSEUDONYMS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Partisan Metropolitan</td>
<td>Coast School District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Partisan Metropolitan</td>
<td>Port School District</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Partisan and Non-Metropolitan</td>
<td>Island School District</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5

Pseudonyms for Types of School District
Coalition refers to attempts by the focal organization to join with others, for example, to make the provision of some resource more predictable (Elkin, 1975: 175).

The study revealed that the three school districts had combined with other organizations such as the local municipality and the provincial school trustees' association. They did so to exert influence over the procurement or maintenance of resources, including technical assistance, necessary to comply with the provincial policies.

The meaning of coalition used here is distinct from the term "alliance". An alliance in politics generally denotes a union for a narrow range of purposes. It tends to be relatively long-term in duration. Examples would be a treaty or a confederation. A coalition, on the other hand, can address a spectrum of objectives. It refers to a pact between organizations which may be intermittently short term or long term in duration.

Thompson and McEwan (1961: 185) distinguish between a coalition and a merger. The basis of this distinction is that two or more organizations in a merger become fused...
permanently. As a result, one or all of the original parts may lose their identity. A coalition, on the other hand, is perceived to involve joint action toward only limited aspects of the goals of each member. The right to withdraw from the coalition, moreover, is retained by each member.

Repeated inspections of the data and additional reviews of the literature subsequent to data analysis resulted in the following formal, expanded definition of coalition as a political response:

(a) the school district combines with organizations external to the school district; such as, the local municipality or another school district;

(b) the external organizations have either a local jurisdiction, such as, a board of health, or a regional and provincial jurisdiction, such as, Members of the Legislative Assembly;

(c) the association between the school district and the external organizations is recorded in official correspondence, school board minutes or official publications and is acknowledged by interviewees in the study;

(d) a specific purpose, common to both the school district and external organizations, serves as the basis for the coalition. The purpose can be expressed as support for, or as a demand, with regard to Ministry policy;

(e) the purpose of the coalition is publicly acknowledged by the parties to the coalition;

(f) the duration of the coalition is variable; that is, either short term or long term.

School district coalitions are described in this chapter under three headings: type, purpose, and duration.
These headings issue from the formal, expanded definition of coalition and further analysis of data. Findings are presented in an integrated fashion. The "purpose" and "duration" of coalitions, for example, are reported according to instances of the two different coalition types.

School districts coalesced with a wide assortment of organizations in responding to Ministry policies. The jurisdiction of these different organizations serves as a basis for classifying coalitions as "local" or "regional and provincial". As local coalitions were more numerous, they will be presented first.

LOCAL COALITIONS

School districts were found to have participated in a variety of local coalitions. Organizations with which school districts coalesced were boards of health, other school districts, municipal councils, municipal advisory planning commissions, community colleges, and municipal parks and recreation commissions. Findings are reported here for each instance of these local coalitions.

Boards of Health

The jurisdictional boundaries of boards of health were found not always to coincide with school district boundaries. Boards of health sometimes covered a greater
geographic area. Nevertheless, the community service orientation of local boards of health essentially covered the entire population of school districts.

**Purpose and duration.** School districts coalesced closely with local boards of health in response to the integration policy. For example, coalition with the Metropolitan Board of Health for Greater Vancouver by one of the metropolitan school districts took the form of discussions concerning the delivery of educational services in conjunction with community treatment services for the handicapped. The medical personnel affiliated with the Metropolitan Board of Health for Greater Vancouver supplied this district with technical information. This information assisted the school district in projecting costs and manpower needs for realigned services to such children.

Such cooperation was long term in duration. It was aided by the fact that a school trustee sat on the local board of health as an official representative of the district. Also, there was close collaboration between executive officers of the board of health and the supervisors of special services in the school districts. This collaboration involved matters pertaining to the personal care needs of individual students.

In the metropolitan Vancouver area, this interaction was especially important because of the absence of another mechanism described as follows:
In a formal way, there used to be an official committee for special education services in metropolitan Vancouver. It was composed of the supervisor of special services, the superintendent, and a trustee from each school district. The committee was a metropolitan one which dealt with matters related to the education of the handicapped throughout a number of districts. Most of the kinds of topics which this committee dealt with now are handled through the board of health. ... We make damn sure that our concerns get discussed, since two of our trustees sit as the district's representatives on the board of health.

(Interview with Supervisor of Special Services, Coast School District)

School Districts

Several school districts "neighboured" or were situated immediately adjacent to the school districts under study. There appeared to be steady communication between these school districts, particularly with respect to maximizing the quality of special services for handicapped children. The professional relationship or collegial bond between these districts was especially well established.

Purpose and duration. School districts held regular discussions with neighbouring school districts concerning shared programmes for specific categories of handicapped youngsters. As a result, one school district entered into a limited term agreement with two neighbouring districts for the purpose of offering a joint programme for hearing impaired students. At the same time, another school district
was party to an existing agreement, made prior to the announcement of the integration policy, with an adjacent school district. This prior agreement facilitated the implementation of provincial policy. It did so by stipulating that students from these other school districts could be sent to one centrally-located school district for the testing of speech, hearing and other learning-related impediments. Both metropolitan and non-metropolitan school districts entered into fixed term agreements for these purposes. Such agreements were common.

The availability and deployment of teaching staff had a bearing on the formation of coalitions between school districts. For example, the numbers of students enrolled in special education programmes was an especially important consideration in the allocation of teachers for such programmes. The following interview comment provides a glimpse into this factor:

It wouldn't make much sense for the district to offer a complete programme for four or five students. In addition, there would be all sorts of delays in getting staffing approvals for it from the Ministry of Education. Instead we offer a joint programme with two neighbouring districts. Questions such as to what extent can programmes be implemented for different students, or how quickly should the district implement it for certain categories of handicapped student, are for the administration to work out.

(Interview with Senior School Trustee, Port School District)
School districts expressed support for Ministry policies by agreeing to work within the broad guidelines of the policies. This willingness, however, was less pronounced for the integration policy than for the capital expenditure one. Coalitions with neighbouring school districts, however, demonstrated a positive orientation to Ministry policies. School board minutes are illustrative:

The District Superintendent referred to reciprocal arrangements with Metro Districts regarding students attending schools in Port School District. Twenty-eight students were affected. No fees were charged except for special education programmes involving three students from Pacific School District (an adjacent district).

(Minutes of Port School District)

School districts also expressed demands directed at the Ministry of Education and other ministries of the provincial government through coalitions with other school districts. The demands were oriented to the clarification of provincial policy and the need for additional resources. The following example is indicative of this tendency:

There was general paranoia on the part of officials and trustees when the policy was announced by the Ministry. In discussions around the board table, there was fear that the Ministry would shut down Jericho School for the severely handicapped and other such institutions. At this point in time also, the Vancouver School District was debating the merits of the handicapped policy with the Ministry of Education. Some metropolitan school districts openly supported the Vancouver School District in its struggle with the Ministry.
Coast was one of these districts. Trustees continue to follow the situation very closely.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Coast School District)

School districts apparently preferred forming short term coalitions with each other. One school district, for example, initiated a joint proposal for "a pilot programme" with certain neighbouring school districts concerning the integration of the hearing impaired, for Ministry of Education approval. Accordingly, this programme was to be located in and administered by the initiating school district. The following interview comments provide background for the joint proposal:

Sometimes, school districts attempt to anticipate Ministry policies which will be applicable province-wide. This school district is no exception. As the principal advisor to the Board, I work with the Chairman and other trustees to determine what innovations are in the best interests of the district. By mounting a pilot programme in special education within this district, for example, and one in which other districts have a stake, we are demonstrating to the Ministry that we are addressing problems through local initiative. Before making recommendations such as the pilot programme, we make certain that the district has considered alternative courses of action and has sought the opinions of others. We do our homework and it pays off. The Ministry consented to our proposal for two reasons: first, because of the work that went into planning it; and second, because it is pretty difficult to argue against a joint effort by school districts which in the long run saves everyone money.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Coast School District)
This type of initiative did not appear to be unusual or uncommon among the school districts. Moreover, these particular coalitions were periodically renegotiated. Such coalitions provided a means of adapting Ministry policy to fit local circumstances. This was true for both the integration and capital policies. The following example pertains to capital expenditure:

The Ministry and the school board tend to operate on an ad hoc basis in processing capital expenditures. Each project requiring approval is looked at fresh from the start. Teachers sit on the buildings and properties committee but they do not have a vote. As teachers, we notice trustees feel that more attention should be placed on the working relationship between the municipality and the school district, especially on the topic of playing fields and new schools. The relationship could be better, but all we ever hear about is "the public versus the school". The public always has something to say about school facilities. What gets reported, however, is the debate with the school. The municipality gets off scot-free.

(Interview with President of Teachers' Association, Island School District)

The capital expenditure policy also stimulated short term coalitions, but to a much lesser extent than integration. One example, provided by a senior metropolitan area school trustee, occurred when several metropolitan school districts jointly petitioned the Minister of Education by letter for the alleviation of the financial burden to local taxpayers caused by the dramatic rise in property taxes during 1979.
Municipal Councils

Municipal boundaries tended not to coincide with school district boundaries. As a result, the jurisdiction of more than one municipal council spilled over into school districts. This linkage necessitated school district interaction with several municipal councils over a wide range of issues, particularly buildings and property.

Purpose and duration. With one exception, school districts did not coalesce with municipalities in responding to the integration policy. The exception arose because a local municipality in the region operated a "sheltered workshop" form of programme for the severely handicapped. As a consequence, there was already some interaction between the district and municipal personnel on the sharing of programmes and facilities. An "historical reason" was offered for this state of affairs:

Island School District inherited the sheltered workshop and the special relationship with Thorndale municipality at the time as the smaller school district in the region was amalgamated with Island School District. Local feeling in the Thorndale area at the time was strongly supportive of the handicapped, and because this community continues to be supportive, Island School District doesn't dare abolish the program. Relations with the village of Thorndale and the school district are quite good. Paperwork is kept to a minimum. At the same time, there are pockets of support for the handicapped in other parts of the district too, particularly by the parents of such kids. None of the other groups in the district which work on behalf of the handicapped has the kind of longstanding relationship with the board as does
the village of Thorndale.

(Interview with Supervisor of Special Services, Island School District)

A more typical example of coalitions prompted by the capital expenditure policy was furnished by a secretary-treasurer who said:

Capital expenditures require a building-by-building analysis. Different schools have different requirements. Most schools are used by the public as well as the kids. Various needs of the total community and individual neighbourhoods often have to be taken into account. To do the job, the municipality and the school district have to work together to ensure that facility specifications and construction contracts are acceptable to higher authorities. Cost-sharing between the school district and the municipality requires approval from the Ministry of Education. Furthermore, if the municipality requests funding from the Provincial Facilities Fund concerning recreational facilities to be cost-shared with school districts, then the project cannot start without the approval of the Ministry of Municipal Affairs. The extra-large gymnasium at Falconridge School was constructed through a capital grant which was two-thirds borne by the Provincial Government and one-third by the municipality and school district. Municipal and school district people collaborate closely when seeking financial aid from provincial authorities.

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Port School District)

School districts tended to undertake extensive joint activities with municipalities on capital expenditure matters. These coalitions had the potential to become quite prominent. The partisan nature of one school board was partly responsible as this example shows:
School board politics is tied to the action of the two political groups on the board: the Coast Citizens' Association and the Coast Voters' Association. The Coast Citizens' Association is more involved in the community and education. They actively represent various community interest groups. The Coast Voters' Association, on the other hand, is more conservative. It is made up of businessmen and lawyers. Each of these two groups on the board has counterparts on municipal council. This connection with the municipality assists the board in dealings with the Provincial Government since the board is demonstrating a wide basis of community support. Trustees, moreover, are functioning as part of a larger group and not strictly as individuals. There is strength in numbers and political affiliation, especially when the voters and taxpayers are backing you. The district's position with the Ministry as a result carries more weight.

(Interview with President of Teachers' Association, Coast School District)

Of the various municipalities in their respective proximities, the three school districts coalesced the most with the largest municipality co-terminus with each school district's boundaries. Such interaction was typically long term in duration:

There is a fair amount of interaction with the municipal council, especially since the municipality initiates proposals for the development of municipal facilities adjoining school sites. There is a need for both the district and the municipality to know of each other's plans, development sites and operating facilities. Wheelchair ramps for the handicapped in adjoining municipal and school district facilities is an issue before us at the moment.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Coast School District)

When school districts and municipalities coalesced
over capital expenditure matters, they took the opportunity to express their dissatisfaction with provincial education policies generally. The two metropolitan Vancouver school districts exemplified such behaviour. In metropolitan Vancouver the capital expenditure policy appeared to stimulate coalitions because of perceived inadequacies in the mechanics of intergovernmental financial relations. This dimension of coalition behavior will be discussed in the next chapter.

Heavy community use of schools outside of classroom hours also necessitated regular collaboration between district and municipal officials. An example concerning the melding of adult-oriented programmes with available facilities provides insights:

Whenever possible we collaborate to improve school facilities for public use. For a nominal fee, all the schools are available to the community outside of school hours. One school -- closed due to lack of enrolment and the advanced age of the facility is leased to the municipality for one dollar per year. The municipality then sub-leases this particular school to the Y.M.C.A. For community purposes. The school district, however, still retains ownership of the building. The joint management of the facility really involves the school district, the municipality and the Y.M.C.A.

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Port School District)

Besides school board representation on municipal agencies, school trustees held informal meetings with municipal councillors at least once a year. Central office
officials, moreover, stated that there is also regular interaction with executive officers of the municipality in order to remain knowledgeable of one another's plans. This arrangement was described in the following manner:

It is difficult to talk about coordination when things are jumping up all around you. The district is experiencing an unanticipated and sudden population increase, mostly due to people moving over here from the Mainland. The City has its hands full too in attempting to accommodate the demands which these new people are placing on the municipality. Nevertheless, the district has taken the initiative to work together more with City Council. Indeed, the District was heartened by encouragement from Carl Daneliuk, one of the assistant deputy ministers in the Education Ministry, regarding the school board's determination to emerge with a five to ten year master plan for development. Such a plan would enable the district to be more realistic and in tune with what other local agencies are thinking.

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Island School District)

Much of the interaction between the school board and the municipal council also included agencies of the municipality, such as the municipal advisory planning commission. While the municipal council made final decisions in respect of transactions, the advisory planning commission studied school district proposals and made recommendations to the municipal council.
Municipal Advisory Planning Commissions

School district coalitions with a municipal advisory planning commission resulted from a broad cross section of joint community interests. Members of the advisory planning commission, for example, were selected and appointed by the municipal council from applicants among the citizens within the community. The advisory planning commission studied school district proposals in respect to possible impact on the community and its various neighbourhoods. This agency worked closely with the municipal planning department and the elected council of the municipality.

Purpose and duration. School districts were proactive in municipal planning matters related to education. For example, one school district badgered both the municipal advisory planning commission and the municipal council to undertake joint planning with the school district. Planning requirements pertained to the provision of roads, utilities, and the servicing of new subdivisions in which there was to be future school construction. Ultimately, the advisory planning commission, the municipal council and the local school district became closely aligned in the planning process. Prior to this joint endeavour, however, planning in this particular municipality had frequently overlooked
school site requirements. The affected district decided to remedy this neglect by establishing the following "Building and Site Acquisition Policy":

The Board is committed to the concept of long range planning to ensure that educational facilities and services are provided in the most efficient way possible to meet the needs of the school district. Consultation, therefore, shall be maintained throughout the planning process with the school community, school staff, Ministry of Education and neighbouring municipalities. Every effort shall be made to design schools, and additions to schools, to provide the best possible learning environment.

(Minutes of Island School Board)

Trustees in another school district sought and obtained the cooperation of the advisory planning commission and the municipal council on the joint use of gymnasia. This undertaking included cost sharing for the construction and maintenance of such facilities. Trustees and officials in this school district believed that because the Ministry favoured such arrangements, capital expenditure proposals would receive a more favourable reception. Indeed, board minutes in this particular school district record that the Secretary-Treasurer held meetings with the Director of Planning for the respective local municipality. These meetings did not focus upon any school facility in particular. Rather the meetings concerned the general role of the school board relative to community planning, or "planning for planning" in the municipality and school
School district coalitions with the municipal planning commission were mainly long-term endeavours as this example shows:

In acquiring a school site there must be a population justification for it. In other words, an adequate number of students must reside in the area. These students need to be in place at the proposed site before the Ministry will approve a particular program. If this condition is met, then the board sits down with the municipality to discuss the site and possible shifts in population. As a result, the district finds itself following a management-by-objectives way of addressing the issue. This planning process appears to be compatible with the Ministry notion of five year projections.

(Interview with Chairman of the Board, Island School District)

Community Colleges

Community colleges were located in each of the three school districts studied. Coalitions with these colleges were very close-knit since school trustees from several neighbouring districts served as official representatives of their school districts on the colleges' boards. Such representation provided a first-hand opportunity to monitor and guide the articulation between elementary and secondary and post-secondary education in each community.

Purpose and duration. Both school districts and local community colleges had a stake in capital expenditure
issues. The fact that certain school trustees served as official representatives of their respective school districts on the community college board facilitated long-term coalition.

School districts and community colleges jointly shared certain facilities. This joint use was taken into account by school districts when rationalizing capital expenditure proposals to the Ministry. The experience of one school district, depicted in the board's minutes, provides a case in point:

The Secretary-Treasurer reported on a telephone discussion with the Deputy Minister of Education relative to Mountain College occupying the Bramblewood School facility. The above subject was fully discussed and the Board was in agreement that a letter be written to the Deputy Minister detailing the "motion" received from Mountain College and stating that the board had now decided that the use of the Bramblewood facility would be primarily for community purposes and that it would discuss this matter with the municipality before taking further action.

(Minutes of Port School Board)

**Parks and Recreation Commissions**

The mutual desire for joint or integrated use of school and municipal facilities for adults and children alike served as a basis for considerable co-operation with parks and recreation commissions. This interaction assisted in the development and delivery of co-curricular and extra-
curricular programmes for children in the school district. Examples were outdoor track and field facilities, parks, swimming pools and access ramps to these facilities for the handicapped.

**Purpose and duration.** The two metropolitan Vancouver school districts coalesced with their local parks and recreation commissions extensively. They did so with respect to the planning and design of various outdoor services, playgrounds, and playing fields. A superintendent of schools attested that these joint arrangements were emphasized in capital expenditure proposals:

> If you look at the map of the district on my wall, you will notice right away that schools are situated right next to parks. It shows you just how close our working relationship has to be. We try our best to maintain good relations. ...It pays off when we need their assistance during the compilation of capital expense proposals.

*(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Coast School District)*

Coalitions also took the form of local "ad hoc" committees. This variant was suggestive of all three features of coalition. It took the following form:

In the case of a proposed extension of primary classrooms to a school, the board formed a committee comprised of the principal, teachers, parents from the immediate neighbourhood and representatives from the municipal recreation
commission who wished to use the new space for adult purposes after school hours. This committee assisted in the planning of the proposed facility. In the course of its work, it interacted with the local advisory planning commission and the recreation commission. Given the composition of the committee, it had a "mousetrap purpose". The idea was that because of the representation on this committee, a community expectation was built up through the committee. The committee really served as "a political base" should the district require it in dealings with the Ministry of Education. Any committee structured in this manner has a mousetrap purpose. It is both an advisory body to the district and a basis of political support.

(Interview with Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Port School District)

Planning for capital expenditure projects took into consideration the education of children and adults. Coalitions with the parks and recreation commission assisted in ensuring joint use of municipal and school district facilities.

REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COALITIONS

School districts coalesced with two organizations representative of this type, the British Columbia School Trustees Association (B.C.S.T.A.) and the Legislative Assembly. The B.C.S.T.A. functioned as a private interest group or association of school boards. The Legislative Assembly, however, was a public, governmental organization. It consisted of duly elected M.L.A's, or Members of the
Legislative Assembly who represented specific electoral districts. These organizations served as important forums through which school districts "lobbied" for additional resources. The "regional group" meetings of the B.C.S.T.A.'s ten branches, and the annual general meeting of the whole provincial association were especially important forums.

**Members of the Legislative Assembly**

School district coalitions with members of the Legislative Assembly were essentially "provincial" in character. Although members represented "ridings" or "electoral districts" on a regional geographical basis, the forum for the expression of the coalition was either on the floor of the Legislature or by way of intervention with the provincial government bureaucracy in Victoria and with the cabinet minister responsible.

**Purpose and duration.** School districts communicated from time to time with members of the Legislative Assembly. They did so as a contingency, in the event that the help of M.L.A.s was required to clarify policies or to procure additional resources.

The political ideology of the school board was an important factor. Certain insights are provided in this comment of a senior official:

"Political parties on the school board make a difference." Patrick MacDonald School for the
handicapped, for example, an institution operated for a long time privately by the British Columbia Association for the Mentally Retarded, would never have been incorporated into the school district if it weren't for the fact that the trustees affiliated with the Coast Citizens Association, a pro-education and N.D.P. group, were elected to the board during the 1977 election. ... Sometimes it is unfortunate that party politics is now found at the school board level. The two parties on the board often do not see eye to eye. The two groups of trustees maintain close contacts with N.D.P. and Social Credit colleagues in the Provincial Legislature. Due to this split on the board, there are political provisions to be fulfilled in addition to educational ones.

(Interview with Secretary Treasurer, Coast School District)

The political values of school trustees also cultivated coalitions with respect to the integration policy. In one of these school districts, a senior trustee described graphically the predisposition of fellow trustees:

We have a responsive board which always welcomes delegations to it. The board has never turned down a request for educating the handicapped. The school board is in keeping with the kind of town which Island City is, an N.D.P. mill town. The blue collar workers and the lumber industry are not the only factors which make the city predominantly N.D.P. in outlook. Ever since the establishment of the community college, the academics there have sided with the policies of the New Democratic Party provincially. In doing so, they have reinforced the socialist flavour of the town. School trustees favour the N.D.P. also, but do not always abide by provincial N.D.P. policy.

Seven of the nine trustees on the school board have an N.D.P. orientation. However, on matters dealing with the integration policy, even the two conservative trustees sympathize in principle with the kinds of decisions which the
board makes.

(Interview with Senior School Trustee, Island School District)

A further example involved a school district represented by three members of the Legislative Assembly. In this instance an M.L.A. lobbied the Minister of Education, at the request of the school district, for the procurement of classroom aides and monies needed for the individualized programmes of newly integrated handicapped pupils. The following speech reported in Hansard displays the commitment of this M.L.A. to local education:

Mr. Chairman, I would certainly like to add my support to the request by the first member for Central City Centre and Coast North that the Minister of Education make a statement about the policy, and certainly the philosophy, of his Government.

... We also find in a statement from the Greater Vancouver Regional District that the Government's contribution to the basic education program -- certainly in the Greater Vancouver area, and that included Coast School District -- declined in recent years from 45.3 percent in 1973 to 28.8 percent this year. Now the Minister can challenge these figures if he wants. They're not my figures ... 

The other statement that the Minister made in speaking to the table officers of the B.C. School Trustees in January of this year was that his Ministry was not planning any major legislative changes related to education. He said none were planned before, maybe, the 1981 sitting of the Legislature. They expressed some alarm about this, and I want to express some alarm about that too.

(Speech by M.L.A., Coast School District, Debates of Legislative Assembly)
School boards also interacted with members of the Legislative Assembly concerning the capital expenditure policy. The support of a local M.L.A., for example, was elicited in gaining Ministry of Education approval for an addition to an existing school facility. A senior school trustee, who also functioned as the chairman of the finance committee, rationalized the need to coalesce with the M.L.A., as follows:

Many Ministry of Education policies are quite minor in the context of the total administration of the district. Currently, there are no serious problems with regard to either the integration or the capital expenditure policy, ... but I am not saying that we haven't had problems. The district tries to live within its means. Whenever a problem does arise, however, the district gets involved with B.C.S.T.A., or some other group, including the M.L.A.s, if need be, to iron out the problems. School districts generally tend to throw things at the Ministry from all sides when they have a need to do so.... Once I even met with one of our M.L.A.s, a former trustee on the Coast Board and one who held ideological views completely opposite to mine, in order to see to it that a badly needed addition to a local secondary school was approved.

(Interview with Senior School Trustee, Coast School District)

Similarly, evidence showed that coalition with members of the Legislative Assembly can be regarded as essentially supportive of Ministry policy in a philosophical sense. This aspect of coalition also involved the monitoring of the Ministry of Education, other ministries of the
 Provincial Government, and the Cabinet. Another aim of this
dedication was to expedite matters related to policy
implementation. The following orientation of one
M.L.A. serves as an example:

For a long time now, I have been hoping to see a
compulsory course for every teacher so that they
will be taught how, at least, to diagnose if a
child is going to have learning disabilities. If
they can't do that, they often put a great deal of
stress on a child who does have learning
disabilities and is unable to perform. Once that
is done, of course, the ministry must provide the
right resources. I know the situation today is
still in great need of help; we still need to
provide much more assistance in that area,
particularly in the training of teachers.

(Speech by M.L.A., Coast School District,
Debates of Legislative Assembly)

The British Columbia School Trustees Association

The provincial school trustees association was
primarily used for channeling school district opinions to
the Ministry of Education. As a privately incorporated
association of school boards, the B.C.S.T.A. served as the
major interest group for school districts in the Province.
It was both provincial and regional in scope. The trustees'
association was divided geographically into ten branches or
regional groups.

Purpose and duration. School districts pushed for
further clarification of the provincial integration policy
through the services of B.C.S.T.A. This involvement also pertained to the expression of demands related to the satisfaction of local educational objectives. Such demands took this form:

The Board has written to the Minister of Education more than once to convey that political statements on the question of the handicapped are not the answer. In these letters the Board stresses the need for a better approach to educating the handicapped. The open-ended nature of the Ministry's policy invites court action by parents who have handicapped children in special, segregated classes. Without the efforts of B.C.S.T.A. in assisting school districts to avert legal challenges by parents, some districts would not have had a chance. The B.C.S.T.A. distributes valuable legal advice to school boards. This assistance reduces the potential for lawsuits.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Island School District)

Alternatively, school district demands were conveyed to the Ministry, as this interview comment shows:

The Ministry has responded pretty well, but they never really cover the total costs of educating the handicapped. We always have to remind them of unique features related to the programmes of our special needs children. It helps that the chairman of the board is also an executive member of B.C.S.T.A. The Chairman sometimes speaks directly with the Minister because of this dual capacity. The discussion is usually right to the point and pretty lively. The fact that our board chairman is an executive member of the trustees' association affects how we respond to the provincial government. The municipal people also become involved as do other political groups. It becomes a total kind of response. The extent of their involvement varies according to the issue and mostly for financial questions. Quite often when
the matter of local autonomy is at stake, groups are stimulated to speak up for each other.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Island School District)

The B.C.S.T.A., therefore, was used for the purpose of making known to the Ministry that capital and other general financial allocations provided to school districts required improvement. School district coalitions with B.C.S.T.A., however, were not always compatible undertakings. For example, the disposition of one school district was described thus:

Port School District is not in favour of large scale political action, especially the grandstanding variety carried out by the Vancouver School District. The aims of the Vancouver School District go against the aims of Port. This is because the actions of Vancouver School District are often very shabby and ill-conceived. We prefer to act alone, but sometimes we join with other school districts on really major questions. Education of the handicapped is not a major issue in Port School District. District personnel keep themselves informed of the implications through the B.C.S.T.A. However, we don't really work much through B.C.S.T.A. either. We have recently considered pulling out of the organization completely because trustees don't like the way in which B.C.S.T.A. is heading. They should be operating more in our interests. Port School District pays 100 percent of its budget from local funds and deserves more attention.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Port School District)

School districts attempted several initiatives in conjunction with the B.C.S.T.A. One district placed the
following motion on the agenda of a B.C.S.T.A. annual general meeting (A.G.M.) held during the course of this research study:

It is believed that quite often land suitable for school sites is subdivided and new homes are built and occupied without any consideration given to providing a school site in the immediate area. Suitable school sites should be included in community plans. School boards should not be required to purchase land for school sites....

Be it resolved that the B.C.S.T.A. encourage the Minister of Education and the Minister of Municipal Affairs to initiate legislation that would require subdivision developers to provide land for school sites at no cost to the taxpayers.

(Motion by Island School District, Minutes of Annual General Meeting, B.C.S.T.A.)

A senior school trustee remarked that metropolitan Vancouver school districts were especially disposed to coalitions. This representative of a metropolitan school district added that "we have a great deal of clout when we want to use it." Mostly this "clout" was exercised through the "Metro B.C.S.T.A.", the metropolitan regional group of the B.C.S.T.A., for capital and other financial matters. As a result, long term coalitions with other school districts appeared to be sustained partly through mutual involvement with the B.C.S.T.A.
SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Summary observations with respect to four of the seven specific research questions applicable to individual responses are presented in this section. Additionally, using theoretical perspectives, certain concluding remarks are provided and informed speculations are advanced that further explain coalition behavior.

Identification of Operational Characteristics

Did the three school districts use coalition? Yes, coalitions were employed by each school district for both policy types. The frequency of coalitions differed only slightly according to school district and policy type as shown in Appendix K-1. Coalitions ranged from seven to eleven in number.

That school districts entered into coalitions is not surprising. According to Duke (1976:242), coalitions are perhaps the most significant way a group can gain additional influence. Moreover, Pfeffer and Salancik (1978:24) note that organizations are constituted more as a process of organizing support sufficient for continued existence than as concrete social entities.

The data collected during this study indicate that coalitions in the intergovernmental context appear to be based on imperatives of organizational survival and
stability. The coalitions also reflected local community preferences for student programmes and standards of service delivery. Other observations may be discerned from the operational characteristics.

**Operational Characteristics**

The operational characteristics basically consist of three features: types of coalition, purposes of coalition, and the life-span, or what has been referred to as the duration, of coalitions. The attributes and examples of intergovernmental linkages associated with these features constitute the operational characteristics of coalition as a political response. A simplified classification is outlined in Figure 6.

The school districts coalesced mostly with local "governmental" organizations. The overlapping jurisdictions and objectives of these public organizations, together with close political and executive interaction, fostered joint planning and co-ordination. The school districts appeared to function as part of a network of coalitions. Local coalitions served as a valuable basis of political and technical support. The ideological affiliation of school trustees, moreover, seemed to influence the character and objectives of the coalition.

Coalitions had a dual purpose. They were characterized by an interplay between "demands"
# Features of Coalition as a Political Response

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of Coalition</th>
<th>Purposes of Coalition</th>
<th>Duration of Coalitions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Coalitions</strong></td>
<td>o TO SUPPORT MINISTRY POLICIES</td>
<td>o SHORT TERM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ local municipality, board of health, parks and recreation commission, other school districts, community college ]</td>
<td>[ local municipality, board of health, parks and recreation commission, British Columbia School Trustees Association (B.C.S.T.A.), and the Legislative Assembly ]</td>
<td>[ adjacent school districts, local municipal council, municipal planning commission and ad hoc community committees ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Regional and Provincial Coalitions</strong></td>
<td>o TO MAKE DEMANDS ON THE MINISTRY</td>
<td>o LONG TERM</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ British Columbia School Trustees Association (B.C.S.T.A.), and the Legislative Assembly ]</td>
<td>[ other school districts, British Columbia School Trustees Association (BCSTA), and the Legislative Assembly ]</td>
<td>[ board of health, British Columbia School Trustees Association (B.C.S.T.A.), municipal planning commission, parks and recreation commission ]</td>
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**Figure 6**
Features and Attributes of Coalition
i.e. requests for additional manpower, material resources, and clarification of Ministry policy statements, and "support" i.e. a desire to comply with senior government policy. Of the two attributes, support for Ministry policy was clearly the most important consideration of school district personnel. Local coalitions generally served as "supportive" mechanisms for the implementation of Ministry policies.

"Demands" appeared to be expressed in a limited, situation-specific fashion in order to address matters related to policy execution. The chief reason for doing so was that many aspects of Ministry policy statements were unclear.

The findings indicated also that long-term coalitions were more prevalent than the short-term variety. Long-term coalitions were associated primarily with local organizations. This development appeared to be due in part to the nature of the problems confronting the school district and the need for continuous interaction because of overlapping jurisdictions.

The variables of policy and school district type serve as further bases for discussing operational characteristics.

(i) Regulatory policy characteristics. The operational characteristics of coalition in response to the integration policy are presented according to school
district type in Appendix K-2. The predominant linkages, or the external organizations with which school districts mainly combined, were the board of health, other school districts and the provincial trustees' association.

(ii) Distributive policy characteristics. The operational characteristics of coalition in response to this policy type are presented in Appendix K-3. The predominant linkages, or the external organizations with which school districts mainly combined, were local municipal agencies, the local community college, and the provincial trustees' association.

Comparison of Operational Characteristics

Did operational characteristics vary? Yes, differences in kind and number were discerned with respect to individual policy types and between policy types.

The operational characteristics of coalition in respect of regulatory policy differed according to school district type. The most obvious differences entailed the partisan metropolitan school district (Coast). This district used Members of the Legislative Assembly (M.L.A.s) as an intergovernmental linkage for regulatory policy. Other districts did not.

The operational characteristics of coalition for distributive policy differed according to type of school district. Again, these differences were due primarily to the
use of M.L.A.'s as an intergovernmental linkage by the partisan metropolitan school district (Coast).

Appendix K-4 provides a profile of the differences according to the concentration or focus of intergovernmental linkages with respect to features and corresponding attributes. The partisan metropolitan school district (Coast) displayed the most concentrated use of operational characteristics for regulatory policy. Concentration of use with respect to distributive policy was less clear-cut.

Certain general observations on coalition as a political response accrue from the operational characteristics. These observations are summarized in Appendix K-5. For example, school districts mostly coalesced with public organizations external to the school district. The sole exception was the British Columbia School Trustees Association (B.C.S.T.A.) which functioned as a privately incorporated association. Nevertheless, the B.C.S.T.A. served as an advocate of the public interest not unlike other public bodies noted in this study.

Selected public organizations with which school districts either actually coalesced, or had the opportunity to do so, are outlined in Appendix L. The school boards appointed trustees to liaise with most of these organizations.

A complete list of the organizations to which each of the school districts appointed representatives in a
liaison capacity is outlined in Appendix M.

After identifying the organizations external to the school districts with which coalitions did take place, it was also noticed that a statutory basis for coalitions appeared to exist. The School Act and other provincial statutes actually encouraged school districts to enter into joint ventures or coalitions with certain types of organizations. This statutory basis for coalitions was applicable to all school districts in British Columbia. It was interpreted, therefore, as a constant factor rather than as a behavioural feature of coalitions.

These statutory provisions are outlined in Appendix N. Elkin (1975:172), however, cautions that little in the way of actual relationships can be deduced from the "formal-legal situation." He states that legal characterizations of central-local government patterns are likely to be "insufficiently differentiated and too static" to capture the complexity of relationships and issues.

The operational characteristics of coalition and associated observations, moreover, serve as a basis for certain conclusions and related informed speculation.
Conclusions

The findings suggest two general conclusions about coalition as a political response. Firstly, school districts appeared to respond to Ministry policies through a network of coalitions. Coalitions within this network appeared to be already well-established prior to the announcement of the two policies.

This finding not only sustains the notion that organizations are not wholly self-sufficient, but suggests that school districts are embedded in an environment composed of "sets" of organizations. The three school districts were found to be members of multiple and overlapping sets of coalitions. Depending on circumstances, the coalitions were either dyadic, triadic, quadruplet or characterized by a greater combination of members. Elkin (1975:171) adds that:

A useful image in capturing the openness of city politics is that of a network of governmental organizations having as its focus the local territorial unit. The level of interdependence is relatively high between these organizations in the network as compared with that between these organizations and other actors.

Participation in this network of coalitions appeared to be influenced by environmental uncertainty and resource requirements. There may, however, have been another reason. The overlapping jurisdictions of local organizations appeared to demand that information be shared for purposes
of planning and co-ordination. A perspective offered by Hanson (1979: 96), for example, appears to acknowledge this possibility:

The school district surrounds, and is surrounded by, one of the most complex mixes of coalitions found in modern organization. This feature exists because, among other things, the school cannot conceal vital information as so many other organizational types can and do. The organization of the school is not only public business; it is "local" public business.

The means used by organizations to acquire resources, according to Pfeffer and Salancik (1978:2), consist of federations, associations, competitive relationships and a social-legal apparatus defining and controlling the limits of these relationships. This statement appears to characterize each school district in its network of coalitions with respect to the Ministry. Use of this network, however, did not appear to be a completely harmonious undertaking. For example, Andrew (1983: 162) observes that the fact that there is tension within intergovernmental relations indicates that local government institutions are more than just service delivery units. Institutions such as school districts are perceived to be governmental units which "coalesce, channel and reflect" the interests of different groups within the community.

The literature, however, suggests that coalition as a form of association for assuring the provision of
resources has received little attention to date. On the contrary, most writers appear to have concentrated on the problem of using or deploying resources (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978:3).

The second finding arising from the operational characteristics is that coalition as a political response was expressive of co-operative, not competitive, behaviour. The school districts attempted to co-operate with other organizations in supporting the intent of Ministry policies. This purpose of coalitions suggests that politics can be collaborative and supportive as well as a form of behaviour typified by competing demands and conflict. Housego (1972:16), for example, notes that the consensus arising from a "coalition of organizations" is only made operative either through cooperative action or through action of a superior body such as a provincial government.

Coalitions were found to be an expression of collaboration and a form of co-ordination. School trustees and other local politicians appeared openly to express their political affiliations. Ideology did not appear to be a major impediment in dealings with the Ministry. On the contrary, it appeared to facilitate coalition behaviour.

The close working relationships among local administrators, moreover, reinforced the purpose of coalitions. It has been noted, for example, that when personnel from different organizations are constantly in
contact because of organizational interdependency, they and their organizations will likely develop stable structures of interaction and behaviour to manage the interdependence and reduce uncertainty (Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978:220).

Graves (1964: 70), moreover, notes that the practice of cooperation between adjacent units of local government is possible and may be advantageous in almost any functional area within which local government units operate. School districts in metropolitan areas, for example, especially appear predisposed to coordination, since financial assistance from senior levels of government is coupled with requirements of planning and coordination (Adrian, 1976: 216).

Moreover, Adrian (1976: 216) has noted that in metropolitan areas a vast and complex communication network exists among the professions in various fields. In this particular study, coalitions between and among school districts, and school districts and municipalities in metropolitan areas, appeared to be closer knit than coalitions in the non-metropolitan area. This tendency appears due to some extent on the communication network of the various administrators and politicians who represent the different jurisdictions in metropolitan areas. Perhaps also it may be due simply to the greater number of jurisdictions in the metropolitan region which, as a consequence, warrants a high degree of coordination.
Coalitions appeared to be representative of the interdependency between and among organizations. The symbiotic relationship was self-reinforcing. Newman (1967: 460) long ago observed that coalitions may provide the quickest way to overcome a serious deficiency in vital resources. School districts appeared to be very conscious of, and adept at, nurturing this reason for interdependency.
CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT

The focal organization attempts to widen the scope of conflict by involving previously uninvolved parties, who, hopefully, will alter the balance of opinion and resources facing the organization dispensing the resource (Elkin, 1975, 175).

Conflict is endemic in political life. Left unrestrained, it can impair intergovernmental relations. School districts, therefore, attempt to control intergovernmental conflicts. Socialization of conflict or the expansion of it serves as a strategic means of control (Schattschneider, 1975, 6).

The theoretical literature disclosed that Elkin's definition of this political response was incomplete. The work of Schattschneider (1975), a political scientist responsible for originating the concept, was instructive in providing a more complete meaning.

According to Schattschneider (1975), local governments have two options for resolving conflicts with others. They may restrict it by "privatizing" conflict and keeping the number of participants and issues to a minimum. On the other hand, they may socialize conflict or expand its scope. Socialization of the conflict, for purposes of this study, therefore, means appealing to other organizations and
advancing different issues so as to exploit or discount the position of the adversary. Included in this definition is what Schattschneider refers to as the substitution of issues or the "displacement of conflicts."

The data clearly showed that the three school districts responded politically to provincial authorities by invoking "substitute issues"; that is, issues not directly related to the content of the two Ministry of Education programmes under study. Political behaviour, as a result, appeared to stimulate displacement or substitution of one issue by another. This process was most often expressed as improvements deemed necessary to meet certain local ideals, values or expectations. Some examples were the desire for improved communication among government ministries, the perceived reluctance of the Ministry of Education to acknowledge school district expertise, the perceived erosion of local autonomy, and the desire for amendments to the Provincial Education Finance Formula pertaining to intergovernmental fiscal arrangements.

Ways in which school districts appealed to other organizations, and the instruments used for socializing conflict were also considered important by respondents in this study. Analysis of the data revealed the use of the following devices: (i) provision to other districts of school district letters addressed to the Ministry, (ii) district newsletters to parents and taxpayers, (iii) the
local newspaper, (iv) the British Columbia School Trustees Association, (v) the Legislative Assembly, (vi) reaction to formal briefs, (vii) school board resolutions, and (viii) visitations from Ministry officials.

Repeated inspections of the data and reviews of the literature subsequent to data analysis resulted in this formal, expanded definition of socialization of the conflict as a political response:

(a) use of the response is ad hoc;

(b) the school district attempts to draw organizations external to the school district into the conflict between it and the Ministry of Education on a spontaneous basis in order to change the balance of forces affecting the outcome;

(c) visible use is made of certain instruments such as letters, newsletters, and members of the Legislative Assembly and the media in attempting to widen the scope of the conflict and to modify the expectations of the Ministry;

(d) school district personnel perceive the conflict as intense;

(e) the school district attempts to displace the conflict or augment it with the substitution of other conflicts, or with insertion of different conflicts. It does so by focussing on what it considers to be equally important but completely different issues or conflicts. The purpose is to demonstrate the merit of the school district's position.

