

THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL POLITICAL CULTURE
ON THE ROLE OF THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION
IN BRITISH COLUMBIA AND ALBERTA

by

George Jerome Bedard

B.A., University of Toronto, 1970
M.A., Institute of Social Studies, 1985

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APPROVAL

Name: George Jerome Bedard
Degree: Master of Arts
Title of Thesis: The Impact of Regional Political Culture on the
Role of the Minister of Education
in British Columbia and Alberta
Examining Committee:
Chair: Allan MacKinnon

Norman Robinson
Senior Supervisor

Mike Manley-Casimir
Professor

Jamie Wallin
Professor (Emeritus), Administrative,
Adult, and Higher Education
The University of British Columbia
External Examiner

Date Approved JUNE 30, 1992

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THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL POLITICAL CULTURE ON THE ROLE OF THE

MINISTER OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA AND ALBERTA

Author: _____

(signature)

George Jerome Bedard

(name)

June 30/92

(date)

ABSTRACT

THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL POLITICAL CULTURE ON THE ROLE OF THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA AND ALBERTA

The purpose of this study was to investigate the impact of regional political culture on the role of the education minister in British Columbia and Alberta. Townsend (1988) contended that British Columbia has a discordant regional political culture and Alberta a largely concordant one, and that this dichotomy has differing impacts on the values, attitudes and behaviours of important actors in educational governance. This study examined the impact of discordant/concordant cultures on six ministerial role dimensions: personal, government, legislature, ministry, political party and public.

The main data base of this study was semi-structured interviews of two former B.C. education ministers, Heinrich (1983-86) and Brummet (1986-1990). The findings of Jamha (1988) on three Alberta education ministers (1971-1986) and of Giles (1983) and Cree (1986) on B.C. education ministers (1953-1983) were also utilized.

The findings of this study support the notion of a dichotomy of regional political cultures in British Columbia (discord) and Alberta (concord), with different impacts on the formal role requirements, informal expectations, and behaviours of ministers.

The dichotomy of impacts in British Columbia and Alberta was shown to be salient in all six role dimensions, especially in the two least formally prescribed, the personal and public dimensions. In addition, regional political culture also directly affected the educational climate, policy choices, and the debate about the legitimacy of governmental actions, especially in British Columbia. The discordant culture also heightened the structural tensions already built into the educational system and catalyzed a power game of mandate versus expertise. The politicization of school board elections in B.C. was also attributable to a discordant culture.

DEDICATION

For my wife

MARIAN

who also lived with this thesis

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis reflects the support, contributions, and scholarship of several individuals to whom I owe a debt of gratitude.

To my supervisor at Simon Fraser University, Dr. Norman Robinson, for his wisdom and counsel.

To Allan Jamha, Valerie Giles and Jennifer Cree, for their diligent scholarship of the person at the apex of the education system.

To the Honourable Jack Heinrich and the Honourable Tony Brummet -- interviewed by this researcher -- for their candour and insights.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Canadian politics is regional politics; regionalism is one of the pre-eminent facts of Canadian life, whether reflected in the principles of cabinet building, the acrimony of federal-provincial conferences, or the virtual elimination of class voting on at least a national scale. (Richard Simeon and David J. Elkins, 1974, p.397)

The notion that regionalism exerts a strong pull on politics in Canada has been described and validated in basic social and economic characteristics including economic bases, levels of income, religious and ethnic make-up, patterns of national cleavage and conflict, as well as in regional or provincial differences in sense of citizen efficacy, in the degree of citizen trust in government and in the degree and type of involvement in political matters.

The thrust of all these studies is that regionalism, in several dimensions, has a consistent and pervasive impact on the Canadian body politic in deciding who gets what, when, where, how and why. At the heart of the concept of regionalism is the idea that the vastness of Canada promotes profound differences in socio-economic structures, in geography, in language and that these variables in turn condition the political values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of regional citizenry. Regions differ qualitatively from one another.

A particular form of regionalism highlighted in this thesis is regionally-based political culture. Simply put, this notion states that the values and beliefs about the political system are conditioned by the distinct geographic and socio-economic characteristics of the particular region in which Canadians live. Regional political

culture is of special interest in this study in how it impacts on the role of political elites at the apex of the educational system, the ministers of education in British Columbia and Alberta.

Political culture may be defined as "the broad patterns of individual values and attitudes towards political objects. These may be concrete objects such as government institutions or national symbols such as the flag, but they may be intangibles like power" (Jackson, p.80). As a subset of the general culture of a society, political culture "draws individuals; supports thought, judgement and action; constitutes the character and personality of a community; differentiates its members to seek common objectives" (Jackson, p.80). "Role" may be defined as what the minister is required to do or not do (requirements) and what he/she actually does (behaviour).

David V.J. Bell articulates how political culture impacts on the roles of political leaders,

[providing] a range of acceptable values and standards upon which leaders can draw in attempting to justify their policies. (Bell, in Whittingdon, 1981, p.108)

Political culture also helps define the tenor and nature of debate about problems, what problems are to be discussed, and who should be assigned responsibility to solve them. In short, political culture encapsulates political role requirements and behaviours.

In the field of educational governance, Richard Townsend notes that:

[t]ypically, the academic community explores politicians' demographic characteristics, stated motives, electoral conflicts, and interactions with pressure groups ... [A]ccounts only begin to trace the underlying differences in ... politicians' articulations. (Townsend, 1988, p.1)

This study accepts Townsend's challenge and focuses on the impact of regional political culture on the roles of the minister of education in British Columbia and Alberta, using the "political talk" of former education ministers as the primary data base. How can the concept of regional political culture explain salient similarities and differences in the role behaviours of ministers in two different provinces? How does this aspect of regionalism "play out" at the highest levels of decision-making in provincial educational governance?

THE PROBLEM

The central problem to be addressed in this thesis: What is the impact of regional political culture on the role requirements and behaviour of the minister of education in British Columbia and Alberta? Role requirements and behaviour and regional political culture are the two main theoretical perspectives developed for this comparative analysis. Regional political culture is treated as an independent variable, impacting upon ministerial role requirements and behaviour, the dependent variable.

SUB-PROBLEMS

This study examines a number of sub-problems.

- i) What are the contexts in which the ministers performed their roles?
- ii) What were the role requirements of the ministers in terms of:
 - a) formal prescription,
 - b) informal expectations?
- iii) How were these role requirements translated into action?
- iv) What were the common and contrasting elements of role requirements and role behaviour among the ministers on an inter-provincial perspective?

- v) What is the value of the concept of regional political culture in understanding and explaining a comparison of the political values, beliefs and behaviours of B.C. and Alberta ministers of education?

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The role of the minister of education, according to Allan Jamha, has received scant scholarly attention for three reasons:

First, researchers have been reluctant to study the political aspects of organizations, partly as a result of the absence of a framework within which to conduct such an examination. Second, the transitory nature of political incumbents makes them difficult to study. A third reason is the prescribed delineation of the position in the statutes relating to provincial jurisdiction over education which often gives rise to the belief that the role of the minister of education is adequately described therein. (Jamha, 1988, p.2)

Jamha's Master's thesis, The Role of the Alberta Minister of Education (1988, unpublished) is the first attempt to apply the concept of role behaviour to the study of the minister of education. Two previous unpublished Master's projects examined the experience of the British Columbia education ministers from 1953 to 1983, authored by Valerie Giles (1983) and Jennifer Cree (1986). Neither of these projects was conceptual - or theoretical - oriented but rather ground-breaking, descriptive perspectives of the authentic perceptions of education ministers on a number of issues and topics.

This study intends to build on the work of Jamha, Giles and Cree, pursuing a theoretical framework hitherto not applied in this context. Its purpose is to advance the theoretical and practical knowledge of a key cabinet position and to validate the utility of the concept of regional political culture as a potent tool in understanding the

diversity of Canadian political values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours.

The main empirical basis of this study concerns interviews undertaken by this researcher of two former B.C. ministers of education, Jack Heinrich (in office 1983-86) and Tony Brummet (1986-90). This study also relies on the interview data and interpretations provided by Allan Jamha for his subjects: Louis Hyndman (1971-75), Julian Koziak (1975-79), and David King (1979-1986). Secondly, this study also makes reference to the B.C. ministers of education (1953-1983) interviewed by Giles and Cree. The latter data helps to provide a longitudinal perspective and a more complementary time-frame reference to the primary focus.

ASSUMPTIONS

As the primary data of this study is interviews with several former ministers of education, a major assumption is that the perceptions of the interviewees are accurate and truthful and that the interviewers have not shown personal bias in interpreting the interview data. However, as all the studies cited above contain many verbatim perceptions of the former ministers (all had a chance to validate the transcripts), their words do, to a certain extent, speak for themselves.

LIMITATIONS

Though a large number of ministers have been interviewed as of this date, if one includes the work of Jamha, Giles and Cree, the sample is weighted heavily in favour of B.C. subjects. The recent publication of Professor Richard Townsend's They Politick for Schools (1988) may help to balance this perspective, as Townsend's

empirically-based study of the impact of regional political culture on educational governance specifically refers both to British Columbia and Alberta. His work, which studied trustees and MLAs, offers a strong empirical and theoretical basis upon which to develop a model for comparative analysis.

A second limitation encountered in this study (and by Giles, Cree and Jamha) relates to the notion of cabinet secrecy and the oath of confidentiality concerning cabinet discussions that all subjects respected. The "real story" may be more complex or more subtle than oral recollections portray and cabinet-level documentation for purposes of verification is difficult, under these circumstances, to obtain.

A third limitation may involve the use of interviews as the primary means of data collection. For this study the questions asked of the former ministers were an amalgam of those used by Jamha, Cree and Giles, as well as several designed by this researcher. The interview schedule employed in this study therefore has been already largely field-tested and has yielded significant data in the studies cited.

A fourth limitation of this study is that it does not include "significant others" whose perceptions undoubtedly would enrich our understanding of the role behaviour of the person at the apex of the public education system. Important insights are thus absent from premiers, deputy ministers, senior staff, cabinet ministers, MLAs, superintendents, and notables from teacher and trustee associations. This study must be content with a more modest focus, hopefully providing depth of vision for breadth.

OVERVIEW OF THE THESIS

In Chapter I, the importance of the concepts of regionalism and (regional) political culture was discussed, followed by an examination of the problems to be addressed in this thesis. The significance of this study was followed by assumptions and limitations.

Chapter II explains the research methodology used in this study, including data requirements, collection and treatment and provides a biographical sketch of the ministers interviewed by this researcher as well as a note on the validity of comparing the roles of ministers of education in British Columbia and Alberta.

Chapter III presents the background to this study. This includes a literature review on the concepts of political culture and of role theory, and a brief examination of the position of the provincial cabinet minister in the modern parliamentary system. This discussion extends to the legal/legislative, power, political, economic and educational contexts within which the British Columbia education ministers, interviewed for this study, performed their roles and presents the relevant findings of Giles, Cree and Jamha. Chapter III concludes with a section on the interview data of the two former ministers interviewed by this researcher.

Chapter IV highlights the findings of this study and is organized to address the central problem identified in Chapter I, the impact of regional political culture on the role of the education minister in British Columbia and Alberta. Chapter IV also includes relevant findings on the impact of regional political culture on the structural configuration of the British Columbia educational system. The conclusion of Chapter

IV presents findings on the relationship of regional political culture in B.C. to the politicization of school boards.

Chapter V presents a summary of this study, draws some conclusions, and discusses several implications arising from the study.

CHAPTER II

RESEARCH PROCEDURES AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter addresses the research requirements and procedures used in this study and presents brief biographical sketches of the B.C. subjects. Chapter II ends with a note on the validity of comparing B.C. and Alberta as units of analysis.

DATA REQUIRED

Personal interviews were required of the two former B.C. ministers, Heinrich and Brummet. Data was also needed regarding the legal/legislative, power, economic and political/educational contexts for the period 1983-1990 and concerning the personal and professional backgrounds of the subjects. The theses of Giles and Cree (for B.C. ministers 1953-83) and Jamha (for Alberta ministers 1971-86) were researched for interview data and findings.

SUBJECTS

The two former B.C. ministers of education interviewed by this researcher were the Honourable John (Jack) Heinrich who held office from 1983 to 1986 and the Honourable Anthony (Tony) Brummet, in office 1986-1990. James Hewitt, who held the office for less than a year in 1986, was not interviewed.

The Honourable Jack Heinrich

Jack Heinrich was born and raised in the Fraser Valley area of British Columbia and graduated from the University of British Columbia with a Bachelor of Law degree in 1964. Married in 1962, Jack and wife Linda have two children, Paul and Kim.

Moving to Prince George in 1964, Mr. Heinrich practised law for a number of years. He began his political career as alderman in Prince George from 1968 to 1972. He was also a director of the Fraser-Fort George District for 3 years and was involved with local service groups and the YM-YWCA.

Heinrich was first elected to the Provincial Legislature as the Social Credit Party member for Prince George North in May 1979. Appointed Minister of Labour in November 1979, he served in that portfolio for three years, during which he negotiated settlement of the B.C. Rail industrial relations dispute. Moving on as minister in August 1982 to Municipal Affairs, he introduced a tax reform system and was a key player in implementing the "partnership in restraint" program with municipalities. He held the Minister of Education portfolio from 1983 to 1986.

As a cabinet minister Heinrich served, at various times, on the Cabinet Committee on Economic Development, the Treasury Board, the Environment and Land Use Committee, the Cabinet Committee on Social Services, the Cabinet Committee on Cultural Heritage, and as Director of B.C. Rail.

In 1986 Heinrich left elected office and was appointed Commissioner of Expropriations Compensation.

The Honourable Tony Brummet

Tony Brummet was born March 31, 1931 at Mendham, Saskatchewan. After his family moved to Kelowna in 1941, young Tony helped out in his father's blacksmith shop and did chores on the family farm. When Tony was fourteen his father died and Tony financed his further education in high school by working at a

variety of jobs.

After graduating from Rutland High School in 1949 (with top academic honours and athletic awards), Brummet worked for a year, then entered Victoria Normal School where he certificated as a teacher. Initially teaching physical education and science, he was later administrator of several schools in the Okanagan and Lower Mainland before moving to Fort St. John in 1965 where he worked in the latter capacity.

He was first elected to the British Columbia legislature in May 1979 as Social Credit MLA for Peace River North, and re-elected in 1983 and 1986. Brummet held a number of portfolios:

August 1982:	- Minister of Lands, Parks and Housing
May 1983:	- Minister of Environment
February 1985:	- reappointed Minister of Lands, Parks, and Housing
February 1986:	- Minister of Energy, Mines and Petroleum Resources
August 1986:	- appointed Minister of Education
Oct.1987-July 1988:	- Minister of State, Peace River Region
July 1988:	- reappointed Minister of Education
December 1990:	- resigned as Minister

During this period he was a member of the Select Standing Committee on Labour and Justice and Intergovernmental Relations and a member of the Cabinet Committee on Social Policy and on Cultural Heritage. Mr Brummet resigned his seat in June 1991 to protest his government's unwillingness to implement the dual entry policy for school entry. He and his wife, Lois, have a grown family and five grandchildren, and live in retirement in Osoyoos, B.C.

DATA COLLECTION AND TREATMENT

Both Messrs. Brummet and Heinrich received letters from this researcher asking if they would participate in the study. After receiving confirmation by phone, the researcher sent them an outline of questions relating to the contexts and six role dimensions (see appendix). The interview schedule was a version, revised by this researcher, of the format designed and used by Jamha, and incorporated elements of Giles' and Cree's interview guides. Professor Norman Robinson of Simon Fraser University was most helpful in assisting the researcher in this process. The semi-structured format features open-ended questions designed not to anticipate response.

This researcher met with Tony Brummet (before he retired as MLA) at his Fort St. John constituency office on May 15 and 16, 1991, and with Jack Heinrich in his Victoria office on June 26, 1991.

The interview schedule was carefully followed, with ad hoc questions being used to clarify points. A tape recorder was employed throughout and notes were taken by the researcher. The interviews lasted between 5-6 hours per subject. The tape recordings were then transcribed to approximately 100 single-spaced typed pages. Each former minister was given the opportunity to check the transcript for accuracy and each obliged. The next task was to summarize the information under the pre-assigned context and role areas. Here the researcher faced the chore of reducing the wealth of dialogue into a more manageable format without sacrificing accuracy or nuance.

Other sources of documentation were also important to this study. As the notion of political culture is central to the conceptual framework, several resources were consulted and are listed in the bibliography. To validate the accuracy of the subject's statements, and to provide the researcher with perspective, other documents were consulted including key speeches of the ministers, ministry annual reports, ministry statements and press releases, news-clippings, and copies of letters ministers wrote to the media and to relevant parties on significant issues. These are listed in the bibliography if cited.

Concerning the formal role requirements of the minister, the following documents were consulted: The Report of the Sullivan Royal Commission on Education: Legacy for Learners (1988); the School Act (before and after revision, 1989); various regulations (see The Abridged Manual of School Law, 1986); the Annual Reports of the B.C. Ministry of Education; and a legal case was studied, the Vancouver Board of School Trustees versus the Minister of Education, Jack Heinrich (Supreme Court of British Columbia, 1985).

A serious limitation to the study, also encountered by Jamha, Giles and Cree, concerned to cabinet secrecy which all ministers invoked to avoid what they considered to be questions that infringed on this notion. Similarly, much of cabinet-related documentation remained out-of-bounds for this researcher.

A NOTE ON THE COMPARISON OF BRITISH COLUMBIA TO ALBERTA

A concern of social science methodology is that apples should be compared with apples and not with oranges. When the governance of the B.C. educational system is compared to that of Alberta in order to examine ministerial roles and the impact of regional political culture, it must be demonstrated that the units of comparison do not differ so widely as to introduce too many extraneous variables into the analysis.

Like Alberta, B.C. is a western province where, until very recently (1992), one party domination in the Legislature was the rule. Both provincial governments have long nourished an anti-federal, anti-eastern bias in politics. B.C. has a population of 2,984,000, Alberta 2,401,000 and both occupy geographical spaces of similar size and diversity.

Both B.C. and Alberta rely heavily on exports (to other provinces and internationally). The bounty of mother nature lies at the heart of the wealth and prosperity of both provinces. B.C. has a natural resources base (forestry, mining, fishing) with limited secondary (usually related) manufacturing while Alberta relies on agriculture and oil/gas production, with limited processing.

Both provinces had "boom" periods in the 1960s and 70s followed by the "bust" of the early 80s which receded somewhat by mid-decade (only to slip back in the early 90s). In 1986, provincial revenues in B.C. were \$10,752 million, in Alberta \$13,819 million. Gross provincial expenditures (1986) in B.C. were \$11,390 million and Alberta \$13,393 million. Direct debt (1986) was: B.C., \$5,582 million; Alberta, \$6,830 million (Canada Year Book, 1990, Chapter 2).

Concerning comparative numbers in the educational context, the numbers are also in the "same ballpark" for 1986/87:

B.C. ALBERTA EDUCATION STATISTICS		
	B.C.	ALBERTA
PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLMENT	486,299	451,419
EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION BY LEVEL		
% per income	7.0	9.0
% Gross Domestic Product	6.0	5.7
TOTAL EXPENDITURE ON EDUCATION \$ MILLION	\$3,241.9	\$3,602.1

Figure 1: B.C./Alberta Education Statistics 1986-87

(Canada Year Book, 1990, Chapter 4)

A significant difference is seen in the direct sources of funding for education in both provinces in 1985-86. While sources from the federal government and fees were relatively similar, the provincial/municipal sources differ markedly:

Provincial:	BC - \$2302 million
	AB - \$2737.2 million
Municipal Sources:	BC - \$ 153.3 million
	AB - \$ 732.9 million

Alberta consequently generates a far greater share of its education revenue from municipal level taxation than B.C. Jamha showed how Alberta provincial level contributions to education funding declined from the 60s to the 80s (Jamha, p.86). By 1983/84 the Alberta provincial government would contribute 61.33 per cent, down from 70.07 per cent in 1975. In 1986/87 the provincial share declined to 55.80 per cent. In contrast during the same period residential property taxes (district level) accounted for only 14-22 per cent of the sources of funding for education in British Columbia.

"All things considered being equal", as the economists say, Alberta and B.C. are both apples for comparative purposes. This finding should make any real contrasts concerning role behaviour and political culture in the next chapters more significant.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER II

Chapter II has outlined data requirements for this study. Secondly, a short biography was sketched of the subjects interviewed for this study, Messrs. Heinrich and Brummet. Third, the methodology in the data collection and treatment was detailed. Lastly, the case was made for the validity of comparing Alberta and British Columbia as units of analysis.

CHAPTER III

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

Skilful students of political culture can excavate latent assumptions about politics and therefore create a picture of the political culture of both the present and the past. (David V.J. Bell, 1981, p.115)

In this chapter selected literature is examined pertaining to political culture, to role theory and its application in the Alberta context, and to relevant findings on the experience of the minister of education in British Columbia. The functions of the provincial cabinet in the parliamentary system are presented. The contexts in which the B.C. ministers interviewed for this study performed and their role requirements, expectations and behaviours are also outlined.

POLITICAL CULTURE: THEORY

Robert and Doreen Jackson maintain that political culture is a relatively new concept in political science:

... and certainly one of the most controversial. The term was first coined in the United States in the 1950s and only later applied to Canada [in the 1970s]. (p.80)

An amalgam of values, beliefs, attitudes, and behaviours, political culture shapes how citizens think about concrete political objects (such as the flag) and more abstract concepts such as power.

Political socialization is a key concept related to political culture, as it serves as society's "transmission belt" for ensuring that its citizenry, from generation to generation, are socialized with norms and values for the maintenance of society as a whole. Several societal "institutions" share the task of political socialization:

Certain political orientations are learned by children in their informal relations with family and peers. Schools teach political values more directly and explicitly. Later in life, political values and attitudes are initiated and reinforced by other means such as universities, the communications media and government institutions. (Jackson, p.127)

The inculcated attitudes and beliefs form the political culture and "both reflect and shape its politics" (Jackson, p.127).

David V.J. Bell illustrates how political culture impacts on the role of political leaders, as it:

... provides a range of acceptable values and standards upon which leaders can draw in attempting to justify their policies. Unless a politically viable justification can be attached to a controversial policy, it will not usually be adopted. The political culture sets the parameters within which debate over policy justification takes place. The political culture further affects what people view as appropriate areas of governmental action. It shapes the perception of politically relevant problems, thereby affecting both the recognition of these problems and the diagnosis of their various aspects. It influences beliefs about who should be assigned responsibility for solving problems and what kind of solutions are likely to work. This aspect of political culture is in turn related to more general notions about the purposes of government and the kinds of processes and substantive decisions that are acceptable and legitimate. (Bell in Whittington, ed., 1981, p.108)

In short, political culture encapsulates political role requirements and behaviours.

Political ideologies, Bell notes (p.109), are more or less coherent and explicit political values, attitudes and beliefs clustering together. Canadian politics has several ideologies including conservatism, liberalism and socialism. Ideologies are a more coherent form of political culture, the stock-in-trade of the most politically active, having a "programmatic aspect insofar as they provide a diagnosis of the problems facing society and a prescription of solutions for these problems. Indeed the ideology in many instances amounts to a way of viewing the world" (Bell, p.109).

Political culture, continues Bell, is historically derived:

It is affected by the cultural baggage brought to a society by immigrants, specially first settlers. It is moulded by the formative events a society undergoes in the course of its modernization. It is conditioned by such structural underpinnings as class relations, trade patterns, the flow of transportation and communications. It changes as a result of contact with other cultures. (Bell, p.124)

Political culture binds, or divides, political leaders and citizens alike, impacting directly on shared or disputed political values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours.

Jackson and Jackson identify three strands of Canadian political culture, (p.82-83). The first strand defines Canadian political culture in terms of the values and attitudes common to all citizens of the nation state, "searching out" the roots of the Canadian heritage. The "overarching" political values and objects of the "national strand" would include national objects such as the flag, the Constitution Act, the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and other "national" considerations. The nation-state strand also seeks to establish the elements of Canada's political culture from those of other countries. In Canada's case this is a tall order, as the powerful proximity of the United States has a tremendous impact on the cultural dimension of Canada.

The second strand of political culture examines the important subcultures created by ethnic and linguistic cleavages in the country, particularly the French-English dichotomy and issues arising out of multiculturalism (Jackson, p.100-114).

The third strand of Canadian political culture is regionally-based, that is the values and beliefs about the political system are conditioned by the distinct geographic and economic characteristics of the particular region in which Canadians live. It is the third strand, regionally-based political culture, that is pivotal to this study. For a graphic illustration of the relationship of the three strands to political role requirements and behaviour, see Figure 2.

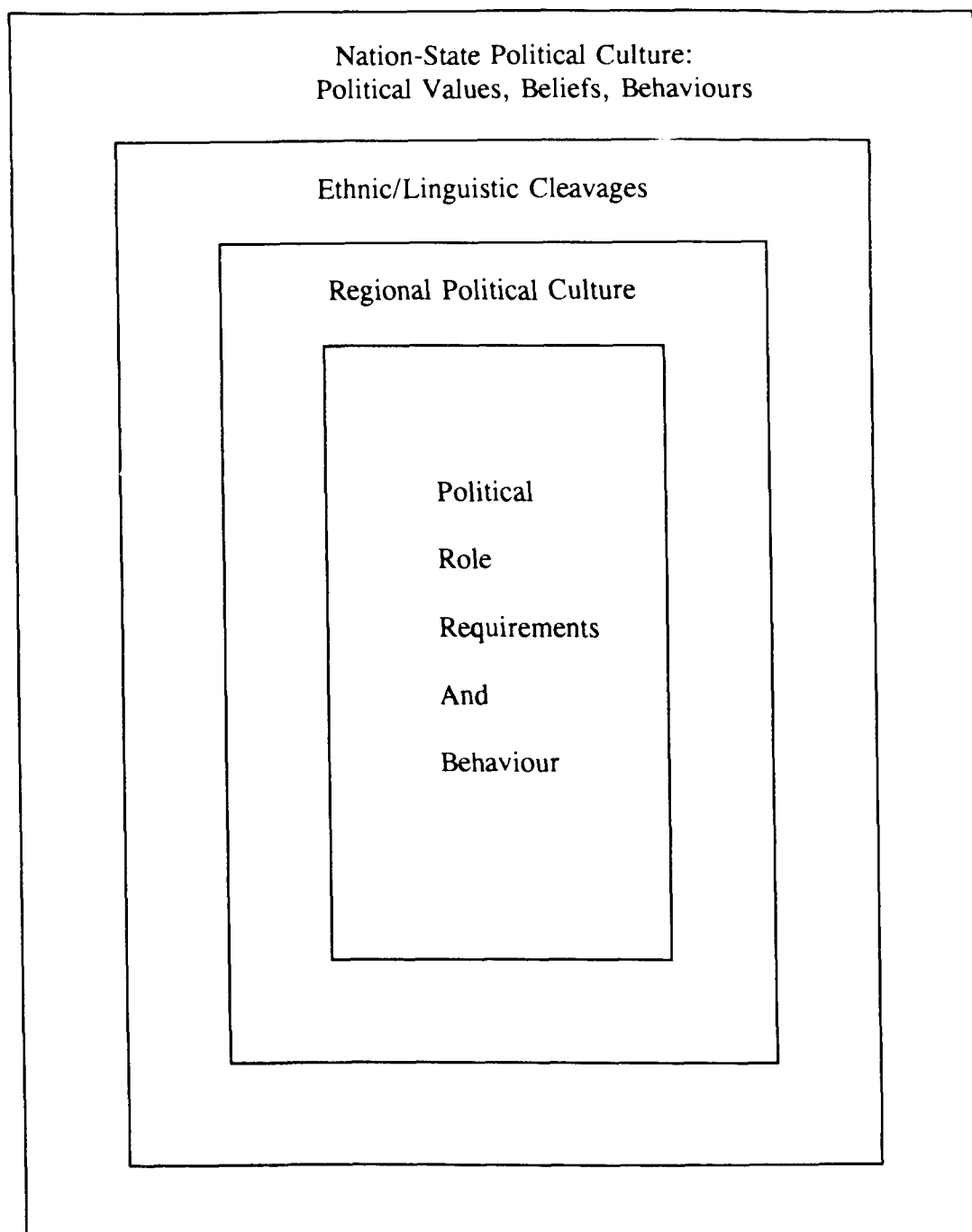


Figure 2 The Relationship Of The Three Strands Of Political Culture To Political Role Requirements And Behaviour.

(After Jackson {1986}, and Bell {1981}, and Townsend {1988})

Lorna Marsden and Edward Harvey explain how the idea of region is based on geographical and economic structures:

In Canada, we have an image of five principal regions, based upon major geographic and economic foundations in each area: British Columbia with resource-base industries, cut off from the rest of the country by the Rocky Mountains; the Prairies based on the wheat and farm economy and separated from the rest of Canada by the mountains on the west and lakes on the east. Ontario, a manufacturing province separated from the west by the lakes and on the east by differences that are more cultural than geographical. Quebec, a manufacturing region separated from its neighbours more by cultural and regional identity than by geographical barriers; the Atlantic region, based upon farming and fisheries, timber and coal resources, but with many historically based cultural differences from the rest of Canada. (cited in Townsend, p.30)

The five regions are characterized by five different political cultures. The federal nature of the Canadian political system may actually promote regional political cultures. "Owing to divisions of power between federal and provincial governments, differences in regional mentalities may be entrenched" (Townsend, p.30).

POLITICAL CULTURE: APPROACHES TO ITS STUDY

Bell (p.110-124) details two different approaches to the study of political culture, the individualistic approach and the holistic approach. The individualistic approach "assumes that values and beliefs exist only in specific individuals, who may or may not resemble one another. To generalize about the values of any group of people requires reliable information obtained from a large number of individuals who are representative of the population as a whole" (Bell, p.110). In the holistic approach, political culture "constitutes a kind of 'ethos' that envelopes and conditions a society. Certain values and predispositions are figuratively speaking 'in the air'.

For this reason, one sometimes speaks of a 'climate' of opinion" (Bell p.115).

The first major "individualistic" study of political culture was that of Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba (1963), who initiated survey research into the attitudes and values of citizens of five different countries (not including Canada). A key concept resulting from their study is "civic culture", a mixture of values and attitudes. Bell notes that "[v]irtually every major academic study conducted since 1965 has included one or more items from the civic culture survey" (p.111). Their survey, "has been applied (at least in part) many times in [Canada]" (p.111).

Richard Simeon and David Elkins (1974) were two of the first Canadian political scientists to argue that Canada has several regional political cultures. Based on survey data collected in 1965 and 1968, they demonstrated that Canadians were polarized in terms of both efficacy and political trust. Highest levels of these orientations were found in British Columbia, Ontario and Manitoba, followed by Alberta, Saskatchewan and Quebec anglophones. The Maritime provinces evinced the least level of efficacy and trust, with French-speaking Québécois slightly more positive. "There are indeed differences between the provinces which may be called cultural, which are rooted in the matrix of historical and sociological factors unique to each province" (p.44-46).