The substitute intergovernmental issues invoked by the school districts and the instruments used for socializing conflict served as the two features of this political response. The instruments for socializing conflict, moreover, were grouped into three categories:
(i) use of district correspondence and public media, (ii) use of regional and provincial coalitions, and (iii) use of school district meetings. These categories, moreover, were found to accommodate the substitute issues raised by school districts. Findings, therefore, are reported in an integrated fashion. Substitute issues reflecting the "displacement of conflicts," for example, are reported in conjunction with the three types of instruments used to socialize conflict.

DISTRICT CORRESPONDENCE AND PUBLIC MEDIA

School board letters, district newsletters, and the local newspaper constituted this particular category of instruments for socializing conflict. The initiation and subsequent sharing of school board letters with other organizations appeared to be carried out spontaneously. On the other hand, the deployment of district newsletters and of the local newspaper appeared to be carefully planned.

School Board Letters

The organizations with which school boards shared correspondence had a general stake in the outcome of Ministry-school district conflict. In some instances they were ones with which the districts had formed a coalition. Individual school trustees were chiefly responsible for
suggesting that selected correspondence be shared with other organizations.

**Substitute or alternate issues.** The school boards shared communications directed to the Ministry about the integration and capital expenditure policies with the British Columbia School Trustees Association, other school boards, and Members of the Legislative Assembly.

In the course of reacting to the two Ministry policies, school boards invoked other intergovernmental policy issues. These different policy matters, however, were perceived to impact the local administration or management of policies; such as, integration and capital expenditure. School board minutes provide insights:

It is moved that the Board write to the Minister of Municipal Affairs, Bill Vander Zalm, concerning a recent statement he made about the elimination of school boards, and request clarification of his view and an explanation of what form of county government he is looking at; that it also write to the Minister of Education requesting his reaction to this statement, and further that the Board write to the Premier requesting a statement of policy on this matter.

It is moved that the letter from William Vander Zalm, Minister of Municipal Affairs, responding to the Board's concerns regarding his statements about local school boards be received; that the Board's views regarding the casual manner of proposing major changes in local government be referred to the B.C.S.T.A. Executive; and that a study be made from within our Board as to the possible impact this will have on the district.

(Minutes of Island School Board)
Because school boards informed the B.C.S.T.A. of their correspondence with the Ministries of Municipal Affairs and Education, this activity ostensibly resembled coalition. Socialization of the conflict, however, should be perceived differently. This particular response involved different school board expectations. There did not always appear to be a clear expectation by the school district initiating this response that other organizations, including those with which the school district coalesced, would be supportive.

District personnel, moreover, extended written invitations to M.L.A.s to visit the school district. Such invitations appeared to be designed as opportunities for further discussion of broad issues and possible expansion of conflict.

School District Newsletters

The school districts issued various kinds of newsletters to the public. The two Ministry policies tended to be featured in conjunction with local response to other Provincial Government policies. Newsletters were distributed regularly. They appeared to be an important component of the districts' community relations strategy.

Substitute or alternate issues. Socialization of the conflict appeared to be facilitated by an intricate system
of local newsletters. In one school district, separate newsletters were published by individual schools, the district central office, and the local municipal hall as a joint venture between the district and the municipality. The following commentary reflects the pride shown by the superintendent of schools responsible for these activities:

Our district in some ways pioneered the use of newsletters for other school districts. We did it by carefully organizing our publications, by making sure that we had something to say, and by not over-killing the subject matter. Lots of colour and the right choice of words helps. The result is that we produced a set of publications which was for a long-time -- and still is -- the envy of many districts. The Board makes sure that parents, taxpayers and the public know about district activities through our publications programme. We even sent a copy to the Minister of Education. He liked it and said so in a congratulatory letter. In the reply to us he cited our effort as an example for other districts.

(Interview with Superintendent, of Schools, Port School District)

Both school trustees and district officials were critical about perceived Ministry infringements on local autonomy. One trustee observed that the educational initiatives of the Provincial Government tended to be "ill-thought out and poorly communicated." While these sentiments did not appear in newsletters verbatim, the use of newsletters provided a means of accentuating the need for local control of schools.

A district official noted that local problems
appeared to be compounded by "an over-zealous Ministry". He added that:

The real action takes place inside schools. Newsletters get the true picture out to the public. There is a great deal of territorial invasion by the Ministry of Education. The Ministry has gone beyond its mandate for educational governance. The Minister forgets that there is another level of governance besides the Ministry level and the school district level and that level is the school. The latter is very important, but it is one which tends to suffer due to the machinations and conflict between the board and the Ministry. Consequently, the administration of the school, school staffs and parents are all being compromised by the Ministry of Education. The crux of the problem is that the Ministry is insensitive to local turf, ... the territorial rights that go with the smooth operation of a district.

Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Port School District)

The school districts tended to place the welfare of children at the forefront of their communications. A senior trustee stated that capital expenditure projects were not discussed solely in terms of dollars and building supplies. Trustees compared their respective districts to other school districts characterized by a similar socio-economic pattern.

These comparisons were reported in school district newsletters. In one district, the comparison revealed that pupil behaviour and general attitude to schooling were related to standards in school facilities. The implication was that pupil behaviour could be improved if the Ministry provided more discretionary authority for local capital
School districts also appeared to use newsletters to improve their image. In doing so they appeared to be reacting to the Minister of Education who had suggested that perhaps school districts did not deserve special status. Instead he advocated that they be "lumped" with other groups in the province; such as, the "parents for the teaching of French."

Newsletters appeared to reflect school board sensitivity to voter and taxpayer opinions amidst the pressures of working within the provincial-local context. Responsiveness to the wishes of the local electorate, in the opinion of school trustees, became difficult for school districts saddled with unexpected changes in Ministry of Education policy and organizational structure.

School districts wanted the Ministry to grant more discretion for local decision-making. This viewpoint was premised on trustee perceptions of local autonomy, increasingly complex local responsibilities, and the highly-regarded expertise of professional staff. These viewpoints also were addressed in B.C.S.T.A. newsletters distributed through the central office of the school district.

The reluctance of the Ministry to acknowledge school district expertise was another contentious issue. Expertise was viewed as an important resource for attaining district objectives. It was featured in school district newsletters
and acknowledged by a senior trustee in this manner:

This district is very fortunate to have a superintendent of such calibre as we do. He is very alert and strives to prepare us for all sorts of contingencies related to Ministry policies. We often don't know what to expect from Victoria and, when we do hear from them, we sometimes don't fully understand what they mean. The superintendent has more than once saved us from making the wrong decision; he helps us to comprehend the total picture.... Other central office officials are adept too. The board likes to think that part of the reason for the high quality of work by officials is due to the recent exercise where each official had to list their job description in as specific a form as possible. The work of each official, therefore, can be broken down into sets of functions. The assistant superintendent of operations, for example, has specific responsibilities in that he functions as the director of instruction, supervises the development of the special approval allocations and maintains contact with the Ministry of Education, coordinates the district's building programmes and planning, including the capital expenditure process, and develops systems to promote communication both with the public and within the school district.

(Interview with Senior School Trustee, Island School District)

Newsletters mainly originated from local schools and the district office. Two of the three school districts employed full-time "public relations" staff to handle this function. News items pertaining to the integration and capital expenditure policies were generally fused with other district news. These items commented on how the district was coping with local educational problems and the kinds of constraints outstanding.
Local Newspapers

School districts used newspapers from time to time to publicize issues. Where available, the district "public relations officer" was used to oversee communication with the press. At the same time, these media specialists assisted in school board and district office communications internal to the school district.

Substitute or alternate issues. The two metropolitan Vancouver school districts appeared to use the public media sparingly. Apparently, the daily newspapers concentrated on events in the largest metropolitan school district, Vancouver. A senior trustee lamented that "the school district next door gets all the press and we are in the shadows." The same respondent elaborated that:

Board meetings are covered by the weekly community paper and issues do get reported, but not to the same extent as Vancouver School District. It seems that just about everything in Vancouver School District gets reported in the press and with province-wide coverage too. The fact that the Vancouver School Board passed a motion to request Vancouver City Council and all the school districts in the metropolitan area to support the district's position on school taxes was big news... So was Vancouver School Board's motion to request the government to reduce the local cost of education in school districts in the metro area where the tax burden is excessive. Our board passed similar resolutions, but what gets reported are representations by parents or community groups concerning programme matters, or an interview perhaps with the superintendent and staff regarding matters specific to certain schools in the district.
(Interview with Senior Trustee, Coast School District)

Information released to parents, taxpayers and the local electorate emphasized how pupil programmes benefited from each school district's expertise. When issues were outlined through correspondence and the public media, care also was apparently taken to affirm that the school districts were working hard to resolve intergovernmental matters in dispute.

REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COALITIONS

The three school districts appeared to socialize conflict through two coalitions. These were with the British Columbia School Trustees Association and with the Legislative Assembly. The former was employed more than the latter. Both coalitions were regional and provincial in scope.

British Columbia School Trustees Association

The British Columbia School Trustees Association was a regular recipient of school district letters to the Ministry, and of other kinds of local information. School districts hoped that the trustees' association would ultimately publicize their concerns in provincial newsletters and at meetings of the association.
Substitute or alternate issues. Copies of the various B.C.S.T.A. newsletters were sent regularly to Members of the Legislative Assembly, to executive members of the British Columbia Teachers' Federation, to the British Columbia Association of Colleges, to the Union of British Columbia Municipalities and to senior officials within the Ministry of Education and other ministries. Proceedings of the Annual General Meetings of the B.C.S.T.A. appeared to receive in-depth coverage in the public media. Accordingly, concern about the integration policy was directed to the Ministry of Education at these meetings in this manner.

At the 1980 B.C.S.T.A. Annual General Meeting, the membership recognized the need for Association policies concerning the education rights of all children.

The B.C.S.T.A. Executive, at the time, stated that there were three important points that needed to be addressed in this area:

(1) At the present time there are no clearly stated provincial policies in British Columbia concerning the education rights of all children.

(2) A commitment to school districts from the government is required to safeguard the principle of equal education opportunities for all children.

(3) B.C.S.T.A. recommendations on the moral and financial issues surrounding this area of concern would be of great value to school districts and a needed influence on those responsible for provincial policies.

(Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, B.C.S.T.A.)

While school district personnel viewed their
expertise as vital to the success of Ministry policies, Ministry officials were not accorded the same distinction. Interestingly, no mention was made of the role or the "expertise" of the Ministry in educational governance by the chairman of the Coast School Board in his dual capacity as a B.C.S.T.A. Executive member:

It seems to me that one of the most important elements of education in our society is that we guarantee the continuance of free thought by keeping education free from any central political or special interest group control. Control must be in the hands of local lay people. And, it seems to me, the founders of our society guaranteed continuation of that local control and the resultant continuation of free thought by giving to the public the sovereign right of decision in the education of its children. ... An effective educational programme requires that both partners (trustees and teachers) respect the responsibilities of each other. The public is represented by, and speaks through, elected school boards and has the right to decide on the kind of education children shall have.

(B.C.S.T.A. Reports -- Newsletter)

Coalition with the B.C.S.T.A. was an instrumental means of socializing conflict. This result was partly due to the ease with which the B.C.S.T.A. could determine the local position of all school districts on a given Ministry policy. The corresponding position or response of school districts on a province-wide basis could then be quickly summarized and published. Moreover, the literature produced by the trustees' association generally suggested that the perceived erosion of local autonomy was a very contentious issue.
The Legislative Assembly

The three school districts mainly coalesced with the Opposition M.L.A.s in the Provincial Legislature, members of the New Democratic Party (N.D.P.). As a result, district concerns tended to be introduced for debate and legislative scrutiny by M.L.A.s of the Opposition party. The proceedings of legislative sessions were recorded verbatim. The ensuing official record of debates, Hansard, was subsequently used by representatives of the public media and private interest groups; such as, the local teachers' group and the provincial trustees' association.

Substitute or alternate issues. Questionable financial policies of the government, according to some respondents, were blamed for the "delays and continuous changes" experienced in the local capital planning process. Such policies appeared to suggest that school districts were requesting excessive financial allocations and were planning capital expenditures inappropriately. One M.L.A., as a result, worked with metropolitan school districts to socialize conflict this way:

As far as the people in my own riding are concerned, all they see is an increase in their school taxes, and they see the Provincial Government putting in less and less each year. As a matter of fact, I think we are all aware that from the time the Social Credit Government took office, their share of school taxation has dropped and local taxation has increased. Yet on the other
side of the House we hear what great help that Government has been to the taxpayers of British Columbia.

I want to protest something now. That is the fact that I understand the municipalities of British Columbia have been told to include in their tax notices a statement to the effect, in essence, that their Provincial Government is so great because they have been given this increased money from revenue-sharing. They have been told to put that in their tax notices. I say if they are telling the municipalities to put that in their tax notices, the municipalities have a right to say how much the provincial school tax has increased and how much this Government has dropped its share. This Government when it comes to PR is something else.... I think we had better start looking at what kind of autocratic government we have over there running the affairs of this Province.

(Debates of the Legislative Assembly)

The potential for expanding the scope of conflict through provincial coalitions was considerable. As noted already, the B.C.S.T.A. shared newsletters and communicated with all Members of the Legislative Assembly. At the same time, the debates of the Legislative Assembly were available for public consumption by constituents in local electoral districts through daily newspapers. B.C.S.T.A. newsletters, moreover, incorporated extracts or summaries of selected legislative debates. Similarly, the local teachers' associations distributed extracts to their members.

Both types of coalition appeared to play major roles in socializing conflict, particularly through the introduction of intergovernmental issues other than the two Ministry of Education policies under study.
SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS

This category of instruments for socializing conflict consisted of three devices: (i) reaction to formal briefs, (ii) school board resolutions, and (iii) visitations from Ministry officials. The first two of these instruments were employed during formal public meetings of the board. Reaction to visitations from Ministry of Education personnel, on the other hand, occurred during private meetings of Ministry officials, trustees and district officials.

Reaction to Formal Briefs

The three school boards and their district officials received periodic briefs from organized interest groups concerning the two Ministry policies. These groups were ones such as the local teachers' association, the local chapter of the association for children with learning disabilities, and parent groups affiliated with individual schools. The processing of such briefs provided an indirect opportunity to react to Ministry policies.

Substitute or alternate issues. Neither the school boards, nor district officials appeared to be preoccupied with any single issue or interest group. Intergovernmental
issues appeared to be processed as they emerged from discussion. The substance of these issues appeared to necessitate subsequent Ministry-school district interaction.

One superintendent of schools, for example, described the following action taken by the district officials:

When the local chapter of the Association for Children with Learning Disabilities presented the school board with a three page brief suggesting an organizational plan for the integration of the handicapped, we worked hard to avoid turning the problem into a politically contentious issue. ...But, we were only half successful. It is difficult to keep discussion of a problem to its educational value. Since the substance of the Chapter's brief pertained to programmes, staffing, and the housing of an appropriate learning environment for the children, the school board directed the staff to compile a study of the feasibility of implementing the proposals in the brief. Ultimately, the substance of the brief and the staff study were channelled to the Ministry for consideration.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Coast School District)

Briefs from the local teachers' associations were presented to school boards by the respective presidents of the associations. These briefs mainly pertained to teacher welfare issues. Ramifications of the Ministry's integration policy were outlined in this manner by one president:

The main areas of concern which we try to include in our briefs to the board deal with financial costs. Everytime there is a change in the educational program, there is a financial cost.
The expectations and views of the classroom teacher are seldom taken into account. Little direction is provided to these individuals and only a meager amount of financial aid is available. Also, the classroom teacher is simply not trained to cope with the many problems underlying Ministry policies; such as, integration of the handicapped. ... We usually send copies of these briefs to the British Columbia Teachers' Federation (B.C.T.F.) in Vancouver.

(Interview with President, Island Teachers Association)

Teacher associations emphasized that the integration policy affected working conditions. Teachers anticipated an increase in workload. These briefs, therefore, suggested that "proper implementation" of the Ministry's policy was contingent upon smaller classes. One president summarized this impact on teachers as follows:

The board sees the handicapped issue and the need to spend money on capital projects essentially the same way as the teachers do. Teachers in other districts, however, have quite a problem with their boards over the integration policy. Vancouver School District, for example, is experiencing tremendous difficulties because of the large numbers of children with learning difficulties. Teachers have not been properly prepared to deal with the infusion of handicapped children into their classrooms, and classroom aides are not always provided. There is also the matter of financial costs.

(Interview with President, Port Teachers Association)

The school administrators' groups, on the other hand, preferred to channel briefs to the district officials. In contrast to teacher association briefs, this
communication appeared to be informal. It tended to address cases of individual children rather than a broad category of problems or personnel. The president of the administrators' association in one school district provided this insight:

There is good rapport between the administrators association and the central office, particularly the special education department. In many ways, the administrators' association represents the same kinds of interests as the teachers' association -- economic welfare, personnel practices and professional development. Both groups influence policy-making within the district regarding Ministry policies. Unlike the teachers, however, the administrators' group deals with issues more specifically. Administrators deal with matters regarding the transfer of staff. We try to match teachers who have corresponding skills and the disposition for working with the handicapped with the different kinds of special education classes. We work in the same way, I guess, that the superintendent and his staff attempt to match administrators to particular types of schools.

(Interview with President, Island Administrators Association)

During school board meetings, officials and school trustees reminded parents, taxpayers and others in attendance that the Ministry never totally covers the cost of educating the handicapped. In the course of being interviewed, one senior trustee reflected this tendency by reiterating that "The Ministry appears to be pretty rigid at the present time. It is penny-wise and pound-foolish."

Moreover, the "Capital Expenditure Projects Branch" of the Ministry in Victoria was perceived to be insensitive to the local "economic booms" being experienced by the small
urban centers in British Columbia. The need for "meaningful Ministry assistance" was voiced at school board meetings, given changing community circumstances.

Local administrative staff in special education, not the Ministry of Education, were deemed at school board meetings to have borne "the lions' share of work" in integration of the handicapped. These staff were credited with "specialized knowledge". It consisted of a technical information base pertaining to diagnosis, care and availability of regional services. These considerations also appeared to serve as substitute intergovernmental issues pertaining to the integration of handicapped children. While acknowledging that relations between officials of the district special education department and the Ministry were good, school districts attempted to deflate Ministry responsibility for successful implementation of the integration policy.

Ironically, in the course of suggesting other issues, or what Schattschneider refers to as substituting one conflict for another, district officials took pride in their role as civil servants who tried to do their utmost "to avoid matters getting out of hand" or "political problems" with the Ministry. One superintendent, however, could not refrain from saying that "thanks to the foresight of local professional staff, integration already had commenced to a limited extent in school districts sometime
before the announcement of this policy by the Education Ministry."

School Board Resolutions

The formal motions of school trustees, when endorsed by a majority of the school board, appeared to be an effective device for focussing attention on intergovernmental issues. These resolutions were ultimately conveyed to the Ministry of Education through school board minutes. The debate which preceded board resolutions appeared to involve issues broad enough to accommodate concerns about integration and capital expenditures.

Substitute or alternate issues. Respondents suggested that intergovernmental relations were strained as a result of poor Ministry leadership and direction. For example, school districts were apprehensive that the capital expenditure process, and financial matters generally, would be severely constrained through the introduction in 1980 of a new Financial Administration Act. This provincial initiative was perceived as hindering rather than helping the implementation of Ministry policies generally. School districts, therefore, objected to the impending stringent standards for public financial control and management. This substitute issue was documented in the following board motions:
It is moved that the Provincial Minister of Finance be notified with a copy to the local M.L.A., and a copy to the Minister of Education, voicing in the strongest terms, its opposition to the proposed Financial Administration Act, which, in its draft form, would negate the democratic base of locally controlled education, bypassing the duties, responsibilities and accountability of locally elected people.

It is moved that a press release be prepared concerning the above matter and that this release should emphasize the main objections stated in the letter to the minister, namely: (i) the unacceptability of civil service autonomy over locally-elected people, (ii) the removal of collective bargaining from the local level of control, (iii) the fact that the government will have the power to neutralize any organization which threatened the government of the day, and (iv) the new Act would give civil servants a degree of power which even our nation's courts have denied themselves.

(Minutes of Island School Board)

School districts also attempted to exploit the position of the Minister of Education. Interviewees stressed that the educational priorities and political insensitivity of the Minister of Education adversely affected intergovernmental relations. This problem appeared to be addressed openly at school board meetings. School districts appeared to be generally frustrated with the lack of attention paid by the Minister of Education to their local concerns. The following comment is indicative:

We find the current Minister of Education to be less knowledgeable about the political realities of school districts than his predecessor, but readier than his predecessor to learn about school district affairs. The former Minister, however,
was very accessible and responsive to the voice of trustees even though he appeared to come across as arrogant through the media. When the Minister stipulated that the community can meet the needs of every group, that is, by sending the mentally ill back to the local community, he is really missing the point of delivering services to the handicapped. Things should not be decentralized to the extent which they are right now with integration. The fault lies with the Minister and the way that the Ministry of Education is organized. They are too far removed from where things are actually happening to know what the policy is all about.

(Interview with Chairman of the Board, Island School District)

The three school districts viewed the integration policy within the fabric of their perceived local responsibilities. Some school trustees suggested that if they did not raise issues about Ministry policy, who would? Along with this orientation was the feeling that the Ministry of Education could not really articulate much of its policy in practical terms. The handicapped policy, for example, was perceived as "a classic example of the Ministry's inability to provide appropriate guidelines and detail." Another comment, expressed brazenly, but in a light-hearted manner, was not uncommon:

We don't put much stock in official policy statements of the Ministry of Education.

(Interview with the Superintendent of Schools, Coast School District)

At the same time, a senior trustee observed that
school trustees were deserving of more credit for the stands taken at board meetings. This issue was rationalized as follows:

A great concern of mine centres around trustees who have been responsive to requests from their community and staff for improved educational resources; such as, buildings, programmes, staffs and conditions. Many of my colleagues have been prepared to stand up and to be counted in this regard and, in some cases, have taken personal abuse when they have fought for class size reduction, English as a Second Language programmes, in-service training, employee benefits and special educational programmes. Many have been labelled irresponsible, pro-teacher, and, when they exceeded the 110 per cent in budget allocations, fiscally irresponsible. ... These people are not pro-teacher; they are pro-education.

(Interview with Chairman of the Board, Port School District)

School board resolutions reflected "the official position" of the districts on intergovernmental matters. Debates, prior to resolutions, included a wide range of issues. Examples were the leadership style and direction of the Minister of Education, the inability of the Ministry to provide appropriate policy guidelines and procedures, and the desire of certain school trustees for expanded educational programmes amidst countervailing pressures for restraint.
Visitations from Ministry Officials

School districts in British Columbia were divided into six zones by the Ministry to facilitate liaison between provincial and local officials. Senior Ministry officials visited districts from time to time, primarily to consult with the superintendent of schools and other district staff. These meetings were intended for officials only. The participation of school trustees, however, provided an opportunity for expanding the scope of issues.

Substitute or alternate issues. Trustees and district officials expressed annoyance that the Education Ministry always appeared to be in a state of structural reorganization. Because of perceptions of "questionable political agendas" and constant reorganization of the bureaucracy in Victoria, they concluded that the Ministry of Education had an "identity problem." This perception was vividly described by one trustee:

Last year there was another reorganization of the Ministry of Education. They seem to be forever organizing. We invited the person in the Ministry whom we liaison with, a fairly senior official, down to the district to show him what we are doing. While at lunch, we asked him what would happen to the state of public education if the Ministry were to suddenly disappear. This official was hard-pressed for an answer. He really couldn't answer the question adequately. All of us concluded that, locally, things would go on as if nothing happened. Even this senior Ministry official acknowledged that their role is nebulous. They have quite an identity problem! The tragedy
of all this is that others in the Ministry do not see the reality of the situation.

(Interview with Chairman of the Board, Port School District)

The perceived need for a healthier climate of intergovernmental relations extended beyond the Ministry of Education and local school districts. Respondents stated that visiting Ministry officials were apprised of the need for better coordination among the various ministries of the Provincial Government. Improvements were desired also in the relations between school districts and ministries other than Education. These views were expressed mostly in reference to the integration policy. The capital expenditure policy did not appear to be as contentious in respect to these particular ideals.

The state of intergovernmental fiscal arrangements was long considered by districts to be unsatisfactory. It appeared to be a major point of discussion with visiting officials. Intergovernmental financial arrangements directly affected district operations. As a result, provincial levels of funding were deemed to be insufficient in respect to the two Ministry policies and other programmes. The following comments were characteristic:

Nothing will be changed until there is a new finance formula worked out co-operatively between the Ministry of Education and local school districts. Because metropolitan school districts, like Coast, have an inordinately large share of
handicapped children in relation to other districts, there is a real need for more funding. ... Furthermore, capital expenditures will be more of a financial issue in the future as buildings become older and the cost of energy becomes higher.

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Coast School District)

The provincial finance formula for education appeared to overshadow all other issues. Accordingly, this intergovernmental issue was described as follows by a senior trustee:

Considering that we pay close to one hundred percent of our budget, we are inclined to tell the visiting officials from the Ministry what we want to do with our budget. ... We have to protect our interests and remind the Ministry of our special circumstances related to the planning process.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Port School District)

Similarly, a district official, when commenting on the educational finance formula and visits from Ministry officials, emphasized that:

Right now there is terrific tension between us because of the increased tax base of properties within the district. Hence, the integration issue cannot be divorced from finance. The scales have tipped too far. We actually have to send money back to the Ministry.

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Port School District)

The issue of school district expertise also extended
to the capital expenditure policy. Central office officials, for example, were emphatic about the need to lessen the number of mandatory affidavits used to attest that Ministry funds would indeed be spent as stipulated in the school district's capital expenditure proposal. Visiting Ministry officials were told that school districts possessed staff with appropriate professional credentials to oversee cost-shared expenditures between the province and the district. This conflict was described as having the following basis:

The problem comes down to the mechanics of the procedure. There is simply too much paperwork involved. The ministry already knows my feelings about it. There are 'series upon series' of forms to be filled out. The Ministry requires the district to obtain approval of each of these series of forms such as 'sketch plans', 'approval for tender', and 'approval for bidding'. The Board, of course, has to pass motions in each instance. There were three or four separate approvals needed, for example, in the case of one recent capital expenditure proposal. The board has to pass four motions for each proposal. I have to make several trips to our lawyer's office for each individual proposal. In my opinion these trips to the law office are a waste of time ... They hold the process up!

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Coast School District)

A wide range of intergovernmental issues appeared to be on the agenda of meetings among trustees, local officials and visiting Ministry personnel. The integration and capital expenditure policy tended to be fused with broader issues; such as, local apprehension over the centralization of
public education and the need for improvements in cost-sharing of special education programmes generally. School district officials and trustees evidently thought that Ministry officials would report these local concerns to the Assistant Deputy Minister responsible for school programmes, and to the Deputy Minister of Education or the Minister.

**SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION**

Summary observations are presented with respect to applicable research questions. Additionally, using theoretical perspectives, certain concluding remarks are provided and informed speculations advanced to further explain socialization of the conflict as a political response.

**Identification of Operational Characteristics**

Did the three school districts socialize conflict? Yes, socialization of the conflict was employed by each school district for both policy types. It was used with relative similarity. Welsh (1973:114), however, observes that "conflicts may vary in their origins, in the ways in which they are handled, in their duration, and in the intensity or commitment that they manifest or generate." Although there were times when the school districts appeared to particularly emphasize certain instruments for
socializing conflict and issues, the districts mostly appeared to handle conflicts as a matter of routine [see Appendix 0-1].

The two Ministry policies appeared to be overshadowed by and part of larger intergovernmental issues. These "substitute issues", or what Schattschneider refers to as "displacement of conflicts", had been contentious ones for some time. A possible reason for this development is suggested by Gurr (1980:450) who observes that:

All political authorities have a limited capacity to deal with issues. This capacity is determined by the political culture within which the authorities operate, the types of demands with which they must cope, the resources available to meet these demands, and the nature of the political institutions that process the issues.

Socialization of conflict appears to be a form of conflict management. It has been observed, for example, that since the strength of contestants is known well in advance, it is in the interests of weaker parties to enlist outsiders in their cause (Gurr, 1980:450). This mode of conflict management appears applicable to smaller scale as well as larger scale conflicts. Schattschneider (1960), for example, emphasizes that the seriousness of conflict is determined by the "scope of its contagion." This study appears to support Schattschneider's observation. Given the tendency of respondents to give priority to substitute issues and to discuss the two Ministry of Education policies in the
context of broader intergovernmental problems, it may be inferred that the two Ministry policies under study were "smaller scale" issues.

The data indicated that socialization of intergovernmental conflict provides a useful "democratic" function. Schattschneider (1957), for example, refers to the political process in a democracy as a management of conflict. Conflict itself, according to Schattschneider, resolves many conflicts, since the issues which government promotes and on which feelings are most intense overcome lesser issues.

Socialization of the conflict provided an opportunity for the school districts to express their views on intergovernmental relations generally and to define alternatives to their advantage. Other observations may be discerned from the operational characteristics.

Operational Characteristics

The operational characteristics basically were found to consist of two features: (i) the various instruments used to socialize conflict and (ii) the substitute or alternate issues raised by the school districts. The attributes and examples of intergovernmental linkages associated with these features constitute the operational characteristics of coalition as a political response. A simplified classification is outlined in Figure 7.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes of Coalition</th>
<th>Instruments for Socializing Conflict</th>
<th>Substitute Issues in Socializing Conflict</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DISTRICT CORRESPONDENCE AND THE PUBLIC MEDIA</td>
<td>(ie School Board Letters; School District Newsletters and the Local Newspaper)</td>
<td>PROGRAM-RELATED ISSUES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COALITIONS</td>
<td>(ie The British Columbia School Trustees' Association (B.C.S.T.A.) and The Legislative Assembly)</td>
<td>(ie perceived erosion of local autonomy; local expertise not recognized enough; desire for expanded special education programs; desire for assistance with teacher professional development needs; desire for change in Provincial Finance Formula)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS</td>
<td>(ie Reaction to Formal Briefs; School Board Resolutions and Visitations from Ministry Officials)</td>
<td>COMMUNICATION-RELATED ISSUES</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(ie desire for improved communication among Ministries of Government; lack of stability in Ministry of Education organizational structure; desire for improved access to Provincial Government Ministries; leadership of Minister of Education requires improvement; unclear Ministry of Education policies and guidelines; consultation wanted before announcement of major policy changes)</td>
</tr>
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</table>

Figure 7
Features and Attributes of Socialization of the Conflict
The school districts appeared to effectively socialize conflict by sharing correspondence addressed to the Ministry and selected branches of the Provincial Government with other school districts, M.L.A.s and the B.C.S.T.A. In doing so, the school districts hoped to gain additional support for their cause. Also, by working through existing coalitions, perhaps the school districts considered that they might be perceived as having a greater base of strength. Distribution of a school district's reaction to formal briefs through newsletters and the public media also appeared to effectively publicize the perceived merits of a school district's position in respect of Ministry of Education policies.

As noted, the school districts displaced the two Ministry of Education policies by introducing other issues in the course of responding to the Ministry. The two Ministry policies under study, therefore, were overshadowed by more pervasive intergovernmental issues. These substitute issues were considered to be major impediments to school district—Ministry transactions. Certain of these substitute issues, such as, the perceived erosion of local autonomy, appeared to be closely related to the local management and control of school district programmes. Other issues, such as, the perceived need for more communication among ministries of the Provincial Government, appeared to pertain to perceived problems with intergovernmental communication
and coordination. Substitute issues, therefore, were classified in terms of substantive issues directly related to local school district programmes and less directly related issues pertaining to intergovernmental communication.

The findings indicated also that the expression of substitute issues tended to be highly interrelated. Similar issues, for example, appeared to be conveyed through district correspondence and the public media, regional and provincial coalitions, and school board meetings. The school districts, however, did not appear to maximize each of these opportunities for socializing conflict. The local newspaper and M.L.A.s might have been used more fully. Instead, the school districts preferred to share correspondence with the B.C.S.T.A. to highlight selected issues. This approach, nevertheless, appeared to be constructive, since multiple issues could be accommodated easily through the many ongoing activities of the provincial trustees' association.

The variables of policy and school district type serve as a further basis for discussing operational characteristics.

**Regulatory policy characteristics.** The operational characteristics in response to the integration policy are presented according to school district type in Appendix O-2. A broad spectrum of intergovernmental linkages came into play, mainly composed of the following: different types of
school district newsletters, copies of school district letters, and use of M.L.A.s and the B.C.S.T.A. as a forum for discussion and media coverage.

**Distributive policy characteristics.** The operational characteristics in response to this policy type are presented in Appendix O-3. The predominant linkages were the local newspaper, different types of newsletters, sharing copies of school district letters, notification of M.L.A.s, and the use of the B.C.S.T.A. as a forum for discussion and media coverage.

**Comparison of Operational Characteristics**

Did operational characteristics differ? Yes, differences in kind were discerned with respect to individual policy types and between policy types.

The operational characteristics of socialization of the conflict for regulatory policy differed according to school district type. The most obvious difference occurred in respect to the partisan metropolitan school district (Coast). This district sent copies of correspondence intended for the Ministry to several neighbouring school districts. Additionally, this district communicated its concerns both directly to local M.L.A.s and indirectly to other M.L.A.s through the services of the provincial school trustees' association.
The operational characteristics of socialization of the conflict for distributive policy differed according to type of school district. Again, this difference was due primarily to the use of M.L.A.s as an intergovernmental linkage by the partisan metropolitan school district (Coast). Additionally, this district appeared to employ the local newspaper, and provided copies of correspondence intended for the Ministry to neighbouring school districts more extensively than the other two districts.

Appendix 0-4 provides a profile of differences according to the concentration or focus of intergovernmental linkages, features, and corresponding attributes. The partisan metropolitan school district (Coast) appeared to display the most concentrated use of operational characteristics for both policy types. This district, for example, involved the Members of the Legislative Assembly much more than the other two districts.

Certain general observations of this political response accrue from the operational characteristics. These are summarized in Appendix 0-5. For example, the school districts socialized conflict with respect to the two Ministry policies through a variety of related issues. As noted already, these other issues were not new to intergovernmental relations, but of a pervasive and long-standing order.

The use of newsletters and the local press also
appeared to be an integral part of public relations. The two largest districts had full-time public relations officers devoted to the dissemination of information. These officers appeared to monitor various interest groups within the local community as part of their function. The school districts may have had another objective in using local newsletters -- to exert direct influence on local taxpayers.

The school trustees appeared to exercise considerable leadership in socializing conflict. They issued instructions to district staff, for example, to send letters to neighbouring districts and the B.C.S.T.A. Moreover, interaction during seminars, regional meetings and the Annual General Meeting (A.G.M.) of the provincial trustees' association appeared to be undertaken mostly by school board members.

The school trustees also openly expressed their thoughts and exercised judgment in respect to the substance of briefs presented to the school boards. Accordingly, their reactions, especially board resolutions, were recorded in the minutes of school board meetings. These minutes were then conveyed to the Ministry of Education regularly as stipulated in the School Act. Occasionally, the school boards instructed district officials to compile special briefs for submission to the Ministry. Since the Ministry monitored the school board minutes, this avenue may have provided a consistent means of presenting the school
districts' arguments to the Ministry.

Conclusions

The findings suggest that socialization of conflict was a positive exercise. As a political response, it appeared to be a routine means of managing dependence. Neither the purpose, nor the process, appeared to be destructive or vindictive in respect to the Ministry of Education. On the contrary, attempts by the school districts to draw in other districts and the public, in conjunction with substitution of issues, indicate that this particular response may be helpful for conflict resolution.

Political conflict appears well-rooted in democracy. Mitchell and Mitchell (1969:509), for example, note that something so universal as conflict could hardly survive as a political and social practice without some advantages or useful purposes. According to these students of political behaviour, "the question then, is not whether conflict is good or bad, but which forms have what consequences?" Budge (1970:12), furthermore, observes that conflicts appear to automatically impose their own limits on divisions in stable democracies. Therefore, conflict may be viewed as a political process that works and produces results (Mitchell and Mitchell, 1969:509).

In socializing conflict, the school districts appeared to be making use of certain opportunities to gain
attention and thereby possibly win support for their cause. The variety of opportunities available also suggests that resolution of conflicts may take place in different arenas and with the participation of different groups.

The sharing of intergovernmental correspondence with Members of the Legislative Assembly and the British Columbia School Trustees Association reflects a vertical or "local-provincial" dimension of socializing conflict. On the other hand, the sharing of correspondence with other local authorities reflects a horizontal or "inter-local" orientation. Both dimensions suggest that interdependence between and among organizations is an important factor. According to Pfeffer and Salancik (1978:67), conflict is not possible without interdependence, since its absence provides no connection between organizations and hence no basis for conflict.

Local government is regarded as being the nexus of the intergovernmental system. Glendening and Reeves (1977), for example, note that the local level serves as a point of convergence for the horizontal and vertical relations resulting from long-established patterns of interactions, both conflicting and co-operative, among the "multitude of governments." Correspondingly, Schattschneider (1975) reminds us that the "outcome of all conflict is determined by the 'scope' of its contagion." This observation of Schattschneider's is now generally recognized as a truism
Glendening and Reeves, 1977). Glendening and Reeves, furthermore, emphasize that the sheer number of intergovernmental participants and transactions at the local level maximizes the potential for problems there.

Given these characteristics of intergovernmental relations, school districts appear to have the option of expanding the scope of conflict or of delimiting it. This study indicated that school districts chose to expand conflict by introducing or substituting other issues when appealing to groups, including the Ministry of Education, for support. This political response is not deemed to be synonymous, however, with a "redefinition" of the nature of the conflict. Welsh (1973:116) describes conflict displacement this way:

It involves not actually dealing with a given conflict, but rather focusing attention on a "substitute" conflict that might be capable of draining off energies that had been devoted to the other conflict, and which might also be more easily resolved. Not only is it the case that resources available to deal with important societal conflicts are limited, but the energies and attentions of the political authorities who must ultimately deal with these conflicts can be stretched only to a point.

As only a finite number of conflicts can attract public attention at any one time, Pirages (1976:16) notes that organizations carefully choose the political issues they wish to emphasize. Moreover, Pirages views political processes as being devoted to the domination and
subordination of many potential conflicts. In this respect, Pirages (1976:17) supports the observations of Schattschneider (1960) and Welsh (1973) that organizations are involved in the substitution of more manageable for less manageable lines of cleavage.

Another conclusion arising from the operational characteristics is that socialization of the conflict involves competitive behaviour. Exposing Ministry policies to critical examination by multiple groups, often in the context of broader intergovernmental issues, reflects this competitive orientation. Forums, such as, the Legislative Assembly, the provincial trustees' association and the local community, are characterized by competing ideologies from which the school districts apparently hoped to elicit support. Most clearly indicative of competition, however, was the fact that school districts worked proactively to reinforce their positions with respect to the Ministry.

This conclusion becomes further evident through the distinction between conflict and competition. Such a distinction is deemed to be useful when discussing political conflict (Mack and Snyder, 1957; Pirages, 1976; and Gurr, 1980). Building on the work of Mack and Snyder (1957), Pirages (1976:6) states that in political conflict:

A clear distinction between competition and conflict cannot easily be made in the real world. Just as competitors in football or basketball sometimes cheat, political competitors "more or
"less" follow rules unless they can find ways to effectively circumvent them. One of the tacitly understood rules of the political game is that changing or violating the rules is acceptable as long as violators don't get caught and are willing to pay penalties if they do. Thus the political competition-conflict relationship is best visualized as a continuum ranging from competitive-nonviolent-nondestructive behaviour in conformity with rules at one extreme and to conflict-violent-destructive behaviour in violation of established norms at the other, with much of the intervening behaviour being neither clearly competition nor clearly conflict.

Competitive behaviour, therefore, reflects a chosen political approach within a range of possible behaviours. Whether and how politicians in the real world try to reallocate power by managing the scope of conflict are viewed by Schattschneider (1975:15) as important questions. Schattschneider underlines their importance in shedding light on "the dynamics of politics", "on what actually happens in the political process" and "on what can or cannot be accomplished in the political system."

For Schattschneider (1975:12), the role of government in modern society is to a considerable extent a question of the scale of conflict. He perceives government as the greatest single instrument for the socialization of conflict in a democratic community. "Competitiveness", according to Schattschneider, is the mechanism for the expansion of conflict. As a result, Schattschneider (1975:13) concludes that "government thrives on conflict."

Gurr (1980:428) observes that political authorities
everywhere are faced with problems of scarcity. Therefore, it seems natural for local authorities such as school districts to compete for scarce resources and positions of influence. Tension, uncertainty and disagreement appear to be byproducts of this intergovernmental competition. Budge (1970), Pirages (1976) and Gurr (1980), however, concur that conflict in political systems is conditioned by certain constraints or "rules of the game."

Schattschneider (1975) also calls for a sense of proportion. He notes, for example, that at the outset of every political conflict the relations of the "belligerents" and the audience are typically unstable. He adds that the relations are impossible to calculate since all quantities in the equation are indeterminate until "all of the bystanders" have been committed.

Schattschneider (1975:18) emphasizes that the distinctive quality of political conflicts is that relations between the "players and audience" are not well defined and there is usually nothing to keep the audience from getting into "the game." His description of political conflict is instructive (Schattschneider, 1975: 66-68):

Political conflict is not like an intercollegiate debate in which the opponents agree in advance on the definition of issues. As a matter of fact, the definition of alternatives is the supreme instrument of power; the antagonists can rarely agree on what the issues are because power is involved in the definition. ...
All politics deals with the displacement of
conflicts or efforts to resist the displacement of conflicts. The substitution of conflicts looks like an argument about what the argument is all about, but politicians are not as confused as they seem to be.