Another individualistic study of regional political cultures in Canada asked respondents in the 1974 National Election survey "whether they thought of the country in terms of regions, and if so, what region they lived in and what were the other regions." Fifty-nine per cent replied that they thought of the country in regional

terms, though many were ambiguous as to which region they were affiliated to. The authors of this study, Clarke, Jenson, LeDuc and Pammett, concluded that regional consciousness was on the rise, particularly highest among economically well-off English-speaking Canadians who were also geographically mobile, with Newfoundlanders having the lowest (cited in Bell, p.115).

On January 1, 1990, Maclean's published a Decima poll which updated the work of Clarke, Jenson et al. on regional identification. In response to the question, "Do you think of yourself as a Canadian first or as a citizen of your province?", respondents answered the following:

	<u>Canadian</u>	<u>Provincial</u>
Quebec	44%	55%
Newfoundland	47%	53%
P.E.I.	57%	43%
Nova Scotia	63%	37%
Alberta	74%	24%
New Brunswick	75%	25%
British Columbia	83%	17%
Saskatchewan	83%	16%
Manitoba	84%	15%
Ontario	90%	9%
All Canada	73%	26%

(cited in Dyck, 1991, p.5)

Another dimension of regional political culture is the concept of "clientelism", the practice of patronage, with three separate stages of development. Noel (1976) found that the more urbanized and industrialized the province, the more likely it is to have developed to the third stage where the patron-client relationship is bureaucratized and less tied to individual patrons (stage I) or political party (stage II) patronage. Thus Ontario shows more evidence of Stage III clientelism, the Maritimes, Stage II.

Wilson's three stage model of provincial political development relates political culture to the concepts of social class and the party system. Wilson (1974) argues that the three party system (Conservatives, Liberals, and NDP) is evidence of a "transitional" political culture (e.g. Ontario). A "developed" political culture is one in which the two political parties are clearly tied to social class. Using this classification, Wilson characterizes the Western provinces as having "a developed political culture" though the resurgence of the Liberals in the West in the late 1980s suggests that political cultures can "backtrack".

Surveys provide a direct measure of political culture. Their advantage lies in forcing people to make explicit "what may be otherwise obscure or implicit" (Bell, p.115). Bell notes, however, that direct approaches may also distort the truth as "we cannot be sure that survey responses validly reflect what people really believe or value" (p.115). As surveys are really snapshots of opinion fixed in time, they "do not illuminate the period of earlier history that contains important clues to the development of political culture. Hence indirect approaches are critical supplements to interviews and surveys" (Bell, p.115).

Indirect or holistic approaches to fathoming political culture usually involve content analysis, to "allow researchers to extract from written documents or speeches the values and beliefs that are implicit in them. In the case of the political values of the elite, a highly specialized "operationalized code" approach has been used to reconstruct the outlook and assumptions of key individuals" (Bell, p.115). Thus, in the indirect approach, political culture "constitutes a kind of 'ethos' that envelopes and

conditions a society.... Skilful students of political culture can excavate latent assumptions about politics and therefore create a picture of the political culture of both the present and the past" (Bell, p.115). An excellent example of a combined individualistic (survey)/holistic approach in the specific context of the impact of regional political culture on educational governance is the recent work of Richard G. Townsend, (1988). Townsend, a professor at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education, surveyed 180 Canadian politicians involved in educational policy-making in school boards and provincial legislatures. His survey mapped out specifically:

What politicians talk about or believe, that is their cognitive STANCES.
 How politicians talk or believe, that is, their political STYLES.
 What politicians talk about or believe in, that is their operative STANDARDS.
 (Townsend, p.3)

He uncovered five distinct political cultures (stances, styles and standards) in five different regions in Canada: the Maritimes, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairie Provinces, and British Columbia.

Townsend summarizes his findings:

Given the chance to characterize, state the "facts" about, and explain themselves, 180 politicians for education vary - and they vary greatly - in their cognitive stances, styles of analysis, and standards. Their latent tendencies towards the stances of conflictiveness, moralism, cynicism, and cabalism can be correlated with notions of political culture.
 (Townsend, p.88)

He concludes: "An entire nation's political culture may be too gross an explanation of strands in an elite's ideas" (p.88). This last statement is in contrast with the findings of a seminal work that heavily influenced Townsend's analytical framework, Robert D. Putnam's The Beliefs of Politicians: Ideology, Conflict and Democracy in Britain

and Italy (1973).

Politicians for Canadian education have a range of emphases in speaking about governance. Townsend categorizes these explicitly as a "polarity", encompassing:

DISCORD	CONCORD
conflictiveness	consensuality
moralism	acceptance
cynicism	trust
cabal-finding	democracy-finding

(Townsend, p.10)

Townsend explains the range of emphases for speaking about educational governance:

None of these ten terms perfectly contrasts with its paired opposite, but the facing items in the two columns do begin to imply the other, as day does night; summer, winter. As a collective term for the somewhat more widespread belief, discord comes close to reflecting the quarrelsome spirit of the highly conflictive, the righteous cognition of the moralistic, the sensitivity of the cynical, and the disapproval of the cabal-finder (who observes elite conspiracies). In contrast, the opposite term, concord, can be said to include the good nature of the consensual, the acceptance of those who avoid moral righteousness, the trust of those who do not impugn others' words and intentions, and the democratic impulse of those who do not often project government as of, by, and for narrow elites.

Townsend continues:

I make this claim about politicians for education: the more conflict they depict in an issue, the more these persons are associated with:

- i) elucidating a moral standard which they expect others to follow (moralism);
- ii) perceiving disparity between the words of other policy makers and their actions or true intentions (cynicism);

- iii) envisaging authorities as a well-defined, self-serving clique (cabal-finding). (Townsend, p.10)

Townsend notes there is some variation within regional cultures, citing border towns that may identify with another region with which it has closer ties (e.g. northwestern Ontario with Manitoba) and as well a single political culture differing in the degree of attributes (e.g. Alberta "may have less tolerance for dissent than Manitoba" [p.30]).

Largely concordant politicians were found in the three Prairie provinces and the four Atlantic provinces. The most discordance-prone politicians were situated in Quebec and British Columbia, with Ontario politicians finding themselves somewhere in the middle (Townsend, p.31). We will now proceed to look at Townsend's findings, in depth for British Columbia, and also for the Prairie provinces, particularly Alberta.

Townsend cites Gordon Galbraith (1976), who traces the origin of the B.C. bipolar political culture to establishment of a two-class system beginning in the late nineteenth century. (Dyck supports Galbraith's findings. See Dyck p. 553-555.) The "upper" class of immigrants to B.C. consisted of a steady stream of white collar British clerks who were "aspiring, upwardly mobile, and desperately anxious to disassociate themselves from the manual workers". During the same period, manual labourers arrived from northern England and Scotland, mining-community class consciousness in tow. Galbraith contends that many British Columbians:

... resolved their condition of status anxiety in one of two important ways, either by vigorously asserting their memberships in the working class and their trade unionism, or by equally vigorously asserting the opposite, their bourgeois and middle class status. The economic structure of the province, with its large corporations and large trade unions in the resource exploitation sector and its

weak agricultural and manufacturing sectors, encouraged this resolution of the status-anxiety problem. The political expression of this situation is the bipolar political culture. (Galbraith, p.69; cited in Townsend, p.41)

"Two relatively exclusive sets of attitudes developed with no institutionalized centre - 'we scream at each other from the political poles,' a journalist said" (Townsend, p.41). "In public affairs, one pole favoured tight central control, guided by occasional advice from high-status leaders of 'superior' professions; the other advocated decentralization, guided by those who work 'in the trenches'" (Townsend, p.41). One pole promotes individual achievement and economic growth (centre of gravity: white collar workers, professionals, and businessmen); the other pole promotes distribution of existing wealth and social egalitarianism (centre of gravity: trade unionists and blue collar workers generally).

In explaining the societal origins of regional political culture, Townsend follows the "four frameworks" analysis developed by Bell (p.119-121). To seek answers to the question of "Where do the political culture traits embraced by ... socializing agencies originate?", Bell suggests that the diverse works be utilized of Louis Hartz, Seymour Martin Lipset, Harold Innis and Karl Marx.

Townsend chose Hartz's The Founding of New Societies (1964) as the most applicable of these four authors for the British Columbia context. As in the observations of Gordon Galbraith, Hartz posits that cultural genes are implanted by the founding groups of a society, with founding fathers carrying with them "fragments" of Old World cultures, and forming the "New World" basic values and beliefs, to be passed on from generation to generation through socialization.

Townsend notes the impact of the B.C. political culture of bipolarity on group cohesion: "... (The) two poles do not represent two autonomous political cultures ... (each) symbiotically depends on each other ... As the factions have different perceptions of society and of the schools' roles in fulfilling society's needs, each gains cohesion in heaping abuse on the other's educational preferences" (Townsend, p.42).

In his survey Townsend discovered that the values of the founders of the province are still very much alive. Sacred adherents stress the importance of discipline, the three R's, programs for the gifted, system-wide exams (to prepare students for the work world). Concerning group cohesion and polarization, Townsend quotes a member of the Non-Partisan Association, a Vancouver civic party allied to Social Credit: "It's a tug-of-war between political factions. The Teachers' Federation versus the boards, kinda [sic] like New Democrats versus Social Credit. Our board wants to get back to the fundamentals of education. We are firm about our position against 'progressive' education ... If teachers don't feel they want to adopt our views, they are advised we should part company ... It's good to have such things clear-cut" (Townsend, p.42).

Cynicism and paranoia are hallmarks of the B.C. political culture. A member of the Committee of Progressive Electors, (allied to the New Democratic Party), rejected out-of-hand a number of initiatives announced by the ministry of education including the need for a core program, realigning teacher-student ratios, reducing the number of board-level staff specialists and increasing regulation. The respondent exclaimed: "I began to fear the power of the government to be able to convince

masses of the population that there are weaknesses in the education system, when in fact there probably aren't" (Townsend, p.42).

Moralizing was also found to be a key element of the B.C. political culture. A politician supported province-wide testing as she wanted to make teachers more accountable: "I have to be against the moral relativity that started developing in the 60s, thanks to radical leaders of the B.C. Teachers' Federation" (Townsend, p.43). For a provincial NDP politician, however, the BCTF wasn't radical enough: "I'd respect teachers' organizations more if they battled school boards, politicians, parents if necessary, to get better education" (Townsend, p.43). This is a "damned if you do, damned if you don't" political culture.

Compromise is not part of the B.C. political culture. Townsend cites two small-town boards where cabals had formed on the basis on religion (fundamentalists/non-fundamentalists) and on gender lines (one man versus a large contingent of female board members). "In a culture with sentiments this unyielding," he writes, "it follows that board meetings sometimes resemble a bear pit" (p.44). Townsend notes that B.C. political parties in the 70s tried to broaden their appeals by dropping some ideological baggage but thinks that events in the 80s (such as legislation to curtail teachers' and other unions, later overturned by courts) still make "as in Quebec - any identification of consensus politics of education ... premature" (Townsend, p.44). In B.C. "we" versus "them" remains the name of the game: "When they speak contentiously, moralistically, cynically, and cabalistically, B.C. respondents attack both the expedience and self-conceptions of the 'other' faction"

(Townsend, p.44).

To sum up, the salient feature of the B.C. political culture is discord, two sides juxtaposed in a symbiotic tug-of-war characterized by conflictiveness, moralism, cynicism, and cabal-finding. Townsend's evidence makes it clear that these attributes are shared in equal measure by both camps.

In contrast to the B.C. political culture of discordance, Alberta shares with Manitoba and Saskatchewan a political culture of concordance. Historically, the growth of farmer cooperative networks over the century among a relatively homogeneous class of agriculturists is seen as critical to nurturing a culture of cooperation. The theoretical framework that Townsend adopts here is that of Harold Innis (1956, 1972), that the bias of a culture is embodied in institutions that make specific use of technology:

The people who created these institutions exploit particular information channels to suit their interests. Their media can either be heavy or durable, like ideas literally carved in stone, or light and easily transported, like printed words on paper, radio, and other electromagnetic phenomena. (Townsend, p.31)

In the case of the Prairies politicians for education, they relied on the extensive "cooperative" network for distributing ideas that were developed by the grain cooperatives: the United Farmers of Manitoba, the Saskatchewan Grain Growers, and the United Farmers of Alberta. "Almost from the start," continues Townsend, "Prairie farmers relied upon manuals and bulletins, lectures and fairs, travelling exhibits and meetings of their organizations. All this furthered their agricultural, commercial, educational and political objectives." This cooperative network provided

"a base and in Innis' terms, a 'bias' for a cooperative society to take root. " ... The values of the cooperatives' network invaded and saturated the Prairies' social space" (Townsend, p.42). D.E. Smith (1976), a political scientist in Alberta, states:

Although these bodies [cooperatives] saw as their first task the training of more competent farmers, they also became mediators for group interests, performing an important integrative function in prairie society, through activities of their locals and through publications such as the Grain Growers' Guide ... [this network of groups battled for] legislation that gave them benefits such as low interest loans and control over the handling of their crop through co-operative elevator companies in Alberta and Saskatchewan and government - owned elevators in Manitoba.

Prairie cooperatives also led the charge for a voluntary wheat pool and a Canadian Wheat Board, fought against Eastern grain and railroad companies, and rallied farmers against high tariffs. Solidarity between big and small prairie farmers against a common foe was a central tenet of this struggle.

The politically active in the cooperatives often spread the cooperative gospel to a host of community and political settings. The political culmination of cooperative activity was the election of a UFA government in Alberta in the 20s and of John Bracken, Premier of Manitoba from 1922 to 1943, an "enthusiast of cooperative values" (Townsend, p.32-33). Townsend provides us with illustrative examples of the Prairie "politics of integration". The following quotes from three influential Alberta politicians involved in educational policy-making are indicative of a political culture that stresses harmony and civility above all else:

One doesn't storm the bastions at our board meetings very easily. You have to proceed according to our rules and regulations ... Rest assured, you will get a good courteous hearing.

I am really a democrat and you may think I am waffling on this, but if I can't persuade the other trustees, then what I want isn't educationally desirable.

We're easy ... We like to say "yes" to everyone and we don't like to say "no". We never say anything bad about anybody. That's a cardinal rule: don't say anything bad about your political enemy ... Dirt thrown is ground lost ... Keep it clean. (cited in Townsend, p.33)

Dyck sums up the Albertan politics of consensus in another fashion: "Albertans are so close to a consensus on internal objectives that they feel particularly affronted when others (non-Albertans) stand in their way" (Dyck, p.484).

Despite some pockets of discord, "the majority (of Prairie politicians) do not characterize fellow politicians, their education departments, and their staffs as ineffective or misguided" (Townsend, p.34). Finally, it was found that some Prairie politicians cited camaraderie as a motivator for political involvement, an "invocation to fellowship," says Townsend, that is "not voiced elsewhere in Canada" (Townsend, p.34). The Prairie political culture of concordance is characterized by consensuality, acceptance, trust, and democracy-finding -- no tug-of-war, winner take all, here. [For an in-depth perspective on the political and socio-economic structures and histories of B.C. and Alberta, see Long, Quo and Robin (1978)].

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE PROVINCIAL CABINET IN THE PARLIAMENTARY SYSTEM

Rand Dyck explains the functions of the modern provincial cabinet in Canada:

Acting officially as the Executive Council, a provincial cabinet typically sets priorities, determines policies, prepares legislation, oversees departmental administration, supervises the implementation of public programs, and issues regulations and orders-in-council as authorized by statute. (Dyck, p.10)

Most provincial cabinets today average about twenty ministers. Before the growth of provincial governments beginning in the 1950s the full cabinet often made decisions in an informal matter. Modernization of provincial government operations has brought "more formal procedures, more solid information, more planning and coordination, more efforts to control public expenditures, and the more frequent use of a cabinet committee system ... " (Dyck, p.16).

Reform of provincial cabinets did not begin in earnest until 1970 in Manitoba and Ontario, complementing similar moves at the federal level. Thus, most provinces today have a Treasury Board (a cabinet committee which attempts to restrain departmental spending) and a planning and priorities committee which is chaired by the premier. Cabinet committees in policy areas as social and resource development have been established to improve interdepartmental coordination, and issues are usually debated in committee before being sent to full cabinet. A cabinet secretariat to provide procedural and secretarial assistance as well as expert advice has also been part of cabinet reform as well as improvements in the decision-making process (Dyck, p.11). Ontario and Quebec are cited by Dyck as the two provinces that have made most changes to the provincial legislative and executive operations. (Dyck, p.11).

At the centre of the cabinet, the role of the premier is pre-eminent:

Premiers still select, shuffle, and remove ministers, and they are increasingly the focus of both media and public attention during election campaigns. In addition, premiers have the privilege of consulting trusted advisers who are entirely outside the authorized channels, and they are first to learn the results of the latest government and party public opinion polls. Thus, while ministers are said to be individually responsible for their departments and collectively responsible for government policy, determined premiers can still make their presence felt throughout the governments operations. (Dyck, p.11)

The premier, at the apex at both governmental and party structures, is clearly more than "first among equals" in the modern provincial cabinet.

In British Columbia, the cabinet under W.A.C. Bennett (1952-1972) was an informal, personalized gathering doing the bidding of the Premier who doubled as Finance Minister and Treasury Board chairman. Noel's Stage II party system patronage was the order of the day. The NDP government of Dave Barrett (1972-1975), "was even more informal and certainly more free-wheeling and creative, but it lacked the dominant controlling and coordinating force which his predecessor had provided" (Dyck, p.556).

It was not until W.A.C.'s son, Bill Bennett, succeeded in toppling the NDP government that serious reorganization of cabinet operations commenced in 1975, years after similar reforms had taken place in other provinces. Bennett introduced a cabinet committee system, an expanded Premier's Office, and a more effective Treasury Board. The new cabinet committees included Planning and Priorities, chaired by the Premier; Treasury Board, chaired by the Finance Minister; Regional and Economic Development; Social Policy; Legislation and Regulations; and

Environment and Land Use. Premier Bill Vander Zalm (1986-91) added three other committees to the 23-member cabinet: Cultural Heritage, Native Affairs, and Drug Abuse (Dyck, p.556-7).

A ministry of education usually performs the following functions:

- 1) supervision of teacher competency and the granting of teacher certification
- 2) evaluation of school programs
- 3) establishment of courses of study and the prescription and approval of textbooks
- 4) provision of financial assistance
- 5) the setting of rules and regulations for the guidance of trustees and educational officials on school boards
- 6) delineation of the duties of school principals and teachers

(Hyrchiuk, M. [1986], cited in Cree, 1986, p.12.)

The minister may delegate certain duties, rights and responsibilities to elected or appointed school boards. In provinces such as Ontario and Alberta administration of ministry affairs is decentralized with regional offices. The minister delegates the general administration of the department to the deputy minister -- as senior public servant and executive officer of the ministry. He/she is often a professional educator and is responsible for advising the minister, supervising the day-to-day affairs and enforcing the regulations of the School or Education Acts and providing continuity in educational policy (Hyrchiuk, cited in Cree, p.12). Giles states that the minister is held responsible for "everything that happens within his/her department" (Giles, 1983, p.10). The minister presents and defends policy and funding proposals in the

committees in which the portfolio is assigned, and after clearing this hurdle repeats the process in full cabinet. The minister must also speak to and/or defend educational policies in the legislature (Cree, p.12).

ROLES: THE THEORY

Jamha (1988) quotes Rousseau (1968, p.34) who defined role as:

"situationally appropriate" behaviour [which is] an incumbent's perception of the expectations held for him by significant others as modified by personal needs and his perceptions of his behaviour under specific conditions.

Lundberg, Schrag, Larsen and Catton (1968, p.145) distinguished between role prescriptions and role expectations, as distinct from behaviour:

Role prescriptions: formal laws, rules, regulations usually written, and enforced by official rewards and penalties.

Role expectations: informal codes of etiquette or propriety, often unwritten, and enforced by unofficial means, such as ostracism, ridicule, respect, prestige and so forth.

Dahl (1984, p.16) indicates that "patterns [of expectation] ... in which a number of people share roughly similar expectations about behaviour in particular situations are called roles" (quotes cited from Jamha, p.7-8).

This study, for the purpose of comparison and continuity, employs the role concept as developed by Jamha, as it is central to understanding his findings and was explicit to his interview schedule largely adopted for this study. Thus role is understood as the combination of what a person is or is not supposed to do (requirements) and what a person actually does (behaviour). Role requirements are the formal prescription of the role as set out in statutes and other legal descriptions

plus the informal expectations of significant others. Role behaviour is the actions performed and interactions conducted by the person occupying the role (Jamha, p.7-8).

How does role theory fit into the notion of political socialization? Jon H. Pammet and Michael J. Whittington (1976, p.4) note that, in functional terms, "effective socialization, placing most individuals in previously determined roles within the social system, is seen as necessary for systems maintenance and the exercise of social control".

Political science, continue Pammett and Whittington, "while borrowing from sociological role theory, narrows its focus to a subset of social roles, those relating to the political system" (p.4). Thus studies on political socialization, the transmission belt of political culture, have examined the inculcation in the young of the desirability of political participation, of patterns of allegiance towards political parties and other politically oriented groups. Writing in 1976, the authors asserted that "profitable as these studies are in terms of generating basic knowledge for political scientists to ponder, they are an indication of the nascent (state of) the field of political socialization especially in Canadian political science" (p.4-5).

ROLES: THE APPLICATION IN THE ALBERTA SETTING

Allan Jamha's Master's thesis, The Role of the Minister of Education in Alberta (1988), is important, not only because of his methodology and findings for the Alberta context, but is also of high relevance to shed light on the similarities and differences of the role of the minister of education in B.C. A summary, co-authored

by Walter H. Worth, of Jamha's methodology and findings can be found in the eponymous article published in The Canadian Administrator, Volume 30, Number 4.

Jamha's study on the role of the minister of education in Alberta was based on a series of interviews with three former Alberta ministers who served from 1971 to 1986: L. Hyndman (1971-1975); J. Koziak (1975-1979), and D. King (1979-1986). Six dimensions of the ministry role were explored - government, legislature, political party, department of education, public and personal - from the perspectives of formal requirements, informal expectations and role behaviour in the incumbents. Jamha's conceptual framework is adapted from the "six areas" concept of B.W. Headly (see Carson in Rowat, 1981, p.150).

Central to Jamha's findings in the legislative dimension is the doctrine of ministerial responsibility which "is a fundamental factor in how ministers define the responsibilities as members of the government" (Jamha and Worth, p.8). All ministers Jamha interviewed stressed explicitly the importance of "two major components of ministerial responsibility - answerability and personal accountability which undergird the concept of responsible government" (p.8).

Kernaghan (1985, p.281-282) observed that the doctrine of ministerial responsibility was the foundation of parliamentary government (in the federal context). The doctrine encompasses a collective responsibility and individual responsibility. Collective responsibility means, in the provincial context, that the premier and cabinet resign or ask the lieutenant governor in council for a dissolution of the legislative assembly if the assembly passes a vote of no confidence in the government.

Collective responsibility also means "that the minister must support government decisions in public or at least suppress any public criticism of them. If a minister finds a particular decision unacceptable, he must either stifle his objections or submit his resignation" (Kernaghan, p.281, cited in Jamha and Worth, p.8).

Individual ministerial responsibility has two major components - "answerability - an obligation to explain and defend the actions of the minister's department to the legislative assembly; and personal responsibility - an obligation to resign in the event of a serious error by the minister's department" (cited in Jamha and Worth, p.1).

Hodgetts (1985, p.251) takes exception with Kernaghan's notion that answerability is still a functional concept, noting "the dwindling ability of the legislature to hold the executive accountable," undermining the doctrine of collective and ministerial responsibility. Jamha's findings support Kernaghan's conception that the doctrine of ministerial responsibility remains the fundamental basis by which ministers define the responsibilities of government: "It provides a major frame of reference for the allocation of power and responsibility among ministers, legislators, and public servants" (p.288, cited in Jamha and Worth, p.2).

While acknowledging that the role dimensions of the interpretive framework overlap in real life, Jamha and Worth found the role construct "a useful way of managing the data, as it afforded an opportunity to examine particular aspects of the role that might otherwise have been overlooked if the position of minister had been viewed in its entirety" (Jamha and Worth, p.3).

The government dimensions of the role of minister of education included the incumbent's activities as a member of the cabinet

(executive council), caucus, and committees or task forces of these two bodies. This dimension also encompassed the minister's activities as a representative of the government outside of the province, such as on the Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. In this dimension, the minister of education was principally associated with the premier, other cabinet ministers, other government MLAs and counterparts in other governments.

The legislature dimension comprised those aspects of the role of the minister of education in the legislative assembly, involving the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, parliamentary tradition, and relationships with other members of the government, the opposition, the speaker, and the constituents in the minister's riding.

The requirements, expectations, and role behaviour of the minister of education as a member of the political party that forms the government in Alberta were included in the political party dimension. This dimension encompassed the minister's involvement in party philosophy, policy, and practices including activities at party meetings and with party officials. In most of the rest of Canada, mainstream political parties have predominated as the governments of provinces, but this has not been Alberta's history. From the United Farmers of Alberta, to the Social Credit Party, to the Progressive Conservative Party, Alberta has had a variety of political parties in power, each with its unique philosophies, goals, and objectives for education in the province.

The department of education dimension involved the minister's responsibilities as spelled out in the various acts and regulations in which the minister was cited, the informal expectations of the deputy minister and others in the department, and the role behaviour of the minister in relation to the department in general and the deputy minister and other staff of the department in particular.

The public dimension involved the minister's interaction with a wide array of significant others outside the government, legislature, party, and departmental arenas. Relations with teachers, school trustees, and other interest groups with the general public, and with the media were components of this dimension.

The personal dimension of the role emerged from the data as a distinct dimension. This encompassed the selection of a minister of education, personal goals and aspirations, leadership style, factors affecting personal options as minister, and time demands. (Jamha and Worth, p.3)

The next section examines Jamha's findings in the six role dimensions for the three Alberta ministers.

Jamha's and Worth's article summarizes findings on the government, legislature (already mentioned) and personal dimensions. This study also refers to Jamha's thesis to report on the dimensions of political party, department of education and public.

The Government Dimension

As a member of the cabinet the minister of education plays a significant role as one of the inner circle of decision makers and when the government is not in session the cabinet passes regulations and allocates funds. The minister acts as spokesperson for the department but is bound by cabinet solidarity and secrecy concerning inner debates. The minister assumes primary responsibility for program, policy, financial, and political decisions in education on behalf of the government and executes the powers and trusts of the position as in the legislation and regulations. In recent years in Alberta there has been increased involvement of non-cabinet caucus members in policy making because of an initiative begun by Premier Lougheed, and increased involvement of major interest groups. The Legislative Assembly (MLA) Committee system was introduced by Lougheed in 1975 to "clamp down on independent actions by ministers". It is clear from Jamha's evidence that Premier Lougheed was very much in charge of this process.

The minister wears "two hats" as MLA: as chief spokesperson for education and as constituency representative (of all citizens). Informal expectations, especially

by Premier Lougheed, played a large role in this dimension. Ministers, for example, were expected to foresee any potential problems, prepare contingency plans, and to defuse any potential contentious issues before they got out of hand. While partisan debates on the floor were sometimes "theatrical", solutions to problems were often settled informally by the minister and MLAs in another setting. One minister of education had to choose his words carefully in debate because of the high profile of the education portfolio:

I had to be careful with my responses because the education interest groups read Hansard religiously. They pour over it to find any hidden meaning they can. This does not occur to the same extent in other portfolios, and certainly not in municipal affairs. This is because, in education, the minister has a different role than the minister of municipal affairs. In municipal affairs the government is not the major source of funding. In education the government sets the actual curriculum in which everybody has a stake, it provides the major source of funding, and there is a much closer relationship among the minister, school boards, teachers, parents, and others. (cited in Jamha and Worth, p.6).

The education portfolio is qualitatively different from other portfolios, in its degree of politicization, and the diversity and demands of its major actors.

The Premier chooses his cabinet and Premier Lougheed had a well thought-out approach to cabinet composition: for the top ten portfolios (such as Education), pick ministers solely on the basis of merit (judgement, commitment, special strengths); the other portfolios would be filled according to factors such as urban/rural, gender, and regional representation. Once appointed to office, the minister's "personal agenda" would come into play.

Personal Dimension

As the personal dimension is of special interest to us because it may provide direct evidence of regional political culture and its impact on the role of the ministers, it would be useful to reflect on the following quotations from the three Alberta ministers about their personal objectives and goals:

- 1) I wanted to ensure that students graduating from the system had an education that was relevant to the seventies and also to what they would be encountering in the labour force later on. I wanted to be fair and to be perceived as fair. Sensitivity to others was very important.

I wanted to support teachers and strengthen or reinforce the position of school boards as the trustees of the local system and encourage decentralization and local decision making. I wanted to encourage parents to get more involved in talking about education. I also wanted to talk to trustees and parents about education. Early childhood services, special education, and assistance to the handicapped were major goals. (Hyndman)

- 2) I wanted to represent the people and do the best possible job I could for them. Education is one of the most important things a government has to deal with. It was important to look at the goals and aspirations of the people in all parts of the province including parents, teacher, students, and other electors. This is not to say that there were no compromises.... I did not look upon education as a personal crusade. (Koziak)

- 3) If people don't believe in the system, good education will not happen. I saw education as a partnership involving everyone; you've got to have people on-side, and I saw it as my job to promote that cooperation.

I had five priorities:

1. to enhance the self-confidence of teachers and their status in community

2. to create a system that was able to give more individualized attention to students and that was more aware of the individual strengths and weaknesses of students
3. to increase decentralization of decision-making in education, which meant involving more of the lay community in the process
4. to ensure there was a logic to the way in which education unfolds, unwraps itself
5. to ensure that there were constant feedback mechanisms for education (King)

The key words and phrases here are "sensitivity", "support teachers", "promote an increased decentralization", "encourage parents", "partnership", "compromise", "enhance the self-confidence of teachers", and "[involve] more of the lay community".

An important part of the personal dimension is the self-assessment of leadership style. Words and phrases frequently mentioned by Alberta ministers are: "responsible", "collegial", "communicative", "careful analyst", "fair", "equitable", "a loving critic", and "(I did not) just sign memos and let the system run itself. To preside does not provide leadership." (Jamha and Worth, p.8). Jamha and Worth conclude that the personal dimension "may be the most important factor in determining what they (the ministers) can do in the portfolio and ultimately, how they are perceived as ministers of education" (Jamha and Worth, p.8).

Party Dimension

This dimension involves the requirements, expectations and role behaviour of the minister of education as a member of the political party that forms the government in Alberta.

Jamha's findings on "formally prescribed requirements" in the party dimension included that the minister of education is required to follow the precepts of the party philosophy and abide by party rules and regulations; to attend annual party conventions and policy conferences to answer questions about education from the delegates; to report back to the party in government disposition of party resolutions passed at party conventions; and to keep party activities separate from legislative functions (Jamha, 1988, p.115-123). In 1976, Leader Peter Lougheed presented a set of goals and objectives that served as the core philosophy of the Progressive Conservative party. Education was first on the list: "To continue to provide the highest quality education, health care, and overall public service while providing sound fiscal management of the province's affairs" (cited in Jamha, p.116).

Informal expectations of the minister's party role are that: the minister is expected to encourage support for the party whenever appropriate; assist the party leader to explain government policy to the members; and answer party members' questions about education and to provide advice and assistance to members on education issues.