Socialization of conflict is susceptible to certain checks. As already noted, conflicts appear to impose their own limits upon divisions in stable democracies. Also, the role of the public media in reporting and monitoring political conflicts in whatever forum -- board meetings, B.C.S.T.A., or the Legislative Assembly -- is an important factor for keeping conflict in check. Mitchell and Mitchell (1969:506), for example, state that:

Not to be overlooked is the important role to be played by the press in publicizing the investigations and stimulating public outrage at violations of the rules of the game. The role of the press in competitive processes can never be underestimated; not only does it dramatize the contest and thus stimulate public interest, but it also provides socialization about what the norms of conduct should be.

Elkin (1975:173) reminds us that the management of dependence by a local authority has as its purpose the protection or expansion of the local organization's domain. The organization, notes Elkin, seeks assurance that it will continue to perform its current functions, or it seeks to add to the level of performance or functions, each of these requiring acquisition of a variety of resources ranging from material ones to prestige.
In summary, two conclusions were discerned from the practice of this political response. Firstly, socialization of the conflict appeared to be a "democratic" means of conflict resolution. The school districts, for example, capitalized on opportunities to gain the attention of the Ministry, to enlist others in support of local preferences and to displace possibly "lesser issues" with more intense ones. Secondly, this political response appeared to be a positive form of competition or debate, rather than a destructive exercise. The school districts, for example, used a variety of communication outlets to expose Ministry of Education policies to critical examination and potential improvement.

Attempts to socialize conflict may also result in the shifting of the arena of decision-making (Elkin, 1975:175). The supraorganizations included in "Regional and Provincial Coalitions" satisfied this function to a limited extent. Therefore, this study appears to reinforce Elkin's hypothesis that socialization of the conflict also is likely to be related to "making use of a supraorganization."
CHAPTER SIX

MAKING USE OF A SUPRAORGANIZATION

In setting up or making use of a supraorganization, the focal organization attempts to shift the arena of decision to one in which it is more favoured. This may be done by shifting the decision to an already existing organization in which the focal actor and the other organization are "members", or working towards setting up such an arena (Elkin, 1975: 175).

Elkin's definition suggests two possible variants of this political response. "Making use of a supraorganization" may entail the "setting up" or the establishment of a new supraorganization. Alternatively, it may involve the ongoing use of an already existing supraorganization. This study revealed that the three school districts made use of existing supraorganizations. They did not attempt to establish new ones.

The supraorganizations identified in the course of this study were the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee, the British Columbia School Trustees Association, the Legislative Assembly, the Provincial Cabinet, and Provincial Government Ministries, such as, Human Resources, Health, Attorney-General, and Lands, Parks and Housing. It should be noted that the names used for these Provincial Government Ministries were ones in force at the time of this study.
Using a supraorganization ostensibly resembles coalition and socialization of the conflict. The data revealed that these overt political responses were interrelated in practice. Making use of a supraorganization, however, may also be viewed as a distinct type of response. Supraorganizations served as a credible, and often necessary, "third party", invited to intervene with respect to issues involving resource allocation because of certain jurisdictional responsibilities. The mandate or jurisdiction of the British Columbia School Trustees Association, for example, was perceived to include not only the representation of school district viewpoints, but also the mediation of intergovernmental issues.

Supraorganizations have distinct jurisdictional authority and responsibilities. The Provincial Cabinet, for example, considered the feasibility of local proposals in response to Ministry of Education policies and distributed funds accordingly. The Inter-Ministry Children's Committee, on the other hand, was an intermediary body which coordinated intergovernmental communication pertaining to handicapped children. Additionally, it was used to influence Provincial Government agencies of the need to allocate resources to integrated programmes.

Repeated inspections of the data and further reviews of the literature resulted in this formal, expanded definition of making use of a supraorganization:
(a) the jurisdiction of the supraorganization is provincial in scope;

(b) the supraorganization is one of the following three types: (i) inter-ministerial, such as, the cabinet, Treasury Board or an inter-ministry committee; (ii) ministerial, such as, the Ministry of Intergovernmental Relations; or (iii) non-ministerial, such as, the British Columbia School Trustees Association or a court of law;

(c) the supraorganization may be regulatory, such as, the Legislative Assembly or non-regulatory, such as, the British Columbia School Trustees Association;

(d) the supraorganization may be an association with which groups within the school district are affiliated and which may assist in mediating a resolution to conflicts;

(e) the supraorganization assists the school district in achieving certain goals which the school district cannot do because of lack of resources.

The school districts used supraorganizations to represent their interests when intervention was warranted, or to obtain approval and resources for proposed projects. Accordingly, the findings are classified in terms of these two functions of supraorganizations: (i) representation and intervention, and (ii) project approval and resource distribution. These functions constitute the main features of this political response.

The use made of supraorganizations is described according to each of these features or functions. The findings are further reported according to the scope or extent of use in respect of the jurisdictional authority of the particular supraorganization. Supraorganizations used for "representation and intervention" purposes will be
presented first.

REPRESENTATION AND INTERVENTION FUNCTIONS

The Inter-Ministry Children's Committee

The Inter-Ministry Children's Committee (I.M.C.C.) facilitated information exchange and decision-making among the various organizations delivering services to handicapped children. The Committee was both inter-ministerial and inter-governmental in nature. It included representatives from the Ministries of Education, Health, Human Resources and the Attorney-General as well as local school district officials. The I.M.C.C. really consisted of three layers of committees operating at the local, regional and provincial levels respectively.

Scope of use. District officials regarded the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee as an intermediary between junior and senior levels of government. It also functioned as a forum for the discussion of issues pertaining to the educational integration of handicapped children. School districts attempted to obtain the support of this committee prior to the conveyance of local proposals for funding to the various Ministries of the Provincial Government. The funding sought was either "shareable" between the Province and the district, or "total provincial support."
The Inter-Ministry Children's Committee assisted in the procurement of specialized personnel who functioned as aides to handicapped children at particular schools. The committee also provided an informational and adjudicative service. For example, it assessed the eligibility of individual children for placement in appropriate combinations of educational and rehabilitative programmes.

The Provincial Government provided considerable literature to school districts on the supportive role it envisaged for the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee. As a result, one district's supervisor of special services recounted that "school districts initially perceived many advantages in using it." The following extract from Provincial Government literature, provided by this district official, may suggest why:

The role of the Inter-Ministry Children's Committees is mainly that of coordination and communication. They provide a system whereby local workers can have ready access to information about resources of other Ministries in their own region and in other regions of the Province. They also provide a consistent route for requests for services of an unusual, interministerial nature and for policy decisions to cover exceptional cases. Because the I.M.C.C.'s are under the direction of the deputy ministers, coordination is provided at all levels of administration.

(Inter-Ministry Children's Committee -- Background Document)

District officials also appreciated the following
statement of philosophy in another publication of the Provincial Government:

One of the problems facing governments is their increasing involvement in the delivery of services. To date this involvement has gone on in a piecemeal and fragmented manner as services have been expanded and extended into new areas to meet immediate problems. A consequence of this evolution has been an interdependence among services, so that the impact of programmes in one area, such as social welfare, may have a direct effect on programmes in another area, such as health. Service delivery in all countries is complicated by the involvement of multiple layers of government. ... The need and opportunities are high for a synthesis and coordination of the various functional operations to provide an integrated delivery of services.

(Inter-Ministry Children's Committee -- Newsletter)

Both district officials and school trustees, however, observed that the positive orientations envisaged for the I.M.C.C. simply had not been translated into practice. Three years after its inception, school districts were encountering considerable difficulty with the operations of the I.M.C.C.

One senior trustee referred to the problems encountered with the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee as "annoying ..., even baffling." She described the experience of her district as follows:

We are experiencing distress over special equipment required for the hearing-impaired programme. The Board wrote to the Inter-Ministry
Children's Committee but did not receive an answer. The Board then sent letters to the Ministries of Education and Health. My biggest beef is that we really don't have access to the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee ..., and this is supposed to be a joint committee of all the key Ministries. We needed funds and equipment from the Health Ministry and thought that the I.M.C.C. would help. The Board was emphatic that the funds should not come from the local operating budget. How do you think that the board felt when it was told that the district's supervisor of special services is a member of the local I.M.C.C. Few people really know how this Inter-Ministerial Committee operates.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Island School District)

The school district's officials were dubious of what one respondent referred to as "government rhetoric". The Inter-Ministry Children's Committee, moreover, was perceived to be another unwarranted layer of government. Another senior trustee, for example, said:

Issues between the Ministry of Education and local school districts all come down to financial costs, and the arrangements for allocating costs. Cost-sharing doesn't have to be complicated. The Education Ministry, however, sets up intricate Inter-Ministerial Committees to hinder rather than help solve the issues. The government bureaucracy is simply awesome. There are committees looking after other committees.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Port School District)

The school districts, nevertheless, appeared to achieve some success through the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee. The dual representation of provincial and local officials on the regional and local levels of the
I.M.C.C. provided opportunities for frank discussion. Because of provincial and local representation, the twelve "Regional Committees" and the sixty-five "Local Committees" were valued more than the "Provincial Committee" composed exclusively of certain deputy ministers.

School districts mostly used the local version of the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee. A prime use is reflected in the following statement:

There is a real need for clarification of the policy. This includes the specification of various parts. Because it lacks real substance, we are unsure of just how far to go with the integration of certain kinds of children. This view is shared by others on the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee, and they let the government know.

(Interview with Supervisor of Special Services, Port School District)

The Provincial Government, however, did not appear to issue the clarification sought. The school districts, therefore, appeared leery about the effectiveness of the I.M.C.C., as this comment indicates:

Do you really want to know the real reason for the I.M.C.C.? ... Each of the three levels of the Inter-Ministerial Committee functions as a series of holding tanks for contentious problems in special education so that the Minister of Education can keep his desk clean.

(Interview with Supervisor, of Special services, Island School District)

School districts expected to make full use of the
various levels of the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee. Actual use, however, was sporadic. The local level of the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee, however, did function as an important intergovernmental body for these purposes: (i) to exchange information about special programmes, (ii) to determine the placement of individual handicapped students and (iii) to influence provincial authorities of the need for special resources. Effective use was restricted to the local level because of unanticipated problems of coordination encountered at the regional and provincial levels.

The British Columbia School Trustees Association

As stated previously, the British Columbia School Trustees Association is a privately incorporated organization of school boards which endeavours to protect the interests of its members. Membership in the B.C.S.T.A. is voluntary. During the period of this study, however, all school boards in British Columbia were members.

Scope of use. The school districts took advantage of the multi-faceted services offered by the B.C.S.T.A. in addition to the usual opportunities for discussion of provincial policy at the B.C.S.T.A. Annual General Meetings. For example, the school districts used the informative pamphlets and brochures produced by B.C.S.T.A. for public
consumption on selected educational topics and issues. These materials were displayed and made available to the public through the district offices. One pamphlet, observed among a series stationed immediately outside the office of a superintendent of schools, stated that:

The B.C.S.T.A. is the professional organization of the school boards of the Province. In this role, it acts as a clearinghouse for matters of common interest. Also, it represents the public interest to the Provincial Government as well as to interested groups and individuals.

(B.C.S.T.A. Booklet: Education in B.C. ... How it Works, 1980)

The school districts used the B.C.S.T.A. as a "medium for legislative action". According to B.C.S.T.A. literature, a priority of the Association was to serve as "a mechanism through which school boards can arrive at a common position," and influence legislation and decisions affecting the course of education. One Chairman of the Board noted that:

Politics is a question of who pays. Financial expenditures affect most Ministry policies and district operations. Trustees take local action by passing Board resolutions in response to many Ministry policies. The B.C.S.T.A. presents briefs to the Government as a follow-up. It also presents briefs to the N.D.P. Caucus. Trustees are willing to use any means to assure that the right budgetary allocations are in place for programmes. Vigilance is important. B.C.S.T.A. helps keep an eye on how the overall direction of the Government affects school districts.
A school board chairman, who also functioned as an Executive member of the B.C.S.T.A., said that school boards were provided with ample occasions to establish and review the orientation of the Association. This respondent added that:

Trustees have all sorts of opportunities for input. Some boards are really active; others tend to hold back. Individual trustees are the real backbone of the Association. ... Because of the issues, the Government hears from our Executive members a great deal.

The school districts appeared to nurture an intimate working relationship with the B.C.S.T.A. through representation on the Executive body of the Association. School trustees and the chairmen of two of the three school boards in this study either had served as members of the Executive of the trustees' association or were currently on the Provincial Executive. B.C.S.T.A. appeared to have substantial input from school districts. One respondent, for example, commented that:

Ministry policies are discussed pretty thoroughly at the local level. If there is a problem, the district doesn't hesitate to push Provincial Government matters up to the B.C.S.T.A. for further discussion and action.
Immediately after announcement of the integration policy, the school districts urged the regional and provincial offices of the B.C.S.T.A. to obtain further information from the Ministry. Subsequently, the B.C.S.T.A. noted the intended role of the I.M.C.C., cautiously supported it and circulated the following advice selectively to school districts:

Implementation is not expected to be accomplished immediately, although there have already been some advances in planning on an inter-ministerial basis. Communication between Ministries has increased and the problems have been more clearly identified. It would be overly simplistic to think that the historically complex network of services for handicapped children could suddenly become streamlined.

(Selected Notes from B.C.S.T.A. Files)

School districts also used the B.C.S.T.A. to assess trends with respect to the two Ministry policies across the Province. A senior trustee, for example, observed that:

The B.C.S.T.A. provides us with up-to-date information on how other boards are coping with the integration of handicapped children. It helps us to make better decisions when we know what others are doing. B.C.S.T.A. is a major influence on school board activity.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Coast School District)
The Association sensitized school districts to potential legal difficulties. It shared Canadian and American judicial decisions on the integration of handicapped children and provided legal advice on request. A school board chairman described its usefulness as follows:

The open-ended nature of the Ministry policy invites litigation on the part of parents with handicapped children. We are monitoring events in South Cariboo School District. The school board there refused to integrate a handicapped pupil and now the parents have hired legal counsel. Fortunately, the B.C.S.T.A. stepped in and helped to avert a multi-million dollar lawsuit. If the matter was taken to court, the school board might not have a chance. The Ministry, meanwhile, is not doing much to assure that problems, such as, the South Cariboo situation, don't happen again.

(Interview with Chairman of Board, Port School District)

In response to problems associated with the integration of handicapped children, Executive members of the B.C.S.T.A. assisted in the drafting of this official policy statement designed to bring relief to school districts:

A commitment to school districts from the Government is required to safeguard the principle of equal education opportunities for all children. B.C.S.T.A. recommendations on the moral and financial issues surrounding this area of concern would be of great value to school districts and a needed influence on those responsible for provincial policies. ... Once the process of consultation has been completed, it will hopefully be possible to consider a more refined statement of policy which will result in government action.
Of course, there is always the possibility that the process of consultation, itself, will force the Government to recognize the policy vacuum that exists.


School districts also participated directly in the formulation of B.C.S.T.A. reaction to Ministry financial policy, including capital expenditures. As described in Chapters Four and Five, these were conveyed to the Ministry annually in the form of B.C.S.T.A. resolutions, such as, the following:

The present policy of the Ministry regarding shareable capital equipment makes no provision for the approval of new equipment that is required as a result of changes in course content, nor does the policy provide for acquiring equipment required as a result of changes in technology. An annual shareable capital equipment allowance should be provided as part of a district's capital program, such funding to be used for the purchase of new equipment as required for changes in existing courses.

(Resolution by Port School District, Minutes of the Annual General Meeting, B.C.S.T.A.)

The B.C.S.T.A. assisted in the mediation of intergovernmental issues pertaining to Ministry of Education policies. A school board chairman summarized the involvement of his particular school district this way:

We use the B.C.S.T.A. and its various committees a lot. The Association serves as a good medium for
dialogue and understanding with the Ministry of Education, the Cabinet and other branches of the Provincial Government.

(Interview with Chairman of Board, Island School District)

The Legislative Assembly

The three school districts used their local Members of the Legislative Assembly to draw the Provincial Government's attention to the purposes and application of Ministry of Education policies. There were fifty-seven members of the Legislative Assembly in the period covered by this study. Thirty-one members sat as representatives of the governing party, Social Credit. Twenty-six members sat as the opposition, the New Democratic Party.

Scope of use. All three school districts attempted to employ the services of M.L.A.s. Two districts succeeded. Both were represented by M.L.A.s from the opposition party. The exception, the non-partisan metropolitan school district, was represented by M.L.A.s of the government party, one of whom was a cabinet minister.

The local teachers' associations appeared to be the groups within the school districts most actively involved with Members of the Legislative Assembly. The comments of one association president attest to this fact:
Education of deaf children is not a major problem in this district. Another category of handicapped ..., the "spina-bifida" kids are a concern. These are children who have no control over their bowels. The district has two such children and they are restricted to wheelchairs. In both cases, classroom teachers had to look after them. In one instance, the teacher had to transfer out of her primary classroom because of the problems related to providing care. Prior to the transfer, one of the M.L.A.s became involved in the case. Standard procedure is that the Coast Teachers' Association requests the involvement of the M.L.A. Teachers don't communicate directly with the Member. The problem becomes a matter strictly between the teachers' association and the M.L.A. The teachers' association really had no choice but to involve the M.L.A. The association had made repeated representations to the school board, but the school board kept replying that it didn't have funds.

(Interview with the President, Coast Teachers' Association)

Interaction with M.L.A.s, however, was not always successful. This comment of a president of another teachers' association may reveal why:

We have tried to discuss matters with our M.L.A., but we don't have much success in arranging meetings with him. He happens to be a cabinet minister and of course a member of the Social Credit Party. The last thing he wants to hear is criticism of his government's policies. This M.L.A. makes a point of not speaking to teachers at all. He has been invited around several times to this district, situated in the riding he represents or is supposed to represent... but lately he hasn't even responded to our invitations.

(Interview with the President, Port Teachers' Association)

Use of M.L.A.s is suggestive of coalition behaviour
and socialization of the conflict. The interrelated nature of the overt responses appears to be highlighted in this comment:

The M.L.A. for the city has discussed educational matters with the teachers of the district on two occasions. I suspect that he has had dealings with trustees as well. When we invite him to give a talk, he tends to accept our invitation. Our relationship with him is cordial and we find our discussions with him useful, especially since he is knowledgeable about finance. He often speaks on the topic in the House. We feel that we can count on him for help.

[Interview with the President, Island Teachers' Association]

One school district, the partisan metropolitan type, appeared to have a history of close relationships with M.L.A.s. In this district, the Members of the Legislative Assembly were used a great deal by groups other than the teachers' association. Interaction with M.L.A.s included the superintendent of schools, the chairman of the board, and other trustees. The Chairman of the Board described this interaction at length:

School board members have at least one and often two meetings a year with their M.L.A.s. At the moment the district is represented by three M.L.A.s, all from the New Democratic Party. One of the M.L.A.s is a former Minister of Education. The party affiliation makes a real difference. Yesterday's announcement in the Legislature of the capital expenditure allocations to school districts tells the story. When the Education Critic accused the Minister of Education of partiality to school districts, the Minister of
Education denied that there was any favoritism shown to Social Credit constituencies. ... Members of the Legislature for this district have always been noteworthy, whether on the government side or not. At one time the Speaker of the House, the Minister of Education, and the Minister of Municipal Affairs were all sitting members for Coast School District. At other times there is no Cabinet representation at all. You either get it or you don't. Nowadays it seems that no matter who the M.L.A.s are, government or opposition, you still don't get what you want.

(Interview with Chairman of Board, Coast School District)

The School districts appear to have informed M.L.A.s of matters related to the integration and capital expenditure policies on a regular basis. This close interaction may have been responsible for the following exchange in the Legislative Assembly:

M.L.A. (Coast North): A question to the Minister of Education. The mainstreaming of handicapped children has increased the number of children at medical risk attending school in our province. Such children require medication on a daily basis. There are few, if any, persons attached to our schools who are qualified under the Medical Act to administer such medication on a daily basis. What steps has the minister taken to provide medical personnel for this purpose?

Minister of Education: Mr. Speaker, I am going to take the question as notice. I assure the member that it's also a matter of concern to me that teachers are in some districts being required to administer medication to a degree that goes beyond the handing out of an aspirin. I share the member's concern and will respond at more length in due course. I thank the member.

(Debates of the Legislative Assembly)
M.L.A.s appeared to be ready to intervene on behalf of the school district when requested. Intervention appeared to assist in the resolution of problems related to the capital expenditure allocation process. The following example indicates that the intervention of M.L.A.s was often fruitful:

In spite of the inflammatory, partisan remarks of the Minister, I would like to say a word about James Bennett (Executive Assistant to the Minister of Education) myself. I had occasion to consult with him on several problems regarding my constituents, and I always found him very helpful. I think it says a great deal for him that he was able to put up with that kind of insufferable ego of the man who occupied the Minister's chair for three and a half years....

(M.L.A. for Island School District, Debates of the Legislative Assembly)

Similarly, the following example of action in the Legislative Assembly describes how one school district made use of the services of an M.L.A. in respect to local apprehension about further anticipated changes in the elementary special education programme:

I have a couple of questions about things that affect my riding. There's been a considerable amount of correspondence between the Minister and Island School District ... In one of the most recent letters from the Minister, he refers to a report ... I am wondering just how long this report has been ongoing -- or how long they have been working on this report? When might we expect to have that report produced, and, of course, will we see that report?
The school districts made use of Members of the Legislative Assembly as instruments for information. Districts, for example, closely monitored news of events in the Legislative Assembly. They attempted to use this information to bolster their argument for additional resources. This activity pertained mostly to the capital expenditure policy. It was especially evident whenever M.L.A.s of the government party released figures on capital expenditure grants allocated to school districts in their particular regions. For example, a senior trustee recounted that:

The Ministry is very underhanded about the way in which it goes about allocating capital expenditure funds. Our M.L.A. happens to be very vocal in the Legislature and active locally. He is concerned about his constituents. But because he is a member of the N.D.P., the district does not obtain as much as districts represented by government M.L.A.s. I am sure that the composition of the school board also affects how the Ministry sees us. The Board is dominated by members of the N.D.P. This affects relations with the Government. No doubt about it. Before the last election, one of our M.L.A.s was a member of the Social Credit Party and the former mayor. The district received a lot more then. The whole island now is viewed as socialist and we get a lot less.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Island School District)

The school districts compared their financial allotments to other districts. "This comparison was an
annual event", according to one secretary-treasurer, "where districts checked to see if they received their fair share." Both officials and school trustees noted that school districts with M.L.A.s who were members of the government party tended to receive more funds than districts represented by M.L.A.s from the opposition party.

APPROVAL AND DISTRIBUTION FUNCTIONS

The three school districts also made use of supraorganizations such as the Provincial Cabinet and selected Ministries of the Provincial Government. These ministries were Human Resources, Health, Attorney-General, and Lands, Parks and Housing. Each was perceived to possess certain kinds of regulatory and distributive authority over resources sought by school districts.

The Provincial Cabinet

The Cabinet or "Executive Council" of the Provincial Government possessed decision-making authority for the approval and distribution of certain resources, particularly capital expenditure funds. It also co-ordinated inter-ministerial policy and planning. School districts recognized that the Cabinet alone possessed the delegated legislative authority to allocate resources, such as, Crown land and certain special funds.
Scope of use. The Cabinet was used mostly with respect to the capital expenditure policy. A Cabinet decision ultimately was necessary when school districts applied for grants of Crown land to be used as building sites for educational purposes. Also, Cabinet approval was required for any adjustment in school district boundaries perhaps as a result of changes in bus transportation routes or land acquisition.

Certain Cabinet decisions appeared to be of the "housekeeping variety." One school district, for example, required Cabinet approval for the granting of an easement to a municipality over a school site. Another district required Cabinet approval for the leasing of school district property to the local municipality. These, and other Cabinet decisions referring to capital expenditure, were affirmed through "Orders-in-Council" signed by the Lieutenant-Governor. The secretary-treasurer in one school district interpreted the role of Cabinet this way:

A number of preliminary steps must be satisfied before matters go to Cabinet. These usually involve obtaining the approval of the Minister of Education and his officials. I advise the board of an appropriate course of action and they do their part. The school board, for example, must first request consideration of the matter by the Minister of Education through a resolution. Afterwards, the Minister of Education may discuss the matter directly with another Cabinet colleague or Ministry affected by the issue. Finally, the Cabinet considers the item along with a recommendation from the Minister of Education for acceptance or rejection.
School district applications for land were not always processed routinely. The Chairman of the Board in one district recounted an incident where his district and the Ministry of Health wanted the same property. Immediately upon the allocation of the property to the Ministry of Health by Cabinet, the school board undertook the following action in protest:

A motion was made (carried) that the Board send a letter to Premier Bennett, opposing in the strongest way the action of Mr. Neilson, Minister of Health, in regards to the allocation of the Elbow Lake property and the fact that the Board was assured that Cabinet would consider all points of view.

School districts mainly used the Cabinet as a means of obtaining approval necessitated by statutory regulations. The composition of the Cabinet was a factor. A senior trustee volunteered this observation:

I have sympathy for the Minister of Education in Cabinet meetings. Those closer to power in Victoria tell me that other Cabinet Ministers have a tendency to pick on the Education Minister. Several Ministers have more influence. The Minister of Finance and the Minister of Transportation and Highways are much more powerful. They get their way because it seems that Cabinet makes many more decisions on matters like highways than education. There is a lot of in-fighting among Cabinet Ministers. The Minister
just isn't powerful enough among his colleagues. The Minister does his fighting in public with school districts rather than in the Cabinet where it really counts.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Island School District)

Direct communication with the Premier and Cabinet was an option when school districts perceived their interests to be at stake. A district official, well-experienced with capital expenditure proposals and on the verge of retirement, provided this description of the volatility of the capital expenditure process:

We apply to the Facilities Division of the Ministry of Education in the usual manner. School buildings need a new roof from time to time. Old buildings require greater maintenance expenditures. We are constantly having to upgrade them to meet municipal, and fire safety standards. Changes in school programmes and equipment also might require us to make modifications in space and building design. ... The Ministry of Education is not the final authority. Real power is in the hands of the Treasury Board and the Cabinet! Trustees are capable of obtaining meetings with Cabinet Ministers other than the Minister of Education. Sometimes our capital proposals become caught up in the politics practised by members of the school board and politicians at the provincial level. Political activity, however, has not always helped us. Sometimes it pays to keep politics out of it.

(Interview with the Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Coast School District)

The school district officials and trustees also appeared to understand the key role played by committees of Cabinet such as Treasury Board and Social Services. The
agendas of Cabinet committees and the decisions of Cabinet appeared to be monitored carefully by school districts.

Ministry of Human Resources

The jurisdiction of the Human Resources Ministry includes the social and public welfare of children. The school districts, therefore, used this Ministry with respect to the Ministry of Education's integration policy. The Ministry of Human Resources maintained specialized programmes of assistance to school districts.

Scope of use. Funding was available to school districts through a Human Resources program entitled "CHANCE". If school districts met certain criteria, personal care aides were provided for children with severe mental or physical disabilities.

Obtaining the acquiescence of the Ministry of Human Resources, however, was not an easy matter. Delays encountered by the school districts sparked the intervention of Members of the Legislative Assembly. The experience of one school district, which was hoping to obtain funding for a group of severely mentally handicapped students, was explained in this manner:

The Ministry of Human Resources has been the focus of district attention lately. At the present time,
there is a great deal of dialogue taking place with this Ministry. However, we find Human Resources very cumbersome to deal with. ... In a sense, we are caught up in a bureaucratic process with them.

(Interview with the Superintendent of Schools, Port School District)

Nevertheless, school trustees and central office officials appreciated the services offered by the Ministry of Human Resources. One supervisor of Special Services noted that:

The Ministry of Human Resources operates under very difficult circumstances. We find, however, that when our proposals for funding are well justified, it comes through with assistance. Justification and documentation are important. Of course, we alert the Ministry of Education officials first before sending off our proposals for funding to Human Resources. It pays off since the Education Ministry often advises us how to frame our proposals for greater acceptability by the Human Resources Ministry. Without assistance from the Ministry of Human Resources, the district would have been unable to hire personal attendants for handicapped children, who required them for assistance with medication, washrooms and the handling of classroom materials.

(Interview with Supervisor of Special Services, Coast School District)

The school districts employed the services of the local Inter-Ministry Children's Committee to assist in the "justification" or screening of certain handicapped students under the "CHANCE" programme. School district personnel appeared to foster close liaison with the designated
Ministry of Human Resources representative on the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee. This interaction appeared to facilitate the processing of school district proposals.

Ministry of Health

This Ministry maintained a professional interest in the rehabilitation of physically and mentally handicapped children. School districts availed themselves of health services offered by this Ministry through various Regional Ministry of Health Centres, mainly regional mental health centres.

Scope of use. The school districts used the Ministry of Health exclusively with respect to the integration policy. The services required were mostly clinical in type. These services appeared to complement other forms of assistance acquired through local and regional agencies such as the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee. The inter-organizational nature of these services appeared to require adept co-ordination by the school districts.

The information supplied by the Ministry of Health enabled the school districts "to compile a case" for special funding from the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Human Resources. The school districts apparently were reluctant to leave the matter solely in the hands of the Education Ministry. The need for detailed documentation and
time constraints, as well as the special circumstances of individual students, appeared to compel the districts to act unilaterally.

A senior trustee related that the Health Ministry assisted in resolving the following predicament:

A group of parents in the school district who were demanding speech therapists for their children became quite a pressure group. The Ministry of Health took notice and finally provided the means for hiring a therapist. The Health Ministry looks at our proposals seriously, since they know that we have quite a 'special education empire' here. Our special education people are very adept at discussing financial matters.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Island School District)

District officials confided that reorganization of the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Health appeared to interfere with the processing of applications for special education funding. These unanticipated events were intervening factors which may have been partially responsible for delays encountered at the local Inter-Ministry Children's Committee level. In turn, these factors may have been responsible for the school districts' choosing to communicate directly with the Ministry of Health in Victoria. The resulting interaction involved "the programme people" at the Ministry of Health and the supervisor of special services in each school district. The following type of problem, told by one supervisor of special services,
The district has a substantial number of hearing-impaired students. Many of these students are from other districts. When we communicate our needs to the Ministry of Health, we act on behalf of all students from the region. Recently I have been dealing with the Health and the Education Ministries over the issue of getting more modern hearing aids for these special students. What we are talking about are basic things like hearing aids. But what I found myself doing was in effect reminding Ministry of Health officials of the considerable investment in this programme already, and the fact that new approaches to dealing with this type of handicap demand new approaches in technique. I take post-graduate courses at Northwestern University in the United States over the summers and know the terminology. My training in special education enables me to mount a persuasive argument for special equipment. This helps me to communicate our needs to the Ministry of Health and cut through the "red tape".

(Interview with Supervisor of Special services, Island School District)

Ministry of the Attorney-General

This Ministry did not appear to be centrally involved in matters governing the integration and capital expenditure policies. Nevertheless, the school districts attempted to include this particular Ministry as a possible source of assistance in respect of programme needs. The Corrections Branch of the Ministry administered the now defunct Juvenile Delinquents Act (Young Offenders Act). As a
result, the school districts attempted to extend the scope of this Ministry's mandate.

Scope of use. One school district appeared to make a concerted attempt to include juvenile offenders under the integration policy of the Ministry of Education. The district was experiencing an unusually high number of students who were troublesome in schools. Teachers were insisting that the board take remedial action.

Certain juvenile offenders, for example, were being accompanied to and from school by adult aides under the direction of the Ministry of the Attorney-General. These students appeared to be have severe behavioural problems. District officials, therefore, attempted to have the duties of these adult aides extended to include classroom hours. An official provided this rationale:

Some behaviourally-impaired students require 'keepers' to help them settle down. Ideally they should be with the kids all the time, inside the classroom and outside, on eight hour shifts. These aides should be paid through the Attorney-General's Ministry, or the Ministry of Human Resources. We know that funding is available through special programmes such as S.W.A.P. (Secondary Work Activity Program). Some projects are receiving funding in the areas of drug abuse and alcohol rehabilitation. The district is endeavouring to obtain funding also.

(Interview with the Assistant Superintendent, Port School District)

School trustees concurred with district officials.
and teaching staff that "young offenders" should qualify as "exceptional students." Trustees, therefore, instructed district personnel to investigate the possibility of funding and manpower assistance from the Ministry of the Attorney-General. Pursuit of the matter involved discussions with the Special Services Division of the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Human Resources and the Ministry of Education. This particular initiative appeared to be undertaken unilaterally; that is, without the support of the British Columbia School Trustees Association or Members of the Legislative Assembly.

Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing

This Ministry was used exclusively with respect to the capital expenditure policy. It administered the allocation of Crown land to school districts for educational purposes. No cost-sharing was involved, as the Crown land was normally provided free of charge. The Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing undertook the processing of a school district's application in conjunction with other provincial authorities.

Scope of use. One school district was compelled to interact with the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing because of an unanticipated increase in potential students. Plans for the development of several subdivisions of single
family dwellings were proceeding rapidly through the local Municipal Advisory Planning Committee. This course of events stimulated the school district to initiate discussions with the regional office of the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing in respect to possible school sites. During these discussions, the school district passed the following Board resolution:

A motion was made (carried) that the Board address a letter to the Minister of Education registering its interest in the property and advising the Ministry that the Board is taking the initiative in discussing the matter with other agencies.

(Minutes of Island School Board)

Use of the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing appeared to precede communication with the Education Ministry and the Cabinet. The Ministry of Transportation and Highways also became involved, since this particular Ministry owned part of the land desired by the school district. The school district, however, elected first to use government agencies other than the Ministry of Education for obtaining Crown Land.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Summary observations are presented with respect to applicable research questions. Additionally, using theoretical perspectives, certain concluding remarks are
provided and speculation advanced to further explain the use of supraorganizations as a political response.

Identification of Operational Characteristics

Did the three school districts use supraorganizations? Yes, they were employed by each district for both policy types. Although there were certain exceptions, the number and kinds of supraorganizations used were generally similar [see Appendix P-1].

Certain supraorganizations may be considered to be "superior" to school districts in some respects. For example, they control and dispense certain resources crucial to district operations. Milstein (1976:83) notes that "relevant environmental organizations" can be grouped into three sets: those superior in the line of authority, those subordinate in the line of authority and those outside the line of authority. School districts, as subordinate organizations, must comply with the statutory authority accorded to supraorganizations "superior in the line of authority"; such as, the Cabinet and various Ministries of the Provincial Government.

Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Combs and Thurston (1980:149) observe that while authority has shifted in recent years toward the senior level of government, local school districts still retain sufficient discretion to dramatically shape educational programmes. The three school
districts used "organizations outside of the line of authority," such as, the British Columbia School Trustees Association and Opposition Party M.L.A.s, to influence provincial authorities, and to assist in the formulation of conditions for local compliance.

The data indicated that school districts used supraorganizations as a necessary means of adapting to environmental demands. Hanson (1979:162), for example, notes that an organization, as well as the web of organizations interlocking with it, must acquire enough stability to promote an equilibrium which permits planned and predictable patterns and exchanges to take place. Supraorganizations provided support. The three school districts attempted to avail themselves of the opportunities afforded by supraorganizations to assure an equilibrium in the provision of local services.

Operational Characteristics

The operational characteristics basically consist of two features: supraorganizations were used for representation and intervention, and supraorganizations were required for project approval and the distribution or allocation of resources. The attributes and examples of intergovernmental linkages associated with these features constitute the operational characteristics of making use of a supraorganization as a political response. A simplified
classification is outlined in Figure 8.

The School districts used supraorganizations to represent local interests to the Provincial Government. From time to time, they also intervened at the request of local authorities to assist in the resolution of intergovernmental issues. Three supraorganizations were used in these respects: the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee, the British Columbia School Trustees Association, and the Legislative Assembly. Use of the Inter-Ministry Children's Committee was much more limited in scope than use of the other two supraorganizations.

Moreover, the processing and ultimate approval of planned district projects also necessitated the use of other supraorganizations. These were "superior in the line of authority", and distinct branches of the Provincial Government. These supraorganizations possessed the requisite statutory authority to finalize school district plans. Since district programmes affected a number of Ministries, supraorganizations also coordinated district applications for resources at the provincial level. These supraorganizations were the Cabinet, Ministry of Human Resources, Ministry of Health, Ministry of the Attorney-General, and the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing. The Cabinet and the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing appeared to be mainly used in respect to the capital expenditure policy.
<table>
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<th>FEATURES OF MAKING USE OF A SUPRAORGANIZATION AS A POLITICAL RESPONSE</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>REPRESENTATION AND INTERVENTION FUNCTIONS</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>o THE INTER-MINISTRY CHILDREN'S COMMITTEE</td>
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<tr>
<td>(ie informational and adjudicative service; limited assistance with intergovernmental communication)</td>
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<td>o THE BRITISH COLUMBIA SCHOOL TRUSTEES ASSOCIATION</td>
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<td>(ie monitored contentious cases in school districts; provided access to legal opinions; mediated issues)</td>
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<td>o THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY</td>
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<td>(ie primarily Opposition Party M.L.A.s; party affiliation of Board is important factor)</td>
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<td><strong>APPROVAL AND DISTRIBUTION FUNCTIONS</strong></td>
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<td>o THE PROVINCIAL CABINET</td>
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<td>o THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCES</td>
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<td>(ie Crown land applications, also with Ministry of Transportation &amp; Highways)</td>
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Figure 8

Features and Attributes of Making Use of a Supraorganization
The findings indicated also that some supraorganizations were used to influence other organizations "superior in the line of authority." For example, the districts tried to use supraorganizations of the Provincial Government such as the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing, and the Cabinet to influence the Ministry of Education. Correspondingly, the Ministry of Education was used by school districts to influence other Ministries, especially Human Resources. There appeared to be a network of supraorganizations.

Use of supraorganizations suggests that the operational characteristics of this political response were highly interrelated in practice. The variables of policy and school district type serve as a further basis for discussing operational characteristics.

**Regulatory policy characteristics.** The operational characteristics of using a supraorganization for the integration policy are presented according to school district type in Appendix P-2. The predominant linkages or characteristic actions were as follows: the initiation of special programmes for selected types of handicapped children in school districts, clarification sought of Ministry of Education policy through M.L.A.s and the B.C.S.T.A., and the procurement of special aides through the Human Resources Ministry.
Distributive policy characteristics. The operational characteristics of using a supraorganization for the capital expenditure policy are presented in Appendix P-3. The predominant linkages or characteristic actions were as follows: local board resolutions forwarded to the Ministry through B.C.S.T.A., the monitoring of Cabinet financial allocations pertaining to local capital projects, and the initiation of local district proposals through Provincial Government agencies, such as, the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing, prior to consultation with the Education Ministry.

Comparison of Operational Characteristics

Did operational characteristics differ? Yes, differences in kind and number were discerned with respect to individual policy types and between policy types.

Operational characteristics for the integration policy differed according to school district type. The most obvious difference occurred in respect of the partisan metropolitan school district (Coast). This district used Members of the Legislative Assembly as an intergovernmental linkage in a more concentrated and proactive manner for regulatory policy than did the other districts.

Operational characteristics for distributive policy also differed according to school district. This difference was due primarily to the concentrated use of B.C.S.T.A. and
the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing by the non-partisan and non-metropolitan school district (Island).

Appendix P-4 provides a profile of differences according to the concentration or focus of intergovernmental linkages with respect to features and corresponding attributes. The partisan metropolitan school district (Coast) displayed the most concentrated use of operational characteristics for regulatory policy. Concentration of use with respect to distributive policy was displayed most by the non-partisan and non-metropolitan school district (Island).

Certain general observations accrue from the operational characteristics. These observations are summarized in Appendix P-5. For example, all three school districts used the local Inter-Ministry Children's Committee. Use of the Regional I.M.C.C. was less evident. The effectiveness of M.L.A.s appeared to be associated with their role as members of the Opposition Party in the Legislature. The Cabinet, on the other hand, was perceived to be the chief agency for allocation, the central means of coordinating other supraorganizations of the Provincial Government, and the prime target for appeals by school districts as a result of Ministerial actions.

After identifying the supraorganizations used by the school districts, it was noticed that there appeared to be a statutory basis for using supraorganizations. The statutory
basis underlining the use of B.C.S.T.A. and M.L.A.s, for example, has already been outlined in Appendix N.

The operational characteristics of using a supraorganization and associated observations, moreover, serve as a basis for certain conclusions and related speculation.

Conclusions

The findings suggest two general conclusions about the use of supraorganizations as a political response. Firstly, the three school districts appeared to be dependent upon a network of supraorganizations. Use of this network appeared to be already well established prior to the promulgation of the two policies.

Supraorganizations in the network were few in number. The school districts, nevertheless appeared to be highly dependent on them. This finding reflects the observation of Pfeffer and Salancik (1978:50) that "the dependence of one organization on another also derives from the concentration of resource control, or the extent to which input or output transactions are made by only one, or a relatively few significant organizations." Pfeffer and Salancik, moreover, note that whether the focal organization has access to the resource from additional sources is also important.

As already noted in coalition behaviour,
organizations combine their resources to assure stability and survival. Supraorganizations provide access to resources. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978:258) underline the importance of resource acquisition as follows:

To survive, organizations require resources. Typically, acquiring resources means the organization must interact with others who control those resources. In that sense, organizations depend on their environments. Because the organization does not control the resources it needs, resource acquisition may be problematic and uncertain. Others who control resources may be undependable, particularly when resources are scarce.

Certain supraorganizations, such as, M.L.A.s, the B.C.S.T.A., and even the I.M.C.C., however, appeared to be in competition with other supraorganizations. Districts may have exploited this competition to their advantage. Gannon (1979:63), for example, notes that "organizations are problem-solving and problem-facing entities that do search for alternatives, learn and eventually decide upon courses of action." Miles (1980:330), furthermore, implies that the use of supraorganizations such as the B.C.S.T.A., may assist subordinate organizations such as school districts to:

(i) interpret the meaning of environmental information in terms of the opportunities, constraints and contingencies they pose for the organization; (ii) translate these implications into terms comprehensible to organizational decision-makers; and (iii) make choices about what and when to communicate to internal managers.
Supraorganizations, such as, the Cabinet and Ministries of the Provincial Government, functioned as distinct regulatory bodies. School district compliance, however, also involved a number of non-statutory considerations. Cross and Bailey (1986:216), for example, state that any examination of the relationship between central and local levels of government is unsatisfactory without regard for the "conventions of control," such as, "the 'pressures' of advice, consultations, practice, codes, memoranda and circulars which explain or amplify a minister's policy." Using a supraorganization also appeared to include what Cross and Bailey refer to as "flexibility in the matter of rights and duties."

The three local districts, from time to time, required advice and interpretation of possible opportunities for increased funding. The school districts, for example, contacted the Ministry of the Attorney-General to ascertain whether young offenders might be included under the integration policy administered by the Ministry of Education. Cabinet decisions, moreover, were essentially political in nature. The school districts, therefore, attempted to influence the direction of such decisions.

Governmental supraorganizations appeared to be "quasi-independent". As a result, the school districts attempted to influence them, sometimes in conjunction with the Ministry of Education, and at other times alone. Graham
Allison (1971), for example, describes the nature of such governmental organizations and control as follows:

To be responsive to a broad spectrum of problems, governments consist of large organizations among which primary responsibility for particular areas is divided. Each organization attends to a special set of problems and acts in quasi-independence on these problems. But few problems fall exclusively within the domain of a single organization. Thus government behaviour relevant to any important problem reflects the independent output of several organizations, partially coordinated by government leaders.

The second finding arising from the operational characteristics is that school districts used supraorganizations, not only to acquire needed resources, but also to obtain an "equitable" allocation. Equity addresses the question, "Is the allocation of resources to a particular jurisdiction fair?" It pertains to "Who gets what? Or in normative terms "Who ought to get what?" (Crompton and Lamb, 1986:155). The school districts, for example, appeared to measure their allocations for capital projects from the Provincial Government, not only by what they required, but also in respect to what they and other school districts actually received. Applications for an increment in resources for handicapped children, moreover, reflected the standard of fairness and justice in respect to a particular disadvantaged group.

School district notions of equity in the allocation of resources appeared to accommodate both local
circumstances and province-wide standards. M.L.A.s, for example, were used to intervene with respect to problems specific to the school district. B.C.S.T.A., on the other hand, assessed how these specific district problems might affect other jurisdictions in the province.

Equity in the use of supraorganizations also entailed what O'Brien (1980:167) refers to as "questions of shared jurisdiction, shared resources, provincial standards versus delegated authority." Additional "public" considerations pertaining to equitable allocation are provided by O'Brien (1980:166-167):

The citizen expects each level of government to be responsible to his wishes, to protect the public interest, to provide effective and economical administration. He expects them to do so cooperatively where their jurisdictions overlap or where they can be helpful to one another in the common interest. ... Various functions are related in ways that would require intergovernmental activity even if they were all parcelled out in separate pieces to one level only. The line between health and welfare is not always easy to find.

According to Crompton and Lamb (1986:149), the delivery of services is the chief function of local government. At the same time, service delivery is regarded as a major responsibility of other governmental levels. Crompton and Lamb (1986:154) further note that allocation decisions determine who receives what quantity of services and as a result redistribute "well-being and ill-being."
Beloff and Peele (1980:274) concur with this view of resource allocation and caution that what looks like a rational policy from a senior government perspective may occasion deep resentment from the perspective of a school or an individual local authority.

Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Combs and Thurston (1980) recognize that disagreements over what constitute appropriate allocations are natural within any complex society. Intergovernmental relations provides many examples of issues which appear to be essentially "political". They state that, along with most other organizations, educational organizations are political because they confront and respond to essentially political questions, such as, "what objectives should be emphasized; how will scarce resources, such as, money or teaching talent, be allocated among various programmes; and the memorable Laswellian phrase 'who gets what, when and how?'"

Equity in resource allocation involves questions of value. Given local priorities, some school districts may be more disposed to using supraorganizations to represent and intervene on behalf of school district interests. Other districts may not be so inclined. It may be that, regardless of whether supraorganizations, such as, the B.C.S.T.A. intervene on behalf of school districts, the challenge for school districts remains in what Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Combs and Thurston (1980:103) refer to as pursuit of "the
best way to arrive at collective choices" among possible alternative outcomes. School district use of supraorganizations appears to reflect the following dimensions of equity noted by Sergiovanni, Burlingame, Combs and Thurston (1980:105):

More often ... the disagreement is over questions of value. There is no simple way for any school administrator to decide who is right and who is wrong on questions of this type. Resolutions which leave all parties reasonably satisfied (or at least not at each other's throats) may be the best we can hope for. It is the process of finding, presenting, and justifying these resolutions that characterizes the political process. The goal is not so much to come up with the "right" answers by some ideological standard, as it is to come up with resolutions which keep all of the people affected as satisfied as possible.

"Equity" in respect to resource allocation does not necessarily mean "equality". Equality, for example, pertains to sameness or uniformity in quantity and quality. Equity, on the other hand, relates to fairness and justice. Crompton and Lamb (1986:155) suggest that the test for a definition of equity in the provision of government social services, for example, is "what difference does a particular allocation decision make in the condition of people?"

Local use of supraorganizations appeared to be in quest of "compensatory equity". The school districts evidently sought to augment resources so that disadvantaged groups, or particular school sites, might receive "justifiable" increments in service. Crompton and Lamb
(1986:155), however, state that the performance of a government or social service agency is measured against three criteria: equity, effectiveness and efficiency. School district use of supraorganizations, therefore, also suggests standards of public accountability.

In summary, it may be concluded that the three school districts responded to the two Ministry of Education policies through a network of supraorganizations to obtain an "equitable" allocation of resources. Two kinds of supraorganizations were used: those "superior in the line of authority," such as, the Cabinet, and those "outside of the line of authority," such as, the B.C.S.T.A. Use of these supraorganizations reflected local standards of fairness and justice in respect to school district needs.
Co-optation refers to attempts by the focal organization to incorporate into its own decision-making structure the organization on which it is dependent, so as to assure regular support for its activities (Elkin, 1975:175).

The notions of salience and dominance assist in understanding co-optation. They relate to the process of interaction between organizations (Hoffman, 1981:19). Salience, according to Hoffman, refers to one organization's dependence upon a positive form of interaction with another organization. Dominance, on the other hand, occurs when "given a conflict between the interests of the focal organization and that of the external group (in this case the Ministry of Education) the latter will likely hold sway over the former" (Hoffman, 1981:19).

Although salience is reflected in other political responses, co-optation appears to be especially representative of salient behaviour. The three school districts, for example, perceived a close working relationship with the Ministry of Education to be in their best interests. Therefore, they appeared to cultivate it strategically.
As a form of salience, this political response involved a blend of demands and supports in respect of Ministry policies. Demands appeared to be expressed in a positive and private fashion. They usually related to requests for financial and professional resources. More obvious, however, was the display of a supportive stance.

The school districts, for example, complied with the spirit and intent of Ministry of Education policies by incorporating them into local policy manuals and district practice. Co-optation appeared to reflect "philosophical support."

Representatives of the two levels of government, moreover, liaised with one another regularly. This liaison tended to be initiated by local personnel and served as an important feature of co-optation. The various modes of liaison included school district-Ministry correspondence, special conferences, and telephone consultations. The co-optation of Ministry personnel appeared to be an acknowledgement by the school districts that officials of the senior level of government exercise considerable influence and control on local decision-making.

Repeated inspections of the data and further reviews of the literature resulted in this formal, expanded definition of co-optation:

(a) the school district attempts to collaborate with the Ministry;
(b) the school district attempts to assure regular support for its activities from the Ministry;

(c) Ministry personnel are invited by the school district to participate in local district decision-making;

(d) only the Ministry and no other organization with provincial jurisdiction in education is invited by the school district to participate in local district decision-making;

(e) support for ministry policy by the school district is expressed in terms of adherence to certain ideological statements or principles of the Ministry;

(f) the school district identifies with the Ministry's policy and demonstrates a commitment to the programmes of the Ministry.

The three school districts co-opted elements of Ministry of Education policy and certain Ministry officials to expedite policy implementation. Findings, therefore, are classified in terms of these two forms of behaviour, or features: (i) District policy as an extension of Ministry policy — alternatively referred to in this study as "local policy measures", and (ii) the different modes of "intergovernmental liaison" initiated by school districts.

The findings are reported in keeping with each of these features or behaviours. Co-optation exercised through "local policy measures" will be presented first.

LOCAL POLICY MEASURES

Ministry policy was reflected locally in written "policy principles," "policy statements" and "policy
procedures." All three expressions of district policy were documented in the local policy index and the school district policy manual.

**Local Policy Principles**

Policy principles were general expressions of school district philosophy on matters impacting district operations. They were located in preambles to local statements of policy on the integration of handicapped children and on capital expenditure. These policy principles apparently were designed to reflect the fundamental beliefs, orientations, or underlying values of the school district. As stated in school district policy manuals, they were acknowledged to be important for guiding district actions.

Local policy principles appeared to reflect selected aspects of Ministry of Education philosophy. These principles served as a basis from which to formulate and to understand school district policy statements. Policy principles subsequently appeared to assist the school district in the interpretation of both local and Provincial policy.

The districts, for example, co-opted the fundamental or underlying principle of the Ministry policy pertaining to handicapped children; this principle being that all handicapped children should have the opportunity where practical to be educated in regular classrooms.
Correspondingly, they accepted the capital expenditure principle that requests for capital grants were assessed and allocated at the discretion of Provincial authorities.

Documentation of basic principles in the local policy manual supported practical purposes. One school district, for example, adapted to the policy of integrating handicapped children by establishing "instructional principles" for the grouping of children in regular and special classes. The minutes of the Education and Pupil Services Committee of that district describe this particular action:

The Committee requested that the Superintendent draft a preamble to the policy with a statement of basic principles and objectives which would guide the most positive implementation of the Ministry policy.

(Minutes of the Board, Coast School District)

As a result, the respective superintendent of schools addressed the Ministry's policy for the integration of handicapped children by drafting the following principle in respect to "grouping for instruction and special classes:"

Instructional process and the teacher-student relationship in the public schools should in all cases reflect the fullest consideration for achieving the optimum potential performance for each individual in an environment which nurtures a positive self-concept. It is recognized that
students are affected by the manner in which they are assessed and grouped for instruction.

(District Policy Manual, Coast School District)

District policy manuals appeared to contain carefully drafted declarations of philosophy or principles in respect to the needs of children and the delivery of services. The language of these declarations was general in nature and sometimes included statements of goals. They, nevertheless, appeared to reflect a positive local position in respect of the two Ministry of Education policies. One such declaration stated that the goal of the district was "to provide learning experiences ... to help children develop the skills, knowledge and attitudes necessary for fulfilment as individuals and as contributing members of society."

Policy principles also appeared to be comprehensive in nature. One school district policy, for example, contained a statement of principle affirming "students'" rights in the public school system." Principles generally addressed the personal and social dimensions of a child's schooling. The following example is indicative for the integration of handicapped children:

In the intellectual area, there will be respect for the uniqueness of each student ... In the personal area, learning experiences should be designed to build confidence and self-worth in the learner ... In the social area, the school has a
responsibility towards each student's social growth. Therefore, students shall have the opportunity to interact with people of different backgrounds.

(District Policy Manual, Island School District)

At the same time, other principles accommodated the Ministry's capital expenditure policy. One policy principle in a school district stated that:

"public education is funded by public monies which must be managed responsibly and resourcefully."

(District Policy Manual, Port School District)

The head of the school administrators' association provided certain insights into how the district absorbed Ministry of Education philosophy dealing with handicapped children. He noted that:

Under the N.D.P. Government during the mid-seventies, there was considerable support for handicapped children. There is a great deal of respect for it under the present Social Credit Government also. School districts across the province generally agree with this provincial policy. However, it is a difficult one to react to, since it affects districts on a school by school basis. Some schools might not have any such children while others will have several cases. It really depends on whether you have to cope with the policy or not, and how it affects schools. Administrators in this district, however, accepted the policy without any real argument even though we have several cases of severely handicapped children.

(Interview with President,
Co-optation of Provincial Government principles, however, did not appear to be a reflection of unqualified intergovernmental agreement. It appeared to be coupled with apprehension about considerations related to implementation. As mentioned with respect to overt political responses, interviewees again emphasized that integration of handicapped children might seriously affect classroom management practices. Officials were careful to express qualified acceptance of Ministry policies. For example, they also envisaged certain staffing and financial problems related to the "mainstreaming" of handicapped children. Such qualifications, however, were not apparent during the review of local policy manuals. Rather they tended to be expressed by interviewees in this manner:

I agree with the integration policy, but I also have mixed feelings about it. Some pupils are best served in separate institutions while others are best served on an integrated or mainstreamed basis.

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Island School District)

The inclusion of Ministry of Education policy principles in the preambles to local policy statements appeared to benefit handicapped children. This undertaking perhaps provided assurance that the two levels of government
would not be working at cross-purposes. The school districts, moreover, may have perceived it as an obvious way to demonstrate the alignment of local and provincial goals when applying for resources necessary for policy implementation.

As a result of co-optation, the expression of demands took the following form in one school district:

The Ministry policy has certain philosophical strengths. I am in favour of it in principle. Some deaf and blind children, however, are being treated inappropriately. Integration can be a rather blunt instrument. There are extreme cases where children don't fit the guidelines of the policy as they presently exist. The integration policy also must be discussed in terms of costs. The philosophical aspect is important, but it is only part of the picture.

(Interview with Chairman of the Board, Coast School District)

The school districts appeared to agree with Ministry of Education policies in principle, but judged that implementation was contingent on other factors. For the integration of handicapped children, co-optation of policy principles may have provided an opportunity or basis from which to request additional teacher aides, assistance with the professional development of teachers, and specialized classroom teaching equipment. In respect to capital expenditure, it provided a credible means for directing Provincial Government attention to the importance of local capital projects.
The underlying values or intent of the two Ministry of Education policies were co-opted by school districts. These were referred to as either local principles, or district philosophy, and included statements of goals. They were positioned in local policy manuals mostly as preambles to statements of local policy and procedures. These local principles indicated that the school districts co-opted Provincial Government values into local operations. This measure subsequently appeared to facilitate the interpretation of local policy statements and procedures.

Local Policy Statements

Policy statements were more explicit than the preambles to policy outlining district principles. They were written expressions of a formal stance providing for a distinct course of action. Policy statements guided local decision-making. A substantial period of study of a proposed policy by officials and trustees usually preceded school board adoption of a policy statement.

Policy statements provided the school districts with an authoritative means of influencing and controlling the implementation of Provincial policies. Local policies concerning the integration of handicapped children and capital expenditure, however, appeared to express more than a readiness to simply integrate Ministry policies into
district operations. In a reciprocal sense, the language of policy statements seemed to emphasize local circumstances in respect of selected aspects of Ministry of Education policies.

The adaptation of Ministry policies to fit local circumstances appeared to require considerable coordination. This process was accomplished through two types of policy statement: (i) general or comprehensive and (ii) specific or particular to the two Ministry of Education policies. One school district, for example, maintained a general policy statement which stated that the superintendent of schools "ensures that all policies of the school board and of the Ministry of Education are effectively implemented." This same district provided another example of the comprehensive nature of certain policy statements:

The Board believes that its primary function is to set policies in accordance with both local circumstances and provincial directions.

(District Policy Manual, Port School District)

Similarly, school districts maintained specific statements in response to the two provincial policies. One school district formulated a policy specifically in response to the need to integrate handicapped children. This particular policy statement was framed in keeping with the
district's philosophy toward special children. The policy stated that:

The Coast School Board believes in developing the potential of each individual student to the greatest degree possible. Consistent with this belief is the desire to minimize the negative effects of labelling and stigmatizing of students and the limiting of their horizons. Hence, it is the policy of the Board to "mainstream" students to the maximum degree that is educationally sound, and to group students according to ability only with parental permission in approved special classes.

(District Policy manual, Coast School District)

At the same time, an example of a specific policy statement in reference to the Province's capital expenditure policy appeared in one local policy manual as follows:

Consultation shall be maintained throughout the planning process with other municipal jurisdictions, the school community, school staff and the Ministry of Education. Every effort shall be made to design schools, and additions to schools, to provide the best possible learning environment.

(District Policy Manual, Island School District)

The position or "job" descriptions of senior officials, on the other hand, reflected policy statements which were comprehensive in scope. These descriptions appeared to be stated as school district policy for the purpose of assuring compliance with Ministry directions. The
job description of the superintendent of schools in one school district, for example, reflects co-optation of Ministry policies in this manner:

The Superintendent of Schools is the Chief Educational Officer of the school district, accountable to the Board of School Trustees in recommending and carrying out District goals and objectives within the confines of the School Act. He ensures that all policies of the Board and of the Ministry of Education are effectively implemented.

(District Policy Manual, Port School District)

Policy statements, in concert with principles and procedures, also appeared to be documented in district policy manuals to provide direction for classroom teachers. The following comments of an interviewee suggests this possibility:

The problems are at the "classroom teacher" level. Teachers require additional help in the area of services to handicapped children. The board tries to assure that district policies on the question serve an important purpose. Quite often there is a need for Ministry policy to be interpreted and organized for classroom teachers so that they can apply it correctly within school classrooms. The Board ensures that the kids in the district, handicapped or not, are well looked after. This district values quality education.

(Interview with Chairman of the Board, Port School District)

Policy statements facilitated operational decision-making. In speaking about capital expenditure projects and
the importance of district policy-making, one central office official emphasized that:

Sound policies result in good decisions. Because the central office tried to run the district in a business-like manner over the years, the district won the complete confidence of the Ministry of Education; in turn the district had complete confidence in the Ministry.

(Interview with Assistant Secretary-Treasurer, Coast School District)

The two provincial policies appeared to be absorbed as statements of school district policy. Like policy principles, these policy statements were either comprehensive or specific in scope. Comprehensive statements appeared to be designed to provide considerable flexibility for local response. Specific policy statements, on the other hand, were more directly responsive to the two Ministry of Education policies in question. Both types, however, appeared to emphasize local circumstances in conjunction with provincial expectations.

Local Policy Procedures

The school districts generally referred to the steps necessary for accomplishing a direction established in provincial policy as "policy procedures." These procedures were outlined in local policy manuals and the special education manual of the school districts. The two manuals
were used in conjunction with one another. Like policy principles and policy statements, policy procedures and any subsequent amendments were under the jurisdiction of the school board.

As mentioned already, co-optation involved the adaptation of provincial policy procedures to local circumstances. This process appeared to be complex and protracted. For example, the signatures of several district officials were required for the placement of individual handicapped students in any one school classroom. Similarly, since the allocation of provincial grants for capital expenditure projects involved Ministry officials and Provincial Cabinet Committees such as Treasury Board, the various steps or procedures in the capital expenditure process required considerable documentation.

Both district officials and school trustees confided that the language of these procedures reflected political considerations. School districts, for example, acknowledged in their policy procedures that the Ministry of Education was the fundamental source of resources.

The variety and complexity of procedures dealing with intergovernmental efforts appeared to invite the inclusion of Ministry procedures as part of school district response. The Special Education Services Manual, for example, contained specific sets of policy procedures for different categories of handicapped children as suggested by
the Ministry of Education. These policy procedures contained in the Special Education Services Manual of school districts appeared to be extensions of procedures outlined in the district policy manual.

Of the three local measures, policy procedures perhaps most clearly demonstrate the extent of school district dependence on the Ministry of Education. Additionally, they suggest reasons why the local school districts continuously sought clarification and intervention from the Ministry of Education. The local process to be followed for obtaining auditory training equipment for severely hearing impaired students provides an example:

1. Requests for auditory training equipment (for school use only) should be forwarded to the Provincial Coordinator of the Hearing Impaired at the Ministry of Education. This application, signed by the Superintendent of Schools, should be supported by recent audiometric data if available and an outline of the student's educational program and environment.

2. On receipt of the above request, the application will be forwarded by the Ministry of Education to the Speech and Hearing Division, Ministry of Health, for a review and report from one of their audiologists.

3. After considering the recommendations from the Ministry of Health, the Ministry of Education may authorize necessary action, including the purchase of equipment to be provided on loan to the school district for use by an individual student. It should be noted that the equipment remains the property of the British Columbia Government, (Ministry of Education) and must be returned if the student leaves the district or does not require the equipment for some other reason.
4. After authorization by the Ministry of Education, the equipment will be supplied and serviced by the Speech and Hearing Division, Ministry of Health.

(Special Education Services Manual, Coast School District)

Policy procedures enabled districts to provide services in keeping with Ministry of Education policies. A district official, for example, provided the following observation of this orientation:

The district's Special Education Services Manual will show you how closely district and Ministry of Education operations are aligned. Coast School District has followed the general pattern towards delivering special education services by means other than special classes. For instance, ten years ago we had 40 professional and 4 non-professional staff delivering services to handicapped children in the elementary schools. This is almost the identical number we have today. However, between 25 to 30 professionals were engaged in special classes then, compared with 8 teachers today.

(Interview with Supervisor of Special Services, Coast School District)

Local policy procedures also related to the district planning process. One school district, for example, combined a policy procedure in respect to capital expenditure projects and the district's five year plan. The policy statement was worded this way:

A Five-Year Plan shall be maintained. This plan shall include a detailed analysis of enrolment
trends, site acquisition and development plans and proposed construction projects to meet district needs within Board policy and Ministry regulations. This plan shall be updated and extended annually.

(District Policy Manual, Island School District)

Other policy procedures in the same district also designated a special role for the Ministry of Education. For example, the procedure pertaining to the capital expense deemed necessary for the maintenance of a school district bus operation was phrased as follows:

The Ministry of Education general transportation policy and guidelines for the financial sharing of a school bus operation will provide the base for the terms and conditions to be used by the School District for the conveyance of pupils.

(District Policy Manual, Island School District)

Local policy procedures appeared to reflect the contingent nature of school district decision-making. Dependence on the Ministry of Education and the joint nature of policy action is shown in the following example:

It was moved (carried) that subject to Ministry of Education approval the Board approve the use of Shareable Reserve Funds in the amount of $30,500.00 to complete the Westbourne and Greentree School Renovations

(Minutes of the Board, Port School District)
However, local policy procedures, like certain policy statements and principles, did not completely reflect deference toward Ministry of Education policies. One school district, for example, maintained a procedural statement as follows:

As necessary, the Board will analyze and respond to ministerial directives.

(District Policy Manual, Port School District)

Nevertheless, co-optation of Ministry policy by school districts was generally a positive or salient type of response. Local policy procedures, additionally, appeared to either encourage or make consultation with provincial authorities, other than the Ministry of Education, mandatory. The Ministry of Education, however, appeared to be the foremost object of district response.

Local statements of principles, policy and procedures appeared to facilitate the implementation of Ministry of Education policies. Since district policy and special services manuals were updated at regular intervals, local policy measures appeared to be revised as circumstances warranted. Inspection of district policy and related manuals, furthermore, revealed that school boards had adopted extensive expressions of policy principles and procedures. Policy statements, on the other hand, were very brief and focussed directions.
INTERGOVERNMENTAL LIAISON

The school districts employed three modes of liaison: (i) school district-Ministry correspondence, (ii) special conferences, and (iii) telephone consultations. Each appeared to be initiated by the school districts and were complementary to local statements of principles, policy and procedures.

School District-Ministry Correspondence

The districts instituted correspondence with the Ministry of Education to officially document problems and associated needs involving handicapped children and capital expenditure plans. The correspondence appeared to be of two kinds. One variety consisted of letters written by the superintendent of schools or the secretary-treasurer to senior Ministry officials. The other variety involved letters sent to the Minister of Education by the chairman of the school board.

The school districts tried to ensure that the Ministry of Education had a good interpersonal relationship with district office staff and an understanding of district operations. A superintendent of schools additionally provided the following insight:
Contact between the district and the Ministry occurs regularly. District officials write letters to the Ministry advising them of current issues and upcoming ones involving the school board and other groups within the district. The purpose of this communication is to alert the Ministry so that if and when something really contentious does arise, the Ministry would be ready for it. For example, when a local community group took its disagreement with the school board over the size and organization of a planned wing for one of the schools within the district to the Ministry of Education, the school district could count on the Ministry to hand the resolution of the problem back to the district. Moreover, officials tend to forewarn the Ministry of Education of possible conflict between the Board and the Provincial Government. Staff contact with the Ministry tends to precede trustee action. We do it so that the Ministry knows what the flack is all about concerning the provincial policy before the school board takes action.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Coast School District)

This intergovernmental correspondence appeared to follow established provincial and local procedures. Both provincial policies, for example, warranted that school district applications for provincial resources be in the form of written submissions. Subsequently, these applications appeared to stimulate additional written and telephone communication between the two levels of government. This additional communication seemed to pertain to the sharing of information by both levels of government.

Correspondence between the two levels of government mostly involved officials. Examples of such correspondence have been described in discussing local policy measures as a method of co-optation. Some correspondence, however, also
transpired between the school board and the Minister of Education. The following example pertaining to the integration of handicapped children provides insight into possible reasons for such correspondence between politicians:

There are enormous cost implications. In Port School District, the cost for special education activities of this nature occasionally must be borne locally. This occurred recently after considerable correspondence between the district and the Ministry of Education. Unfortunately, in the case of a paraplegic child, no Ministry funds were forthcoming for the education of this particular pupil. The District took it upon itself to educate the child out of its own funds. It should be emphasized, however, that such cases are isolated ones, since we don't have a great number of handicapped children. So the district can incorporate individual cases like this one into its general operating budget. We normally would not make this exception, if we had more extraordinary cases of handicapped children.

(Interview with Chairman of Board, Port School District)

Correspondence between the school board and the Minister of Education primarily concerned financial matters, such as, additional costs to be incurred locally as a result of Ministry initiatives. School trustees interviewed in the course of this study, for example, appeared to be more concerned about the financial implications of integrating handicapped children than were district staff. The superintendent of one school district, moreover, stated that trustees were so cost-conscious about expenditures for
special education programmes that he viewed himself as "the apologist for the Board to the Ministry." Another official in a different school district confided that the language and tone of school board letters to the Ministry had to be softened by district officials.

Intergovernmental correspondence also ensued when the districts learned of the amount of their capital grants allocated by provincial authorities relative to what was requested. Typically, in one school district, the school board instructed the Chairman of the Board to impress upon the Minister the disappointment of the school board.

District correspondence pertaining to capital expenditure became necessary when the district sought clarification about provincial procedures. Such requests appeared to stimulate considerable correspondence as districts deemed Ministry of education procedures to be unduly complex. During this interaction, school districts took advantage of the opportunity to suggest revisions to specific Ministry procedures. One official provided this example of the contents or substance of such communication:

We have recommended changes in the capital expenditure process in correspondence with the Ministry of Education. Some improvements would be really beneficial since the present policy (capital expenditure) is pretty rigid. However, things have been worse. One improvement has been the fact that the period of time before items are approved by the Ministry has been shortened. Previously it might take several years to gain the necessary approvals. The procedures often used in
the past were pretty shaky. However, we have received indications that the Ministry is listening to us.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Coast School District)

School districts provided the Ministry of Education with unsolicited comments as to ways intergovernmental transactions might be improved. Criticism of the various phases of the capital expenditure proposal process generally concerned those parts requiring copious paperwork and verification by a notary. A further reason for intergovernmental correspondence arose from the need for school districts to comply with Ministerial policy on the leasing of school sites or portions of school facilities to the local community college or municipality.

Correspondence between local officials and the Ministry of Education was primarily activated by regulatory procedures related to policy implementation. In contrast, the school boards appeared to correspond on account of political and financial considerations stemming from what they considered to be the need for an equitable distribution and allocation of financial resources. District officials appeared to correspond more extensively than school board members.

Special Conferences

As described in Chapter Five, each of the three
districts liaised from time to time with a senior official of the Ministry of Education designated for this purpose. In addition, the districts conferred with other senior officials of the Ministry as circumstances required. These conferences with senior officials other than the designated liaison person tended to take place in the local school district. The following interview comment suggests how:

Opportunities are available for interaction between the Ministry and us. One of the School Liaison Committees, for example, invited the Assistant Deputy Minister for Management Operations, Carl Daneliuk, to the District in order to discuss the urgent need for expanding a school facility. The Minister of Education ultimately became involved at one point.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Island School District)

A further example of the possible form which these special conferences may take is outlined below:

We often communicate on an individual basis with Ministry officials, other than the Deputy Minister or the Minister, to seek their advice and assistance. These Ministry officials also communicate with individual interest groups within the district.... Senior officials within the Ministry have used their influence to speed the acquisition of Crown land for building purposes. All of these things were started up by trustees and delegated to the district office, so I guess that I did have some involvement.

(Interview with the Superintendent of Schools, Island School District)

Meetings with individual Ministry officials provided
"a window" for district officials and trustees to influence the Ministry on a firsthand basis. The perceived need for such action stemmed from the complexities of the Ministry of Education capital expenditure process. Special meetings or conferences with groups of Ministry personnel provided another opportunity to clarify intergovernmental issues. One official, for example, volunteered that:

The Ministry is not that much of an ogre. Politics in the capital expenditure process seems to work in favour of the district. We often rely on the Ministry for advice and assistance.

(Interview with Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Port School District)

When called upon, Ministry personnel appeared to be available for liaison purposes. This comment is indicative:

The sharing of ideas and discussion inevitably takes place when district officials and trustees meet with the Ministry official responsible for liaison on one of his infrequent "courtesy calls" to the district, or at other times when the district invites this official to the district.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Port School District)

Intergovernmental liaison through special conferences appeared to provide advantages to the school district. One superintendent, for example, said:

In a concrete sense, change for the better stems
from school district initiative. A recent example is the pilot programme for the integration of the hearing impaired children in the District. As part of the proposal, District officials arranged a local meeting whereby special education teachers, parents and Ministry officials could be present to discuss the issue. Subsequently, our proposal was approved by the Ministry. This was due to the intervention of Ministry personnel who had been present at the meeting.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Coast School District)

One school district regularly extended invitations to senior Ministry of Education officials, including the Minister of Education, to visit the school district. Occasionally, the Minister accepted. The following interview comment offers a glimpse into the nature of these meetings:

These invitations often result in meetings. They provide the district with a means of discussing issues privately and candidly. A whole range of issues is discussed at meetings, including integration of handicapped children.

(Interview with Chairman of Board, Coast School District)

Co-optation of Ministry personnel through intergovernmental liaison also involved certain coalition partners of school districts. The following action, for example, pertained to a Board of Health matter:

There is a possibility of the Mountain Board of Health establishing a "Hearing Clinic" in the Port School District area. The Superintendent said that it was unlikely that the Provincial Government would completely subsidize this venture, but that
probably it would be established on a 70/30 basis... Mrs. Parton said that the next meeting would be held on Wednesday, May 28th. She said of particular interest on the agenda was an item concerning the establishment of a Hearing Clinic for the Mountain Area, when an official of the Ministry would be in attendance.

(Minutes of the Board, Port School District)

The school districts invited Ministry officials, including the Minister of Education, to conferences in the school district. Conferences also appeared to be scheduled with the designated "Ministry liaison person" and the other officials as circumstances warranted. These "special conferences" appeared to expedite the resolution of intergovernmental problems not solvable by correspondence or telephone.

**Telephone Consultation**

Situations routinely arose which required school districts to obtain either rapid clarification or what interviewees referred to as "tentative permission" from the Ministry of Education. The urgency and uniqueness of the matter often made telephone liaison preferable to written correspondence or special conferences.

District officials appeared to employ telephone consultation extensively. These local officials often required information from the Ministry of Education quickly in order to relay it to school trustees for decision-making
purposes. The following example provides insights into the substance of intergovernmental communication:

The Assistant Secretary-Treasurer said that formal tenders were called for this work, but no bids were received. He said that our architect was then consulted, and he obtained through negotiation separate prices from various suppliers for the different specialties of work involved... The Assistant Secretary-Treasurer provided the Board with a breakdown of the quotations involved and advised that the total was within the Ministry's limit of $30,000. He also advised that the Secretary-Treasurer had been in telephone contact with the Ministry on several occasions regarding the matter and had received assurance from Ministry officials that this procedure was acceptable and that the project is being processed for approval.

(Minutes of the Board, Port School District)

One school district, experiencing extensive population growth, requested special consideration from the Ministry of Education for capital expenditure purposes. In contrast to school districts experiencing declining enrolments, this particular district required a very extensive infusion of provincial funds for capital projects. As a result, the district required preliminary approvals quickly from the Ministry because of joint planning efforts with the municipality and the inflationary cost of materials. This combination of circumstances dictated extensive use of the telephone.

The importance of telephone consultation, furthermore, was described by a school board member this
We often contact the Ministry informally by telephone to obtain a sense of the problem prior to planning a solution for it. There are times when we need to use a politically astute form of response. Rather than meeting the Ministry "head on" in conflict over questions, we prefer to accommodate the sensitive position of the Minister of Education with respect to other Ministers in the Provincial Cabinet. It pays to take in the horns once in a while so as not to alienate the Ministry. An invisible line limits the District to what it can realistically ask for. Breaching the line would seriously put the District and the Ministry in jeopardy. We are aware of the fact that we can't afford to alienate the Ministry of Education.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Island School District)

In providing the following observation, a district official appeared to concur with the previous trustee viewpoint:

There has been a considerable increase in communication by phone between our special education people and their counterparts at the Ministry in the area of financial accounting. Integration obviously entails extra costs to school districts. The Superintendent and other officials take the initiative in working these extra costs out with the Ministry. They have to be political about it since they are working so closely with Ministry officials. ... Both groups try to avoid the really contentious political problems at all costs, especially problems involving the public. At this moment the District is exploring ways together with Ministry officials for the District to hire more people in certain medically-related and special education fields.

(Interview with Supervisor of Special Services, Island School District)
The school districts appeared to be politically sensitive to constraints internal to the Ministry of Education. In communicating with Ministry of Education officials, district officials appeared to appreciate that provincial officials also worked under certain constraints. A district official, for example, summarized the character of intergovernmental liaison as follows:

When it comes to spending public funds, one must always be very careful; that is why there are Ministry checks on financial procedures used by district personnel. Financial controls and political sensitivity dictate that we keep in close contact with Ministry officials by telephone and other means. It must be understood that in all relationships what everybody wants is more. But one must also understand that the process must be identifiable and fair; while school districts were burnt in the past, there may be less examples of it today.

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Coast School District)

Telephone contact between district officials and their Ministry counterparts appeared to be extensive. In contrast, telephone communication between school trustees and the Ministry of Education was infrequent. District officials resorted to telephone consultation to obtain information for scheduled school board meetings, to relay information to the Ministry of Education about local problems, to expedite capital projects by requesting tentative permission for various capital expenditure projects and to seek clarification of Ministry policy and
legislation. The resulting information became useful for school district decision-making.

Of the three modes of intergovernmental liaison, the school districts appeared to use "school district-Ministry correspondence" and "telephone consultation" the most extensively. All three attributes of co-optation, however, seemed to be employed in a manner beneficial to both levels of government.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Summary observations with respect to the research questions applicable to this response are presented in this section. In addition to the use of theoretical perspectives, certain concluding remarks are provided and informal speculations advanced to further explain co-optive behaviour.

Identification of Operational Characteristics

Did school districts use co-optation? Yes, co-optation was employed by each school district for both policy types. The practice of co-optation differed only slightly according to school district and policy type [see Appendix Q-1].
Co-optation appears to be a form of organizational adaptation to what McPherson, Crowson and Pitner (1986:183) refer to as "contested areas" of organizational jurisdiction. This political response appears to have a purpose beyond simply serving as a "buffer" for inter-organizational conflicts. Observers note that co-optation of elements of the political environment "implies change as well as stability and infers a dynamic rather than static response" to environmental stresses (McPherson, Crowson and Pitner, 1986:184).

The data, moreover, suggested an expanded perspective of co-optation. This perspective included Ministry of Education policies as objects of co-optation, rather than personnel. Negandhi (1975), for example, distinguishes "organizational co-optation" from Selznick's (1949) concept of "personnel co-optation." According to Negandhi (1975:176), organizational co-optation involves the acceptance by one organization of another organization's "rationality" as manifested in its technical, administrative and institutional aspects.

The data, furthermore, indicated that co-optation has a reciprocal dimension. Both the co-opted organization, the Ministry of Education, and the co-opting agency, the school district, appeared to be influenced by one another. Intergovernmental liaison, for example, involved persuasion. Concurrently, absorption of Ministry policy influenced local
decision-making. Selznick (1949), in emphasizing that co-optation can work both ways, cautions that it can result "in some constriction of the field of choice" available to the focal organization. Additional observations also may be discerned from the operational characteristics.

**Operational Characteristics**

The operational characteristics of co-optation basically consist of two features: the absorption of Ministry of Education policy in school district policies — referred to previously as "local policy measures" — and "intergovernmental liaison" between officials and politicians of the two orders of government. The attributes and examples of intergovernmental linkages associated with these features constitute the operational characteristics of co-optation as a political response. A simplified classification is outlined in Figure 9.

Co-optation of Ministry personnel and provincial policies facilitated school district decision-making with respect to policy implementation. Co-optation of provincial policies served as a systematic basis from which to formulate local stances and emphases with respect to new programmes or ones already in place. Co-optation of Ministry personnel, on the other hand, appeared to be "ad hoc" in nature. It was used primarily to exchange information and
### Features of Co-optation as a Political Response

**Attributes of Co-optation**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Local Policy Measures</th>
<th>Intergovernmental Liaison</th>
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<td><strong>Local Policy Principles</strong></td>
<td><strong>School District - Ministry Correspondence</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>(ie grouping for instruction and special classes; management of public monies; qualified respect for Ministry of Education)</td>
<td>(ie applications for special funds for handicapped children; recommendations for changes in capital process; compliance with Ministry policies)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Policy Statements</strong></td>
<td><strong>Special Conferences</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td>(ie establishing policies and complying according to local circumstances and Provincial directions; consultation throughout planning process with the Ministry of Education)</td>
<td>(ie use of Ministry liaison person; use of Ministry officials other than designated liaison person; local meeting in conjunction with board of health and Ministry official)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Local Policy Procedures</strong></td>
<td><strong>Telephone Consultation</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ie for obtaining auditory equipment for the severely hearing impaired; school board to respond as necessary)</td>
<td>(ie Ministry advice on acceptability of tendering practice; financial accountability related to special education and capital expenditure)</td>
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</table>

Figure 9

Features and Attributes of Co-optation
obtain rapid feedback from the Ministry on local issues involving Ministry policies.

Use of co-optation by the school districts suggests that local decision-making often involves considerable provincial-local dialogue. Many local decisions on intergovernmental issues appear to be the result of a joint endeavour, rather than a unilateral or independent undertaking. The bilateral nature of decision-making reflected through the local absorption of provincial policy appeared to facilitate policy implementation. The different modes of liaison, moreover, appeared to complement the directions outlined in local policy measures.

Co-optation was supportive of provincial policy and also served as a mechanism for channelling local demands for information and resources to the Ministry. Local policy measures, for example, specified the conditions and methods for addressing the two Ministry policies. At the same time, district correspondence, special meetings and telephone consultation served as ways in which districts attempted to communicate with the Ministry over details pertaining to implementation. District correspondence and telephone consultation, as forms of liaison, appeared to be used more often than special conferences.

The findings of this study indicated also that school districts formulated "local policy principles" as the basis for local policy statements and policy procedures in a
clearer and more orderly manner than the Ministry in respect of provincial policies. School districts, for example, succinctly documented these principles as preambles to policy statements. The Ministry of Education, on the other hand, preferred to blend general statements of principles with lengthy discussion of policy. The districts, nevertheless, co-opted Ministry of Education principles and reformulated them in keeping with local policy language.

Use of co-optation suggests that the two features of this political response operated in tandem. The variables of policy and school district type serve as a further basis for discussing operational characteristics.

**Regulatory policy characteristics.** The operational characteristics of co-optation in response to the policy of integrating handicapped children are presented in Appendix Q-2 according to school district type. The predominant linkages or characteristic actions were as follows: the conscientious drafting of preambles to policy statements, compatibility between the district policy manual and the local manual of special education guidelines and procedures, requests for resources, clarification of Ministry policy, and reciprocally the provision to the Ministry of Education of information pertaining to local issues.

**Distributive policy characteristics.** The operational characteristics of co-optation in response to this policy
type are presented in Appendix Q-3. The predominant linkages or characteristic actions were the following: acknowledgement of the need to comply with Ministry of Education regulations for required capital resources, opportunity for suggesting revisions to existing Ministry policy, and the participation of the Minister of Education in the resolution of local issues.

Comparison of Operational Characteristics

Did operational characteristics differ? Only slight differences were discerned with respect to individual policy types and between policy types.

The most obvious difference concerning the regulatory policy involved the partisan metropolitan school district (Coast). This district formulated more extensive local policy measures, particularly policy principles, than other districts.

School district use of co-optation also differed for distributive policy. The very extensive liaison with Ministry of Education officials by the non-partisan and non-metropolitan school district (Island) accounted for this difference. Additionally, the partisan metropolitan school district (Coast) extended invitations to the Minister of Education and the other districts did not.

Appendix Q-4 provides a profile of differences according to the concentration or focus of intergovernmental
linkages with respect to features and corresponding attributes. The partisan metropolitan school district (Coast) displayed the most concentrated use of operational characteristics for regulatory policy. The non-partisan and non-metropolitan school district (Island) displayed the most concentrated use of operational characteristics for distributive policy.

Certain general observations of co-optive behaviour accrue from the operational characteristics. These observations are summarized in Appendix Q-5. For example, intergovernmental issues involving co-optation appeared to be bilateral; that is, districts sought the active involvement of the Ministry of Education. Co-optation, moreover, was reciprocal in nature. The activity appeared to aid both the school district and the Ministry. Although the data suggest that some intergovernmental liaison between the Chairman of the Board and the Minister of Education did take place, there was little available evidence. This further suggests the covert nature of co-optation.