In the context of party role behaviour, there is potential for the minister of education and the role of MLA to conflict in terms of time and allegiance. In the

words of Minister King: "(The) best approach was to let people know that I was in a conflict-of-interest situation and that I was making the decision as the minister, not their MLA" (Jamha, p.122).

Department Of Education Dimension

The department of education dimension encompasses the ministers' responsibilities as spelled out in the various acts and regulations, the informal expectations of the deputy minister and others in the department and the role behaviour of the minister in relation to the department (Jamha, p.123).

Formally prescribed role requirements of the department of education dimension were that the minister:

- preside over the department of education
- be responsible for its activities, provide policy direction and political leadership
- attend to "shall" provisions in relevant education legislation, principally in the Department of Education Act and School Act.
- may delegate certain authority of the minister to other persons or agencies
- exercise a great many discretionary powers, most specified in legislation (including making regulations and ministerial orders). (Jamha, p.140)

Informal expectations of the department dimension include that the minister is expected to defend programs and staff, provide leadership, be positive about education, articulate the government's education agenda to the department, and act as chief spokesman. Only the deputy minister expects to have direct access to the minister (Jamha, p.134-141).

In the context of department role behaviour, Jamha found that the degree of delegation of responsibility and authority to the deputy minister and others depends on the individual style and priorities of the minister of education, but final decision is made by the cabinet. The degree and kind of involvement of the minister with departmental staff are matters of individual style and behaviour. In the policy-making process, the boundaries between "political" concerns and administration are blurred (Jamha, p.135-141).

Public Dimension

The public dimension of the role of minister of education involves the activities of the minister in relation to teachers, school trustees, the general public (including parents and students) and the mass media.

Formally prescribed requirements for the public dimension stem from tradition and custom dictating the role. Traditionally the minister is required to attend general meetings of the Alberta Teachers Association (ATA) and the Alberta School Trustees Association (ASTA) and to provide these groups with the opportunity to present their policy positions on education. Ministers interviewed made a distinction between the "fixed" positions of the ATA and the "flexible" positions offered by teachers, but it's evident that the relationship between the ministers and the ATA was generally open and relatively dignified. To quote Minister Hyndman on his relationships with the ATA and ASTA:

I felt a degree of collegiality with both groups. I could be candid in exploring alternatives and policies with them and could ask them informally what they thought of something before it was needed to be

done. I respected the personalities, and I think there was an unquestioned loyalty to education in their numbers. I did not see them as antagonists whom I had to fight with but rather as people who were crucial parts of the system. We had to communicate, work together, and form a partnership. I tried to avoid the "we-they" approach. (p.149)

Koziak also characterized his relations with the ATA as "good" while King described his relationship to the ATA as "(not) good ... one of the things I will regret for a long, long time" (Jamha. p. 150).

Other formally prescribed requirements concerning the public dimension include the custom for the minister to respond to submissions made by the various interest groups and to provide for formal opportunities for them to make their views known. The minister must be available to the media who expect the minister to make mistakes and report on them, often to the exclusion of positive developments. The relationship between the ministers and the media from interview evidence seemed to have been relatively even keeled. The media expected the minister to give them complete, accurate information (Jamha, p.148-149).

Informal expectations concerning the public dimension include that the minister is expected to support the positions held by all interest groups and individual members of the public and, at the same time, to find ways of reconciling their differences and to play the mediator in disputes. Major interest groups are also expected to play a role in decision-making. Minister Koziak:

I'd make sure that all the major groups were represented and had a say in the process. It was a good opportunity to get them on-side with a decision that had to be made. If they were part of the process, the program would be easier to implement. There is an old saying in education, "No matter how good the program, if the people are not

behind it, it can't be implemented; and no matter how bad it is, if the people are behind it, they can implement it." (Jamha, p.148)

Other informal expectations of the public dimension role:

- the minister is expected to be a spokesperson for, and defender of, education
- individual school board chairmen, trustees, and teachers expect access to the minister
- the public expects the minister to ensure that schools are providing the best education possible
- the minister is expected to ensure that children are safe and well cared for at school
(Jamha, p.153-154)

Ministers noted that particularly big city trustee chairpersons expected, and often got, direct access to the minister.

In the context of role behaviour in the public dimension, the way in which a particular minister deals with the public varies, depending on the individual occupying the role. From the interview evidence, Ministers Hyndman and Koziak received a good deal of satisfaction with the interactive aspect of the role, King the least. In this regard King explains his less than satisfactory relationship with the ATA and other groups in personal terms, regretting that his "pedantic" style affected this relationship: "I don't think they understood how much I was prepared to be imaginative. They missed opportunities to a greater or lesser extent because they did not recognize that I loved imagination" (Jamha, p. 150). All three ministers gave ample evidence that interest groups and individuals have a significant amount of influence on the minister and on other members of the government. The ATA and ASTA as organizations had the greatest influence (in that order) directly on the minister. The list of influencers cited by ministers is quite lengthy including parents, individual teachers,

superintendents, principals, school board chairmen, trustees, mayors, employers, taxpayers. Interest groups also lobbied MLAs directly. Parents would also most often approach their MLAs with their concerns such as "competency, student achievements, the lack of (a course for) history, the old social studies concept or values." School boards also lobbied their MLAs. All the (people) and "organizations would use their relationship with MLAs to their advantage". (Koziak, in Jamha, p.152).

Summary Of The Minister's Six Roles In Alberta

Jamha's basic thesis is that the role of the minister of education is to operate effectively in all the six role dimensions, a balancing act involving the weighing of province wide issues, Department concerns, opinions of constituents, party members and interest groups. It's a role that blurs text-book notions of the separation of political versus administrative aspects, as the complexity of the system dictates that the minister often engages in the latter. Leadership, decision-making, goal and direction setting and policy determination are important aspects of the role but policy-making and implementation is no "irresistible unfolding". Persuading, convincing, endless discussing and consulting, compromising also play a dominant part. The Alberta school system has many actors seeking a voice. "Effective solutions usually came about when all parties involved could agree to some degree with the final educational decision", concludes Allan Jamha (p.182-184).

Not studied in Jamha are the perceptions of significant others about their informal expectations of the minister of education (p.187).

THE EXPERIENCE OF BEING B.C. MINISTER OF EDUCATION: 1953-1983

At the Annual Conference of the Canadian Association for the Study of Educational Administration (Windsor, June 1988), Professor Norman Robinson of SFU, Ms. Jennifer Cree and Ms. Valerie Giles presented a paper entitled, "The Experience of Being the British Columbia Minister of Education." The paper is a summary of the two Masters projects done by Giles and Cree under the supervision of Professor Robinson on this topic. Their projects portrayed the experience of eight ministers of education from 1953 to 1983. Specific aspects probed in depth included:

- (1) major issues faced by each minister during his or her term of office
- (2) major lobby groups with which each minister dealt
- (3) personal agendas of each minister in terms of goals and objectives
- (4) details on the functioning of the minister's office
- (5) relationships with the media

(see Figure 3 for list of ministers)

Figure 3: B.C. MINISTERS OF EDUCATION AND TERMS OF OFFICE

Hon. J. Baker	1892 - 1898
Hon. J. Martin	1898 - 1898
Hon. J.F. Hume	1898 - 1899
Hon. C.A. Semlin	1899 - 1900
Hon. J.S. Yates	1900 - 1900
Hon. J.D. Prentice	1900 - 1900
Hon. J.C. Brown	1901 - 1902
Hon. D. Murphy	1902 - 1902
Hon. W.W.B. McInnes	1902 - 1903
Hon. R.F. Green	1903 - 1903
Hon. A.S. Goodeye	1903 - 1903
Hon. R. McBride	1903 - 1903
Hon. F.J. Fulton	1904 - 1906
Hon. W. Manson	1906 - 1907
Hon. H.E. Young	1907 - 1915
Hon. T. Taylor	1915 - 1916
Hon. G.A. McGuire	1916 - 1916
Hon. J.D. MacLean	1916 - 1928

During MacLean's term in office, education was established as a separate department.

Hon. J. Hinchliffe	1928 - 1933
Hon. G.M. Weir	1933 - 1941
Hon T.D. Patullo	1941 - 1941
Hon. H.G.T. Perry	1941 - 1945
Hon. G.M. Weir	1945 - 1947
Hon. W.T. Straith	1947 - 1952
Hon. Mrs. T.J. Rolston	1952 - 1953
Hon. R.W. Bonner	1953 - 1954
Hon. R.G. Williston	1954 - 1956
Hon. L.R. Peterson	1956 - 1968
Hon. D.L. Brothers	1968 - 1972
Hon. E.E. Dailly	1972 - 1975
Hon. Dr. P.L. McGeer	1975 - 1979
Hon. B.R.D. Smith	1979 - 1982
Hon. W.N. Vander Zalm	1982 - 1983
Hon. J. Heinrich	1983 - 1986
Hon. J.J. Hewitt	1986 - 1986
Hon. A. Brummet	1986 - 1990

(Source: Cree, p.19)

Major Issues Faced By Each Minister Of Education

Educational finance whether in terms of system expansion or contraction was the single most important issue faced by all the ministers. During the early 1980s the issue of financial restraint in education became a priority. In the words of former minister Brian Smith (1978-82):

... the finance issue became big about 1981 ... I guess it was in 1981 that I began to get very apprehensive from the finance side and began to think that we were pouring far too much money into the system ... and that we were going to get into serious difficulties down the road if we didn't start to bring about more accountability. So the Interim Education Finance Act or Sun King #1, as I call it, came in. It gave the Ministry of Education much greater control over the dollars ... (Cree, 1986, p.111)

Accountability emerged as a major issue of the late 70s and 80s -- it meant in essence a renewed effort on the part of the minister to make all the parts of the school system accountable to the minister for not only expenditures but also for academic standards. The trend for more centralized accountability initiated a tug-of-war between ministers and board of trustees and the British Columbia Teachers Federation. Vander Zalm (1982-83), succeeding Smith as minister, was given the mandate by Premier William Bennett of continuing the push for accountability, but for all the publicity he garnered in the effort it's obvious he didn't relish the chores assigned:

Well, obviously I was given the job (Minister of Education) in part because it was about then they wanted me to introduce restraint ... For me, that didn't seem like too exciting a thing (Cree, 1986, p.115)

The other major issues named by ministers from 1953 - 1983 are characterized by Robinson, Giles and Cree as "time specific". These issues include problems associated with growth, the question of public funding of private schools, standards

for education and the need for public input into education. For Williston (1954-56), Dailly (1972-75), and Smith (1979-82) the key to improving educational standards was in the further professionalizing the education and training of teachers of the province.

The Impact of Major Lobby Groups

Ray Williston (1954-56) commented on lobby groups of the 50s:

It was a completely different world then (in the 1950s). We had very few delegations and pressure groups and representatives of that nature. Practically all of the activity that went on during the years when I was minister - I'd say 90 per cent of it - was internally generated. (Giles, 1983, p.82)

Bonner (1953-54), when asked about political demonstrations in the 1950s, replied:

"Never heard of them. Mind you it has changed radically, but not when I was minister" (Giles 1983, p.90).

The radical change in the relationship between the minister and important actors in the educational system can be traced to the late 60s, when altercations were frequent and hostile. Peterson (1956-68) recalled:

... a particularly bad (demonstration) with university students, when we were in session in the legislature. A couple of thousand students descended on the steps of the legislature and I went out and spoke to them. They were a very noisy group and I think that was my most frightening experience because they started to throw things ... (Giles, 1983, p.99)

From Peterson to Vander Zalm, all ministers of education from the late 60s onwards were subject to intense lobbying and political demonstrations. Even Mrs. Dailly, the sole NDP education minister, got no respite: "I had demonstrations everywhere I went" (Giles, 1983, p.85).

The most active lobby group was the B.C. Teachers' Federation (BCTF), followed by the B.C. School Trustees Association (BCSTA). While Bonner and Peterson spoke of the BCTF (respectively) in terms of "pretty considerate" (Giles, 1983, p.90) and "well organized ... quite affluent" (Giles, 1983, p.159), the relationship between BCTF and Socred education ministers from the late 60s onward evolved into a relentless adversarial battle (McGeer, Smith, Vander Zalm). McGeer claimed the BCTF approached him only once, to discuss educational finance. Smith recalled the BCTF as having a "narrow, purposeful perspective focusing on collective bargaining" and Vander Zalm believed that the BCTF's confrontational stance blinded them from attending to other important issues (Cree, 1986, p.168).

The B.C. School Trustees Association, the second most mentioned lobby group by the ministers, also became frequently locked into an adversarial position vis à vis the ministers during the swing back to centralized financial accountability and cost cutting beginning in the early 80s. This move, the BCSTA claimed, was an erosion of trustees' prerogatives. Smith summed up for several ministers by characterizing the BCSTA as "an institutionalized group that did not speak for its members" (Cree, 1986, p.160). The Federation of Independent Schools Association (FISA) was the third most important lobby group mentioned by ministers. Beginning in the early 1960s, FISA lobbied for public funding to private and parochial schools. McGeer was the first minister to agree to partial funding ("survival rations" in his words) and he was subject to a good deal of hostility from the BCTF and BCSTA for his efforts, this funding perceived by the latter groups as undermining public education. Other

lobby groups came and went such as academics wanting a new Universities Act (Dailly) and Parents for French Immersion (Vander Zalm).

Personal Agendas Of The Ministers

Robinson, Giles, and Cree consider "the most unusual and interesting funding of (their) research is that each of the ministers of education had a highly personalized agenda of objectives that he or she wanted to achieve as *minister*" (p.14). Williston for example, with his background as an educator in the northern B.C. interior, was determined to put the training of teachers on a more professional footing. He also started the process of reviewing the entire state of B.C. education which culminated in the Chant Report (1960) unveiled by his successor, Leslie Peterson.

Patrick Lucey McGeer also had a strong personal agenda, to make the school system more accountable (through a core curriculum and provincial learning assessment program) and he was determined to see through an expanded use of educational technology. Grade 12 provincial examinations were subsequently implemented by his successor. During his Liberal Party days, McGeer had been a strong supporter of public funding to private and parochial schools, despite long standing Socred and BCTF/BCSTA opposition, on the basis that the public system needed competition. As a Socred minister he accomplished this objective. Other notable objectives that emerged as ministry policy from the personal agendas of ministers:

Leslie Peterson: improvement of educational opportunities, including alternate programs in elementary and secondary schools, the creation of new universities, community colleges, and post secondary vocational institutes.

Eileen Dailly: introduction of Kindergarten programs, the development of Native teacher education programs, the abolition of Grade 12 exams, the abolition of corporal punishment.

Brian Smith: more emphasis on improving students' writing skills, greater Canadian and B.C. content in the Social Studies programs and creating a consumer education course.

Vander Zalm had a much less defined personal agenda than other ministers but claimed that his "style" brought the ministry closer to the field (to parents and students) than it had ever been before.

Details On The Functioning Of The Minister's Office

The ministers of the 1950s and early 1960s enjoyed a good deal of autonomy, free from the intense confrontational atmosphere that plagued their successors in office. Lobbying was non-existent to light in the early days. Early ministers were not surrounded by large political staffs and generally they relied exclusively on permanent civil servants. Bonner (1952-54), for example, had neither an executive assistant nor a press secretary. Much of the information gathering was performed by the minister himself. In contrast to later ministers whose presence was unwelcome at BCTF conferences, Williston "lobbied ... at nearly every teachers' conference in the province" (his words, Giles, 1983, p.98).

The ministers of the 1960s, 70s and 80s encountered a much different political and bureaucratic atmosphere and spoke of intense pressures from within the caucus

(Smith), the unnecessary complexity of government, and of bureaucratic resistance to change (Vander Zalm).