The operational characteristics of co-optation and associated observations, moreover, serve as a basis for certain conclusions and related speculation.

Conclusions

The findings suggest two general conclusions about co-optation as a political response. Firstly, co-optation appeared to be indicative of a joint form of policy
decision-making on these selected intergovernmental issues. The districts, for example, framed local policies in keeping with the intent of the two provincial policies. Moreover, they appeared to do so as a result of the two provincial policies, not as an antecedent activity. Intergovernmental liaison, meanwhile, served as a complementary means of fostering joint policy decision-making.

This shared or joint characteristic of local decision-making appeared to be a natural by-product of intergovernmental relations. Co-optation was used for policy effect. Morrow (1975:200), for example, notes that co-optation of outside groups may be an inevitable by-product of policy-making which assists in reducing potential challenges to policy. School district co-optation of Ministry policy did not appear simply to be a token exercise. It may have been designed to partially deflect or buffer criticism of local policy by groups internal and external to the school district.

Because integration of handicapped children into regular classrooms was especially controversial, the formulation of a shared or provincial-local policy perspective on the subject may have reinforced the positive features of this provincial initiative. This kind of joint undertaking, according to Morrow (1975:200), is plausible in that "co-optation is more likely in cases where an agency's mission is controversial, and agency officials feel it is
necessary, for defensive reasons, to minimize opposition to its programs."

When integration of handicapped children is viewed as an important change in provincial practice or departure from past policy, then co-optation may be instrumental for policy reform. The expression of key aspects of Ministry policy as local policy appeared to address the integration policy more than the capital expenditure one. The "shared" notion of decision-making, however, appears applicable to both policies. As a result, both Ministry policies resulted in wider local acceptance. This benefit of co-optive activity is acknowledged by Morrow (1975:199) who states that "in contrast to pacification, ... co-optation involves the actual conversion of would-be opponents to the cause of the establishment. The strategy of co-optation deliberately seeks participation as a means to gain public acquiescence to agency programs."

Intergovernmental liaison provided another means whereby the Ministry of Education became involved in local policy decision-making and implementation. The school districts appeared to continually seek limited provincial support for local policies and positions. Selznick (1949:14), however, emphasizes that the issue of co-optation does not involve the transfer of actual power. Denhardt (1984:87) concurs with this view and adds that co-opting organizations do not offer control of the organization "for
to do so would be tantamount to handing over the organization to outsiders."

Selznick, moreover, sees a special role for the organization's top leadership in using co-optation to sustain the institutional character of the organization. He observes that "the art of the creative leader is the art of institution-building, the re-working of human and technological materials to fashion an organism that embodies new and enduring values" (Selznick, 1957:152-153). Selznick implies that attention must be given to the organization's purpose and character by senior management. This observation is apt. District use of co-optation appears to have resulted in an accommodation between Ministry demands and local needs.

Co-optation appeared to provide opportunities for the school districts to create and sustain a favourable orientation for policy implementation. This orientation appeared vital for reducing real or apparent ambiguities involved in joint undertakings. According to one observer of interorganizational politics and public administration, "co-optation provides a good illustration of what is involved in administrative pluralism" (McCurdy, 1977:120). Moreover, Rehfuss (1973:31) observes that "co-optation reduces the likelihood that organizations will pursue antithetical goals and thus serves to unite parts of a heterogeneous society." He furthermore notes that organizations pay a price for co-
opting support. As an outcome, says Rehfuss (1973:4), "power is frequently, if not always, shared."

The second finding arising from the operational characteristics is that co-optation as a political response appears to be a positive form of intergovernmental communication and coordination. It is a co-operative activity, fundamental to intergovernmental affairs. Pfiffner and Presthus (1960:148) observe that communication and coordination are inseparable parts of administration. These observers, moreover, deem coordination to be the end product of effective communication.

Selznick (1969:366), however, notes that co-optation is less well understood as a "mechanism of organizational adjustment" to the environment than other mechanisms; such as, "the tendency to construct ideologies reflecting the need to come to terms with major social forces." He, nevertheless, values co-optation as a "defensive mechanism" with implications for organizational coordination. Selznick (1969:259) notes, for example, that

... The system of coordination depends on the extent to which that system is operating within an environment of effective inducement to individual participants and conditions in which the stability of authority is assured. ... In short, it is recognized that control and consent cannot be divorced even within formally authoritarian structures.

Pfeffer (1982:111) also observes that co-optation
involves exchanging a degree of control and some privacy of information for continued support from the external organization. This support includes access to funds and other resources. Pfeffer (1982:111) also notes that co-optation of external organizations that provide funds for the focal organization is related to the need for these external funds and ready access to them.

Co-optive behaviour indicated in district policy and intergovernmental liaison also reflected communication and coordination. A possible reason is suggested by Pfeffer (1982:111) who observes that since regulatory and financial bodies cannot be directly absorbed, "it is important to obtain a favourable regulatory climate, and the organization's success in doing so will affect its operation."

Pfiffner and Presthus (1960:121) state that many observers conceive of an organization as "a great communication net in which information is acquired, sorted and directed" to various decision centres. According to this view, organizational effectiveness is dependent upon the volume and quality of information that the organization is able to get from its environment. In this context, Pfiffner and Presthus (1960:137) emphasize that communication is not a secondary activity, but rather the essence of organization.

Communication as an organizational concept is also
related to the concept of homeostasis or equilibrium. It represents the tendency of organizational systems to seek a satisfactory balance between input and output (Pfiffner and Presthus, 1960:137). Other observers such as McPherson, Crowson and Pitner (1986:184) concur and emphasize that

The notion of dynamic equilibrium includes organizational change, adaptiveness, and variation as inherent and necessary ingredients in system persistence. The persistence of a system is not akin to the simple maintenance or retention of existing patterns of relationships and procedures. Although it certainly attempts to buffer itself, and will undoubtedly seek to co-opt parts of its own political environment, the organization must be in motion, must change and adapt, in order to stay in place.

Pfiffner and Presthus (1960:150), and other observers, recognize that major programmes often involve relationships which cut across several levels of government. Additionally, they note that if the activities of the different levels of government are to be co-ordinated, the efforts and skills of individuals must be "synchronized." Pfiffner and Presthus (1960:150) provide the following rationale for this orientation:

The maximum success of formal means of co-ordination and control, however, will probably be achieved by creating a widespread understanding of the "why" of the program. If all concerned know the personal basis for major policy decisions and programs, they will inspire greater sensitivity and co-operation.
Furthermore, in keeping with the work of Thompson (1967), Hicks and Gullett (1975:97) state that organizations in co-ordinating their activities through "reciprocal interdependence" risk a complex and costly relationship. The outputs of one organization, for example, naturally become the inputs for another. To minimize costs, Hicks and Gullett state that such reciprocal interdependence requires co-ordination "by mutual adjustment." It is what Thompson (1967) refers to as "the transmission of new information during the process of action." Intergovernmental adjustments, in other words, take place as the process unfolds or the work is being done.

Pfeffer and Salancik (1978:144) recognize that organizations can co-ordinate in many ways; namely, "co-optation, trade associations, cartels, reciprocal trade agreements, co-ordinating councils, advisory boards, boards of directors, joint ventures and social norms." Communication, moreover, is perceived to be essential for co-ordinated response (Williamson, 1976:31).

Pfeffer and Salancik (1978:144) add that co-ordination has the advantage of flexibility since relationships established through communication and consensus can be established, re-negotiated, and re-established. They also recognize that "the critical task" is how to reduce the discretion of the other organization and simultaneously align it with the interests of the dependent
organization. Considering this perspective of Pfeffer and Salancik, a key problem in British Columbia intergovernmental relations appears to be how to coordinate Ministry of Education actions with school district requirements and values.

In summary, it may be concluded that the school districts employed both "organizational" and "personnel" variants of co-optation. School district co-optation of Ministry of Education policies and personnel stimulated a shared form of decision-making, thus facilitating intergovernmental communication and coordination. This political response, therefore, appeared to benefit both levels of government.
CHAPTER EIGHT

EXCHANGE

Exchange occurs when the focal organization attempts to bargain with the organization on which it is dependent. Each may offer an increase in some resource or an increase in the reliability of its provision (Elkin, 1975, 175).

For Elkin, exchange means "bargaining." In this study, however, the term "negotiation" is used most often to refer to exchange or bargaining. Negotiation is preferred for theoretical and practical reasons. Theoretically, it is in keeping with the notion of exchange found in organizational theory. Pfeffer and Salancik (1978), for example, refer to the "negotiated environment" while Ullrich and Wieland (1980) and Strauss (1978) discuss "the negotiated-order." In a related sense, the term "negotiation" was used by respondents in this study and is indicative of the language of intergovernmental practice.

The term "negotiation" affords a broad scope of meaning. Often it is used interchangeably with the term "bargaining." Bargaining, for example, may be viewed as the actual process of presenting proposals, counter-proposals and concessions in the attempt to reach agreement on particular issues (Barner-Barry and Rosenwein, 1986:170). The term "negotiation" reflects this meaning of bargaining.
It appears apt for describing broad interaction between complex organizations, primarily over multiple issues which often involve bargaining.

Governments are deemed to be involved in a "political negotiations process" (Barner-Barry and Rosenwein, 1986:169). Local school districts and the Ministry of Education may be viewed as complex organizations preoccupied with multiple intergovernmental issues. Therefore, the meaning of the terms "negotiation" and "bargaining" reflect how levels of government confer with one another to resolve outstanding issues.

Repeated inspections of the data and further reviews of the literature resulted in this formal, expanded definition of exchange as a political response:

(a) the response takes the form of negotiation between the school district and the Ministry;
(b) interviewees use the term "negotiation" in referring to dealings with the Ministry;
(c) the term "negotiation" appears in school board minutes when describing school district business with the Ministry;
(d) negotiation includes lobbying of Ministry officials by school trustees and officials;
(e) the school district uses persuasion in attempting to trade information or exchange arguments with the Ministry;
(f) school district officials acknowledge the use of skills, such as, leadership, ability to communicate effectively, preparedness, and flexible or creative thinking.
School district use of negotiation is described under three headings: types of negotiation, negotiating positions, and skills. These headings issue from the operational indicators of "exchange." Findings are presented in an integrated fashion. District negotiating positions and participant skills, for example, are reported according to instances of the two different types of negotiation.

In responding to Ministry of Education policies, the three school districts took advantage of opportunities for both formal and informal negotiation. The informal approach was indirect and depended on a suitable opportunity. The formal variety, on the other hand, was direct, planned and tied to immediate necessity. These two types of intergovernmental negotiation serve as the basis for describing school district response. As evidence concerning "formal negotiation" was less covert, it will be discussed first.

FORMAL NEGOTIATION

The formal approach to negotiation appeared to consist of two elements or intergovernmental linkages: (i) delegations to the Provincial capital, and (ii) district-initiated correspondence with the Ministry. The formal approach was planned and involved specific subject matter for negotiation.
Delegations to the Provincial Capital

Delegations, usually composed of senior district officials, the chairman of the board and senior school trustees, travelled to the Provincial capital periodically to confer directly with Ministry officials. These undertakings were authorized by the school board and provided a means of influencing Provincial Government officials on a face-to-face basis. Members of the "delegation" argued the merits of the school district's position in presentations to the Minister of Education or other designated Ministry officials.

Negotiating positions and skills. Interviewees reported that delegations frequently were used by the school districts during times of steadily increasing school enrolments. These delegations apparently were undertaken to emphasize the urgency for resources pertaining to local capital expenditure proposals and other school district matters. Such delegations, however, became less frequent by the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Of the three school districts, the one situated on Vancouver Island continued to make extensive use of school district delegations to Victoria, the Provincial capital. The perceptions of the superintendent of schools involved in this practice attests to its value:
We don't hesitate in trying to persuade the Ministry of Education of our needs related to special education. Most recently, we have had a lot of interaction with Victoria over the integration of native children with learning problems. This issue resulted in the Chairman of the Board, the Secretary Treasurer and I travelling to the Ministry of Education to present our case for additional funding. While there, we talked about some capital expenditure matters also. We emphasize strong leadership in special education. The expedition to Victoria serves as a means of putting our reasons and our plight right to the Ministry in no uncertain way. When we also have the support of parent groups within the community, it strengthens the kinds of persuasive force that the District can exert on the Ministry.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Island School District)

Another district office official in the same school district provided this further insight:

The district can present a good case for additional Ministry of Education funding. This is especially true for the category of funds referred to as "special approvals." This funding applies to handicapped children. Native children are sometimes a factor in requests for these funds. On occasion, we have had to meet on a personal level in Victoria with senior Ministry of Education officials. These meetings concerned issues pertaining to special education funding because of circumstances unanticipated by the school district.

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Island School District)

Overall, however, the official delegation to Victoria was used sparingly. The school districts appeared to be more willing to pursue this option for questions of capital expenditure than for matters related to the
integration of handicapped children. The following comment is suggestive:

Officials and the Board are prepared to negotiate very, very hard in order to obtain "special approvals" and adequate funding from the Provincial Government. One time the Secretary-Treasurer, the Chairman of the Board and I decided to go to Victoria to speak with Ministry officials concerning the addition of a gym to one of the elementary schools. We had to make a special case for it. As a result of these negotiations, we got what we wanted. A lot depends on the people in charge at the Education Ministry and the kind of rapport and working relationship that we have with them.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Port School District)

The school districts appeared to regard the delegation to Victoria as a form of lobbying. At the same time, it was used in conjunction with other methods of influence. A superintendent of schools emphasized this predisposition when he stated that:

Lobbying is part of negotiation ... the district uses a variety of means at its disposal when negotiating with the Ministry. Central office officials serve as the "political spearhead" by providing alternatives to school trustees and assisting with later actions.

(Interview with the Superintendent of Schools, Island School District)

The delegation to Victoria appeared to be carefully planned and adaptable to different kinds of political issues. The "planned" characteristic of intergovernmental
negotiation is evident in this example:

On one recent "expedition" to Victoria, the Assistant Superintendent of Operations, the Chairman of the Properties Committee and I met with Ministry officials and negotiated in a "no nonsense" manner. Firstly, the board presented their homework by outlining the problem to the Minister of Education. Secondly, the board pointed out that Ministry officials had had the question for some time ... and now the board wanted an answer. Thirdly, we used a promotional approach with charts, blueprints and so forth. Fourthly, district representatives work from the premise that the more the Ministry knows about them, the better. ... This process seems to work for us.

(Interview with the Superintendent of Schools, Island School District)

School district personnel appeared to view the visit to Victoria in a contingent manner. For example, the delegation to the Provincial capital was perceived to have potential in this sense:

This school board takes appropriate action whenever action has to be taken. In the past, it was not uncommon for senior officials and school trustees to travel to Victoria for high level meetings at the Ministry of Education. These meetings in the Capital concerned urgently required additions to schools. The meetings sometimes included the entire school board. If necessary, the board wouldn't hesitate to request an appointment with the Deputy Minister or the Minister. The idea of these meetings is to put pressure on the Minister of Education and his officials.

(Interview with Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Port School District)

The official delegation to the Provincial capital
was viewed as a necessary undertaking. This form of political response provided an opportunity for emphasizing and describing the school district's position to Provincial authorities in an immediate way. These planned encounters, moreover, enabled local authorities to deal with Provincial authorities directly on a priority basis. Another intergovernmental linkage, the use of school district-initiated correspondence, however, was more indirect.

District-Initiated Correspondence

The school districts presented certain local positions or arguments in correspondence addressed to the Ministry of Education and other Ministries. This correspondence was of two kinds: (i) letters from district officials to Provincial Government officials and (ii) letters from the chairman of the school board to the Minister of Education.

Negotiating positions and skills. School districts routinely appeared to negotiate through intergovernmental correspondence. The ready availability of this method of communication appeared to influence its use. The following example provides evidence of this practice:

Letters are frequently sent from the district to the Ministry of Education. These letters try to elicit a reaction from the Minister regarding school district concerns. It is the input that
counts. The letters tend to be courteous. They represent a feeling on the part of the board that trustees and officials would like to keep the lines of communication open to all Government officials.

(Interview with Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Port School District)

The school districts attempted to obtain resources by sharing information concerning the basis of their expressed needs with Provincial authorities. This included factual and technical information. Such information appeared to bolster or support the arguments introduced by local school districts.

In presenting detailed information to support the need for resources, the school districts stressed parental and teacher expectations concerning the intended function of the required resources. For example, if local needs were addressed through Provincial funding, interviewees emphasized that school districts would be better able to assure "a quality educational programme." District correspondence to the Provincial Government, therefore, incorporated what was referred to as "the logic" of the local position. The remarks of the senior trustee in one school district who also served as the Chairman of the Finance Committee serves as an example:

We feel that the criteria for the funding of paraprofessionals by the Provincial Government is very rigid. It is so bad that Port School District can't even apply for certain funds even though it can demonstrate a case for the money. What happens
is that the School Board is criticized by parents, teachers and the Association for Children with Learning Disabilities for not applying for certain kinds of funds. What these folks don't realize is that these funds are available for the physically disabled, not the emotionally disabled. We wish that the Government was more flexible.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Port School District)

The school districts presented certain negotiating positions and attempted to clarify them through intergovernmental correspondence. One official described the basis for this practice as follows:

The district is not satisfied with present arrangements for funding. Recently, letters have dealt with the need for additional personnel to be jointly funded as a result of the integration policy. At the same time, we extend official invitations for Ministry officials to visit the district so that negotiations might be expedited on a face-to-face basis.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Island School District)

Intergovernmental negotiation through district-initiated correspondence was not restricted to one branch of the Provincial Government, the Ministry of Education. School districts also attempted to negotiate with the Ministries of Lands, Parks and Housing, and Human Resources. This communication, however, appeared to influence dealings with the Ministry of Education. A senior school trustee described the use of correspondence in negotiations with Ministries other than Education as follows:
Island School District had to press both the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Lands, Parks and Housing under some very trying circumstances. These circumstances were only partially related to the tremendous growth of the district. This district, for example, had to channel its requests for four to five new elementary schools and one additional secondary school through a Ministry of Education very reluctant to approve any capital projects involving new construction. Island School District trustees and officials, therefore, vigorously tried to demonstrate the justification for capital requirements to a Ministry of Education insensitive to expansion of facilities in a time of declining enrolments.

(Interview with Senior School Trustee, Island School District)

Negotiation by way of correspondence was warranted, in the opinion of certain officials, since the Ministry of Education appeared to be insensitive to local needs. The way in which Ministry officials conveyed school district concerns to other Ministries appeared partly to blame. School districts, as a result, also attempted direct negotiations with Ministries other than Education, as shown in these transactions recorded in school board minutes:

The Ministry of Human Resources has indicated a willingness to be flexible in their guidelines for the funding of personal care attendants and it is expected that approval will be given for funds to cover the costs of additional staff. ...

It is recommended that the Board authorize the Superintendent and the Secretary-Treasurer to negotiate with the Ministry of Human Resources for the funding of additional personal care attendants.

(Minutes of the Coast School Board)
The successful outcome of the specific intergovernmental negotiations noted above was reported at a later school board meeting in this way:

A letter was sent to the Ministry of Education in support of the need for negotiations about the integration policy. As a result of needs regarding support services for handicapped children, we have negotiated with the Ministry of Human Resources for the funding of two additional personal care attendants to assist physically or mentally handicapped children. The funding covers 100 percent of the costs of the salaries and benefits of the personal care attendants.

(Minutes of the Coast School Board)

The superintendents of schools in each of the three school districts demonstrated considerable leadership in negotiations with Provincial authorities. School trustees, for example, generally acknowledged that the respective superintendents of schools were responsible for planning and the development of options related to negotiations. A senior school trustee, moreover, said:

Our local officials correspond quite often with Ministry officials. Their letters detail our requirements and suggest certain options for resolution. These, of course, need Ministry approval. Matters tend to get worked out eventually. Sometimes I write letters directly to the Minister. He always responds in a diplomatic way. Negotiations become intense when the Superintendent informs the board that officials have done all they can do on a particular matter. After exploring the options with trustees, the superintendent leaves it up to the school board to pursue a particular course of action politically.
District officials generally appeared to possess very effective negotiation skills. These included proficiency in research concerning the compilation of technical information, and political initiative in the design of arguments for presentation to Provincial authorities. Such skills appeared to be a relevant part of intergovernmental negotiations. The board minutes of one school district suggest why:

The joint press release by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Human Resources relating to support services to severely handicapped children dealt with the information cited in the attached Ministry Circular of September 9, 1979. ... The Superintendent's staff have analyzed the Ministry circular for implications. The implications are major. To be concise, it appears that:
- The responsibility for services and employment of the service staff now rests with local boards.
- All legal responsibility now rests with local boards.
- The purse strings remain with the Provincial Government.
- There is evidence that services presently offered by other agencies will have to be assumed by local boards.

An analysis of the circular, which is certainly well written from a legal point of view, is provided to assist trustees in examining the potential problems. The concern expressed may not be shared by other boards who may not yet have dissected this new venture.

The attached letter is being sent to the Ministry of Education in support of the need for negotiations about the integration policy. Furthermore, the Ministry of Human Resources has indicated a willingness to be more flexible in
their guidelines for the funding of personal care attendants, and it is expected that approval will be given for funds to cover the cost of additional staff.

(Minutes of Coast School Board)

The school trustees appeared to be less prominently involved in school district-initiated correspondence than were the district officials. The chairman of the board, however, played a pivotal role, or was prepared to do so, in respect of district correspondence to the Minister of Education.

The negotiation skills of district officials appeared to be a major influence on the successful outcome of locally initiated correspondence. The supervisor of special services and the secretary-treasurer, for example, tried their utmost to maintain good rapport with Ministry of Education counterparts. At the same time, these individuals diligently assisted in the preparation of sound arguments supported by relevant data.

Special Conferences

As described in Chapter Seven dealing with co-optation, school district liaison with Ministry officials provided regular opportunities for interaction. Negotiations over local concerns appeared to be a natural outcome of this liaison. Also, selected Ministry of Education officials were occasionally called upon to visit the school district in
order to negotiate a solution to local issues requiring joint Ministry-district decision-making.

**Negotiating positions and skills.** Visits by Ministry of Education officials provided the school district authorities with suitable occasions to exchange perceptions and information concerning the two policy issues under study. These occasions enabled each school district to present Provincial representatives with first-hand insights into the kinds of local factors impacting intergovernmental problems. One factor consisted of community values as reflected in local school district policies. Other factors included student and teacher demands voiced during committee and school board meetings within the school district.

The school boards appeared to welcome the participation of interested groups and individuals in local decision-making. This participation appeared to be a fundamental part of the local policy development process. Procedures for the participation of local interest groups were outlined carefully in school district policy manuals. In contrast, however, few corresponding local policies outlined procedures for the general participation of organizations "superior in the line of authority."

Special conferences appeared to be a useful means of enabling the Ministry of Education to learn more about the particular circumstances of local school districts, particularly the activities of interest groups internal to
the district. Information arising from the kinds of committee meetings described below appears to have been provided to visiting Ministry officials in support of local applications for Provincial resources:

The Board shall endeavour to hold joint Trustee, District Staff and School Administrator meetings three times yearly to enhance the process of common goal setting and to discuss current issues; the agenda to be set by representatives from each of the groups; the Superintendent to initiate the meetings.

(District Policy Manual, Port School District)

Information relevant to subsequent negotiations with Ministry officials visiting the school district by invitation or as a matter of routine was often given to Ministry officials privately. Matters for discussion appeared to include business stemming from school board and committee agendas.

School board meetings, except for certain finance and personnel committees, were open to the public. Many of these issues related to how resources might be allocated more effectively within the school district. Negotiation was required with Ministry personnel, since resolution of the issues often involved exchanges pertaining to the interpretation of Provincial legislation, the common law and policies in respect of local issues.

Local school district policies included reference to the programme goals of the Ministry of Education. The nature
of local issues sometimes necessitated the need to negotiate how best to match any available resources with respect to district and Provincial goals. The content of the following school district policy appeared to stimulate intergovernmental negotiation:

The policy of the Board of School Trustees of Coast School District is to provide a wide range of learning resources to meet the educational needs of students and the professional needs of teachers in order to fulfill the program goals of the Ministry of Education, of the District and of the schools.

(District Policy Manual, Coast School District)

As mentioned earlier, the local policy development process included considerable scope for the involvement of interest groups internal to the school district. The closure of schools, for example, in one school district became a heated political issue — ultimately requiring negotiations with the Ministry of Education. The Chairman of the Buildings and Grounds Committee in the affected school district described the issue, and subsequent action, this way:

The board is taking another look at its decision to close General Gordon School at the end of June. Many parents in the immediate catchment area of the school are maintaining that they had not been properly informed of the board's decision. The parents say that they did not receive one year's notice as required. These parents are firmly against taking their children out of the small,
family-oriented setting of the school. Other concerned parents, in the meantime, want a firm commitment from the school board that if the board does not reverse its decision, then transportation to other schools in the area will be provided to children. So far, the school board has had one meeting with Ministry officials. They visited the district at the board's invitation. Additional negotiations will be required with Ministry officials to see how this particular issue can be best resolved.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Coast School District)

The emergence of strong parental reaction over school closure is not surprising given the following policy in the same school district:

It shall be the policy of the Board of School Trustees to support and promote effective, systematic, two-way communication within the educational organization and with the citizens of Coast City and to make freely available information about programs, practices and policies so that the community can exercise its right to influence the operation of the schools and so that citizens can contribute to and influence educational decisions.

(District Policy Manual, Coast School District)

Intergovernmental negotiation, transacted through special conferences, involved Ministry officials responsible for liaison with the respective school district and other Ministry officials. These negotiations sometimes included the Minister of Education.

All three methods of formal negotiation appeared to be a planned and direct means of resolving intergovernmental issues. Informal negotiation, on the other hand, appeared to
be more indirect and spontaneous.

INFORMAL NEGOTIATION

Local officials and school trustees sometimes acted "unofficially", that is, on their own initiative, in attempting to persuade Provincial Government officials to address local needs. This action occasionally was undertaken during telephone communication and at various professional functions -- conferences, seminars and social gatherings of educational personnel. In contrast to formal negotiations which involved an exchange of written documentation, the informal variety appeared to be mainly oral.

Unofficial Personal Action

School district personnel sometimes acted independently. This action was mostly undertaken by school trustees. At times, school trustees acted either in a private capacity or as advocates of their local political party. They did not appear to have the official support of the school board or district officials.

Negotiating positions and skills. Individual school trustees on the partisan metropolitan school board (Coast) appeared to exercise considerable personal initiative. Party affiliation did not appear to restrain their tendency to
undertake independent action. On the contrary, partisanship
may have stimulated it. The school board chairman in the
partisan metropolitan school district, moreover, provided
this insight:

All the trustees are prepared to do their job, no
matter what the occasion. When it comes to
financial matters, they often get quite upset,
particularly when it relates to the local levy....
Both parties on the school board campaigned for
better services for the handicapped during trustee
elections. There was no polarization on this
issue. The way in which the groups on the school
board want to respond to the Ministry, however,
often differs. The Coast Community Association, an
N.D.P. Group, generally tends to be tougher and
more aggressive in the kinds of responses which it
wants to employ. They always suggest a
comprehensive sort of approach consisting of a
range of responses, both formal and informal.
Included are personal contact, telephone
communication, meetings and letters. Individual
trustees who belong to the Coast Community
Association, moreover, sometimes act on their own.
It is less tightly knit. On the other hand, the
Coast Taxpayers' Association, a Social Credit
group, is satisfied with the letter writing kind
of campaign. At times, however, both groups on the
school board look at alternatives. The personal
approach is used a great deal and has proven
effective. Some individuals, however, will always
complain that all we ever do is write letters.

(Interview with Senior School Trustee,
Coast School District)

On the other hand, the senior trustee in the non-
partisan metropolitan school district described the use of
informal negotiation this way:

Parents sometimes contact the Ministry directly.
One instance took the form of an ad hoc committee
of parents and trustees formed in order to gain some additional resources, mainly manpower and funding for the establishment of an early childhood education programme for handicapped children. This committee was not officially sanctioned by the school board. It did, however, enjoy the informal support of two trustees.

(Interview with Senior School Trustee, Port School District)

Both district officials and school trustees appeared to negotiate informally with Ministry officials. The superintendent of schools in one school district, for example, observed that:

Senior Ministry personnel are telephoned a great deal. Sometimes they are met socially. On these occasions, district officials usually begin negotiations by laying the basis for further talks concerning the capital requirements of the school district.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Port School District)

Informal negotiation appeared to be commonplace. The school districts may have viewed it as a necessary form of diplomacy in a turbulent environment. One official described the basis for it as follows:

District personnel are always willing to go after all they can get from the Ministry. Trustees and officials, however, are generally aware that there are budgetary limitations set by provincial authorities. After considerable talk, it usually ends up as a political decision. The Ministry of Education often tells us that they will approve programs A, B, and C, but reserve judgment on programmes D, E and F. Matters often become
political due to the expectation levels of parents in this community. Parents let trustees know. High teacher expectations also mean that trustees and district officials have to be on their toes. The board and its officials make sure that the Ministry hears about them.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Island School District)

Political pressure from classroom teachers was another factor in how the school district responded to the Ministry of Education. Certain teacher demands, for example, surfaced during school board and teacher collective bargaining sessions. Provisions in each of the local school district collective agreements assured formal mechanisms for teacher involvement in decision-making. One school district, for example, made provision for a duly constituted "Resource Allocation Committee" (R.A.C.) composed of three school board representatives and three representatives from the local teachers' association. This committee met on a monthly basis.

Also, it appeared that individual school trustees and district office officials sometimes were privy to relevant intergovernmental information not available to others. As a result, certain individuals appear to have formed independent opinions and shared them with the Ministry at politically opportune times. A senior trustee in one district, for example, said that:

This district generally takes the initiative.
People have ideas, and trustees too are people with ideas. Trustees tend to reach out and bring new ideas to the board table. Sometimes, however, individuals try them out first on Ministry officials or other groups.

(Interview with Senior School Trustee, Port School District)

Independent action in intergovernmental relations, however, was not always viewed positively. One school trustee identified this possible pitfall:

School trustees sometimes perceive problems differently from the Ministry. Individual trustees, moreover, voice their opinions to Ministry officials at inopportune or unfortunate times. There is a need always to be vigilant about the school board's official position. Capital expenditure matters often involve very delicate negotiations. There is a tendency for individuals in school districts and in the Ministry to be short-sighted. We often think in terms of discrete policies when we should be dealing with overall programmes.

(Interview with Senior Trustee, Coast School District)

Nevertheless, school trustees, for example, did not hesitate to approach the Minister of Education during regional or provincial trustee conferences, functions affiliated with community college affairs, and other occasions attended by representatives of the provincial and local levels of government.
Telephone Consultation

The urgency and contentious nature of many local issues necessitated frequent use of the telephone as a medium for intergovernmental communication. This medium was mostly used by district officials. A broad range of matters was discussed, such as, programme standards, redundant facilities, school board postures, and the timelines bearing on implementation.

Negotiating positions and skills. The knowledge and intergovernmental experience of district officials appeared to be an important factor. Interviewees, for example, not only emphasized the importance of knowing Provincial Government guidelines and procedures, but also found the long-time personal working relationship with provincial officials beneficial. This close rapport, established over the years, enabled local officials to negotiate many matters over the telephone with provincial counterparts. One interviewee, for example, commented that:

In the past there have been major issues between the school district and the Ministry which required negotiation. The need to build school facilities due to rising enrolments involved negotiated solutions. Now because of declining enrolments there is another round of negotiations taking place between the District and Ministry officials. It concerns the use and disposal of redundant properties. This sort of thing is taking place in many other school districts as well. Eventually, things always get worked out. Sometimes, however, they do not conclude to
everyone's satisfaction. The point I want to make is that these problems involve complex negotiations between local and provincial officials who know each other fairly well.

(Interview with Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Port School District)

As already noted, the school districts tried to formulate persuasive arguments in negotiations with the Ministry of Education. In the process, they emphasized the urgency as well as the perceived legitimacy of their concerns. School district initiative, coupled with an awareness of timing and tact related to the presentation of local concerns, appeared to be an important factor. One interviewee noted that "speedy communication" was mutually advantageous to both the district and to the Ministry. As a result, the school districts appeared to initiate negotiations during telephone consultations with Ministry personnel.

A superintendent of schools described the place of negotiation in telephone consultations as follows:

The secretary-treasurer makes frequent telephone calls to Ministry officials. Many of these calls are occasioned by the need for consultation with Ministry of Education officials over the appropriate procedures relating to planned capital expenditures. At the same time these telephone calls attempt to determine local possibilities in certain categorical expenditure areas. Telephone communication really involves considerable negotiation.

(Interview with Superintendent of Schools, Coast School District)
The ideas and opinions of school trustees also appeared to play a part in telephone negotiations. One district official, in referring to the value of telephone contact, said:

I have noticed a better calibre of school trustee elected over the years. Trustees often suggest reasonable solutions. As a result, the ideas of school trustees are relayed to the Ministry during the negotiation process.

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Island School District)

Intergovernmental matters discussed over the telephone appeared to involve the exchange of assumptions and technical detail related to the two Ministry of Education policies. For example, one exchange described below related to the construction standards of school facilities:

Recently, a disagreement between the district and the Ministry involved construction standards, particularly the quality of building materials used in the school district. This problem was resolved by negotiation. In contrast to former years when Ministry standards prevailed, today there is room for negotiation.

(Interview with Secretary-Treasurer, Port School District)

School district personnel routinely negotiated by telephone. One school board chairman succinctly described this tendency when he said:
There is a need for local officials to be always on top of things. Quick involvement is often required with Ministry officials about our planned use of capital expenditure funds.

(Interview with Chairman of the Board, Port School District)

District officials and school trustees demonstrated skill in intergovernmental negotiations. Officials, for example, possessed considerable programme expertise. They appeared to use this expertise with exacting attention to detail during the course of complex negotiations. School trustees, at the same time, appeared to be adept at political persuasion, the exercise of initiative and timing. Trustees employed these skills on an individual basis when lobbying provincial officials. These negotiating skills appeared to be an important feature of intergovernmental exchanges.

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Summary observations with respect to the research questions applicable to this response are presented in this section. Moreover, as in the previous chapters, certain theoretical perspectives are introduced to support concluding remarks and speculations about negotiation behaviour.
Identification of Operational Characteristics

Did school districts use negotiation? Yes, negotiation was employed by each school district for both policy types. The extent to which the different districts appeared to use negotiation is outlined in Appendix R-1. Intergovernmental negotiation appeared to be employed either routinely or with special emphasis depending upon school district and policy type.

Negotiation as a local school district response was found to be a positive but competitive political exercise. It played an important part in intergovernmental relations. Mitchell and Mitchell (1969:488), however, note that only recently have the intricacies of negotiation been studied "systematically and sympathetically" in democratic political systems. These authors observe that "it used to be more popular to 'expose' such activities as working against democratic ideals." They further notice that there remains a popular belief that bargaining involves "selfish interests" which will bring about outcomes contrary to "the public good."

Negotiation, on the contrary, appears to be a functional and worthwhile process. Research evidence dealing with educational finance reform, for example, indicates that "the responsiveness of public agencies is highest where bargaining opportunities exist" (Mitchell and Mitchell, 1969: 490).
Data pertaining to this particular study suggest that ample opportunities for intergovernmental negotiation existed in respect of the two Ministry policies. School districts viewed negotiation as a necessary exercise. From their point of view, it appeared to be an important element in sustaining the fluidity of the intergovernmental policy process. Wright (1978:203), for example, states that the impacts of senior government actions are explicitly recognized and taken into account by local officials. The reason, he notes, is that "local officials, like all intergovernmental participants, have jurisdictional interests to protect, policy preferences to push, and personal likes and dislikes." These observations appear to be substantiated by the operational characteristics derived from this study.

Operational Characteristics

The operational characteristics basically consist of three features: the types of negotiation, the negotiating positions of the school district, and the kinds of skills used by local participants in the negotiation process. The attributes and examples of intergovernmental linkages associated with these features constitute the operational characteristics of negotiation as a political response. A simplified classification is outlined in Figure 10.

The school districts negotiated both formally and
## Features and Attributes of Exchange

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attributes of Exchange</th>
<th>Types of Negotiation</th>
<th>Negotiating Positions</th>
<th>Negotiating Skills</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Formal Negotiations</td>
<td>o for satisfying client expectations</td>
<td>o Political Expertise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ ie Delegations to Provincial capital; district-initiated correspondence; special conferences ]</td>
<td>[ ie Parent and student desires for improved services expressed in District Committees ]</td>
<td>[ ie Diplomacy, Timing, Initiative, Persuasion, Tactfulness, Lobbying ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o Informal Negotiations</td>
<td>o for satisfying employee demands</td>
<td>o Professional Expertise</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[ ie Unofficial personal action; telephone consultation ]</td>
<td>[ ie Desire for classroom aides &amp; facility resources expressed in District Committees ]</td>
<td>[ ie Rapport, Program Mastery, Information Control, Planning, Presentation of Options, Leadership ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 10
Features and Attributes of Exchange
informally with the Ministry of Education and other Ministries. Formal negotiations, including delegations to the provincial capital, appeared to be accompanied by written documentation. Moreover, this type of negotiation was undertaken on a corporate and group basis. Informal negotiation, on the other hand, tended to be conducted by local personnel individually and on a verbal level. The ideological orientation of the school board, moreover, seemed to influence the character and form of intergovernmental negotiations, especially with respect to unofficial personal action.

The negotiation positions of the school districts appeared to stem from three sources: (i) client or parent and teacher expectations, (ii) employee demands, primarily from teachers, and (iii) school board values, most often expressed as decisions. These positions, however, did not appear to be expressed in each and every transaction with provincial officials. Nevertheless, they provided the school district with a formidable basis from which to argue for increased resources.

School district positions or arguments, moreover, appeared to project a positive image. The school districts, for example, attempted to persuade provincial officials of the benefits to programme delivery, improved service standards and similar considerations related to quality. All three negotiation positions appeared to be important to
The skills employed by school trustees and local officials appeared to be a prominent feature of intergovernmental negotiations. Examples of the various skills identified in this study, however, were practised dissimilarly with respect to the two types of negotiations, formal and informal. Professional skills appeared to be less applicable to unofficial personal action than to other forms of negotiation.

Negotiation skills appeared to be used as circumstances warranted in aid of local policy objectives. Both trustees and officials used such skills as professional rapport, political initiative and political persuasion. Officials, however, additionally portrayed the use of programme expertise, planning, and information management. As a result, the skills used by trustees and officials tended to differ in kind. This difference may have been due to the fact that the additional skills used by district officials in negotiations were predominantly technical and administrative. The other skills tended to be more flexible and political.

The variables of policy type and school district type serve as further bases for discussing operational characteristics.

(i) Regulatory policy characteristics. The operational characteristics of negotiation in response to
the integration policy are presented according to school district type in Appendix R-2. The predominant linkages involved mainly district-initiated correspondence and telephone negotiation for programme support and the satisfaction of parent and teacher expectations. The relevant negotiation skills appeared to be mostly programme expertise, information management, and professional rapport.

(ii) Distributive policy characteristics. The operational characteristics of negotiation in response to this policy type are presented in Appendix R-3. The predominant linkages or examples of negotiation behaviour involved district initiated correspondence, unofficial personal action, and delegations to the provincial capital for needs associated with district facilities. These delegations appeared to emphasize the need for a more equitable allocation of resources to address matters related to improved standards of service to students. Negotiation skills in this policy area involved mostly professional rapport, political initiative and political persuasion.

Comparison of Operational Characteristics

Did operational characteristics differ? Yes, slight differences in kind and extent of use were discerned with respect to individual policy types and between policy types. The operational characteristics of negotiation in respect of regulatory policy differed according to school
district type. The most obvious difference occurred in respect of the partisan metropolitan school district (Coast). This district used both official and unofficial means to satisfy teacher and parent expectations for resources in aid of handicapped children. Personnel in this district, moreover, appeared to display considerable professional rapport and political initiative with respect to the integration policy.

The operational characteristics of negotiation for distributive policy differed according to type of school district. The non-partisan and non-metropolitan school district (Island) appeared to be more assertive and proactive in planning related to capital expenditure matters than other school districts. This school district, for example, made extensive use of delegations to the provincial capital. It also was able to marshall substantial evidence in support of its urgent need for resources.

Appendix R-4 provides a profile of differences according to the concentration or focus of intergovernmental linkages with respect to features and corresponding attributes. The partisan metropolitan school district (Coast) displayed the most concentrated use of operational characteristics for regulatory policy. The non-partisan and non-metropolitan school district displayed the most concentrated use for distributive policy.

Certain general observations of negotiation as a
political response accrue from the operational characteristics. These observations are summarized in Appendix R-5. For example, the school districts preferred to employ the formal variety of negotiations. At the same time, however, school district personnel resorted to unofficial personal action on opportune occasions.

Teacher and parent expectations were voiced at "school district-school board" committees. Teacher and parent representatives, however, served on these committees together with school board members. School district negotiating positions with respect to the Ministry of Education appeared to be influenced by the decisions of these committees [see Appendix S].

School board standing committees also appeared to be a factor in the negotiation process [see Appendix T]. Trustees on these committees accumulated substantial expertise pertaining to the two policy areas under study. The chairmen of these committees sometimes served as members of delegations to Victoria.

Teacher demands and expectations in respect of the two Ministry of Education policies, moreover, appeared to be the outcome of the collective agreement between the school district teachers' association and the school board. The working conditions component of school district collective agreements, for example, contained articles which encouraged teacher involvement in the resource allocation process. The
specific language of the articles and the designated processes for teacher involvement, however, differed from school district to school district [see Appendix U].

The standing committees of the school board, school district-school board committees, selected local school district policies, and provisions in the local teacher collective agreement appear to have stimulated negotiatory stances on the part of school trustees and district staff. Intergovernmental negotiation, therefore, not only may be viewed as a form of decision-making, but also appears to be an important element in a larger decision-making process.