Relationships With The Media

Ministers had views on their relationships with the media that present no easy time-frame categorization. Generally, the earlier ministers, like Williston (1954-56) spoke of a respectful and responsible relationship with the media. But a later minister, Smith (1979-82), also described the media as "fair" and Vander Zalm (1982-83), despite a lot of good and negative coverage, expressed empathy with reporters: "I never had too much argument with the media" (Cree, 1986, p.130-131). However, most later ministers had strong negative feelings about the media:

Peterson - "unfair, anti-government";

Dailly - "ruthless"; and

McGeer - "no positive coverage".

Ministers had little to say whether any of the media influenced their decisions.

Aspects Not Explored

Giles and Cree's research did not explore such aspects of the ministerial experience as relationships with other cabinet ministers, relationships with the Premier, relationships with the caucus and party officials, relationships with ministers of education in other provinces and relationships with opposition MLAs.

THE LEGAL AND LEGISLATIVE CONTEXT OF THE AUTHORITY OF THE B.C. MINISTER OF EDUCATION

The definition and enforcement of ministerial authority take place in a complex hierarchy of legal and authority structures that Michael Manley-Casimir refers to as a "nested relationship". The Figure below illustrates the legal context of the minister's authority:

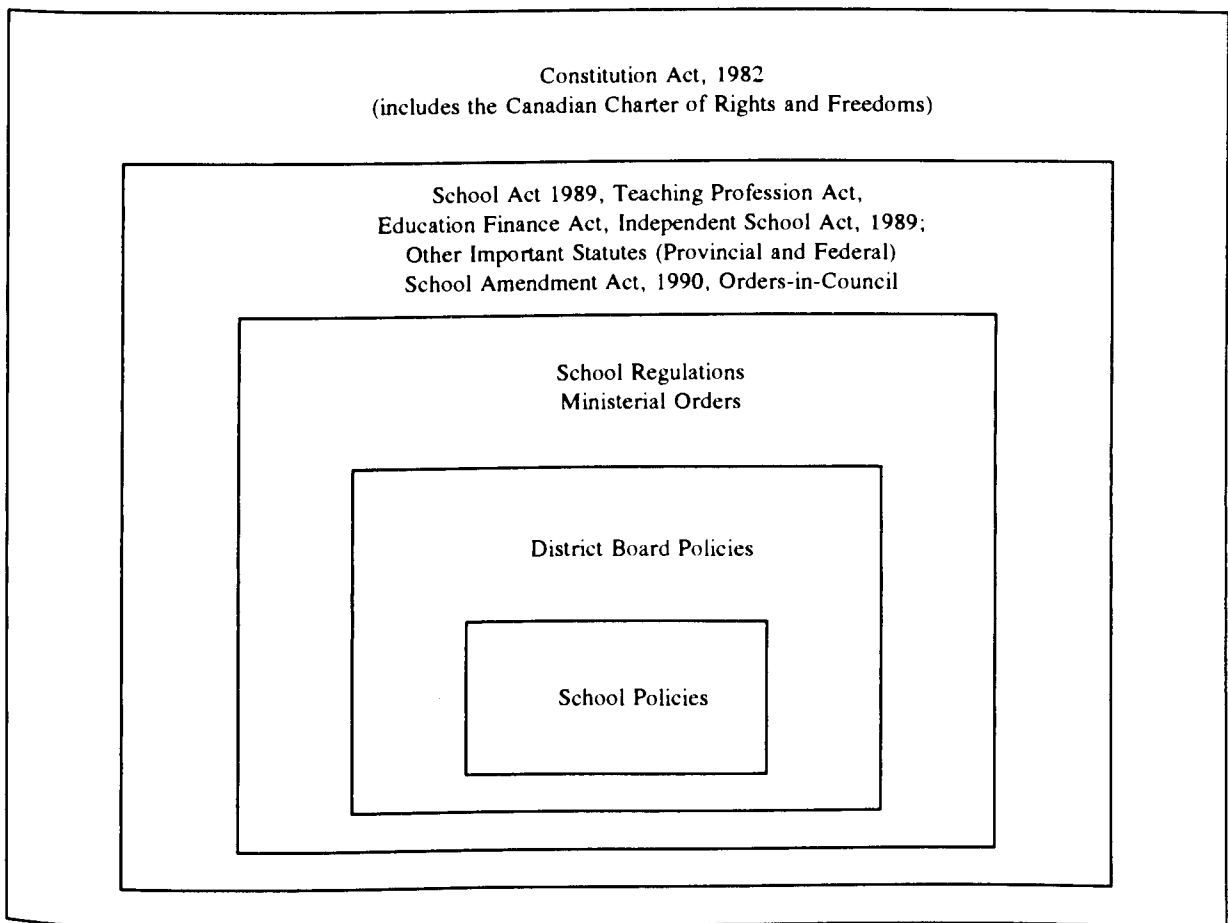


Figure 4: The Nested Relationship of the Minister of Education's Legal Environment. (after: M.E. Manley Casimir, 1990)

Constitution Act, 1982

The Constitution Act, 1982, including the Charter of Rights and Freedoms, passed into law on April 17, 1982. Parts of the Constitution remain unwritten but a number of important statutes, renamed the Constitution Acts, form the backbone of the Constitution. The Constitution Act 1867 (formerly the BNA Act) divides powers between the federal and provincial governments. Since 1982 the Constitution Act and the Charter are the supreme law of the land and the ultimate source of legal power. The Constitution can only be amended by a formula binding upon all provinces and federal government (including Quebec which did not sign). The Supreme Court of Canada is now the final arbiter on whether any federal or provincial statute, order-in-council, ministerial regulation, order, or school board by-law is "inconsistent" or "repugnant" to the Constitution.

Regular Statutes

Section 93 of the Constitution Act, 1867, makes education primarily but not exclusively a provincial matter. The passing of Bill 67-1989, the new B.C. School Act, is an example of a provincial statute and is the first major rewriting of such legislation since 1958. (The old School Act and regulations are contained in the B.C. Ministry of Education Abridged Manual of School Law, 1986).

The following statutes also had an impact on how the ministry functioned during the period 1983-1990:

a) Provincial Legislation

Apprenticeship Act
Auditor General Act
Compensation Stabilization Act
Education Institution Capital Finance Act
Employment Standards Act
Financial Administration Act
Health Act
Home Owner Grant Act
Human Rights Act
Labour Code
Municipal Act
Pension (College) Act
Pension (Public Service) Act
Pension (Teachers) Act
Public Sector Restraint Act
Public Service Act
Purchasing Commission Act
School District Capital Finance Act
Supply Act
System Act
Young Offenders (B.C.) Act

b) Federal Legislation

Canada Student Loans Act
Canadian Human Rights Act
Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Act
Indian Act
Federal Provincial Fiscal Arrangements and Post-Secondary Education and
Health Contributions Act
Metric Conversion Act
National Training Act
Official Language Act
Statistics Act
Vocational Rehabilitation of Disabled Persons Act
Young Offenders Act

(source: B.C. Ministry of Education, Annual Report, 1984-1985, p.17)

Regulations And Rules

New school regulations and rules were issued in the wake of the passage of Bill 67-1989, principally in the form of ministerial orders, full regulations, or school board by-laws. Mackay underscores their hierarchical relationship:

Not all of these rules have the same legal force. Their legal enforceability is derived from the original statute that authorized the rule-making ... where an inconsistency between rules exists, the one that is on a higher ground prevails. For example, a regulation will prevail over an inconsistent (board) policy manual. (Mackay, 1984, p.4)

The precise source of the rule is important as efforts to change a certain rule must be addressed to the legal source that created the rule (Mackay, 1984, p.1-4).

Much of the legal and legislative business of the ministry, in response to a changing environment, is carried out through orders-in-council, ministerial orders and regulations that are not debated on the Floor of the Legislature. In 1987-88, the year before the School Act was completely revised, no less than thirty-nine such orders and regulations were issued for issues diverse as teaching certifications, expropriations and pensions (Annual Report, 1987-88, p.84-90).

Case Law

Because no body of statute law can hope to define or provide for every contingency, it is the role of the courts and quasi-judicial bodies to interpret and amplify the application of education law. Judges make law by applying and developing common law concepts and interpreting statutes. Once a judge establishes a rule, it is generally binding on lower courts.

The hierarchy of the court system in B.C. as it applies to education, ranking from highest court to lowest, is as follows:

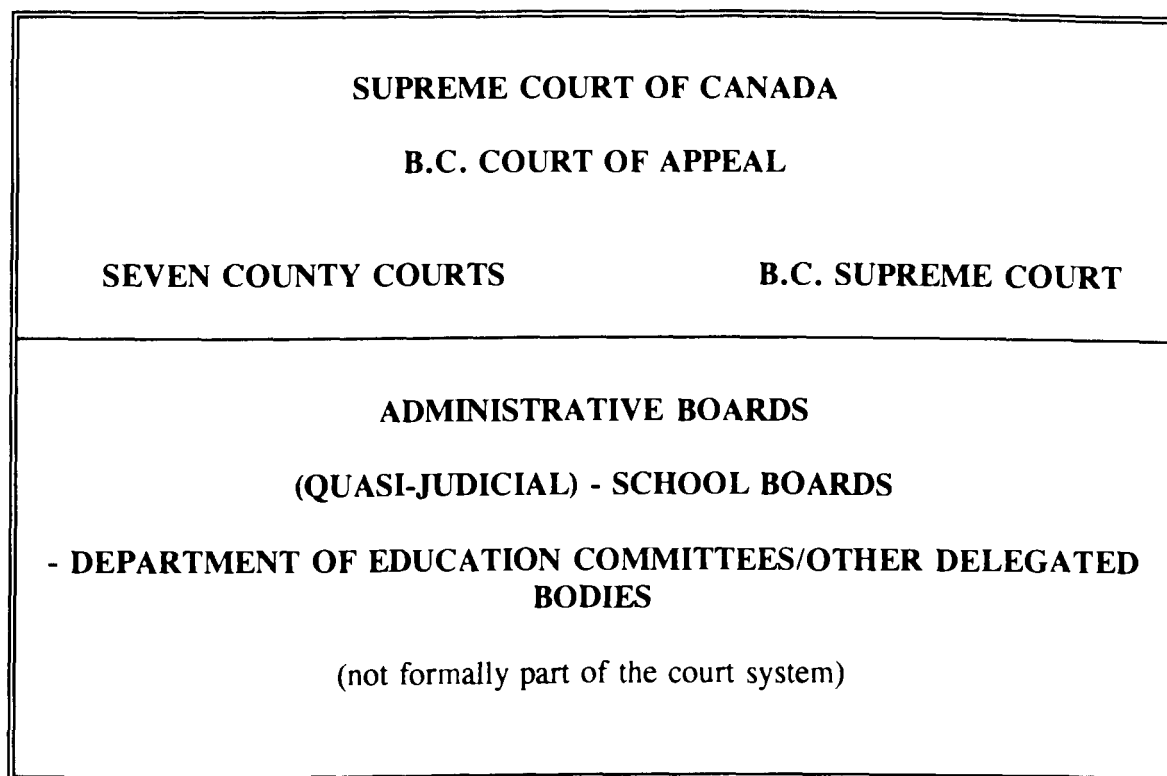


Figure 5: The Hierarchy of the British Columbia Court System (Adapted from Mackay, 1984, p.6 and Nicholls, 1988, p.11)

Other Sources Of Law

The degree of persuasiveness of U.S. case law "may have increased since Canada adopted the Charter," wrote A. Wayne Mackay in 1984. According to a different and more recent viewpoint, the greatest impact of the Charter on education law will probably be focused on collective language/education rights, a historical Canadian preoccupation (Pitsula and Manley-Casimir, p.64).

A Canadian court may also consider international law in solving an education problem such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to which Canada is a signatory (MacKay, 1984, p.5-7).

The Nested Relationship Illustrated

The nested relationship of the Constitution, provincial statutes, orders-in-council, and school board policies can be illustrated by reference to an important case challenging the British Columbia Minister of Education's authority in 1985 (B.C. Supreme Court, 1985). The case involved Minister Heinrich's removal of the Vancouver School Trustees (S.D. #39) for refusing to comply with restraint legislation (a provincial statute). Heinrich had appointed Allan Stables, through an order of the Lieutenant Governor, as sole trustee until another board could be elected. The case was heard by the Supreme Court of British Columbia, with the decision rendered by Mr. Justice Callaghan on June 24, 1985.

The petitioners, five of the VSB trustees, sought two declarations:

- 1) that the B.C. Order-in-Council 850 was ultra vires of the Lieutenant Governor in Council; and
- 2) That the Board had not ceased to hold office.

The application stated that the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council had acted contrary to Sections 7 and 15(1) of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, that the petitioners had been denied "equal protection and equal benefits of the law without discrimination."

In a 23-page ruling, Mr. Justice Callaghan dismissed the suit, saying that Section 15(1) of the Charter "did not require the Legislature or the Lieutenant Governor-in-Council to treat all people the same no matter what their circumstances but that persons 'who are similarly situated be similarly treated.'" The judge then referred to the article "The Equal Protection of the Laws" found in 37 California Law

Review, 1949, to illustrate his point.

Mr. Justice Callaghan found no discrimination but added: "If I am wrong, and Charter rights have been violated, then the respondents are protected by Section 1 of the Charter", the "reasonable limits" clause. He concluded that the "Vancouver School Board by its actions in passing a budget by-law contrary to the minister's directive forced the minister to act quickly ... " and he blamed the board's "own intransigence" for causing the dismissal (p.27) (B.C. Supreme Court, 1985).

HISTORICAL ORIGINS OF MINISTERIAL AUTHORITY

British Columbia entered Confederation in 1871. In 1872 an "Act Respecting Public Schools" was passed in the B.C. Legislature which, "with amendments over the past century, has continued to provide the legal framework for the province's schools" (Commission, 1988, p.40). Under the B.N.A. Act, authority for the provision of schooling was centralized in the provincial government through the Department and later the ministry of education and departments servicing that portfolio.

The highly centralized nature of the decision-making process in the B.C. public school system rests on a set of assumptions that trace their genesis in Confederation, here articulated by the B.C. Royal Commission Report on Education (1988):

... Only a central authority could provide the vision and control necessary to establish and maintain a system of schooling in a vast territory with a diverse population. It has been assumed that this centralization of control would effect a uniformity of service across the province, establish common standards for schools, and generally ensure an equality of opportunity for all the province's youngsters ... A century of school laws has therefore been written in such a way that the

government minister in charge of education has been granted ultimate policy and decision-making authority and has been empowered to intervene in any matter, at any level, for the good of the system. (Commission, p.40)

Vision, control, equality, standards, and uniformity are explicitly viewed as the policy-making prerogative of the minister of education.

Today the B.C. Ministry of Education is divided into departments, branches and services with about 350 employees and an annual budget well in excess of \$2 billion. Major functions in the ministry entail: Program Development, Educational Liaison, Program Effectiveness, School Finance and Facilities, Policy, Planning and Legislative Services, Educational Innovation, Independent and International Education. There are a number of mechanisms the minister may rely on to ensure that schools comply with the ministry's mandate. First, there is the legal basis: The Constitution Act, the School Act, the Independent School Act, the Education Finance Act, school regulations, ministerial orders, etc. "No fewer than 30 statutes, both federal and provincial, have a substantial, though less direct, impact upon schooling" (Commission, p.185). Second, government structures delegate to local boards responsibility for educational and financial operations of the schools. Superintendents are responsible to Boards to ensure that schools function within the School Act. Boards delegate to principals and school staffs the authority necessary to provide structures and processes for teaching and learning, as well as to meet the school's responsibility to the community at large.

In B.C. 75 school districts are obligated to provide educational services to all children of school age. In 1989/90 almost half a million learners attended the province's 1,589 public schools, 37,000 enrolled in 267 independent schools, and 1,677 home schoolers registered. The cost of running the public system in 1989/90 was \$2.6 billion with funding shared between the province (about 78 per cent) and the school boards. \$76 million was also allocated to eligible independent schools. The minister holds the purse strings, the critical element of control in the system. (Annual Report, 1989/90, p.4-5) (For an excellent overview of the evolution of schooling in British Columbia over the last century, see Giles, 1983.)