Mitchell and Mitchell (1969:79) identify two factors responsible for the prominence of negotiations in the decision-making process. One factor is "social pluralism"; that is, the presence of many "partially autonomous" groups, such as, employee unions and professional organizations which must interact with one another "for protection and advantage." The second factor is that "constitutional and legislative practices" such as federalism and the separation of powers serve to fragment and disperse political power among the many decision points.

The operational characteristics of negotiation and associated observations, moreover, serve as a basis for certain conclusions and related speculation.
CONCLUSIONS

The findings suggest two general conclusions about negotiation as a political response. Firstly, school district negotiations with provincial authorities appeared to include the demands of interest groups internal to the school district, especially the local teachers' association. Interestingly, the local district administrators' association was not a factor in intergovernmental negotiations. In contrast, the demands of the teachers' group appeared to support school district negotiations with the Ministry of Education. Long standing and firmly established procedures in the school district assisted in the articulation of these organized interest group demands.

The local teachers' association appeared to be a fairly established part of the local policy-making process. Campbell, Bridges and Nystrom (1977:252) note that teachers are interested, not only in those policies affecting teacher personnel practices and school procedures, but also in "the use and distribution of resources and many other school operations." These authors also acknowledge that teacher power has been effective on issues other than salaries, since the range of matters subject to teacher involvement has expanded beyond salaries and working conditions. Knezevich (1984:405) adds that the local collective agreement between the teachers' organization and the school board "guarantees" teachers the right to influence many
decisions of school district operations.

The data in this study support Knezevich's observation that teacher influence stems from provisions in the local collective agreement. These data, however, additionally show that the local teachers' association simultaneously used other channels for presenting proposals to school trustees and district administrators. These consisted of the standing committees of the school board, special school board-school district committees composed of school trustees and teachers, and school-based committees.

Campbell, Cunningham, Nystrand and Usdan (1985:262) state that a strong local teachers' association can affect local policy in several ways. They suggest the following examples: (i) the teachers' group can guide the local school board in policy making -- helping it to make up its mind, (ii) the teachers' group can study local problems and report findings to the community and the school board, (iii) the teachers' group can exercise unusual strength for or against issues, (iv) the local teachers' group, possibly with the help of state (provincial) organizations, can intervene in the political affairs of the local district, and (v) the local teachers' group can support vigorously its own local members for leadership posts in more senior organizations.

Interest group representation on committees appear to be an important part of school district governance and operations. The committees identified in this study, for
example, assisted in the establishment and review of student programmes and ancillary services. Saxe (1980:177) observes that "committees, especially policy or advisory committees," are common examples of teachers' participation in school district administration. Levin (1986:35-36), furthermore, notes that "in one sense government is the translation of political demands into programmatic terms" and goes on to note that:

The dominant concern of government officials is with operations. More specifically, they are concerned with program operations. Most of the officials' time and energy goes to creating, defining, organizing, operating, expanding, defending, and improving programs.

This emphasis on program operations creates a working environment which is characterized by concern for operational details. Such matters as program definition, details of resource allocations, applications of procedures and the smooth flow of paper become the predominant tasks of the day. As well, extensive sets of expectations, both within and outside the organization, act to make program maintenance an ongoing reality.

The distinction of Almond and Powell (1966) between "interest articulation" and "interest aggregation" further assists in explaining teacher influence on school district responses to Ministry of Education policies. The former corresponds to how demands are formulated. The latter, according to Welsh (1973:85), describes "how interests that have been articulated are then pulled together in such a way as to provide major alternative courses of action on
important political issues." The proliferation of committees
internal to the school district, and direct opportunities to
submit briefs to the school board, appeared to foster
interest articulation. Interest aggregation with respect to
Ministry of Education policies, on the other hand, appeared
to be expressed by the school board in conjunction with
central office staff.

The concepts of interest articulation and
aggregation also can be related to the proposition of Riply
(1985:99) that there is a quality of penetrability or
porousness about governmental institutions. This proposition
appears applicable to local governance since Riply goes on to
state that government officials can expect to receive
group and individual preferences, and the accompanying
pressure to act on these preferences, from many different
sources. These preferences and pressures to act appeared to
have found their way onto the intergovernmental agenda as
district negotiatory positions.

The structure and process of local educational
governance appears to have "encouraged" interest group
involvement in the formulation of intergovernmental
positions. School boards and their officials apparently
preferred not to exercise other options in respect of
interest groups. Riply (1985:106-107), building on the work
of Jones (1984), suggests that government officials may take
any one of the following stances:
1. "Let it happen." Government takes a relatively passive role in agenda setting.

2. "Encourage it to happen." Government reaches out to assist people in defining and articulating their problems.

3. "Make it happen." Government plays an active role in defining problems and setting goals.

4. "Don't let it happen." Government not only does not help with problem definition and articulation but actually seeks to restrict or close the channels of access and communication.

Eberts and Stone (1984:147) recognize that many avenues of collective influence are open to teachers concerning the allocation of resources. Cresswell, Murphy and Kerchner (1980:204) add that the ideology of teacher professionalism includes the concept of participation in the governance of the organization. The local teachers' association, in taking advantage of these avenues and opportunities for consultation with school board and district office officials, also appeared to provide political support to local authorities in dealings with the Ministry of Education.

In speaking of the function of school boards in resource allocation decisions, and the importance of local teachers' associations in the decision-making process, Cresswell, Murphy and Kerchner (1984:205-206) observe that resources flow to, and are distributed within, school systems by several means including funds from federal, state and local revenue systems. These observers also note that
competition for resources with respect to senior levels of government involves cooperation between teachers and school board authorities. The basis for their view is that the intergovernmental funding process is not organized according to local employer-employee groups, but around the functional or programmatic divisions in education.

Clearly, the local teachers' association functioned as a vested interest group with a stake in the outcome of intergovernmental negotiations. Robertson (1985:159) defines "interest groups" as associations formed to promote a sectional interest in the political system. He adds that the term has a degree of overlap with "pressure groups," but primarily refers to groups which "are organized to promote, advance or defend some common interest, most often of an occupational kind." At the same time, Roberts (1971:173) observes that a "pressure group" is "an organized group which has as one of its purposes the exercise of influence or 'pressure' on political institutions for the purpose of securing favourable decisions or preventing unfavourable decisions."

This study found that the local teachers' associations appeared to play an important part in the establishment of school district negotiating positions with respect to the Ministry of Education. This conclusion is in keeping with the findings of Campbell, Cunningham, Nystrand and Usdan (1985:338) that interest groups perform a number
of useful functions in government. These researchers, for example, found that: (i) the interest group is "a vehicle" through which individuals of like circumstances or convictions can collectively develop a position on an important issue and then bring influence to bear on governmental policymaking, (ii) interest groups delineate the issues, and (iii) interest groups also provide information relevant to a proposed programme, although this information is sure to be biased.

The second finding arising from the operational characteristics is that negotiation as a political response involved skilful information management. Both the Ministry of Education and local school districts were informationally dependent upon one another. Implementation of the two Ministry of Education policies involved considerable uncertainty. Neither level of government appears to have had perfect information about the environmental conditions affecting policy execution. Bacharach and Lawler (1981:34), for example, observed that "uncertainty in bargaining results primarily from the bargainers' uncertainty about each other's situations."

Information management appears to involve a cyclical process of exchange. Barner-Barry and Rosenwein (1986:171) state that "in order to better understand the intentions, preferences, strategies and expectations" of another, a negotiator has to give information to the other party. In
turn these observers note that opportunities thereby are created for the negotiator to obtain feedback during the reaction to information. Subsequently, these reactions are deemed to create opportunities for an adjustment in the "expectations, demands and strategies" of the negotiator. This process is cyclical since each transaction appears to require the revealing of information by one party and the processing of the new information by the other party.

A distinction between the "outcomes" and the "process" of political negotiations further assists in understanding the importance of information management. Barner-Barry and Rosenwein (1986), for example, note that the outcomes of political negotiations are about resource allocation. They stress, however, that "the actual process of negotiation by which resources are ultimately allocated is about information, as it is exchanged by groups or individuals, as well as how they process that information, that is, select, organize, combine, and generate information." They add that at every turn of the cycle, information is collected, assessments are made of the current situation, and a reassessment is made of one's preferred alternatives, tactics and expectations of the other party.

Organizations appear to be handicapped by the inadequate and sometimes inaccurate information available to them (Likert, 1967). The dynamics of negotiation as a
political response indicate reciprocal dependencies between school districts and the senior level of government. As a result, information also appears useful for intergovernmental negotiation when viewed as a form of shared decision-making. Kast and Rosensweig (1979:354), for example, state that "information is the raw material of intelligence that touches off the recognition that a decision is to be made." They add that "facts, numbers and data" are processed in order to provide meaningful information or incremental knowledge which can affect the degree of uncertainty in particular situations. Both formal and informal types of negotiation appeared to reflect this notion of information management for intergovernmental decision-making.

The management of information pertaining to intergovernmental negotiation also appeared to involve considerable negotiating skill. The commentary of interviewees in this study suggested that the "professional expertise" of local officials was influential. This expertise was demonstrated with respect to mastery of programme details, informed planning, and the presentation to Ministry of Education officials of alternative ways of allocating resources based on credible data and information. Newman, Summer and Warren (1982:252) maintain that there is a connection between information and influence, in that managers who have "pertinent, reliable and current
information" are very likely to be influential. These observers add that being the exclusive source of key information undoubtedly increases the influence of management officials.

Anderson (1979), moreover, suggests that there is a positive connection between expertise, leadership and information management. Leadership, he notes, is sometimes referred to as "administrative statecraft" and is seen to contribute to an organization's power and effectiveness. Information management appears to be an important element in how leaders achieve organizational objectives. Anderson (1979:108), for example, observes that:

Administrative agencies constitute 'a governmental habitat in which expertise finds a wealth of opportunity to exert itself and to influence policy.' Agencies in their decision-making are clearly affected by political considerations. ... Agencies nonetheless do provide a context within which experts and professionals, official and private, can work on policy problems. Technical considerations and professional advice play an important part in most administrative decision-making. ... Each (agency) needs good information on the technical feasibility of proposed alternatives. Decisions that are made without adequate consideration of their technical aspects, or which run counter to strong professional advice, may be deemed bad on both technical and political grounds.

As already noted, intergovernmental negotiation involved skills of presenting and acquiring information. Mitchell and Mitchell (1969:666) in speaking about the need to appreciate the realistic workings of political processes,
and about the outcomes of political effort, state that "to be efficacious, a person must acquire information that can be put to work." They suggest that an understanding of the stakes in political life and policy outcomes involves actions; such as, the mobilization of intelligence, the planning of campaigns, the gathering of support and the choice of appropriate strategies and tactics.

The importance of professional and political expertise is not exclusive to school district personnel. Wright (1978:184-185), for example, observes that municipal officials exercise intergovernmental influence "chiefly through expertise, formal control over budget and personnel, and a reputation for achievement or implementation -- getting done what a community deems desirable." He also notes that, within cities of "moderate to substantial size," department heads, budget and finance staffs, and even personnel administrators have considerable "leverage and leeway" for producing intergovernmental results. Professional expertise, pertaining to the management of information useful for intergovernmental negotiations, therefore, appears to be an important characteristic of local governance generally.

In summary, two conclusions become evident from the practice of this political response. Firstly, school district negotiations with provincial authorities appeared to include the demands of interest groups internal to the
school district. School districts appeared to encourage participation in decision-making through formally established channels. The local teachers' association appeared to participate most extensively. Secondly, negotiation, as a political response, involved skilful information management. This finding suggests that professional expertise is an intrinsic factor in political negotiations.
This chapter, firstly, presents a brief summary of the study, including findings specifically related to each of the local political responses. Secondly, it provides certain broad conclusions with respect to Elkin's typology of political response and the research methodology. Thirdly, it outlines certain implications and speculation for educational governance and further research.

SUMMARY

The study is reviewed in four parts: (a) the purpose of the study, (b) the theoretical basis of the study, (c) the research methodology, and (d) the findings, or certain outcomes connected to the research questions.

Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study of intergovernmental relations was to explore the nature of school district political responses to provincial government policies in British Columbia.
There were also three secondary purposes. These were as follows:

(1) to empirically examine or "test" the practice of a particular set of political response categories proposed by Elkin (1975). These political responses consisted of coalition, socialization of the conflict, making use of a supraorganization, exchange, co-optation, and penetration;

(2) to conceptualize the study using a three dimensional construct of policy types, types of school district, and types of political response in order to describe selected political responses within a defined intergovernmental relationship;

(3) to employ a multi-case methodology, involving different types of school districts, for the purpose of describing differences in the pattern of political responses to two different policies of the Ministry of Education.

Theoretical Basis of the Study

A conceptual framework for the study of political response was devised on the basis of a review of the literature, and in particular of the following works -- Lowi, 1978, 1972, 1964; Elkin, 1975; Grumm, 1975; Simeon,
In this study, political response was defined as a particular kind of policy consequence or impact; that is, the political behaviour or courses of action used by school districts to react to Ministry of Education policies. This perspective assisted in providing an understanding of the theoretical basis of political response in that it allowed the use of classification or categorization for identifying and describing political interaction between governments. Policy type, type of political response and type of school district were subsequently chosen as the main variables for the conceptual framework.

Policy type was classified according to regulatory and distributive. The Ministry of Education policy instructing school districts to "mainstream" or integrate severely handicapped children into regular school programmes was chosen to illustrate regulatory policy. The Ministry of Education policy guideline on capital expenditure allocations to school districts was selected to represent distributive policy.

Political response type was categorized in keeping with the typology of six political responses proposed by Elkin (1975). This typology consists of coalition, socialization of the conflict, making use of a supraorganization, co-optation, exchange, and penetration.

School district type was distinguished according to
four possible kinds: These are (i) partisan metropolitan, (ii) partisan non-metropolitan, (iii) non-partisan metropolitan and (iv) non-partisan and non-metropolitan. Three of these categories were chosen for analysis, since no partisan non-metropolitan school districts were found to be in evidence in British Columbia at the time of the study.

The conceptual framework assisted in delimiting this multi-case study to three school districts, two from the British Columbia mainland and one from Vancouver Island. The use of case study methodology, meanwhile, facilitated an in-depth investigation of the distinguishing or operational characteristics of each political response.

**Research Methodology**

The exploratory and descriptive purpose of this study warranted consideration of what Guba and Lincoln (1981) refer to as the class of purpose specific to case study investigation. In this study, the primary purpose most resembles a "rendering" activity in the sense of illuminating meanings. Testing, in the sense of attempting to ascertain the research usefulness of Elkin's typology of local government response is another important purpose of this investigation.

Attention to these purposes assisted in keeping the search for the operational characteristics of political responses on track. Early in this research a preliminary
case study of the Vancouver School District, the largest district in British Columbia in terms of students, teachers, administrators and budget, was conducted to gain some familiarity with local-provincial relations in British Columbia education. This preliminary investigation suggested that a "multi-case study" approach, using several school districts, might best address the research purposes. As a result, the political responses of three types of school district were chosen for closer analysis.

Both direct and indirect sources of data were used in carrying out this study. Direct sources consisted of published and unpublished materials. Unpublished materials were comprised of board minutes for each of the districts and district policy manuals. Published documents, such as, statutes, government policy circulars and related newsletters, were also reviewed. Indirect sources consisted of selected interviews within each of the districts. Those interviewed were the superintendent of schools, the secretary-treasurer, the supervisor of special services, the chairman of the board, the school trustee who had served longest on the board other than the chairman, and the presidents of the teachers' and the district administrators' associations respectively.

Subsequent analyses of the interview transcripts and documents provided certain basic data. At later stages in the analyses, however, it became necessary to construct
formal, expanded definitions of each political response. These expanded definitions provided a further basis for analysis and resulted in the classification of operational characteristics for each political response.

The Findings

The operational characteristics of each political response constitute an important set of findings. They are outlined in Appendix K, O, P, Q and R. Determination of these operational characteristics satisfy certain research questions outlined in Chapter Three.

The formal, expanded definitions established in the course of this study may also be regarded as an outcome of this research. The descriptive indicators comprising each expanded definition enabled more focussed interpretation of each political response in action. These formal, expanded definitions are located in the introductory portion of Chapters Four to Eight inclusive and are collated for convenience in Appendix V.

In addition to the formal, expanded definitions and the classifications of political response characteristics, the following summary of remarks on individual political responses constitute a third set of findings:

Coalition. (i) school districts responded through participation in already well-established and overlapping
networks of local, regional and provincial coalitions for purposes of joint planning and co-ordination related to overcoming resource deficiencies; (ii) coalition was mostly expressive of co-operative rather than adversarial behaviour; that is, school districts entered into joint ventures with other organizations and nurtured close-knit relationships for purposes of sharing limited resources and programmes [see pages 107-118].

Socialization of the conflict. (i) this response appeared to be a democratic means of conflict resolution -- a routine means whereby school districts attempted to win support by substituting one issue for another while simultaneously attempting to draw other organizations and the public into specific intergovernmental conflicts; (ii) school districts responded competitively by exposing Ministry of Education policies to public examination, often with reference to other, broader intergovernmental issues, in anticipation of reinforcing their positions relative to the Provincial Government [see pages 148-164].

Making use of a supraorganization. (i) since supraorganizations controlled access to concentrations of potential resources, school districts sought advice and interpretations of opportunities for increased funding through networks of already well-established supraorganizations -- either "superior in the line of
(i) districts used supraorganizations in pursuit of "compensatory equity"; that is, in attempts based on local standards of fairness and justice to augment existing resources in aid of disadvantaged groups and particular schools. [see pages 196-211].

Co-optation. (i) it appeared to take place as a direct result of the two provincial government policies and reflected a form of joint policy decision-making between the Education Ministry and school districts for the purpose of facilitating policy implementation; (ii) co-optation, incorporating both provincial policy measures and personnel, occurred because of the "reciprocal interdependence" between school districts and the Ministry of Education, and appeared to be an essential factor in support of intergovernmental communication and co-ordination [see pages 243-258].

Exchange. (i) as a result of opportunities for presenting demands or positions through formally established local channels, negotiations between local and provincial authorities appeared to include the objectives of interest groups internal to the school district, especially the local teachers' association; (ii) intergovernmental negotiations, both formal and informal, necessitated skilful information management, since both the Ministry of Education and school districts were informationally dependent upon one another as
a result of the considerable uncertainties of policy implementation [see pages 285-306].

These findings with regard to the formal, expanded definitions of each political response, the classification of operational characteristics and interpretative commentary issuing from political responses should be considered in conjunction with certain broader conclusions, implications and speculatory comments.

CONCLUSIONS

Given the exploratory and qualitative nature of this study, the following broad conclusions should be viewed as tentative. Nevertheless, it should be considered that confidence in the generalizability of the results of a case study design increases when the number of cases under study is more than one (Hakim, 1987:64).

The conclusions are grouped in two sets. The first concerns the Elkin typology and its respective parts. The second concerns the research methodology.

Concerning the Elkin Typology

Seven conclusions are presented with respect to Elkin's typology:
Close examination of the Elkin typology uncovered certain regularities or patterns of school district political behaviour. The findings, for example, suggest that school districts responded to Ministry of Education policies through established routines or programmes of action. This conclusion supports the results of other research which suggests that governmental response may occur in programmatic terms, or as a form of "organizational process" (Levin, 1986; Wright, 1978b; Allison, 1971, 1969).

Also, in a general sense, this conclusion substantiates the proposition, discussed earlier in this dissertation, that political behaviour is characterized by certain patterns or regularities (Lowi, 1978, 1972, 1964; Shiry, 1977, 1976). These political patterns typified how school districts managed conflict and attempted to use political influence in generally co-operative ways. Indeed, school district political responses may be regarded as conflict resolution strategies.

This regularity of political behaviour, expressed in various democratic forms, appears to be characterized by persistence and resilience. During the course of this study, for example, the Minister of Education dismissed the Board of School Trustees in School District No. 39 (Vancouver) and installed an "Official Trustee" to govern the school district. A second school district experienced the same fate. Nevertheless, this study appears to concur with
Ungerleider's (1990:141) view that the dissolution of the Vancouver School Board of Trustees "was an atypical occurrence in the democratic processes affecting the governance of education" and inconsistent with the spirit of responsible intergovernmental relations in education.

(2) Political responses may be classified into either overt or covert types. They are outlined in Figures 11 and 12, respectively. Overt responses, such as, coalition, socialization of the conflict and making use of a supraorganization, were "public" in nature. The three school districts did not try to conceal their use. Indeed, school districts often publicized their use.

Qualitative data concerning these responses were evident in school board minutes, district publications and British Columbia government documents. The operational characteristics of overt political responses, moreover, are interrelated in practice. Certain attributes, for example, are common to all three overt responses.

The covert responses consist of co-optation and negotiation. Unlike overt political responses, covert ones tended to be obscured from view. Except for limited references in school board minutes which were sent to the Ministry of Education, data concerning these responses were mostly revealed during interviews or in documentation kept internal to school districts; such as, local policy manuals.
<table>
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<th>Features and Attributes of Overt Political Responses</th>
<th>Coalition</th>
<th>Socialization of the Conflict</th>
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<td>Purposes of Coalition</td>
<td>- School Board Meetings</td>
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<td>- To Support Ministry Policies</td>
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Figure 11
Features and Attributes of Overt Political Responses
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Figure 12
Features and Attributes of Covert Political Responses
However, like overt responses, the operational characteristics of covert political responses were found to be interrelated in practice.

(3) While the "language" or typology of organizational response proposed by Elkin (1975) does serve as a basis for insight into and guidance for the study of intergovernmental relations, its usefulness is limited. As constituted, it is very difficult to apply empirically. The problem is due to the abstract nature of Elkin's typology. The concepts lack a cutting edge. They only become functional and understandable when defined in an expanded form.

The language of political response in its formal, expanded meanings, and the respective operational characteristics, provide more than windows to view certain facets of intergovernmental relationships in education. Together these descriptive definitions provide a rich amalgam of political, governmental and conceptual language which captures the general essence of intergovernmental relations. Elkin's typology, therefore, appears to have substantial intrinsic and extrinsic value. However, it is of little use in a lexical format.

(4) The scope of Elkin's typology, moreover, does not appear to be comprehensive enough. Other possible district responses, such as, simple compliance, public and private
declarations of support or agreement, refusal or non-compliance, discussion, study, contracting with the Ministry, and deliberate delay, are not accommodated. Elkin's response categories, however, appear to operate in conjunction with these other types of responses. It is arguable, however, whether any typology of political response currently in the literature is truly comprehensive.

(5) Use of existing typologies such as Elkin (1975) appears to be an appropriate basis from which to develop more comprehensive classification schemes. Our knowledge of the range and substance of political action might be extended through the continued application and study of Elkin's typology. For example, this study found very little evidence of "penetration", but more research may uncover the political patterns characteristic of this particular response. The formal, expanded definition of penetration, constructed in the course of this study, may assist other researchers.

(6) The findings of this study support the proposition of Elkin (1975) that the political responses of local government organizations are closely associated with their dependency on environmental resources. Each of the three school districts attempted to secure a continuing supply of resources -- including expertise, finance, public attention
and information -- from their environment.

A resource dependency perspective focusses on the identification and description of the strategies employed by organizations in their attempts to relate effectively to their environments (Scott, 1981; Ullrich and Wieland, 1980; Pfeffer and Salancik, 1978). Resource dependency, and the concomitant need to allocate proper resources, appeared to be particularly acute in both the special education and the capital expenditure policy areas. The use of Elkin's political responses appeared to assist school districts by obtaining proper human and material resources.

The operational characteristics, empirically determined for each of Elkin's political responses, may be viewed as a typology or ordered classificatory scheme of the respective political response. The basis for this conclusion is that the operational characteristics, as classified in this study, appear to reflect what Hall (1972:48) and Mechanic (1963:158) refer to as "the critical function of a typology." A typology, in their view, allows a researcher to combine a number of variables into a single construct, and thus provides a way of dealing with extremely complex phenomena in a relatively simple fashion.

Hall (1972:41), furthermore, notes that the "essence of the typological effort really lies in the determination of the critical variables for differentiating the phenomena
under investigation." This study, in attempting to identify the distinguishing or operational characteristics of selected political responses, resulted in the construction of a meaningful typology of each political response in action.

Concerning the Research Methodology

Seven conclusions are presented with respect to the research methodology:

(1) Certain key concepts used in this study, other than the Elkin typology, proved to be helpful for studying the political responses of school districts to Ministry of Education policies. Together, the concepts of policy type, school district type, and type of political response provided a theoretical basis for exploring intergovernmental behaviour and delimited the study. Moreover, what is interesting is that although these concepts were constructed for research purposes, the informants, or the "on-site" practitioners, appeared to readily understand and identify with them. As a result these concepts also facilitated the on-site conduct of the inquiry or interviews.

The dual relevance of these concepts apparently stems from their simplicity. Lawrence and Lorsch (1967), for example, have noted that sometimes concepts can have a
common use for practitioners and social scientists alike, since both decision-makers and researchers are able to deal with and understand the relationship among only a few variables at once.

(2) Classification of policies into regulatory and distributive types, while suggestive of the intergovernmental policy process, failed to reveal any pronounced variations in political behaviour resulting from the differences in policy types. Some differences were discerned, but these should be considered as tentative. On the evidence, the findings suggest that differences in school district political response may be more closely associated with local situational factors; such as, resource needs for particular educational programmes.

The disposition of this researcher to focus intensely on the meaning of each individual political response, and not on the differences between policy types, perhaps may have partly influenced this particular conclusion. The problem of classifying a policy correctly may be another factor. Greenberg, Miller, Mohr and Vladeck (1977) and Steinberger (1980) note that the classification of policies becomes a stumbling block to the empirical testing of whether dissimilar types of policy stimulate different patterns of political behaviour.
(3) Methodological flexibility, opportunities for "on-site" observation, and the exercise of "progressive" judgments by the case study researcher based on repeated classification of data appear relevant for understanding the characteristics of school district political response to the Education Ministry. Use of a quantitative survey approach would not have established the kinds of findings and conclusions issuing from this qualitative research.

It should be considered also that the analysis of complex data for some portions of this research was an outcome of insights gained by the researcher while employed in the Policy and Legislation Branch of the British Columbia Ministry of Education during the latter stages of the study.

(4) Although expensive and very time-consuming, the multi-case approach to this research aptly addressed the purposes of the study. It proved useful in uncovering the complex patterns of political activity -- bilateral, multilateral, direct, indirect, overt and covert -- characteristic of intergovernmental relations in education. These kinds of patterns may not have been uncovered through the use of a single case study.

Successful use of the multi-case methodology in this research, moreover, supports the contention of Mouzelis (1973), Simeon (1976) and Yin (1989) that it is possible to combine intensity of study with comparative variations of
key variables.

(5) The construct validity of this study was increased through the development and use of formal, expanded definitions. The constitutive definitions offered by Elkin (1975) provided only vague notions of each political response. The guidance provided by descriptive indicators, constructed in the course of this research, played an important part in the analysis of data, the identification of operational characteristics, and the subsequent determination of meanings for each political response.

(6) The interdisciplinary nature of the literature used in this study -- political science, organizational theory, law, and educational administration -- assisted in the development of the conceptual framework, the construction of formal, expanded definitions and the discussion of the findings. Wilson (1982) states that the seemingly mundane questions of routine administration are often crucial to political and economic solutions, and he observes that use of an interdisciplinary framework facilitates "asking the right questions and seeking the answers." The political science literature was especially valuable.

(7) The use of different kinds of definitions -- theoretical, legal, constituent, defining by listing members
of a class, defining by appositive, formal, expanded and typological -- was found to be a very important and necessary part of this research. As this study unfolded, the "family of definitions" outlined above was constructive in identifying, delimiting, classifying and describing the properties of the political responses under investigation.

Progressively, each of these specific types of definitions assisted in making distinctions and developing the meaning of school district political behaviour. In essence, "definition" was the primary function of this research. Also, as an analytical tool it worked well in association with the multi-case method. As a result, it helped to generate rich, descriptive definitions of local political response to provincial government policies.

The findings and conclusions of this study also resulted in certain important implications.

IMPLICATIONS

At least three kinds of implications flow from this study. These implications are outlined according to their relevance: (i) for research, (ii) for the enhancement of understanding; and (iii) for programmes of practical training.
Implications for Research

(1) The findings and conclusions of this study may be considered to be a contribution to the literature on educational politics. Current literature on the politics of intergovernmental relations in education is sparse. As a result, further research appears warranted to build what Simeon (1976) and Lowi (1964) refer to as a "cumulative basis" for viewing the patterns of political response created as an outcome of government policies, and thereby strengthening the theoretical concepts employed in political research.

In-depth case studies of individual political responses also appear necessary. Research might also be undertaken which investigates whether the patterns of political response identified in this study can be explained through what Allison (1971, 1969) refers to as alternative conceptual frameworks.

(2) Construction of typologies is recognized as an important endeavour (Welsh, 1973; Landau, 1972; Evan, 1976). Research might be undertaken on other typologies of political response, as noted in Chapter Two of this study, for the purpose of ultimately building a more comprehensive understanding of political life.

This purpose underlying typological research is a
vital one. Recent work by March and Olsen (1989) suggests that political institutions generally play an important role in the developing and maintaining of the political community. Political institutions, for example, are viewed as pivotal, not only for the processing of individual and group interests, but "in creating and maintaining the political community, shaping the political culture and acting as an integrative agency" (Galie, 1990). Additional typological research, therefore, may provide further support for the proposition that political decision-making is a "highly contextual, sacred activity, surrounded by myth and ritual, and as much concerned with the interpretative order as with the specifics of particular choices" (March, 1989:14).

(3) As policy pervades intergovernmental relations, continued research on ways of operationalizing the classification of policy types suggested by the political scientist, Theodore Lowi, may yet prove beneficial. Lowi's notion of redistributive policy merits further attention. At the same time, it might also address what Steinberger (1980) refers to as the substantive theoretical issues underlying the definitional process in policy research.

(4) Partisanship, defined as the presence of local political parties on school boards, appears also to have an impact on
political activity internal to school districts. What is required now are more studies of the political behaviour within partisan school districts related to the dynamics of implementing provincially-mandated educational policy.

Future research also might attempt to uncover instances of partisan non-metropolitan school districts in other parts of Canada. As intergovernmental relations entails a complex process of jurisdictional competition and co-operation, a focus on partisan school districts may shed light on the political conditions under which such relations take place. It should be considered too that "partisanship" may be defined alternatively as the presence of provincial party representation on the local school board. This alternative view merits further research.

(5) Incorporation of what organizational theorists refer to as "resource dependency theory", also known as a "political economy perspective" or a "power dependency approach", in the study of intergovernmental relations may aid in examining more comprehensively how school districts, as special purpose governments, adapt to provincial government authority. This incorporation may also have broader implications. Aldrich and Pfeffer (1976) and Scott (1981), for example, note that resource dependency theory views organizations as active, and capable of changing their environment as well as responding to it. Resource dependency
theory, furthermore, might assist in matching the range and the kinds of different resources sought by school districts with the respective political responses used to acquire and deploy them.

(6) Naturalistic inquirers observe an under-use of "humans as instruments" (Guba and Lincoln, 1981; Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Researchers undertaking qualitative studies of intergovernmental relations might address better the inductive analysis of data and the development of "thick descriptions" by spending an extended period of time either before, during, or after data collection working on-site within one or ideally both the junior and the senior levels of government in education.

(7) Researchers report that few policy studies attempt a comparative treatment (Long, 1982; Simeon, 1976; Aucoin, 1971). Comparative or multi-case studies, therefore, are rare. This situation raises the question, what are the factors responsible for the paucity of such case studies in educational governance?

Ironically, the comparative study of governments, such as, the provinces in a federation, and local government authorities, is acknowledged to be particularly apt (Roberts, 1986). The basis for this observation is that the study of "the state" and its sub-units is believed to reveal
a much greater variety and frequency of political occurrences than the study of the politics of other organizations.

Therefore, greater use ought to be made of the comparative and multi-case approach by researchers who investigate educational governance in Canada. It may assist in the development of more refined typologies of political response and, perhaps ultimately, better descriptions of the intergovernmental process.

Implications for Understanding

(1) The findings suggest that "partisanship", as defined in this study, may be an important element in school district response to provincial authorities. The partisan metropolitan school district in this study appeared to respond more vigorously and intensely than the other districts. This behaviour is interesting. Schorr (1985) notes that the orientation of the actors within local government helps to shape the opportunities and strategies available, since "highly political actors" will be more adept at the exercise of political skills than less politically oriented ones. The more vigorous posture of a partisan school board, however, may not be due solely to the presence of local political parties.
(2) It raises the question, is political response motivated also by factors such as district leadership, the political culture of the community, the specific policy issue; or is it simply an outcome of the desire to maximize district objectives? The question further becomes, to what extent are political responses a function of the importance of the intergovernmental relationship to school districts? The question also draws attention to the potential for viewing partisanship, defined as the presence of local political parties in school districts, as a political resource.

(3) The utility of formal, expanded definitions in this research supports the need recognized by others for the greater use of explicit definitions (Yin, 1989; Kerlinger, 1973; Landau, 1972; Easton, 1971).

    The formal, expanded definitions constructed for this study may prove useful to other studies of intergovernmental relations in education. Also, researchers generally should seriously consider the use of multiple sources of data or "triangulation" for the construction of formal, expanded definitions in the interests of strengthening the robustness of this particular form of definition.

(4) Political concepts integral to intergovernmental relations, such as, policy, regulation, distribution, co-
option, negotiation and others, are subject to differing conceptions of meaning and, therefore, possible ambiguous use. Clarification of such concepts appears vitally important for the conduct of political analysis in both research and practice.

Based on the experience of this study, researchers in educational politics would be well-advised to use concepts judiciously. This conclusion is in keeping with other observations that the major concepts pertaining to the study of politics are ill-defined and frustratingly unclear (Berstein and Dyer, 1979; Welsh, 1973; Aucoin, 1972; Easton, 1971).

Nevertheless, Roberts (1971), emphasizes that our understanding of political life can advance by searching for regularities and relationships, by making important distinctions with respect to complex phenomena, and by discovering the major factors accounting for complicated political interaction. Analysis is deemed to be a function of language (Landau, 1972). The description of local political responses with respect to provincial government policies will enable this researcher, and possibly others, to recall their properties at some future date and, as a result, perhaps, conduct political research more coherently.
Implications for Practical Training

(1) The finding that governments negotiate over resources, while at the same time characterized by a mutual dependency on policy information, appears to suggest that governmental practitioners require corresponding skills. This implication raises questions about the kinds of skills required for intergovernmental relations generally. For example, would the particular kinds of skills identified for negotiation also be applicable to the practice of other political responses? Research suggests that intergovernmental skills are a valuable resource in a complex and changing political environment. (Hardwick, 1979; Wright, 1978b; Simeon, 1972). To avoid excesses it is important to know what response is expected and what is possible (Sackney, 1984).

The findings of this research raise another question. Are the skills employed for educational governance internal to school districts the same skills used in intergovernmental affairs? This question presents an interesting avenue for further investigation. Greater knowledge of intergovernmental relations skills appears important as a result of the apparent increase in the seriousness of the jurisdictional disputes between levels of government. Subsequent research might be undertaken as to how participants in the intergovernmental process learn and develop the skills pertaining to the management of
provincial policies generally.

(2) The findings and conclusions of this study have implications for the training and professional development of school trustees, particularly newly elected ones. Knowledge of the distinguishing features of overt and covert political responses, for example, may enable trustees to become more adept at understanding, not only the language of political practice, but also the scope for responsible action under differing political constraints. With increased familiarity, a board of school trustees should be able to select appropriate political responses from alternatives such as coalition, making use of a supraorganization, and socialization of the conflict, more proficiently.

Also, Elkin's political responses may assist school trustees to improve their capabilities for obtaining, allocating and managing resources in a highly competitive environment. Elkin's political responses appear to be an important contribution to the repertoire of skills used by school trustees in educational governance.

(3) School district officials and Ministry of Education personnel can also benefit from the findings and conclusions of this study. As mentioned earlier in a more general sense, intergovernmental skills are a valuable resource in a complex and changing political environment. Awareness of the
implications of this study, cited for school trustees, would be an asset for administrators who are charged with advising school boards of intergovernmental policy options. More specifically, through greater appreciation of political techniques such as coalition, co-optation and negotiation, administrators ought to become more skillful in the practice of interorganizational politics.

The political techniques outlined in this study might be used for building relationships between the school district central office and other groups internal and external to the local district: local schools, the school board, district committees and the various ministries of the provincial government. Skillful political response today appears to be a requisite for those administrators engaged in political dialogue and problem-solving pertaining to the processing of political demands and the allocation of resources of all kinds: informational, material, human, financial, expert and symbolic. Another important outcome may be closer collaboration between levels of government in the planning and articulation of provincial education policy.

This study, furthermore, invited certain speculatory comments.
SPECULATION

Two categories of speculation follow: (i) speculation on intergovernmental relations, and (ii) speculation concerning other interorganizational contexts.

Speculation on Intergovernmental Relations

(1) As this study was predominantly descriptive in nature, the question of the effectiveness of the political responses used by local school districts remains largely unanswered. Nevertheless, it should be noted that the Education Ministry made extensive changes to both the capital expenditures and integration policies by the late 1980s. These amendments clarified policy procedures, increased funding in many respects and provided other resources and supports. Whether the political responses of school districts had a direct or indirect bearing on these revisions to provincial education policy is uncertain. However, the prolonged and consistent ways in which school districts applied political influence in pursuit of the final outcome indicates that their use was potent.

(2) Whether the political responses described in this study are practised more extensively or less in the future remains to be seen. Given the constant flow of new Ministry policy
initiatives, there is no reason for possible diminished use. Indications are that district political responses may be used more extensively. Greater use, for example, may develop because of the increased number of electoral districts in British Columbia since the inception of the study.

New regulatory bodies with jurisdiction over facets of public education, such as, the British Columbia College of Teachers, the Industrial Relations Council, and the new Inter-Ministerial Child and Youth Secretariat, also may stimulate more extensive local political response. At the same time, the advent of other organizations, such as, the British Columbia Principals and Vice-Principals Association (BCPVPA) and local teacher unions, indicates that the interorganizational dimensions of educational politics in British Columbia will perhaps be more complex and certainly no less stimulating than in the past. Future possibilities for research and analysis appear substantial.

(3) School district use of political influence does not appear to be solely reactive. Each of the school districts in this study had formulated strategic plans in the areas of capital expenditures and education of handicapped children. While previous strategic planning did not appear to include the planned use of political responses, perhaps school districts may be more proactive in the future through the deliberate inclusion of intergovernmental political
influence in "strategic management" or "strategic planning" approaches. The forms of political response used by school districts with respect to the provincial government also may vary according to their strategic plan and assessment of local priorities.

(4) During the mid 1980s to the present, there have been periodic proposals by the British Columbia Government for the re-organization of local education services in British Columbia, most frequently in the form of a county system of local government. If implemented, such a re-structuring or re-organization of local services in education, for example, may affect the ways in which school districts exercise political influence. Local municipal councils and school boards, for example, may coalesce more closely and bypass supraorganizations, preferring to deal directly with the provincial government because of their potentially broader and perhaps more cohesive basis of local political support.

Also, most recently, there have been calls by some large local municipalities for an internal re-organization of municipal services and a better means of dealing with local-provincial relations. The experience of school districts throughout the eighties in managing complex programmes in a highly politicized environment may be helpful to municipalities. Sharing of such experiences, however, may require greater collaboration between the two
forms of local government than presently appears to be the case.

(5) One might speculate whether the local political responses documented in this study are unique to British Columbia. Given the sustained use of the political responses by all school districts surveyed, and since the two Ministry policies chosen for analysis are common to each of the other Canadian provinces, it appears that Elkin's political responses might be employed in other school districts within Canada.

Whether district political responses elsewhere in Canada have operational characteristics similar to those found in British Columbia is another question. However, since the "governmental" relationship between junior and senior partner is essentially the same with respect to purpose, organization and anticipated performance or policy implementation, indications are that, regardless of provincial jurisdiction, there may be more similarities than differences in school district political response to provincial government policy.

Speculation on Other Interorganizational Contexts

(1) As mentioned already, Elkin's political concepts may be applied to research contexts and practical situations other
than intergovernmental relations in education. Thomas (1978) observes that education is subject to the same intergovernmental forces that operate in other domestic policy areas. Therefore, it should not be difficult to ascertain the properties of the theoretical concepts outlined in the Elkin typology, in association with policy types and types of organization, when applied to intergovernmental arenas, such as, health, municipal affairs, and federal-provincial relations generally.

Further exploration of these political concepts may reveal that subordinate public organizations generally use similar modes of political response when adapting to new policy requirements of the superordinate level of government. Such interdisciplinary research may have further implications for educational governance.

(2) Intergovernmental relations in education, involving school districts and the provincial government, may not be the most pronounced or obvious use of Elkin's typology of political response. Labour relations in education, another form of interorganizational relationship with local and provincial characteristics, appears to increasingly reflect the use of political influence surveyed in this study. This phenomenon may be due to profound changes in provincial legislation affecting the local deployment of personnel resources as an outcome of the Industrial Relations Act.
(1987), the Teaching Profession Act (1987), and the new School Act (1989). The British Columbia School Trustees Association (BCSTA), moreover, in 1990 gave labour relations in local education a priority emphasis in its long term planning for the delivery of support services to member school districts.

Furthermore, the increased politicization of the local teachers' and administrators' associations reflected in the local collective bargaining process and other aspects of school district decision-making suggests that the labour relations field holds considerable scope for application of the political responses contained in the Elkin typology. The orchestrated use of political influence appears to be a sophisticated feature of labour relations. This trend may be due to the resource dependency of stakeholders, the struggle for control of decision-making related to resource allocation by groups internal to the school district, and the fact that the largest portion of a school district budget is allocated to personnel resources.