THE CONTEXT OF POWER IN THE BRITISH COLUMBIA EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

"Power", writes Henry Mintzberg, a notable organization theorist, "is a major factor, one that cannot be ignored by anyone interested in understanding how organizations work and end up doing what they do" (1983, p.1). The minister's authority is not synonymous with his/her power. Jackson (p.80) explicitly refer to values and attitudes about power as an "intangible" aspect of political culture. The two major power poles in the British Columbia educational system gravitate around mandate (ministry) and expertise (teachers).

The politics of education centres on the nature of educational governance and its (re) structuring particularly since the turbulent 1960s. Robinson shows how and why contemporary administrators have lost power in the last two decades to boards, students, parents, citizens and teachers (Robinson, 1981). McCutchan outlines the

futility of the notion of the school system as an "apolitical", centralized bureaucracy that can ignore important new "core constituencies" that demand access to all decision-making levels of school systems (McCutchan, 1982). Worth sees the struggle for power as a permanent characteristic of the school system (Worth, 1987). Pressures are mounting for a radical redistribution of power that focuses on the notion of decentralization in decision-making, shifting the focus of power from state/ministry levels to district and school levels (Housego, Downey, n.d.) (Kirst, 1988).

Mintzberg (1983) offers the following definitions which we will use in this analysis:

- Power: the capacity to effect (or affect) organizational outcomes
- Authority: formal power, the power vested in office
- Objective: is a goal expressed in a form by which its attainment can be measured
- Mission: the organization's basic function in society, in terms of the products and services it produces for its clients (1983, p.4-6)

From Goals To Power

Mintzberg's review of management literature and its shift from an emphasis on goals to the concept of power is useful, as goal setting, measurement of attainment, and accountability generate controversy and debate within school systems and with important core constituencies. The flavour of this debate is echoed in the following passage from Mintzberg:

The organization has been changed from a system of one actor to a system of many, from a system with a single goal to one having so

many that it has none, from a maximizing device to a satisfying device, from a given instrument with fixed ends and no conflict to an arbitrary political arena with no ends and consumed by conflict. (1983, p.20)

The tone of this passage reminds us of the tumultuous change in the experience of British Columbia ministers of education from the mid-1960s onward. As former minister Bonner (1953-54) lamented about the passing of "the good old days": "There isn't any institution, public or private, whose problems don't get some front stage and centre type of attention in the political realm. I'm not certain that it's an improvement" (Giles, p.80-81).

The Power Game And The Players

To understand the behaviour of the organization, it is necessary to understand which influencers are present, what needs each seeks to fulfil in the organization and how each is able to exercise power to fulfil them (Mintzberg, 1983, p.2). The major power game in the British Columbia education system is "mandate versus expertise."

An influencer is someone who tries to change the system from within who requires: (1) some source or base of power coupled with (2) expenditure of energy in a (3) politically skilful way when necessary. These are the three necessary conditions for the exercise of power. "Much informal or even formal power (authority) backed by great effort has come to naught because of political ineptness" (p.26). These words of Mintzberg should serve to caution those who equate the concept of power (the capacity to influence outcomes) with the concept of authority (the power vested in office).

The three bases of power are control of (1) a resource; (2) a technical skill; and (3) a body of knowledge. If the organization is dependent upon outside sources for any bases of power, then control of the organization is inevitably shared by multiple actors. The B.C. school system relies upon the ministry level for the lion's share of funding (78%), while the technical skill and bodies of knowledge associated with teaching expertise are largely associated with the professionals working within the schools and secondarily from district/ministry technostructures. A fourth general basis of power stems from legal prerogatives -- exclusive rights or privileges to impose choices. In B.C., the Constitution Act of 1867 and various subsequent School Acts have allocated the power to fashion the education system primarily to the provincial government and the minister of education. A fifth general basis of power derives simply from access to those who can rely on the other four. Thus the media, various publics (ratepayers, parents, voters, etc.), the BCSTA and the BCTF can impact upon or affect the school system by targeting key actors in the system.

Power in the B.C. school system, then, is divided among a cast of players. Mintzberg categorizes these influences as internal and external. Internal influencers are "those people charged with making the decisions and taking the actions on a permanent basis; it is they who determine the outcomes, which express the goals pursued by the organization" (1983, p.26). The external influencers are non-employees who use their bases of influence to try to affect the behaviour of employees. The external and internal influencers form coalitions of relatively stable individuals and interests (1983. p.26).

External Coalition

The External Coalition (EC) that seeks power to control or influence the outcomes of organizations and its counterparts for school systems are organized into five categories:

- 1) owners: the duly elected provincial government on behalf of society as a whole
- 2) associates: (suppliers, clients {parents and students}, competitors)
- 3) member associations, acting in a non-economic orientation: the BCTF, the BCSTA
- 4) various publics -- representing special or general interests of the public at large: (voters, rate payers associations, Parents for French, etc.)
- 5) directors of organizations: (Trustees)

In the corporate world, the board of directors represents both internal and external influencers, and stands at the interface of External and Internal Coalitions. Because it meets only intermittently, it is treated as part of the External Coalition. The elected trustees at the district level of the B.C. school system represent both provincial and local concerns:

Board members, under the (Education) Act and its regulations ensure that provincial educational policy is implemented, contribute to the development of provincial educational policy, establish district-wide policy to direct all schools within their jurisdiction, manage school district personnel, allocate provincial resources within their school district, determine the financial resources to be raised within the local community for educational purposes and manage the physical plant. (Commission, p.188)

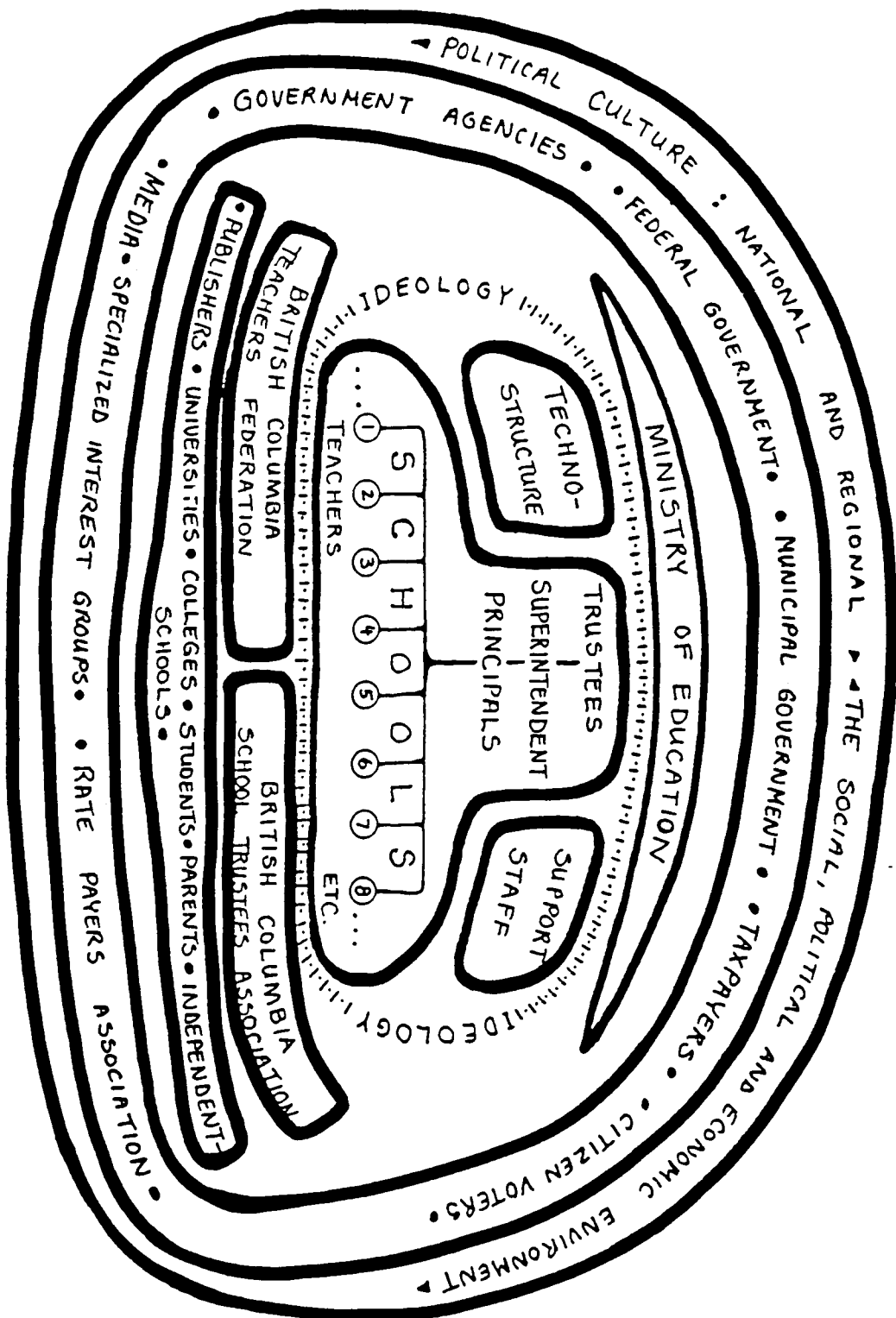
Board Trustees must serve two masters: district citizens and the minister.

Internal Coalition

The Internal Coalition (IC) is comprised of six groups of influencers: (1) the CEO; at provincial level: the minister of education; at district level: the superintendent; (2) the operators; principals and teachers within the schools; (4) analysts of the technostructure; ministry level: program development; district level technostructure: curriculum coordinators, instruction supervisors; (5) support staff; ministry: personnel services, controller etc.; district: district resources centre, building and grounds, payroll etc. (6) Mintzberg includes a sixth influencer, "which though inanimate does seem to have a life of its own": {organizational} ideology, the set of beliefs shared by its internal influencers that distinguishes it from other organizations" (Mintzberg, 1983 p.29). This type of ideology can be perceived from at least four perspectives: from within the B.C. education system as a whole; the district level; the school level; and the perspective of the norms/values shared by the teaching profession. Coleman and LaRoque (1988) have identified district-level ideology or "ethos" as a critical factor in the accomplishment of educational goals in British Columbia. Based on the findings of this chapter, a seventh, also "inanimate", influencer should be added: that of regional political culture. A bipolar political culture would undermine a cohesive ethos, an integrative culture would reinforce it.

The set of external and internal influencers in the B.C. public education system may be graphically portrayed in the form of the following Logo, as illustrated on page 75 (Figure 6).

Figure 6: THE CAST OF PLAYERS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOL SYSTEM
 - District Level Perspective -



Three Basic External Coalitions

External Coalitions (EC) can wield a wide range of power in respect to the Internal Coalitions (IC). Mintzberg classifies them as follows:

- 1) Dominated EC - single external influencer controls IC
- 2) Divided EC - few competing groups divide power of EC, politicize IC
- 3) Passive EC - number of external influencers grows so large that EC grows impotent, all power passes to IC

Concerning the B.C. public educational system we may conclude that the type of External Coalition (EC) reflects which level of the system one is talking about. At the ministry level, a dominated EC (single external influencer) controlling the Internal Coalition (IC) would seem appropriate. However, at the district level, a divided External Coalition (Board of Trustees), with competing groups dividing power would seem the usual situation, hence a politicized and polarized IC (Townsend, p. 42-44), (Robinson, 1992). Thus the complexity of the system is underscored by at least two types of EC's, one that speaks with one voice and expects compliance on goal attainment (Ministry Level) and a divided EC (District Board of Trustees) in which competing influencers may pull the organization in different directions.

The relationship of the External Coalition to the Internal Coalition gives rise to certain structures or power configurations that have distinct patterns of power distribution. These configurations (six in all) are not static and change in character. The two main configurations that define the B.C. public educational system are the Instrument and the Meritocracy. The most natural transition of these two

configurations is to a third, the Political Arena.

Instrument

The Instrument is a power configuration that serves a dominant external influencer (or a group of them acting in concert), organized normally around a critical dependency or legal prerogative. This relationship characterizes the top ministry of education level vis à vis the districts and local schools. The school system is seen as the instrument of society to educate its children and youth. Goals for the Instrument are typically imposed from the outside and are usually measurable and focused. The organization is perceived as the "instrument" for attaining those goals. Centralized accountability is thus a logical and consistent focal point of the British Columbia Education "Instrument".

The environment facing typical Instruments is usually stable, with simple, mass output technical systems and unskilled work forces. The "Instrument" closely resembles the "machine bureaucracy" of Mintzberg's The Structuring of Organizations, (1979). A version, the "public machine bureaucracy" characterizes many government bureaucracies where the societal mandate is clear and the need is high for efficient and equitable distribution of services. (To be expanded upon in Chapter IV.)

Because external control of an organization is most effectively achieved through the use of bureaucratic controls, the Internal Coalition in the Instrument emerges as largely bureaucratic, pursuing the goals imposed on it. Rigidities in this form give rise to some internal political games but these do not seriously displace the

formal goals. {Political here refers to non-sanctioned "illegal" uses of power.}

In the context of school systems, three problems seem readily apparent with sole reliance on the Instrument model. Instruments are typically suited for stable work environments, delivering standardized services in prescribed ways. Environments facing most districts are generally not stable but face a wide variety of differences in student populations, in demands of parents and of the community, and in socio-economic factors etc. (Coleman and La Roque, 1988). A second problem arises in the pursuit of goals: those faced by school systems are typically difficult to measure and to operationalize precisely (Sirotnick, 1987). A third problem with the Instrument is related to the notion of one clear voice articulating rational goals that the organization is expected to implement. At the ministry level, this does seem possible despite the often "fuzziness" of the goals -- one voice, clear mandate, one minister. But at the Trustee level, encharged with both provincial and local concerns and saddled with a discordant political culture, the waters begin to muddy as various local interests, demands and personalities impact upon the school system in ways that are situation (district) specific. Under these circumstances, Boards of Trustees in B.C. often challenge the policies of the minister rather than functioning as faithful overseers of provincial interests as envisioned in the School Act (Robinson, 1981; 1992).

The Meritocracy

As power configurations, individual schools and even districts could be characterized as (partial) Meritocracies in which (relatively) highly educated professional operators (teachers) work directly with their clients (parents/students)

(Coleman and La Roque, 1988) (Rosenholtz, 1988). Environments facing Meritocracies are typically complex and goals are neither easily definable nor easily operationalized (A central thesis in John Goodlad, 1987, [ed]). The Meritocracy closely resembles Mintzberg's "Professional Bureaucracy" (1979) where each expert works (semi-) autonomously in the operating core to apply standardized skills, and with additional conscious effort also to coordinate through mutual adjustment. School district autonomy is the consistent and logical focal point of the British Columbia Education Meritocracy.

In school system Meritocracies, teachers exercise power on the basis of skills and knowledge and dominate the Internal Coalition: their work eludes regulation by outsiders and is difficult for the administration to observe (supervise) as most of it literally goes on behind closed doors.

The school system's reliance on the expertise of the operators pursuing nonoperational goals as the main power system in the Meritocracy can mean that organizational ideology and the authority system are often weak (Rosenholtz, 1988). Weak authority and weak ideology, coupled with a wide but not sharply defined distribution of power, give rise to good deal of internal politics -- alliance and empire building to name a few. The formal goals of the organization (defined by the ministry) can be easily displaced by the means and personal goals of the teachers especially in the face of individual needs for professional autonomy and for (personal) excellence and often mission (Rosenholtz, 1988). The main problem associated with this goal displacement is the degree of callousness the professional may exhibit

towards the needs of the clients, a tendency that may be stimulated by unionization that paves over collegial norms. (Ask the students of Peace River North School District #60 who experienced a two-month strike in May and June 1991.)