This study was frustrated from the outset by the lack of conceptual clarity of the particular responses under investigation. Other political concepts found in the literature and intergovernmental practice, including "policy", "politics" and "political leadership," may be equally unclear and invite more refined definitions. Perhaps
this result should not be surprising, since the high level of abstraction characteristic of many important political concepts may be responsible for what Easton (1971) refers to as vaguely worded generalizations in the study of politics. Given the omnibus nature of political language, this proposition may be attributable to practising politicians as well as theorists. Therefore, attention to the conceptual clarity of political language appears warranted for contexts other than intergovernmental relations.
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Levin, Benjamin

Likert, Rensis

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Long, John C.  

Long, Norton E.  

Lowi, Theodore  

Lowi, Theodore  

Lowi, Theodore  

Lutz, Frank W.  

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Makielski, Stanislaw  

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Mintzberg, Henry

Mintzberg, Henry

Mintzberg, Henry

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Mitchell, Douglas E.

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Nisbet, J.D.

O'Brien, Allan

Pal, Leslie A.

Patton, Michael Quinn

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Perrow, Charles

Peterson, Paul E.
Pfeffer, Jeffrey

Pfeffer, Jeffrey

Pfeffer, Jeffrey and Gerald R. Salancik

Pfiffner, John M. and Robert V. Presthus

Picus, Lawrence O.

Pirages, Dennis

Pressman, Jeffrey L. and Aaron Wildavsky

Proctor, James

Ratsoy, Eugene

Rehfuss, John

Rhodes, R.A.W.


Rowat, Donald C.

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Sabatier, Paul A. and Daniel A. Mazmanian

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Salisbury, Robert and John Heinz

Sancton, Andrew

Sandelands, Lloyd and Robert Drazin

Saxe, Richard W.

Scharpf, Fritz W., Bernard Reissert, and Fritz Schnabel
Schattschneider, Elmer E.  

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Selltiz, Claire, Marie Jahoda, Morton Deutsch and Stuart W. Cook  

Selznick, Philip  

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Wright, Deil

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British Columbia School Trustees Association

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APPENDICES
APPENDIX A

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN CANADIAN EDUCATION
Appendix A

INTERGOVERNMENTAL RELATIONS IN CANADIAN EDUCATION

Intergovernmental relations can take various forms: international, federal-provincial, local-provincial, inter-provincial, inter-local, or variants of these forms. As evidenced from the media attention dealing with such matters as Canada's constitution, conferences of first ministers, negotiations over energy resources, and implementation of the Young Offenders Act, attention is increasingly focussed on the federal-provincial sphere. A broad range of issues pertaining to both the public and the private sectors are the joint responsibility of the two senior levels of government in Canada. Public education, however, is uniquely different.

Section 93 of the Constitution Act of 1867 (formerly the British North America Act) places responsibility for education specifically under provincial jurisdiction. Involvement of the federal government is limited to matters, such as, financial grants for the stimulation of second language instruction, and some support of post-secondary students and institutions.

Public schooling is a provincial responsibility. The largest source of funding and other supports is the
provincial government, most visibly expressed through the ministry of education. Because the provincial government creates school boards by legislative action, it delegates certain powers to local boards of school trustees and others to the ministry of education. Therefore, the real substance of intergovernmental relations in elementary and secondary education, or the interaction which ensues between school districts and the ministry, resides within each of the provinces. This type of intergovernmental relationship is not a direct concern of the federal government.

The overlap between provincial and local activities is greater than the overlap between federal and provincial activities notes Rowat (1983: 442), since local governments are "creatures of the provinces." In describing this overlap, Rowat states that the range of services and areas of government activity at the provincial and local levels overlap significantly in fields, such as, education, welfare, planning and roads. Because local governments are heavily dependent on the provinces for financial support, much greater attention, according to Rowat, should be paid to the study of intergovernmental relations.

Local government in Canada, moreover, performs unique functions and differs significantly from the higher levels of government, provincial and federal. In making this observation, Rowat (1983: 441) states that an important difference is that "one of the local services -- education
is provided by an entirely different set of elected bodies, the school boards." The lack of a parallel structure to school boards at the higher levels of government, according to Rowat, "complicates the relations of governmental bodies at the local level as well as their relations with provincial governments (Rowat, 1983:441)."

Intergovernmental relations appear to provide a rich storehouse for studying political behaviour generally. Gibbons (1982) observes that a complex system of intergovernmental relations, where lines of jurisdictional responsibility have become progressively blurred, is now a principal characteristic of modern federal states. In discussing the experiences of Canada and the United States, Gibbons (1982: 82) states that "it has become difficult for one level of government to act effectively without the cooperation of the other, and it is rare that the actions of one level of government fail to impinge upon the programmes policies or priorities of the other."

Political behaviour pertaining to intergovernmental relations, particularly how the policies of one level of government impact upon another has been a neglected field of study in the politics of Canadian education. This neglect appears rooted in a number of related factors. Amongst these factors are the complexity of the issues intrinsic to this political arena, the low visibility, until recently, of intergovernmental political relationships and, of course,
the paucity of frameworks to guide study. The general complexity of intergovernmental relations is reflected in the fact that a separate ministry or branch of the provincial government in many provinces administers intergovernmental affairs. In education, the complexity of intergovernmental relations is demonstrated in that resolution to intergovernmental issues is the prerogative of the senior officials and politicians.

The frameworks mostly used to describe intergovernmental relations have been institutional; that is, ones which have stipulated; for example, the powers, delegated responsibilities, collaboration in fiscal arrangements, and separate functions of educational authorities. The work of Flower (1967) who comments upon Canada as a whole, and provides illustrations from Newfoundland, New Brunswick, Quebec, and Alberta is representative of this approach. Fisher's work (1972) is a further example. Using Ontario as a case in point, he describes the conflict which often exists between local and provincial authorities in education, and discusses policy issues from the point of view of centralization of authority and the decentralization of responsibility.

Perspectives such as the above may have been satisfactory for other, more stable times. Today, they no longer suffice. Rhodes (1981) emphasizes that the subject needs to be redefined as "intergovernmental relations" in
order to accommodate the broad range of relationships between governmental units while at the same time "illuminating facets of modern government" through attention to theory. Mosher (1975:79) cautions, however, that when placing the school district "in the family of governments" or more particularly the intergovernmental context in education, it is necessary to keep in mind Kaufman's (1963) distinction between "general government" and "special purpose local government." General government is the generic term for units not restricted to one or a few functions, such as, towns, counties, cities and states. In contrast, school districts and certain other governmental units, such as, sanitary districts, highway authorities, irrigation districts and hospital districts are limited to the duties and responsibilities or special purposes described in their titles.
APPENDIX B

DEFINITIONS OF ORGANIZATIONAL INFLUENCE TYPES
| **IDENTIFICATION** | can be used by an organization if others view association with it as desirable or prestigious. |
| **LEGALITY** | can be employed by an organization that by law, contract, or some other formal agreement can oblige other organizations to accede to its demands. |
| **EXPERTNESS** | is used by an organization that possesses, or at least is believed to possess, "special knowledge" required by other organizations to carry out their own ends. |
| **COERCION** | the reverse of reward, is used by an organization when it is able to convince other organizations that they will suffer losses if they do not cooperate. |
| **REWARD** | is used by an organization when it is able to convince other organizations that they will benefit by cooperating in an endeavour. |
| **COALITION** | the focal organization attempts to join with others to make the provision of some resource more predictable. |
| **SOCIALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT** | the focal actor attempts to widen the scope of conflict by involving previously uninvolved parties who, hopefully, will favourably alter the balance of opinion and resources confronting the organization dispensing the resource. |
| **SETTING UP OR MAKING USE OF A SUPRA-ORGANIZATION** | the focal organization attempts to shift the arena of decision to one in which it is more favoured. |
| **CO-OPTATION** | the focal organization attempts to incorporate into its own decision-making structure the organization on whom it is dependent, so as to assure regular support for its activities. |
| **EXCHANGE** | the focal organization attempts to bargain with the organization on whom it is dependent, so as to assure regular support for its activities. |
| **PENETRATION** | the focal organization attempts to penetrate the organization on whom it is dependent, usually by trying to introduce some of its own personnel into the latter. |

**Appendix B-1**

Definitions of Organizational Influence Types
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHARPF, REISSERT, AND SCHNABEL (1978)</th>
<th>KOTTER, SCHLESINGER, AND SATHE (1979)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>PROBLEM-SOLVING</strong> - strategies of this kind presuppose an agreement about goals among all relevant</td>
<td><strong>EDUCATION/COMMUNICATION</strong> - this tactic is aimed at helping people see the need for the logic of a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>participants in a decision process. In such cases, purely informational strategies may help to identify</td>
<td>change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;win-win&quot; solutions generating consensus even in the absence of substantive agreement on goals.</td>
<td><strong>PARTICIPATION</strong> - implies that the initiators involve the resisters or potential resisters in some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>aspect of the design and implementation of the change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>PERSUASION</strong> - the strategies employed here are directed not at the reality perceptions but at the</td>
<td><strong>FACILITATION AND SUPPORT</strong> - it might include providing training in new skills, giving employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>interest definitions and preferences of participants in collective decision processes.</td>
<td>time off after a demanding period, or simply listening and providing emotional support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>BARGAINING</strong> - these strategies take as given the reality perceptions and the interest definitions</td>
<td><strong>NEGOTIATION</strong> - essentially involves buying out active or potential resisters i.e. giving something</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of the participants. They are intended to accommodate these interests by the conditional offer of</td>
<td>in return for something else.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>policy adjustments or of side payments to the point where agreement would become more advantageous</td>
<td><strong>CO-OPTATION</strong> - involves giving one of the leaders of the group, or someone it respects, a role in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in the light of the participants' own interests than disagreement.</td>
<td>the design or implementation of a change.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>COERCION</strong> - the exercise of hierarchical authority.</td>
<td><strong>MANIPULATION</strong> - refers to covert influence attempts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>COERCION</strong> - essentially forcing the acceptance of a change, explicitly or implicitly threatening</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>them with the loss of something valued.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix B-2

Definitions of Organizational Influence Types
APPENDIX C

RESEARCH PROSPECTUS FOR PRELIMINARY CASE STUDY
Appendix C
Research Prospectus

October 18, 1978

Frank Bartunek
Doctoral Student
Faculty of Education
The University of
British Columbia

Topic:
The Impact of Provincial Education Policy
on a Large Urban School District

Rationale:
(a) to generate knowledge about educational policy links
between two levels of government
(b) to aid our understanding of the impact of provincial educa-
tional policy on school board policy-making
(c) to test the feasibility of proceeding with a doctoral dis-
sertation on the topic using additional school districts

Procedure:
An interview with each school trustee and senior administrator
will be conducted at their convenience. The date for completion
of interviews will be November 10, 1978. Interviews will not be
tape recorded.

Interview guide questions are as follows:

(1) Identification of Issues

- Which recent policy of the Ministry of Education
do you think affects the school district the most?
- Can you describe the implications of this issue
  for the school district?

(2) Communication Links: Emergence of Issues

- Was the issue a surprise?
- How did you first hear of it?
- How did you receive additional information about it?
- Whom do you like to talk to about it?

... 2
Interview Guide Questions (continued)

(3) Communication Links: Articulation of Issues

- With whom are you most in contact in Victoria?
- Whom do you prefer to speak with at the Ministry?
- With which Ministry of Education officials do you tend to deal with most often?

(4) Identification of Other Educational Issues

- Can you give some examples of other educational issues arising from Provincial education policy?

(5) Historical Pattern

- Is there an historical pattern to the policy issues?
- If so, why?
- How would you describe it?

(6) Central Authority and Local Autonomy

- Do you think that that your school district is considered unique by the Ministry of Education in relation to other school districts?
- Are solutions to Provincial policy-related problems dictated by the Ministry or negotiated by the Board?

Completion Date for Research Report:
December 8, 1978

A copy of this study will be given to the school board. The contents of this research study will be restricted to participants, the supervising professors, and the researcher. No information will be made available to anyone else without the permission of the Board.
APPENDIX D

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PRESIDENTS OF LOCAL TEACHERS' ASSOCIATIONS
Appendix D

Questionnaire for Presidents of Local Teachers' Associations

District: ______________________  Date: ______________________

1. Are school trustees representative of organized political groups i.e. is there representation on the school board according to civic political party?
   Yes __________  No __________  Not Sure __________

2. If yes, what are the names of these political groups?

3. How long has each of these political parties been represented on the school board?

4. What is the ratio of seats by the political groups on the school board? Which party has the most seats?

5. How long has the present majority party been on the school board?

6. Is the municipal council composed of the same civic political groups?
   Yes __________  No __________  Not Sure __________

7. What is the ratio of seats on the municipal council, if known? Which group has the majority representation?

8. What is the ideology of the school board groups?

9. Are any trustees presently sitting on the board as "independents"?
   ... 2
Questionnaire for Presidents of Local Teachers' Associations (continued)

10. What would you consider to be the two biggest school district issues during the last four years in your school district? (under the Honourable Pat McGeer as Minister of Education)

11. Is there any regular dialogue between the two councils -- the school board and the municipal council? If so, has there been an increase over the last four years in your estimation?

12. When is the next school board election? Will all trustees be up for re-election? If not, how many trustee seats will be contested?
APPENDIX E

BACKGROUND DATA ON THE THREE TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT
SELECTED FOR STUDY
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TEACHERS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PUPILS</th>
<th>OPERATING COSTS PER PUPIL</th>
<th>GROSS BUDGET</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TRUSTEES</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Langely (No.35)</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>12559</td>
<td>$2,071</td>
<td>$30,385,683</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Surrey (No.36)</td>
<td>1551</td>
<td>28322</td>
<td>$2,129</td>
<td>$66,805,734</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Delta (No.37)</td>
<td>980</td>
<td>17812</td>
<td>$1,971</td>
<td>$40,958,322</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Richmond (No.38)</td>
<td>985</td>
<td>17823</td>
<td>$2,253</td>
<td>$43,977,423</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vancouver (No.39)</td>
<td>3018</td>
<td>55845</td>
<td>$2,283</td>
<td>$135,400,887</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>Burnaby (No.41)</td>
<td>1155</td>
<td>20380</td>
<td>$2,334</td>
<td>$50,700,641</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coquitlam (No.43)</td>
<td>1214</td>
<td>21901</td>
<td>$2,108</td>
<td>$52,971,396</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Vancouver (No.44)</td>
<td>1023</td>
<td>17942</td>
<td>$2,371</td>
<td>$47,357,426</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These are 1980 figures compiled from three sources: (a) B.C. Ministry of Education (b) B.C.S.T.A. (c) A Survey of Presidents of Local Teachers' Associations (June, 1980)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TEACHERS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PUPILS</th>
<th>OPERATING COSTS PER PUPIL</th>
<th>GROSS BUDGET</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TRUSTEES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New Westminster (No.40)</td>
<td>239</td>
<td>4224</td>
<td>$2,357</td>
<td>$10,585,905</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maple Ridge (No.42)</td>
<td>432</td>
<td>7520</td>
<td>$2,345</td>
<td>$20,003,212</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West Vancouver (No.45)</td>
<td>335</td>
<td>6094</td>
<td>$2,389</td>
<td>$15,802,157</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*These are 1980 figures compiled from three sources: (a) B.C. Ministry of Education (b) B.C.S.T.A. (c) A Survey of Presidents of Local Teachers' Associations (June, 1980)*

Appendix E-2

Non-Partisan Metropolitan School Districts in British Columbia
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TEACHERS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF PUPILS</th>
<th>OPERATING COSTS PER PUPIL</th>
<th>GROSS BUDGET</th>
<th>NUMBER OF TRUSTEES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hope (No.32)</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>1585</td>
<td>$2,283</td>
<td>$4,025,234</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chilliwack (No.33)</td>
<td>431</td>
<td>7750</td>
<td>$2,180</td>
<td>$18,309,026</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abbotsford (No.34)</td>
<td>490</td>
<td>9217</td>
<td>$2,052</td>
<td>$21,349,301</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powell River (No.47)</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>4069</td>
<td>$2,501</td>
<td>$10,920,786</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Prince George (No.57)</td>
<td>1144</td>
<td>20205</td>
<td>$2,350</td>
<td>$55,780,186</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nanaimo (No.68)</td>
<td>686</td>
<td>11774</td>
<td>$2,387</td>
<td>$30,686,590</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mission (No.75)</td>
<td>248</td>
<td>4445</td>
<td>$2,106</td>
<td>$10,204,590</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrace (No.88)</td>
<td>309</td>
<td>5414</td>
<td>$2,290</td>
<td>$14,844,018</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* These are 1980 figures compiled from three sources: (a) B.C. Ministry of Education
  (b) B.C.S.T.A.
  (c) A Survey of Presidents of Local Teachers' Associations (June, 1980)

Appendix E-3

Non-Partisan and Non-Metropolitan School Districts in British Columbia
APPENDIX F

EXAMPLES OF REGULATORY AND DISTRIBUTIVE POLICIES
OF THE BRITISH COLUMBIA MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
Appendix F-1

Regulatory Policy Example of the B.C. Ministry of Education

Example:
Integration of Handicapped Children into Regular Classrooms

Legal Reference:
School Act, Section 155 (1)

Policy Reference:
Ministry Policy Circular No. 63, August 6, 1978

Policy Statement

Section 158 of the Public Schools Act reads in part "The Board of each school district shall, except as otherwise provided in this Act, provide sufficient school accommodation and tuition free of charge, to all children of school age resident in that School District."

Wherever feasible, this educational service shall be delivered by normal method of enrolling the child in a class in school. However, the Minister recognizes that there are some children whose mental, emotional and/or physical handicaps are so severe that even the provision of the usual educational support services, such as aides, learning assistance and special classes, will not provide an environment in which effective instruction can take place. This circular is a policy statement of the Ministry of Education with respect to this situation.

The Ministry of Education will ensure that an educational program is provided for every child of school age, through Boards of School Trustees, as set forth in the Public Schools Act and Regulations.
Appendix F-2

Distributive Policy Example of the B.C. Ministry of Education

Example:
Approval of Capital Expenditure Projects

Legal Reference:
Sections 1 (1) and 191 (1) of the School Act

Policy Reference:
Ministry Policy Circular No. 31, November 28, 1977

Policy Statement:
All basic instructional space, including gymnasium space is shareable. Proposals throughout the Province are dealt with in such a way as to ensure equity to all school districts, regardless of their ability to pay. The provincial share may vary from a low of 50 percent to a high of 90 percent, depending upon circumstances.

Note:
Section 191 (1) of the School Act states that a capital expenditure shall not be made by a board without the prior approval of the minister, who, at his discretion and on consideration of the capital expenditures being necessary and essential, may approve or disapprove in whole or in part the proposed capital expenditures.

According to Section 1 (1) of the Act, "capital expense" means:

(a) expenses necessarily incurred by the board under this Act for and incidental to the acquisition of assets of a permanent or semi-permanent nature;

(b) expenses incurred in acquiring and developing sites for school purposes or for use in connection with them;

(c) expenses incurred in purchasing, constructing, reconstructing, making major alterations to, furnishing and equipping buildings for school purposes or for use in connection with them;

(d) expenses incurred in acquiring vehicles and their accessories; and

(e) contingent and other expenses necessarily incurred which are of a capital nature.
APPENDIX G

A TYPOLOGY OF CASE STUDIES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purpose of the Case Study</th>
<th>Factual</th>
<th>Interpretative</th>
<th>Evaluative</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>Action</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chronicle</td>
<td>Record</td>
<td>Construe</td>
<td>Deliberate</td>
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<tr>
<td>Render</td>
<td>Register</td>
<td>History</td>
<td>Evidence</td>
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<tr>
<td>Render</td>
<td>Construct</td>
<td>Synthesize</td>
<td>Epitomize</td>
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<tr>
<td>Teach</td>
<td>Profile</td>
<td>Meanings</td>
<td>Portrayal</td>
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<td>Test</td>
<td>Cognitions</td>
<td>Clarify</td>
<td>Discriminations</td>
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<tr>
<td>Test</td>
<td>Facts</td>
<td>Understandings</td>
<td>Contrast</td>
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<td>Weigh</td>
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<tr>
<td>Test</td>
<td>Theory</td>
<td>Judgments</td>
<td></td>
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Source: Guba and Lincoln (1982: 374)

Appendix G

A Typology of Case Studies
APPENDIX H

CORRESPONDENCE REQUESTING PARTICIPATION
OF SCHOOL DISTRICT PERSONNEL
April 24, 1981

Appendix H-1

Dear

I am writing as a graduate student in educational administration at U.B.C. presently working on a doctoral dissertation in the politics of education.

My dissertation is entitled "Intergovernmental Relations in British Columbia Education". The main purpose of this study is to ascertain and describe the nature of the political responses of select types of school districts to two different Ministry of Education policies.

The two Ministry of Education policies chosen are: (i) the policy dealing with the integration of the handicapped, announced in August 1978; and (ii) the policy having to do with procedures for the funding of capital projects in local school districts.

In order to carry out this proposed study of intergovernmental relations in education, I have selected a small number of school districts as a possible sample. Your school district is one which I would like to include in this select sample.

The proposed research entails interviewing approximately six members of district staff as follows:

(a) superintendent
(b) secretary-treasurer
(c) chairperson of the board
(d) another senior trustee to be determined in consultation with the superintendent
(e) president of the principals' association
(f) president of the teachers' association

The identity of respondents and the name of the school district, of course, will remain confidential as pseudonyms will be used to categorize data.

At this juncture in my doctoral research, I would very much like to include interviews with select personnel in your school district.

Should you feel that such interviews may be possible, it would, of course, be greatly appreciated.

With this question in mind, I will be contacting you in the near future to discuss the matter more closely.

Sincerely yours,

Frank Bartunek
Doctoral Candidate
Educational Administration
Appendix H-2

Intergovernmental Relations in British Columbia Education

Frank P. Bartunek
Faculty of Education
The University of British Columbia

This study focusses on the political responses of school districts to provincial educational policies. The main purpose is to ascertain and describe the nature of the political responses of select types of school districts to two different Ministry of Education policies, one being an example of a "regulatory" policy, the other a "distributive" policy.

The two policies of the Ministry of Education chosen are:

(1) - a policy having to do with the education of the handicapped (regulatory); and,

(2) - a policy having to do with procedures for the funding of capital projects in local school districts (distributive).

(These two policy types are the subject of other studies in the field of public policy. Further, most policies of the Ministry of Education appear to be either regulatory or distributive in nature.)

This present study is unlike most earlier studies in the politics of education in that it follows a comparative case study approach.

Recent research in interorganizational relations has identified a number of sets of political responses, sometimes termed organizational influence strategies, which the focal organization, the local school district, might use in responding to another level of authority, such as,
the Ministry of Education.

This present study may even uncover other types of political responses used by school districts. However, the main focus will be to study the nature of the political responses. It will focus on such questions as which groups became involved and in what manner.

In addition the case data will be studied to try and determine how particular political responses are associated with a particular policy type. Also do different types of school district (metropolitan partisan, metropolitan non-partisan, and non-metropolitan and non-partisan) respond differently? And, if so, how?

Data on school district responses will be secured through interviews. Those to be interviewed in each district are certain senior appointed officials, elected trustees, and the most senior member of the executive committees of the school teachers' and principals' association, who have knowledge of the responses of their districts to the two provincial government policies. Thus, the intended study will be useful, hopefully, in the following respects:

(a) to generate additional knowledge about intergovernmental relations in education;

(b) to generate additional detail into the nature of the various responses which districts employ in responding to provincial policy initiatives, as well as, differences in the way various types of districts are likely to respond.
APPENDIX I

ADVANCE ORGANIZER SENT TO INTERVIEWEES
Appendix I

Advance Organizer Sent to Interviewees

May 8, 1981

To: ________________________________________________________

From: Frank P. Bartunek, Doctoral Student, U.B.C.

Subject: Interview pertaining to District Response to Ministry Policies

Date and Time of Interview: ____________________________________

Thank you for assisting me with my doctoral thesis by consenting to be interviewed in relation to the above topic.

As you know, the purpose of my study is to ascertain and describe the reaction of your school district to two different policies of the Ministry of Education.

The two policies of the Ministry of Education for consideration are: (i) the policy having to do with the education of the handicapped (1978), and (ii) the Ministry procedures for the funding of capital projects in local school districts.

Two questions serve as the general basis for the interview:

(a) In what kinds of ways did the district react to each of these policies?

(b) Please comment on the following features of implementation: extent, steps involved, timing, aspects of policy implemented and not implemented, key personnel involved.

Should there be a need to contact me prior to the interview, I may be reached at one of the following numbers:

Office 228-4551 Home 731-5178

In the meantime, I look forward to meeting with you.
APPENDIX J

THE SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE
Appendix J-1

Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Integration Policy

A. Political Response Strategies: Integration Policy

A.1 In what kinds of ways did the district react to the policy of integrating the handicapped?

A.2 Was the district mostly in agreement or in disagreement with this Provincial policy?

A.3 What was your personal involvement with respect to it?

A.4 Were interest groups other than the central office and the school board involved, and if so how?

A.5 Was the central office involved, and if so, how?

A.6 Was the school board involved, and if so, how?

A.7 Can you recall any other information which helps to describe the district's reaction to the integration policy?

B. Implementation: Integration Policy

B.1 Setting aside the political reaction of the district and considering the actual implementation of the policy in the district, would you please reflect on the following features of implementation: timing, steps, aspects implemented and not implemented, key personnel and extent of the implementation.

B.2 In what sense were time-lines a factor in implementation?

B.3 What were the major steps in implementation?

B.4 Which aspects of the policy were implemented and which aspects were not implemented?

B.5 Who were the key personnel involved in implementation?

B.6 What was the overall extent of the implementation?

B.7 Do you know of any other information which would be pertinent to describing the implementation of the handicapped policy in your district?
Appendix J-2

Semi-Structured Interview Guide for Distributive Policy

C. Political Response Strategies: Distributive Policy

C.1 In what kinds of ways did the district react to the policy for funding capital expenditures?

C.2 Was the district mostly in agreement or in disagreement with this Provincial policy?

C.3 What was your personal involvement with respect to it?

C.4 Were interest groups other than the central office and the school board involved, and if so how?

C.5 Was the central office involved, and if so, how?

C.6 Was the school board involved, and if so, how?

C.7 Can you recall any other information which helps to describe the district's reaction to the capital expenditures policy?

D. Implementation: Distributive Policy

D.1 Setting aside the political reaction of the district and considering the actual implementation of the policy in the district, would you please reflect on the following features of implementation: timing, steps, aspects implemented and not implemented, key personnel and extent of the implementation.

D.2 In what sense were time-lines a factor in implementation?

D.3 What were the major steps in implementation?

D.4 Which aspects of the policy were implemented and which aspects were not implemented?

D.5 Who were the key personnel involved in implementation?

D.6 What was the overall extent of the implementation?

D.7 Do you know of any other information which would be pertinent to describing the implementation of the capital expenditures policy in your district?
Examples of Probe Questions Used in Interviews

1. Was there a sense of consistency in the responses of the school district to each of the two policies?

2. Did the school district attempt to use approaches, such as, attempting to include Ministry officials in district decision-making (co-optation), or placing district officials within the Ministry (penetration), or negotiating with Ministry officials and the Minister of Education (exchange)? If so please describe the use of the approach?

3. Did the school district use other approaches, such as, attempting to coalesce with other districts, or authorities to deliver services (coalition) or did it attempt to join with others for the purpose of obtaining support for its cause (socialization of the conflict), or did it attempt to set up or make use of a higher level organization, other than the Ministry (setting up or making use of a supraorganization)? If so, please describe the use of the approach.

4. Were there occasions when individual trustees took "minority" courses of action ie action contrary to majority board decision?

5. Did individual trustees take the initiative to communicate with the Minister on their own?

6. How did the school district employ the services of the B.C.S.T.A. in responding to the Ministry?

7. Were there occasions when the central office and the school board responded independently of each other?

8. Do central office officials guide the trustees in the choice of response?
Examples of Probe Questions Used in Interviews (continued)

9. Are alternative courses of action suggested to trustees by officials?

10. Do the various professional associations within the district try to exert influence on district officials? If so, how?

11. Is there a particular official with whom the district is in more contact than other officials at the Ministry?

12. Does the district plan a strategy for responding to each of the two policies?

13. If strategies are planned, are there certain strategies which the school board, or the central office, plans alone?

14. Does the Ministry appear to consider the opinion of the district to your satisfaction?

15. Are there features special to this district which the Ministry should consider with respect to the implementation of Ministry policies?

16. Does the district formulate objectives for policy implementation and "follow through" systematically with respect to them? If so, please describe an example?
APPENDIX K

OPERATIONAL PROFILES OF COALITION BY POLICY

AND SCHOOL DISTRICT TYPES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF POLITICAL RESPONSE</th>
<th>TYPE OF MINISTRY POLICY</th>
<th>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)</th>
<th>NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.)</th>
<th>NON-PARTISAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN (Island S.D.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COALITION</td>
<td>REGULATORY (Integration)</td>
<td>at least 11 coalitions</td>
<td>at least 7 coalitions</td>
<td>at least 10 coalitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COALITION</td>
<td>DISTRIBUTIVE (Capital Expenditure)</td>
<td>at least 8 coalitions</td>
<td>at least 7 coalitions</td>
<td>at least 9 coalitions</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix K-1

Use of Coalition with External Organizations in Response to Ministry Policies
| FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF COALITION | ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES BY TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT |
|---|---|---|
| **FEATURE** | **ATTRIBUTE** | **PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)** | **NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.)** | **NON-PARTISAN/NON-METROPOLITAN (Island S.D.)** |
| **TYPES OF COALITION** | LOCAL COALITIONS | o Metropolitan Board of Health | o Regional Board of Health | o Regional Board of Health |
| | | o two neighbouring school districts | o one neighbouring school district | o three neighbouring school districts |
| | REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COALITIONS | o Provincial trustees' association | o Provincial trustees' association | o Provincial trustees' association |
| | | o three Opposition Party M.L.A.s | | o One Opposition Party M.L.A. |
| **PURPOSES OF COALITION** | SUPPORT FOR MINISTRY OF EDUCATION | o Metropolitan Board of Health | o Regional Board of health | o Regional Board of Health |
| | | o two neighbouring school districts | o one neighbouring school district | o three neighbouring school districts |
| | | o three M.L.A.s | | o one municipality |
| | DEMANDS ON MINISTRY OF EDUCATION | o Provincial trustees' association | o Provincial trustees' association | o Provincial trustees' association |
| | | o three M.L.A.s | | |
| **DURATION OF COALITIONS** | SHORT TERM DURATION | o two neighbouring school districts | o one neighbouring school district | o three neighbouring school districts |
| | LONG TERM DURATION | o Metropolitan Board of Health | o Regional Board of Health | o Regional Board of Health |
| | | o Provincial trustees' association | o Provincial trustees' association | o Provincial trustees' association |
| | | o three Opposition M.L.A.s | | o One Opposition M.L.A. |

Appendix K-2

Operational Characteristics of Coalition in Response to Regulatory Policy (Integration)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF COALITION</th>
<th>ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES BY TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FEATURE</td>
<td>TYPE OF COALITION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL COALITIONS</td>
<td>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL COALITIONS</td>
<td>NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LOCAL COALITIONS</td>
<td>NON-PARTISAN/NON-METROPOLITAN (Island S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COALITIONS</td>
<td>TYPES OF COALITION</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUPPORT FOR MINISTRY OF EDUCATION</td>
<td>PURPOSES OF COALITION</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>DEMANDS ON MINISTRY OF EDUCATION</td>
<td>DURATION OF COALITIONS</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHORT TERM</td>
<td>DURATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LONG TERM</td>
<td>DURATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SHORT TERM</td>
<td>DURATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LONG TERM</td>
<td>DURATION</td>
</tr>
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<td>SHORT TERM</td>
<td>DURATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LONG TERM</td>
<td>DURATION</td>
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Appendix K-3

Operational Characteristics of Coalition in Response to Distributive Policy (Capital Expenditure)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Response</th>
<th>Features of Response</th>
<th>Concentration of Intergovernmental Linkages, Policy Types and Types of School District</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Non-Partisan Metropolitan (Port S.D.)</td>
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<td>Non-Part./Non-Partisan Metropolitan (Island S.D.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Types of Coalition</td>
<td></td>
<td>Linkages focussed on 2 Attributes</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Local Coalitions</td>
<td>Local Coalitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coalitions</td>
<td></td>
<td>Linkages focussed on 1 Attribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philosophical Support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extensive Demands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Purposes of Coalition</td>
<td></td>
<td>Linkages focussed on 2 Attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Philosophical Support</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Extensive Demands</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duration of Coalitions</td>
<td></td>
<td>Linkages focussed on 2 Attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Short Term</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Long Term</td>
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</table>

Appendix K-4

Operational Characteristics of Coalition according to Concentration of Linkages, Policy Types and Types of School District
# FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF COALITION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>ATTRIBUTE</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>TYPES OF COALITIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| LOCAL COALITIONS | o Board of Health  
o neighbouring school districts  
o local municipal council  
o local municipal agencies ie parks, planning  
o community college |
| REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COALITIONS | o Provincial trustees' association  
o Members of the Legislative Assembly |
| **PURPOSES OF COALITION** | | |
| SUPPORT FOR MINISTRY OF EDUCATION POLICIES | o Board of Health  
o neighbouring school districts  
o municipal council  
o municipal agencies ie parks, planning  
o Members of the Legislative Assembly  
o Provincial trustees' association  
o community college |
| DEMANDS ON THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION | o Provincial trustees' association  
o Members of the Legislative Assembly |
| **DURATION OF COALITIONS** | | |
| SHORT TERM | o neighbouring school districts |
| LONG TERM | o Board of Health  
o Provincial trustees' association  
o Members of the Legislative Assembly  
o local municipal council  
o municipal agencies ie parks, planning |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>REPRESENTATIVE INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES</th>
<th>ASSOCIATED OBSERVATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| o Board of Health  
o neighbouring school districts  
o local municipal council  
o local municipal agencies ie parks, planning  
o community college | o organizations are public in nature, except B.C.S.T.A. which is privately incorporated  
o non-local coalitions are regional and/or provincial in scope of activities  
o no coalitions with regional districts  
o most coalitions are local in type  
o types of coalition differ in number |
| o Provincial trustees' association  
o Members of the Legislative Assembly | o organizations have a statutory basis  
o coalitions are a mixture of philosophical support and routine demands  
o most coalitions are supportive of Ministry policy  
o ideological outlook of school trustees affects coalitions ie B.C.S.T.A. and M.L.A.s  
o coalitions differ by policy and district |
| o neighbouring school districts | o short term and long term coalitions are re-negotiated by school districts at periodic intervals  
o most coalitions are long term  
o coalitions may already be operational prior to the promulgation of Ministry policies |

Appendix K-5

Coalition as a Political Response in Intergovernmental Relations in Education
APPENDIX L

COALITION WITH PUBLIC ORGANIZATIONS BY POLICY
AND SCHOOL DISTRICT TYPES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>EXTERNAL ORGANIZATIONS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF EXTERNAL ORGANIZATIONS, SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND POLICY TYPES</th>
<th>NUMBER OF EXTERNAL ORGANIZATIONS, SCHOOL DISTRICTS AND POLICY TYPES</th>
<th>NON-PARTISAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN (Island School District)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>METROPOLITAN PARTISAN (Coast School District)</td>
<td>NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port School District)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
<td>POLICY TYPES</td>
<td>NUMBER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUNICIPAL COUNCIL</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Capital Expenditure</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BOARD OF HEALTH</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Integration</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MEMBERS OF THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>Integration &amp; Capital Expend.</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PARKS AND RECREATION COMMISSION</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Capital Expenditure</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
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<td>COMMUNITY COLLEGE/ PROVINCIAL INSTITUTE</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>Capital Expenditure</td>
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<td>NEIGHBOURING SCHOOL DISTRICT</td>
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<td>Integration</td>
<td>5</td>
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<td>REGIONAL DISTRICT</td>
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<td>No Evidence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PUBLIC LIBRARY BOARD</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No Evidence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMMUNITY SERVICES ADVISORY COMMISSION</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>No Direct Evidence</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUNICIPAL ADVISORY PLANNING COMMISSION</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>Capital Expenditure</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix L
Coalition with Selected Public Organizations by School District and Policy Type
APPENDIX M

OFFICIAL SCHOOL DISTRICT REPRESENTATION
TO EXTERNAL ORGANIZATIONS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Types of School District by Representation on External Organizations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Metro-Politan Partisan</strong> (Coast School District)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>British Columbia School Trustees Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Municipal Advisory Planning Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metropolitan Vancouver Board of Health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Parks and Recreation Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Community College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific Vocational College</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Public Library</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Association for the Mentally Retarded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Home and School Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Traffic and Safety Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coast Municipal Council</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix M

Official School District Representation on External Organizations
APPENDIX N

STATUTORY BASIS OF COALITION WITH EXTERNAL ORGANIZATIONS
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>STATUTE</th>
<th>PROVISIONS IN STATUTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BOARD OF HEALTH</td>
<td>SCHOOL ACT</td>
<td>Each board shall make provision for school health services satisfactory to the minister (of Education) and to the Minister of Health.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section 97(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SCHOOL ACT</td>
<td>To provide for the health of pupils in public schools of a school district, the board shall, subject to the approval of the minister (of Education), contract for health services, if available, from a local health unit or regional district as defined in the Municipal Act approved by the Minister of Health. If those local health services are not already available, the board shall request the Minister of Health to make the necessary arrangements for a health service.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section 97(2)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SCHOOL ACT</td>
<td>A board of school trustees has the powers conferred by the Health Act with regard to the establishment of and its representation on and the functioning of a union board of health, and its expenses payable by the board of school trustees shall form part of the expenses of the board of school trustees.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section 98</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MUNICIPALITY</td>
<td>SCHOOL ACT</td>
<td>Assets acquired by a board shall be acquired only in the name of the board, and assets used by the board which are vested in a municipality may be transferred without charge, by agreement between the board and the municipality, to the board or remain vested in the municipality.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section 167(1)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SCHOOL ACT</td>
<td>A board may, with the minister's (of Education) prior approval, enter an agreement with municipalities or regional districts that are in or part of the school district for the purposes of constructing, maintaining, operating or using jointly, or con-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section 168(4)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix N-1
Statutory Basis of Coalitions with External Organizations
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>STATUTE</th>
<th>PROVISIONS IN STATUTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| MUNICIPALITY | SCHOOL ACT  
Section 168(4)  
continued | Tributing to the cost of the construction, maintenance or operation of facilities for community use on a site the title of which vests in or is held by the board, the municipalities or the regional district, or on a site leased by either of them from the Crown in right of the Province. |
| SCHOOL | SCHOOL ACT  
Section 157(1)(a) | The board of a school district may make an agreement with another board for the school accommodation and tuition in another school district of pupils resident in the district, or the school accommodation and tuition in the district of pupils resident in another school district, and the agreements shall fix the amount, if any, to be paid for the school accommodation and tuition, not to exceed the cost to the board for each pupil. |
|  | SCHOOL ACT  
Section 157(1)(h) | The board of a school district may provide for and defray the cost of the conveyance of pupils resident in the school district to a school in another school district if the pupils attend that school under an agreement entered into under this Act between the boards of the respective school districts. |
| COMMUNITY COLLEGE | COLLEGE AND INSTITUTE ACT  
Section 6(4)  
(provision deleted on July 7, 1983) | Subject to this Part, the board of each school district, included, in whole or in part, within the college region of a college shall appoint a person to one position on the board of that college or more at the discretion of the minister. |
| PARKS AND/OR RECREATION COMMISSION, ETC | SCHOOL ACT  
Section 157(1)(g) | The board of a school district may subject to the regulations, enter an agreement with a recreation commission, a parks and recreation commission, a civic properties and recreation commission or any similar body, to permit the use by the commission or other body of buses owned by the board, for the purposes of the recreation program. |

Appendix N-2 Statutory Basis of Coalitions with External Organizations
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ORGANIZATION</th>
<th>STATUTE</th>
<th>PROVISIONS IN STATUTE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>BRITISH COLUMBIA SCHOOL TRUSTEES ASSOCIATION</td>
<td>BRITISH COLUMBIA SCHOOL TRUSTEES ASSOCIATION INCORPORATION ACT Section 2</td>
<td>The present members of the British Columbia School Trustees Association and such persons and Boards of School Trustees as may from time to time become members pursuant to the by-laws of the Association shall be and are hereby constituted a body politic and corporate under the name of &quot;The British Columbia School Trustees Association&quot;.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRITISH COLUMBIA SCHOOL TRUSTEES ASSOCIATION</td>
<td>BRITISH COLUMBIA SCHOOL TRUSTEES ASSOCIATION INCORPORATION ACT Section 4</td>
<td>The objects of the Association are (a) To represent the public interest in public school education; (b) To advance the cause of education in the Province and promote public interest in educational affairs; (c) To recommend changes in the Public Schools Act and any other Act which may affect the public education system; (d) To co-operate and provide liaison with Municipal, Provincial and Federal Governments and with organizations in Canada or elsewhere having aims and objects the same as or similar to those of the Association; (e) To promote efficiency in the carrying out of the duties and exercise of power by school boards; (f) To promote, conduct and direct research and the gathering of information and to make available the findings; (g) To negotiate on behalf of any member Board of School Trustees in its contractual negotiations with teachers or other persons; and (h) To take any action, not inconsistent with this Act or any other Act, or any regulations or rules made under the authority of any Act, that the Association deems necessary or advisable to give effect to any policy adopted by it with respect to any question directly or indirectly affecting the purposes and objects of the Association.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORGANIZATION</td>
<td>STATUTE</td>
<td>PROVISIONS IN STATUTE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------------------------</td>
<td>----------------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BRITISH COLUMBIA SCHOOL TRUSTEES</td>
<td>BRITISH COLUMBIA SCHOOL TRUSTEES ASSOCIATION</td>
<td>The Association may if authorized so to do by simple resolution of the membership, become a member of or co-operate with any other society or association, whether incorporated or not, whose objects are in whole or in part similar to its own objects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ASSOCIATION</td>
<td>INCORPORATION ACT</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section 8</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY</td>
<td>CONSTITUTION ACT</td>
<td>The Legislative Assembly consists of 57 members, elected in the manner provided by the Election Act, to represent the electoral districts constituted and defined in this Act.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Section 18</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>N.B.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>At the completion of this dissertation, the Legislative Assembly of British Columbia consisted of 69 seats. This change was brought about by the Constitution Amendment Act, 1985 which redistributed electoral districts and added 12 seats.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX O

OPERATIONAL PROFILES OF SOCIALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT
BY POLICY AND SCHOOL DISTRICT TYPES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF POLITICAL RESPONSE</th>
<th>TYPE OF MINISTRY POLICY</th>
<th>USE OF RESPONSE BY TYPE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NON-PARTISAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN (Island S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SOCIALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT</td>
<td>REGULATORY (integration)</td>
<td>Special Emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Routine Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DISTRIBUTIVE (capital expenditure)</td>
<td>Routine Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Routine Treatment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Special Emphasis</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 0-1

Use of Socialization of the Conflict in Response to Ministry Policies
### Features and Corresponding Attributes in Operational Definition of Socialization...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Attribute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DISTRICT CORRESPONDENCE AND THE PUBLIC MEDIA</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
- copies of letters to Ministry also sent to several neighbouring school districts; 
- district newsletters said that local educators know best about special education |

### Instruments for Socializing Conflict

| REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COALITIONS | 
- MLAs were notified of issues directly by the district & indirectly through B.C.S.T.A. 
- BCSTA was used repeatedly as a forum and for media cover |

| SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS | 
- recommendations from briefs submitted by the Local Chapter of Children with Learning Disabilities were sent to the Ministry of Education for attention and information |

### Substitute Issues in Socializing Conflict

| PROGRAM-RELATED ISSUES | 
- local expertise not recognized enough 
- perceived erosion of local autonomy 
- desire for expanded special education programs |

| COMMUNICATION-RELATED ISSUES | 
- unclear Ministry of Education policies and guidelines 
- poor access to Government 
- desire for improved communication among Ministries 
- consultation wanted prior to policy changes |

### Illustrations of Intergovernmental Linkages by Types of School District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)</th>
<th>NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.)</th>
<th>NON-PARTISAN/NON-METROPOLITAN (Island S.D.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>copies of letters to Ministry also sent to several neighbouring school districts; district newsletters said that local educators know best about special education</td>
<td>copies of letters to Ministry also forwarded to one neighbouring school district; newsletters issued by school, district office and jointly by district and municipality</td>
<td>copies of letters to Ministry sent to several districts; letter to Education Minister seeking clarification of definition; public relations office issued press releases to media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MLAs were notified of issues directly by the district &amp; indirectly through B.C.S.T.A. BCSTA was used repeatedly as a forum and for media cover</td>
<td>MLAs were notified of issues indirectly through BCSTA newsletters; B.C.S.T.A. was used quite sparsely by district</td>
<td>MLAs were notified of issues directly and indirectly through B.C.S.T.A. B.C.S.T.A. used repeatedly as a forum &amp; for media cover</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teachers' brief, alleging that classroom teachers were not trained properly to deal with the integration of handicapped children, was documented in school board minutes sent to Ministry</td>
<td></td>
<td>brief from the local administrator's association supporting the teachers' concerns and sympathetic reactions from the school board were documented in board minutes sent to Ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>local expertise not recognized enough</td>
<td>local expertise not recognized enough</td>
<td>local expertise not recognized enough</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>perceived erosion of local autonomy</td>
<td>perceived erosion of local autonomy</td>
<td>perceived erosion of local autonomy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desire for expanded special education programs</td>
<td>desire for more professional development assistance</td>
<td>desire for expanded special education programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>unclear Ministry of Education policies and guidelines</td>
<td>lack of stability in Ministry of Education</td>
<td>leadership of Minister of Education requires improvement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>poor access to Government</td>
<td>desire for improved communication among Ministries of Government</td>
<td>desire for improved communication among Ministries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>desire for improved communication among Ministries</td>
<td></td>
<td>desire for improved access to Provincial Ministries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consultation wanted prior to policy changes</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Appendix 0-2**

Operational Characteristics of Socialization of the Conflict for Regulatory Policy (Integration)
| FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF SOCIALIZATION... | ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES BY TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT |
|---|---|---|
| **DISTRICT CORRESPONDENCE AND THE PUBLIC MEDIA** | **PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)** | **NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.)** | **NON-PARTISAN/NON-METROPOLITAN (island S.D.)** |
| o use of weekly community newspaper | o board ensures that parents, taxpayers and the public know about district issues through newsletters | o district public relations office issued press releases to daily newspaper | |
| o written invitations extended by teachers' association to MLAs to visit school district | o newsletters sent to Minister of Education | o protest letter to Premier, Municipal Affairs Minister and Education Minister | |
| **REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COALITIONS** | o opposition party MLAs raised issues of capital expenditure allocation and increase in taxation in the Legislature | o MLAs were notified of issues indirectly through B.C.S.T.A. newsletters | |
| o B.C.S.T.A. used repeatedly | o B.C.S.T.A. was used quite sparsely by district | o MLAs were notified of issues directly and indirectly through B.C.S.T.A. | |
| **SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS** | o new facilities for special education students recommended in brief by Association for Children with Learning Disabilities | o view that trustees deserve credit for "pro education" stands taken on need for improvements in facilities | |
| o board resolutions passed on secondary school additions | o board reminds parents and taxpayers that the Ministry never totally covers costs | o teachers' brief emphasizing that changes in education program involve financial costs appeared in board minutes sent to Victoria | |
| **SUBSTITUTE ISSUES IN SOCIALIZING CONFLICT** | o view that local expertise was not recognized enough | o Ministry was deemed to be insensitive to local operations and programs | |
| **PROGRAM-RELATED ISSUES** | o perceived erosion of local autonomy | o Ministry perceived as having a credibility problem in dealing with local autonomy | |
| o desire for change in Provincial finance formula | o orientation of the Minister has a bearing on relations | o constant reorganization of the Ministry is confusing the district | |
| **COMMUNICATION-RELATED ISSUES** | o desire for improved access to Provincial Government Ministries | o view that district budget is funded almost 100% locally | |
| o orientation of the Minister has a bearing on relations | o need for better coordination among Ministries | o unclear Ministry of Education policies and guidelines | |

Appendix 0-3

Operational Characteristics of Socialization of the Conflict for Distributive Policy (Capital Expenditure)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Response of Response</th>
<th>Features of Response</th>
<th>Concentration of Intergovernmental Linkages, Policy Types and Types of School District</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Instrument for Socializing Conflict</td>
<td>Regulatory Policy (Integration)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Socialization of the Conflict</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Substitute Issues in Socializing Conflict</td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 3 Attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>District Correspondence &amp; Public Media</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Regional and Provincial Coalitions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>School Board Meetings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 2 Attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Program - Related Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Communication - Related Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 1 Attribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Program - Related Issues</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Communication - Related Issues</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix 0-4

Operational Characteristics of Coalition according to Concentration of Linkages, Policy Types and Types of School District
## FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF SOCIALIZATION ...

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURE</th>
<th>ATTRIBUTE</th>
<th>REPRESENTATIVE INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES</th>
<th>ASSOCIATED OBSERVATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>DISTRICT CORRESPONDENCE AND THE PUBLIC MEDIA</td>
<td></td>
<td>o school board letters&lt;br&gt;o school district newsletters&lt;br&gt;o local newspaper</td>
<td>o copies of letters sent to Ministry also sent to one or more neighbouring districts&lt;br&gt;o joint municipal-school district newsletter only used by one district ie non-partisan metropolitan&lt;br&gt;o linkages enabled direct expression of views</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>REGIONAL AND PROVINCIAL COALITIONS</td>
<td></td>
<td>o The British Columbia School Trustees Assoc.&lt;br&gt;o Members of the Legislative Assembly</td>
<td>o linkages aided indirect expression of views&lt;br&gt;o districts hoped to gain additional public support through strength of coalitions&lt;br&gt;o MLAs used mostly by teachers' association&lt;br&gt;o use of coalitions similar for policy types</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SCHOOL BOARD MEETINGS</td>
<td></td>
<td>o school board reaction to formal briefs&lt;br&gt;o school board resolutions&lt;br&gt;o visitations from ministry officials</td>
<td>o Ministry policies exposed to critical examination and debate&lt;br&gt;o opportunity to gain the attention of the local media, parents and taxpayers&lt;br&gt;o school board minutes sent to Victoria</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SUBSTITUTE ISSUES IN SOCIALIZING CONFLICT</td>
<td>PROGRAM-RELATED ISSUES</td>
<td>o perceived erosion of local autonomy&lt;br&gt;o local expertise is unrecognized&lt;br&gt;o desire for expanded special educ. programs&lt;br&gt;o need for teacher professional development&lt;br&gt;o desire for changes in finance formula</td>
<td>o substitute issues were considered to be major impediments to intergovernmental transactions involving the two policies&lt;br&gt;o issues were closely related to the local management and control of district programs&lt;br&gt;o integration and capital expenditure were discussed in the context of broader intergovernmental problems&lt;br&gt;o conflict was socialized through a variety of interrelated issues of a long-standing variety&lt;br&gt;o school trustees exercised considerable leadership in socializing conflict ie instructions to staff, resolutions, minutes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>COMMUNICATION-RELATED ISSUES</td>
<td>o improve inter-ministerial communication&lt;br&gt;o instability in Ministry organization&lt;br&gt;o desire for improved access to Government&lt;br&gt;o leadership of Education Minister requires improvement&lt;br&gt;o unclear Ministry policies and guidelines&lt;br&gt;o consultation required before policy changes</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX P

OPERATIONAL PROFILES OF MAKING USE OF A SUPRAORGANIZATION
BY POLICY AND SCHOOL DISTRICT TYPES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF POLITICAL RESPONSE</th>
<th>TYPE OF MINISTRY POLICY</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SUPRAORGANIZATIONS BY TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKING USE OF A SUPRA-ORGANIZATION</td>
<td>REGULATORY (Integration)</td>
<td>at least 6 supra-organizations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DISTRIBUTIVE (Capital Expenditure)</td>
<td>at least 4 supra-organizations</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix P-1

Use of Supraorganizations in Response to Ministry Policies
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF SUPRAORGANIZATION USE</th>
<th>ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES BY TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>REPRESENTATION AND INTERVENTION FUNCTIONS</strong></td>
<td><strong>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>INTER-MINISTRY CHILDREN’S COMMITTEE</td>
<td>o district personnel were on Local &amp; Regional Committees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o facilitated decision-making on students and funding</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PROVINCIAL TRUSTEES ASSOCIATION</td>
<td>o monitored contentious cases in all school districts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o monitored Legislature</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>o B.C.S.T.A. used to seek clarification from Ministry</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY</td>
<td>o three Opposition Party M.L.A.s assisted district</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE PROVINCIAL CABINET</td>
<td>o no evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCES</td>
<td>o funding provided for &quot;personal care aides&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH</td>
<td>o use of program specialists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE MINISTRY OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL</td>
<td>o no evidence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>THE MINISTRY OF LANDS, PARKS AND HOUSING</td>
<td>o no evidence</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix P-2

Operational Characteristics of Making Use of a Supraorganization for Regulatory Policy (Integration)
| FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF SUPRAORGANIZATION USE | ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES IN TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT |
|---------------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| **FEATURE** | **ATTRIBUTE** | **PARTISAN METROPOLITAN** (Coast S.D.) | **NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN** (Port S.D.) | **NON-PARTISAN/NON-METROPOLITAN** (Island S.D.) |
| **REPRESENTATION AND INTERVENTION FUNCTIONS** | | | |
| INTER-MINISTRY CHILDREN'S COMMITTEE | o no evidence | o no evidence | o no evidence |
| PROVINCIAL TRUSTEES ASSOCIATION | o trustees influenced the compilation of B.C.S.T.A. resolutions to be forwarded to the Ministry | o trustees influenced the compilation of B.C.S.T.A. resolutions to be forwarded to the Ministry | o trustees influenced the compilation of B.C.S.T.A. resolutions to be forwarded to the Ministry |
| | o debated policy options | o debated policy options | o debated policy options |
| LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY | o three opposition party M.L.A.s representing district provided assistance in individual cases and general support | o two M.L.A.s of Government Party were informed of district affairs | o two M.L.A.s for district (two opposition party members) assisted district |
| | | o no expression of support by M.L.A.s | |
| THE PROVINCIAL CABINET | o capital grant allocations used for comparisons - o leasing of school property | o capital grant allocations used for comparisons - o easement for municipality | o cabinet decision sought for the acquisition of Crown land by district |
| THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCES | o no evidence | o no evidence | o no evidence |
| THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH | o no evidence | o no evidence | o district in dispute with Ministry over certain property site |
| THE MINISTRY OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL | o no evidence | o no evidence | o no evidence |
| THE MINISTRY OF LANDS, PARKS AND HOUSING | o no evidence | o no evidence | o use of Ministry preceded communication with Education Ministry |

Appendix P-3

Operational Characteristics of Making Use of a Supraorganization for Distributive Policy (Capital Expenditure)
### Operational Characteristics of Making Use of a Supraorganization by Concentration of Linkages, Policy Types and Types of School District

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Political Response</th>
<th>Features of Response</th>
<th>Regulatory Policy (Integration)</th>
<th>Distributive Policy (Capital Expenditure)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Partisan Metropolitan (Coast S.D.)</td>
<td>Non-Partisan Metropolitan (Port S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MAKING USE OF A SUPRAORGANIZATION</td>
<td>REPRESENTATION AND INTERVENTION FUNCTION</td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 3 Attributes</td>
<td>Provincial Trustees Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>APPROVAL AND DISTRIBUTION FUNCTION</td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 2 Attributes</td>
<td>Inter-Ministry Children’s Committee</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix P-4
## Making Use of a Supraorganization as a Political Response in Intergovernmental Relations in Education

### Features and Corresponding Attributes in Operational Definition of Supraorganization Use

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Attribute</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Representation</strong></td>
<td>INTER-MINISTRY CHILDREN'S COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&amp;</td>
<td>PROVINCIAL TRUSTEES ASSOCIATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intervention Functions</strong></td>
<td>LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Approval and Distribution Functions</strong></td>
<td>THE PROVINCIAL CABINET</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE MINISTRY OF HUMAN RESOURCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE MINISTRY OF HEALTH</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE MINISTRY OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>THE MINISTRY OF LANDS, PARKS &amp; HOUSING</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Representative Intergovernmental Linkages

- personnel on Local & Regional Committees
- facilitated decision-making and funding
- assessed eligibility of students
- district sought support for Ministry funding
- monitored contentious cases in all districts
- monitored Legislature
- district sought to influence B.C.S.T.A policy position
- Opposition Party M.L.A.s assisted district with needs
- Government Party M.L.A.s were non-committal
- approval required for municipal easement
- approval required to lease school property
- trustees compared grants among districts
- personal care aides sought for students
- applications involved a cumbersome process
- close liaison fostered for advantage
- regular use of program specialists
- parental pressure group facilitated the procurement of resources
- one district sought funding for adult aides required to assist young offenders
- Ministry processed application for land required by district
- communication precluded Education Ministry

### Associated Observations

- I.M.C.C. used mainly for information-sharing among the various public agencies
- I.M.C.C. assisted local decision-making but not intergovernmental or interministerial decision-making
- I.M.C.C. and M.L.A.s used for intervention
- use of B.C.S.T.A. and Legislative Assembly related to coalition and socialization of the conflict
- all supraorganizations were "outside of the line of authority"
- functions of approval for local proposals and distribution of Provincial resources were highly interrelated
- supraorganizations were relatively few in number
- composition of Cabinet was viewed as a factor in allocation of capital grants to districts
- Cabinet approvals were necessary due to statutory regulations
- all supraorganizations dealing with approval and distribution were "superior in the line of authority"

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Appendix P-5
APPENDIX Q

OPERATIONAL PROFILES OF CO-OPTATION BY POLICY
AND SCHOOL DISTRICT TYPES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF POLITICAL RESPONSE</th>
<th>TYPE OF MINISTRY POLICY</th>
<th>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)</th>
<th>NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.)</th>
<th>NON-PARTISAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN (Island S.D.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CO-OPTATION</td>
<td>REGULATORY (Integration)</td>
<td>special emphasis</td>
<td>routine use</td>
<td>routine use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>DISTRIBUTIVE (Capital Expenditure)</td>
<td>special emphasis</td>
<td>routine use</td>
<td>routine use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix Q-1

Use of Co-optation in Response to Ministry Policies
| Features and Corresponding Attributes in Operational Definition of Co-optation | Illustrations of Intergovernmental Linkages by Types of School District |
|---|---|---|
| **LOCAL POLICY PRINCIPLES** | PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.) | NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.) | NON-PARTISAN/NON-METROPOLITAN (Island S.D.) |
| 1. Handicapped children have the right to education in regular classrooms | 2. Students are affected by the manner of assessment | 3. Handicapped children have the right to education in regular classrooms | 4. Qualified acceptance of Ministry policy |
| **LOCAL POLICY MEASURES** | 5. Emphasis on selected local circumstances | 6. Grouping of students in special classes only with parental permission | 7. Emphasis on selected local circumstances | 8. Duty of supt. of schools to assure effective execution of local & provincial policy |
| **LOCAL POLICY STATEMENTS** | 9. Several district officials must serve as signatories in the processing of issues | 10. Acknowledgement that Ministry is main source of resources | 11. The board will analyze and respond to Ministerial objectives | 12. Acknowledgement that Ministry is main source of resources |
| **LOCAL POLICY PROCEDURES** | 13. Written applications for resources on regular basis | 14. Correspondence mainly initiated by officials due to regulatory procedures | 15. Written applications for resources on regular basis | 16. Initiation by officials | 17. Trustees note special education as enormous cost issue |
| **SCHOOL DISTRICT – MINISTRY CORRESPONDENCE** | 18. Written applications for resources on regular basis | 19. Correspondence mainly initiated by officials due to regulatory procedures | 20. Written applications for resources on regular basis | 21. Initiation by officials | 22. Trustees note special education as enormous cost issue |
| **SPECIAL CONFERENCES** | 29. Ad hoc contact & meetings with Ministry liaison person | 30. Ministry officials confer jointly with local trustees, officials, parents & teachers | 31. Ad hoc contact & meetings with Ministry liaison person | 32. Ministry officials confer jointly with local trustees, officials, parents & teachers | 33. Ad hoc contact & meetings with Ministry liaison person | 34. Ministry officials confer jointly with local trustees, officials, parents & teachers |
| **TELEPHONE CONSULTATION** | 35. Close collaboration with Ministry counterparts by special education director | 36. Consultation involved highly urgent issues | 37. Consultation concerned the legality and appropriateness of local procedures | 38. Consultation involved highly urgent issues | 39. Consultation over the avoidance of political problems involving the public | 40. Consultation over the exploration of ways for district to serve more handi capped children |

Appendix Q-2

Operational Characteristics of Co-optation for Regulatory Policy (Integration)
| FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF CO-OPTATION | ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES BY TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT |
|---|---|---|
| **LOCAL POLICY PRINCIPLES** | **PARTISAN METROPOLITAN** (Coast S.D.) | **NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN** (Port S.D.) | **NON-PARTISAN/NON-METROPOLITAN** (Island S.D.) |
| LOCAL POLICY MEASURES | o proper physical environment is contingent on adequate provincial funding | o proper physical environment is contingent on adequate provincial funding | o proper physical environment is contingent on adequate Provincial funding |
| | o local acceptance of need for joint financial controls | o local acceptance of need for joint financial controls | o local acceptance of need for joint financial controls |
| LOCAL POLICY STATEMENTS | o emphasis on selected local circumstances | o emphasis on selected local circumstances | o emphasis on selected local circumstances |
| | o sound policy-making viewed as vital to policy outcomes | o duty of sup. of schools to assure effective execution of local & provincial policy | o consultation to be maintained in planning process with other local jurisdictions |
| LOCAL POLICY PROCEDURES | o emphasis on "business-like" orientation in financial transactions | o board decisions qualified as "subject to Ministry approval" | o inclusion of data on enrolment trends, site acquisition & proposed construction |
| | o compliance with capital expenditure proposal forms | o compliance with capital expenditure proposal forms | o Ministry guidelines on bus-
| | PRIMARY COMPLIANCE | | sing adopted locally |
| **SCHOOL DISTRICT - MINISTRY CORRESPONDENCE** | o primarily correspondence between district officials & Ministry officials | o primarily written application for resources by officials | o primarily correspondence between board chairman and minister supporting applications by officials |
| | o focus on clarification of certain capital options | o to request permission for lease of school sites | o to stress urgency for funds |
| INTERGOVERNMENTAL LIAISON | o to settle particularly contentious capital issues | o in interests of cultivating a positive relationship between officials | o Ministry officials conferred jointly with community members, parents & teachers |
| SPECIAL CONFERENCES | o Ministry officials conferred jointly with community members, parents & teachers | o to seek advice and assistance in technical problem-solving | o ad hoc contact & meetings with Ministry liaison person |
| TELEPHONE | o local officials alerted Ministry of troublesome intergovernmental issues | o urgency of issues necessitating immediate consultation | o object to speed Ministry approvals due to increasing cost of materials |
| CONSULTATION | o local officials sought legal direction privately | o local officials sought legal direction privately | o to check project feasibility |
| | | | o to seek private legal advice |

Appendix Q-3
Operational Characteristics of Co-optation for Distributive Policy (Capital Expenditure)
# Operational Characteristics of Co-optation according to Concentration of Linkages, Policies and School Districts

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<th>Features of Response</th>
<th>Regulatory Policy (Integration)</th>
<th>Distributive Policy (Capital Expenditure)</th>
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<td></td>
<td>Partisan Metropolitan (Coast S.D.)</td>
<td>Non-Partisan Metropolitan (Port S.D.)</td>
</tr>
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<td><strong>Local Policy Measures</strong></td>
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<td>Linkages Focussed on 2 Attributes</td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 1 Attribute</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>local policy principles</td>
<td>local policy statements</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Intergovernmental Liaison</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 2 Attributes</td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 1 Attribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>district - ministry correspondence</td>
<td>district - ministry correspondence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>special conferences</td>
<td>telephone consultation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF CO-OPTATION</th>
<th>REPRESENTATIVE INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES</th>
<th>ASSOCIATED OBSERVATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCAL POLICY PRINCIPLES</strong></td>
<td>o qualified acceptance of Ministry policy o inclusion of intellectual, personal and social factors o local acceptance of need for joint financial controls</td>
<td>CO-OPTATION HAS A &quot;RECI PROCURRICAL DIMENSION&quot; (ie) BOTH THE CO-OPTED ORGANIZATION, THE MINISTRY AND SCHOOL DISTRICTS WERE INFLUENCED BY ONE ANOTHER</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCAL POLICY MEASURES</strong></td>
<td>o emphasis on selected local circumstances o duty of superintendent of schools to assure effective execution of local and provincial policy</td>
<td>CO-OPTATION APPEARS TO HAVE RESULTED IN SOME CONSTRUCTION IN THE FIELD OF CHOICE OPEN TO SCHOOL DISTRICTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCAL POLICY STATEMENTS</strong></td>
<td>o acknowledgement that Ministry is the main source of financial resources o compliance with capital expenditure proposal forms</td>
<td>LOCAL POLICY STATEMENTS WERE EXPRESSED CLEARER THAN PROVINCIAL POLICY STATEMENTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>LOCAL POLICY PROCEDURES</strong></td>
<td>o correspondence mainly initiated by local officials in respect to Ministry officials o use of mandatory written application format o to seek clarification of certain capital procedures and options</td>
<td>THE PARTISAN METROPOLITAN SCHOOL DISTRICT (COAST) FORMULATED MORE EXTENSIVE LOCAL POLICY MEASURES THAN THE OTHER DISTRICTS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SCHOOL DISTRICT - MINISTRY CORRESPONDENCE</strong></td>
<td>o ad hoc contact and meetings with Ministry officials o ministry officials confer jointly with local trustees, officials, parents and teachers o to settle particularly contentious matters</td>
<td>CORRESPONDENCE SERVED AS A MEANS OF DOCUMENTING LOCAL DEMANDS FOR RESOURCES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>INTERGOVERNMENTAL LIAISON</strong></td>
<td>O to seek private advice concerning the legality of local procedures and decisions o local officials alerted the Ministry of troublesome intergovernmental issues o urgent issues required immediate consultation</td>
<td>SPECIAL CONFERENCES INVOLVED CONSIDERABLE DIALOGUE BETWEEN OFFICIALS AND JOINT END AYEUR</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>SPECIAL CONFERENCES</strong></td>
<td>O THE NON-PARTISAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN SCHOOL DISTRICT (ISLAND) LIASION MORE EXTENSIVELY THAN THE OTHER SCHOOL DISTRICTS</td>
<td>BILATERAL NATURE OF DECISION-MAKING APPEARED BENEFICIAL FOR POLICY IMPLEMENTATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TELEPHONE CONSULTATION</strong></td>
<td>O LIAISON WAS CO-OPERATIVE IN NATURE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix Q-5

Co-optation as a Political Response in Intergovernmental Relations in Education
APPENDIX R

OPERATIONAL PROFILES OF EXCHANGE BY POLICY
AND SCHOOL DISTRICT TYPES
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE OF POLITICAL RESPONSE</th>
<th>TYPE OF MINISTRY POLICY</th>
<th>USE OF RESPONSE AND TYPE OF SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Coast S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Port S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>NON-PARTISAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(Island S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCHANGE</td>
<td>REGULATORY (Integration)</td>
<td>special emphasis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>routine use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>routine use</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCHANGE</td>
<td>DISTRIBUTIVE (Capital Expenditure)</td>
<td>routine use</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix R-1

Use of Exchange in Response to Ministry Policies
| FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF EXCHANGE | ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES AND TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT |
|---|---|---|
| **FEATURES** | **ATTRIBUTE** | **PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)** | **NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.)** | **NON-PARTISAN/ NON-METROPOLITAN (Island S.D.)** |
| TYPES OF NEGOTIATION | FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS | o negotiation concurrently with Ministries of Human Resources and Education | o negotiation concurrently with Ministries of the Attorney General and Education | o delegation to Victoria concerning special education funding for native children |
| | | o board delegated substantial negotiation to officials | o special conferences favoured | o negotiation included invitations for on-site talks |
| | INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS | o independent trustee action for specific children | o independent trustee action for specific children | o independent trustee action for specific children |
| | | o certain trustees privy to restricted Ministry data | o district officials prepare basis for trustee talks with Minister of Education | o district officials support initiatives taken by school trustees individually |
| | FOR SATISFYING CLIENT EXPECTATIONS | o correspondence detailed parental expectations | o parents worked closely with Assoc. for Children with Learning Disabilities | o delegations to Victoria used to emphasize urgency of handicapped programs |
| | FOR SATISFYING EMPLOYEE DEMANDS | o correspondence detailed employee expectations and demands | o teachers association worked closely with school board in special programs area | o teachers association supplied board with data on special program needs |
| | FOR SATISFYING SCHOOL BOARD DECISIONS | o correspondence officially requested negotiation | o to fulfill local program goals jointly made by board teachers and parents | o to better match local program goals with additional resource requirements |
| | POLITICAL EXPERTISE | o school board uses differing approaches to negotiation as an outcome of the partisan affiliation of trustees | o board prepared for hard and protracted negotiation | o cohesive approach involving superintendent, secretary-treasurer and board chairman |
| | | o tactfulness and lobbying | o correspondence from board to Minister of Education urges more communication | o diplomacy and initiative |
| | NEGOTIATING SKILLS | o prioritization of options for board consideration and decision-making | o ability to recall historical basis of Ministry policies and guidelines in special education for preparation of negotiation | o widely recognized leadership in special education |
| | PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE | o interpretation of issues for trustee understanding | o planning critical for success of negotiation | o preparation of options |

Appendix R-2

Operational Characteristics of Exchange for Regulatory Policy (Integration)
| FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF EXCHANGE | ILLUSTRATIONS OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES AND TYPES OF SCHOOL DISTRICT |
|---|---|---|
| FEATURES | ATTRIBUTE | PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.) | NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.) | NON-PARTISAN/ NON-METROPOLITAN (Island S.D.) |
| TYPES OF NEGOTIATION | | | | |
| FORMAL NEGOTIATIONS | o correspondence detailing capital requirements and suggested resolution | o delegation to Victoria used successfully for the addition of a school gymnasium | o delegation to Victoria used to emphasize urgency | |
| | o argument that capital needs for Ministry program goals | o entire school board prepared to meet with Minister | o concurrent negotiations with Lands, Parks and Housing and Education Ministries | |
| INFORMAL NEGOTIATIONS | o individual trustees attempted to influence change in taxation policy of the Province independently | o trustees and officials exchanged opinions with Minister and Ministry staff at forums | o perceived lack of Ministry of Education procedures on certain topics stimulated negotiation | o informality among officials |
| NEGOTIATING POSITIONS | | | | |
| FOR SATISFYING CLIENT EXPECTATIONS | o parents demanded to be kept informed of capital needs for transportation services | o parents participated in evaluating renovation needs of one secondary school | o parents voiced strong opinions on need for additional schools in subdivisions | |
| FOR SATISFYING EMPLOYEE DEMANDS | o teachers and principals monitored board and made representations | o teachers and principals monitored board and made representations | o teachers and principals monitored board and made representations | |
| FOR SATISFYING SCHOOL BOARD DECISIONS | o board policy emphasized participation by all groups | o board decisions supported by considerable study on part of board committees | o board decisions supported by considerable data from district and municipality | |
| NEGOTIATING SKILLS | | | | |
| POLITICAL EXPERTISE | o diplomacy in communicating needs to Ministry | o trustees and district officials used timing to advantage | o board and district officials preferred to exercise initiative | |
| | o informal and formal political persuasion as required | o formal political persuasion used more than informal | o formal political persuasion used more than informal | |
| | o tact in correspondence | | | |
| PROFESSIONAL EXPERTISE | o program mastery & leadership | o program mastery & leadership | o program mastery & leadership | |
| | o presentation of options | o rapport with Ministry officials | o information control and management | |
| | o planning | o planning | o planning | |

Appendix R-3
Operational Characteristics of Exchange for Distributive Policy (Capital Expenditure)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLITICAL RESPONSE</th>
<th>FEATURES OF RESPONSE</th>
<th>CONCENTRATION OF INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES, MINISTRY POLICIES AND SCHOOL DISTRICT TYPES</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>REGULATORY POLICY (Integration)</td>
<td>DISTRIBUTIVE POLICY (Capital Expenditure)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast S.D.)</td>
<td>NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port S.D.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TYPES OF NEGOTIATION</td>
<td>linkages Focussed on 2 Attributes</td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 1 Attribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>formal negotiations</td>
<td>informal negotiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EXCHANGE</td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 3 Attributes</td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 2 Attributes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>clients</td>
<td>clients</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>employees</td>
<td>employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>board decision</td>
<td>board decision</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEGOTIATING SKILLS</td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 2 Attributes</td>
<td>Linkages Focussed on 1 Attribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>professional expertise</td>
<td>professional expertise</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix R-4

Operational Characteristics of Exchange according to Concentration of Linkages, Policies and School Districts
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FEATURES AND CORRESPONDING ATTRIBUTES IN OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF EXCHANGE</th>
<th>REPRESENTATIVE INTERGOVERNMENTAL LINKAGES</th>
<th>ASSOCIATED OBSERVATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FEATURE</strong></td>
<td><strong>ATTRIBUTE</strong></td>
<td><strong>CREASEMENT COMMUNICATIONS</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TYPES OF NEGOTIATIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Formal Negotiations</td>
<td>- school board delegated partial responsibility for negotiation to district officials</td>
<td>- both formal and informal types of local decision-making appeared to assist information management for intergovernmental decision-making</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- delegation to Victoria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- concurrent negotiations with Education Ministry and other Ministries</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Informal Negotiations</td>
<td>- independent trustee action on behalf of specific children</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- informality in dealings between officials</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- exchange of opinions between trustees and officials and Education Minister at forums</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEGOTIATING POSITIONS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Satisfying Client Demands</td>
<td>- local policy of parental involvement</td>
<td>- the demands of interest groups internal to the school district appeared to influence intergovernmental negotiations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- parents demanded to be kept informed of transportation services needs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Satisfying Employee Demands</td>
<td>- representations by teachers and principals included in correspondence to Ministry</td>
<td>- the local teachers' association played an important role in the establishment of school district negotiating positions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- teachers supplied data to board on needs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>For Satisfying Board Decisions</td>
<td>- board correspondence officially requested bilateral negotiations with the Ministry</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- negotiation due to local program goals</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>NEGOTIATING SKILLS</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Political Expertise</td>
<td>- board prepared for hard and protracted negotiations</td>
<td>- both the Ministry of Education and the local school districts were &quot;informationally&quot; dependent upon one another</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- diplomacy and initiative</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>- informal and formal political persuasion used as required by the occasion</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional Expertise</td>
<td>- ability to recall historical basis of Ministry policies and guidelines</td>
<td>- the partisan metro school district (Coast) appeared to use skills most proficiently</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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SCHOOL DISTRICT-SCHOOL BOARD COMMITTEES
<table>
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<tr>
<th>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast School District)</th>
<th>NON-PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Port School District)</th>
<th>NON-PARTISAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN (Island School District)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School District - Community School Advisory and Coordinating Committee</td>
<td>Organization of Secondary Schools Committee</td>
<td>Board-Teacher Personnel Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Contract Implementation Committee</td>
<td>French Language Instruction Committee</td>
<td>Teacher-Trustee Education Liaison</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teacher Resources Committee</td>
<td>Port Parents Association Liaison Committee</td>
<td>Resource Allocation Advisory Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Detached Duty Committee (on behalf of teachers)</td>
<td>Drug and Alcohol Committee</td>
<td>Administrative Personnel Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Student Retention Committee</td>
<td>Communication and Publications Committee</td>
<td>Student Liaison Committee</td>
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<tr>
<td>Energy Education and Conservation Committee</td>
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<td>Scholarship Committee</td>
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</table>

Appendix S
School District -- School Board Committees
APPENDIX T

STANDING COMMITTEES OF THE SCHOOL BOARD
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<th>Standing Committees of the School Board</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td><strong>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN</strong> (Coast School District)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Finance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Management</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buildings and Grounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education and Pupil Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community and Public Relations</td>
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Appendix T
Standing Committees of the School Board
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SELECTED PROVISIONS IN TEACHER-SCHOOL BOARD AGREEMENTS
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<tr>
<th>SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
<th>ARTICLE</th>
<th>LANGUAGE OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>PARTISAN METROPOLITAN (Coast School District)</td>
<td>IV</td>
<td>TEACHER RESOURCES COMMITTEE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.1</td>
<td>The committee shall be composed of two school trustees and the Superintendent of schools, or nominee, and the Secretary Treasurer of the Board or nominee, all of whom shall represent the Board, and five Association representatives, all of whom shall represent the Association. Both the Board and the Association may each appoint resource persons to assist and who may attend committee meetings but shall have no vote.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.3</td>
<td>The committee shall meet to consider matters relating to class size and non-instructional time as necessary ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B.5</td>
<td>The committee shall receive and evaluate all data pertaining to the matter of class size and non-instructional time such as a. the availability of operating and capital funds. b. the availability of classrooms and other ancillary facilities. c. the introduction of objectives agreed to be of higher priority. l. the effects of social and economic problems within the district. n. any other matter which either party considers relevant.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Selected Provisions in School Board-Teachers Association Collective Agreement
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
<th>ARTICLE</th>
<th>LANGUAGE OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NON-PARTISAN</td>
<td>B</td>
<td>SCHOOL STAFF COMMITTEES</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>METROPOLITAN</td>
<td></td>
<td>There shall be a staff committee in each school. ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Port School District)</td>
<td></td>
<td>The Staff Committee is charged with the responsibility of:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. working with the administration in improving learning conditions within the school;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. self-evaluation of school programs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>H</td>
<td>BUDGET DISCUSSIONS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The prime and final responsibility for setting the budget rests with the Board, assisted by such other Advisory Committees as the Board may deem appropriate.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Teacher involvement regarding the allocation of resources shall be encouraged.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The objective shall be to have consultation regarding resource allocation occur as close to service delivery as possible.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Prior to the submission of the final and provisional budgets to the Ministry of Education, the Finance Committee of the Board and its appointees shall meet with the representatives of the Port Teachers' Association to receive and discuss the recommendations of the Association regarding the preparation of the budget.</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The Board shall provide to Association representatives as much information as is needed and at the same time is practical, so as to be able to improve the process of budgetary discussion.</td>
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</table>

Appendix U-2

Selected Provisions in School Board-Teachers Association Collective Agreement
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SCHOOL DISTRICT</th>
<th>ARTICLE</th>
<th>LANGUAGE OF COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>NON-PARTISAN AND NON-METROPOLITAN</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>RESOURCE ALLOCATION</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(Island School District)</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>Teacher involvement in the decision-making process regarding the allocation of resources shall be encouraged. The objective shall be to have decisions made as close to the point of service delivery as possible, consistent with a respect for the authority and responsibility of the Ministry and the Board for educational governance and public accountability through sound management practices.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>17.4</td>
<td>Resource Allocation Advisory Committee</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>17.4.1</td>
<td>A Committee, composed of three (3) Board representatives and three (3) representatives of the Association shall meet at least monthly during the school year.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>This Committee shall:</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. recommend staffing levels to the Board for budget preparation;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. participate in the budget preparation process;</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. after the Final Budget has been struck ... develop the staff allocation formula ...</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. review staffing levels including such areas as class size, preparation time and auxiliary services.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Appendix U-3
Selected Provisions in School Board-Teachers Association Collective Agreement
APPENDIX V

SUMMARY OF FORMAL, EXPANDED DEFINITIONS OF POLITICAL RESPONSES
COALITION

(a) the school district combines with organizations external to the school district, such as, the local municipality or another school district;

(b) the external organizations have either a local jurisdiction, such as, a board of health, or a regional and provincial jurisdiction, such as, Members of the Legislative Assembly;

(c) the association between the school district and the external organizations is recorded in official correspondence, school board minutes or official publications and is acknowledged by interviewees in the study;

(d) a specific purpose, common to both the school district and external organizations, serves as the basis for the coalition. With regard to Ministry policy, the purpose may be expressed as support for or demand of;

(e) the purpose of the coalition is publicly acknowledged by the parties to the coalition;

(f) the duration of the coalition is variable; that is, either short term or long term.

SOCIALIZATION OF THE CONFLICT

(a) use of the response is ad hoc;

(b) the school district attempts to draw organizations external to the school district into the conflict between it and the Ministry of Education on a spontaneous basis in order to change the balance of forces affecting the outcome;

(c) visible use is made of certain instruments, such as, letters, newsletters, and members of the Legislative Assembly and the media, in attempting to widen the scope of the conflict and to modify the expectations of the Ministry;

(d) school district personnel perceive the conflict as intense;
(e) the school district attempts to displace the conflict or augment it with the substitution of other conflicts, or the insertion of different conflicts. It does so by focussing on what it considers to be equally important but completely different issues or conflicts. The purpose is to demonstrate the merit of the school district's position.

MAKING USE OF A SUPRAORGANIZATION

(a) the jurisdiction of the supraorganization is provincial in scope;

(b) the supraorganization is one of the following three types: (i) inter-ministerial, such as, the cabinet, Treasury Board or an inter-ministry committee; (ii) ministerial, such as, the Ministry of Intergovernmental Relations; or (iii) non-ministerial, such as, the British Columbia School Trustees Association or a court of law;

(c) the supraorganization may be regulatory, such as, the Legislative Assembly or non-regulatory, such as, the British Columbia School Trustees Association;

(d) the supraorganization may be an association with which groups within the school district are affiliated and which may assist in mediating a resolution to conflicts;

(e) the supraorganization assists the school district in achieving certain goals which the school district cannot do because of lack of resources.

CO-OPTATION

(a) the school district attempts to collaborate with the Ministry;

(b) the school district attempts to assure regular support for its activities from the Ministry;

(c) Ministry personnel are invited by the school district to participate in local district decision-making;

(d) only the Ministry and no other organization with
provinceal jurisdiction in education is invited by the school district to participate in local district decision-making;

(e) support for ministry policy by the school district is expressed in terms of adherence to certain ideological statements or principles of the Ministry;

(f) the school district identifies with the Ministry's policy and demonstrates a commitment to the programmes of the Ministry.

EXCHANGE

(a) the response takes the form of negotiation between the school district and the Ministry;

(b) interviewees use the term "negotiation" in referring to dealings with the Ministry;

(c) the term "negotiation" appears in school board minutes when describing school district business with the Ministry;

(d) negotiation includes lobbying of Ministry officials by school trustees and officials;

(e) the school district uses persuasion in attempting to trade information or exchange arguments with the Ministry;

(f) school district officials acknowledge the use of skills, such as, leadership, ability to communicate effectively, preparedness, and flexible or creative thinking.

PENETRATION

(a) officials of the local school district attempt to become involved in the internal affairs of the Ministry of Education on their own initiative with respect to selected topics;

(b) senior school district officials or trustees attempt to place members of the school district professional staff within the Ministry of Education without being invited to do so by the Ministry;
(c) senior school district officials or trustees attempt to place themselves on Ministry committees or task forces which liaison with school districts or the public;

(d) senior school district officials recommend to the Ministry that certain school trustees be placed on Ministry projects, advisory committees or task forces;

(e) the school district mounts a vigorous campaign through the mass media to persuade the Ministry to identify with the school district's ideological position.