Transitions Between The Power Configurations

The notion of a school system as a clash of two different power configurations is enhanced by the perspective that power configurations are dynamic organisms which for better or worse under certain conditions may shed their skins and emerge as different configurations.

The Instrument may be transformed into a Meritocracy when a change in work technology or technical system necessitates the use of expert skills and knowledge. This can be clearly seen in the professionalization of the British Columbia school system over the last century, examined at length in Giles and Cree.

The most natural transition from the Instrument, however, is to the Political Arena, a configuration captured in whole or in part by conflict usually caused by strong conflicting demands imposed on it that prove to be irreconcilable -- either an important challenge to its existing order or important challenges between its existing influencers (Mintzberg, 1983, p.469-478). The education system in British Columbia has moved perilously close to the Political Arena on several occasions since the mid-1960s particularly during the McGeer, Vander Zalm and Heinrich ministries (Giles; Cree).

Just as the most natural transition from the Instrument is to the Political Arena, the Meritocracy can break down into the Political Arena when its members turn a

blind eye to pressing demands (Mintzberg, 1983, p.491-502). Mintzberg names several necessary conditions for this transition from a Meritocracy to a Political Arena that are particularly relevant for a profession (teaching) that is so dependent on a single external influencer (government):

Exploitation of expert power, through callousness of experts, leading to external challenges and internal conflicts, resulting in a politicized organization; resistance of established experts to renew Meritocracy; also resistance by experts to challenges of external influencers. (Mintzberg, 1983, p.473).

In the British Columbia context, there is another salient reason for a transition to a Political Arena. The single most important external influencer (government) views the school system largely in Instrumental terms (centralized accountability) and is opposed by the operators and part of the External Coalition of the system (teachers, superintendents, as well as trustees), who favour a Meritocratic model,(district autonomy). The delicate balance of power relations within the system is inevitably upset when both configurations see their power needs as mutually exclusive. A Political Arena power configuration is thus inevitable in which neither power centre's mission nor goals can hope for fruition. This dichotomy in the perception of power can be traced to the bipolar political culture, with one pole favouring tight central control, the other advocating decentralization (Townsend, p.41).

THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF BRITISH COLUMBIA EDUCATION IN THE 1980s

From 1976 to 1981 education spending per pupil increased by 88 per cent in British Columbia, a rate just below the growth of the economy and the cost-of-living index. By mid-1981 the expansionary period of the B.C. economy shuddered to a halt as the impact of the world-wide recession hit home.

In 1982 the Bennett government introduced a program of restraint for provincial spending. In the educational system, two major concerns of the Bennett government were the increase of teacher positions despite declining enrolments and teacher salary increases. Pupil-teacher ratios had fallen from 19.14 in September 1975 to 16.65 in September 1981. Percentage teacher salary increases were:

1980, 9.6 per cent
1981, 12.8 per cent
1982, 17.3 per cent
1983, 3.3 per cent

These salary increases were comparable to those enjoyed by other public and private sector groups in B.C. at the time.

The restraint program introduced by the government:

- 1) removed discretionary taxing and spending powers from school boards
- 2) introduced a new funding formula, the fiscal framework, for determining acceptable spending levels in each district
- 3) used the compensation stabilization program to limit salary increases

As a result of the restraint program, spending per pupil was not increased for three years and declined slightly in one year:

1982: 18 per cent increase
1983: 2 per cent
1984: +2 per cent
1985: -2 per cent

Pupil-teacher ratios had increased from 17.11 in 1982 to 18.05 in 1985.

By 1984 a slow recovery had begun in the provincial economy and in 1986-87 the education restraint program ended. Education spending per pupil was increased by 6 per cent in 1986, 6 per cent in 1987, and 9 per cent in 1989. (Commission, p.151-155)

Crawford Kilian (1985, p.52) sums up the economic context in British Columbia in the early 1980s:

The real-estate market, which had made some homeowners into bemused wheeler-dealers, suddenly collapsed. Interest rates went over 20 per cent. Bankruptcies soared. Our primary industries couldn't find markets and began shutting themselves down. As thousands were laid off, B.C.'s unemployment rate rose to the second highest in the country.... The tax burden for many home-owners and business people became correspondingly painful, and the portion for schools was increasing at what seemed an inexcusable rate.

By 1981, provincial funding couldn't even keep up with the rise in costs created by inflation which in turn forced school boards to raise local home and business taxes. Mill rates were already grossly inflated in the Lower Mainland because of the real estate boom. Teachers felt compelled to seek double-digit annual salary increases just to keep pace with inflation (Kilian, p.52-53).

POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT THE HEINRICH MINISTRY, 1983-1986

The 1983-84 budget speech introduced on July 7, 1983, outlined 26 bills designed to enforce restraint on government spending. Four bills, as well as the budget, hit public sector employees hardest.

Bill 3, the Public Sector Restraint Act, allowed public sector employers to fire employees without cause, and included all teachers employed by school boards. Principals, vice-principals and supervisors were excluded from the BCTF, classified as "senior management".

Bill 6, the Education (Interim) Finance Amendment Act, gave the minister (acting through the deputy minister), power to supervise budgets and spending by school districts.

The Compensation Stabilization Act 1983 (Bill 11) amended the Act to make (district) ability to pay a "paramount consideration." Salaries in the sector could be maintained, raised or lowered by up to 5 per cent.

Bill 20, the College and Institute Amendment Act, removed the three councils that had overseen colleges and transferred their control to the minister of education (Kilian, p.71-76).

Demonstrators rallied to protest the restraint bills: July 23, 1983, 20,000 protesters in B.C. Place Stadium; July 27, 25,000 outside the Legislature; two weeks later 40,000 in Empire Stadium. "Operation Solidarity" was formed to organize resistance to the restraint policies of the Bennett government. On October 1, a special BCTF Representative Assembly supported strike action "as part

of an action against the legislation and budget". The general membership strike vote carried 59.45 per cent to 40.55 per cent.

The teacher strike began in early November 1983. Demands included: due process in lay-offs; maintenance of existing funding levels through 1986; restoration of collective bargaining for all teachers, including principals and vice-principals; an end to centralization of decision-making; and a roll-back of the perceived limits placed on human rights by the new legislation. The strike was called off on November 13, 1983 because of government overtures that three major teacher concerns would be dealt with: the opportunity to negotiate exemptions from Bill 3; the retention within the education system of money saved because of the strike; and a promise that no reprisals be taken because of strike action. Education cutbacks, as it turned out, had only been postponed (Kilian, p.94-96).

Major curriculum changes called "Grad '87" were proposed by Heinrich in the spring of 1984. The White Paper appeared in March, with implementation scheduled for September. The proposed changes would mainly affect secondary grades 8-12. Heinrich decried what he perceived as a "buffet style" of course offerings at the secondary level and proposed a slight increase in required courses, an expansion of Japanese and Mandarin Chinese programs, and a heavier load of math and sciences for university bound students. Students, it was proposed, would be streamed at the Grade 10 level: Arts and Science for university; Applied Arts and Science for post-secondary job training; and Career Preparation for job seekers at graduation. The BCTF criticized the ministry's proposals, saying "a healthy majority of students

already fulfil the requirements outlined in the White Paper" (cited in Kilian, p.118-119). In October 1984, the proposals were largely implemented as proposed.

Major curricular changes in 1985 included:

- Kindergarten: a new curriculum guide
- Mathematics: a proposed curriculum for Grades 1-12
- Fine Arts: revised curriculum
- English: two alternate courses; Communications 11 and 12 implemented
- Social Studies: new curriculum for grades 8-11
- Science: major revisions grades 8-12 curriculum
- Computer Science: new curriculum (Annual Report, 1984-85, p.22-25)

Late in 1984 the Heinrich ministry issued another discussion paper, "Let's Talk About Schools" (LTAS). LTAS grew out of a discussion between Heinrich and the BCSTA on May 28, 1984. Rejecting the latter's plea for a royal commission on education, Heinrich called instead for open discussion. A working group of ministry staff, superintendents, secretary-treasurers, and the BCSTA was formed to prepare a discussion paper, but no representatives of the BCTF were invited at this stage. In September Heinrich proposed to include the BCTF in the "School Act Committee." The BCTF executive declined participation, saying it had not been elected to the committee by its membership. Between January and February 1985 many public meetings had been held to discuss LTAS. Some of the results of the discussions, according to Kilian, were:

a stunning condemnation of Socred policies, and a remarkable proof that educators and public in B.C. are in strong agreement on most issues. For example, 70 per cent of the public and eighty per cent of educators said that existing levels of funding were too low. Neither educators nor public wanted radical change in schools - just a return to middle-of-the-road government by consensus. (Kilian, p.130-131)

Responses to LTAS showed that both the public and educators agreed that the quality of schooling had dropped in previous years; that funding should increase; that the education system should be more accountable for content and standards; and that while intellectual development was top priority, other goals were important too. (LTAS, 1985)

Teachers and the BCTF had hitherto been the most vocal opponents of restraint-related education policies. In March 1984, the superintendents (through their ad hoc group ABCCESS) joined the fray with "A Statement of Concern for Public Education in British Columbia". The ABCCESS statement was an unprecedented public criticism of the ministry policies by superintendents. Key criticisms included opposition to:

- further centralization of policy-making powers
- "sham" consultation
- goal displacement caused by increased emphasis on test scores

The superintendents recommended:

- local school district empowerment
- decentralized curriculum decision-making
- restoration of district taxing powers

(Kilian, p.164-177)

The superintendents saw the problem as stemming from the minister (Heinrich). Messages that "directly or indirectly criticize teachers and which attempt to rectify perceived shortcomings through increased controls, merely introduce new stresses" (cited in Kilian, p.170-171).

School trustees soon added their voice of protest to restraint measures.

Notable was the Vancouver board's role in rallying other boards. Having missed the

February 15, 1985 budget deadline, the VSB submitted a budget in March that was \$14 million above the limit set by Victoria. Thirty-five other boards initially followed suit, defying compliance. The crunch came in May when Allan Stables was appointed to take over the role of the fired VSB trustees. The earlier mentioned law-suit upheld the minister's authority to impose and enforce restraint budgets. Other boards (except Cowichan) soon fell in line (B.C. Supreme Court, 1985).

THE POLITICAL AND EDUCATIONAL CONTEXT OF THE BRUMMET MINISTRY, 1986-1990

The "big story" of the Brummet ministry can be summed up in the phrase:

"Focusing on the Learner: The School System Responds to the Sullivan Royal Commission". Emerging in 1986 from the politics of restraint and impediments of recession, the Brummet ministry began to lay the steps for a complete new vision and overhaul of the B.C. public education system. On March 14, 1987 Barry M.

Sullivan, Q.C. was appointed Commissioner of B.C.'s Third Royal Commission on Education. The Commission's task "was to examine all facets of the B.C. education system and to make recommendations for its future" (Annual Report, 1988-89, p.97).

The earlier Chant Commission (1960) had had a similar mandate and many of its recommendations were critical in guiding B.C.'s public education system from the 60s to the 80s. Now there was ministerial acknowledgment that an overhaul of the system was indeed called for.

After extensive public consultation, the main report of the Sullivan Royal Commission, A Legacy for Learners, was released on August 4, 1988. With 83

broad recommendations, the report covered curriculum, teaching, finance, and other educational issues.

The Educational Policy Advisory Committee (EPAC), composed of major stakeholders, was set up to advise Minister Brummet concerning the Commission's recommendations. On January 27, 1989 the Vander Zalm government announced that it had adopted a majority of Commission recommendations. Policy Directions and the Mandate Statement (1989) provided the general direction of government intentions. In April 1989 ministry personnel and key B.C. educators hammered out the draft of Year 2000: A Curriculum and Assessment Framework for the Future. In its broadest terms, the Year 2000 (framework) is a "base for a learner-focused education system designed to develop in students the knowledge, skills and attitudes that characterize educated citizens" (Annual Report 1989-90, p.102).

A new School Act and Independent School Act were introduced in the Legislature on June 26, 1989. The new School Act was broad and enabling, to help implement the recommendations of the Commission and to consolidate various pieces of legislation. The new School Act was designed to give school boards greater autonomy but at the same time to increase accountability, to focus on students' and parents' rights and responsibilities, to establish parents' advisory councils, and to facilitate appeals to school boards. Home schooling was recognized as an alternative to public or independent schools. An Education Advisory Council (EAC), appointed by the minister, was established by the new Act to represent a broad spectrum of the community.

The new Independent School Act required all independent schools to register with the ministry, with the Inspector given greater powers of supervision.

Independent schools were reclassified with better funding for those that met revised ministry criteria.

The ministry in 1989/90 revamped the organization of schooling to allow for continuous progress (individual-oriented learning) through the new primary, intermediate, and graduate programs. The curriculum was redesigned into four groups: Humanities, Sciences, Fine Arts and Practical Arts. Implementation began with the Primary Program, to be followed by the Intermediate Program (1992-94) and the Graduate Program (1992-95).

Greater accountability of schools was promoted through changes in reporting about the performance of schools (Annual Report, 1989-90, p.104-106). Another major change was in the implementation of block funding that replaced the old funding framework. Now a formula was worked out by which the province would provide a block of funds to be adjusted annually to reflect economic indicators, changes in enrolments, and changes in the mandate of the education system. If districts were not satisfied with the block amount, they would have to seek additional funds through referenda or through local revenues (Annual Report, 1989-90, p.92).

Reaction To Initiatives Of The Brummet Ministry

The reaction of the BCTF and BCSTA to the initiatives of the Brummet ministry mainly centred on the funding implications of block funding and the use of referenda to generate additional local revenues. The BCTF also issued a cautious

warning that the massive changes of the Year 2000 Initiative be more carefully and slowly implemented than proposed by the Brummet government.

In an Issue Alert (5) of the BCTF (Feb. 13, 1990), BCTF President Ken Novakowski stated: "The BCTF will fight actively against the imposition of a referendum system tied in with block funding. It throws a new destabilizing element into the education system and threatens the success of the government's own reform program." The Issue Alert claimed that "no one in the education community was consulted about the introduction of referenda. The Royal Commission did not call for referenda. The Education Advisory Council did not even discuss the idea."

"Government again has acted to single out public education for regressive treatment", Novakowski continued, "The government is trying to blame school boards for its own inadequate education funding policies" (p.1). The per pupil expenditure for 1991/92 announced by the education minister was \$5,259. This was below the \$5,514 Canadian expenditure for 1990/91. The Alert emphasized: "The BCTF has met with representatives from all the other groups involved in the education system to coordinate opposition activities" (p.1).

The BCTF opposed the use of referenda on seven grounds:

- They give the illusion of democracy, without the substance. They simply don't and won't work in making routine decisions about complex educational issues.
- They do not really measure the public's reaction to education at all; they measure the reaction to proposals for increasing taxes.

- They are expensive and time-consuming. It is not responsible to request school boards and their professional staff to divert significant amounts of money, energy, and time in this way, rather than devoting it to the business of education.
- Referenda deny fiscal authority to properly elected school trustees.
- Singling out education for a referendum approach places it at the bottom of public priorities.
- Requiring referenda to fund educational services is disastrous. Denied stable, reliable tax revenue, school authorities are unable to budget with confidence.
- Experience in the United States shows that the referendum process increases the disparities between school districts. (Issue Alert, 5, p.1)

In a "News Release" dated May 8, 1990, "BCTF Reviews Opposition to Referendum System", Ken Novakowski spoke in the wake of referendum defeats in seven of the nine districts where they were held on May 5. "The results just demonstrated that we were correct in predicting that two levels of education would result", Novakowski said. "While referendums were lost in seven districts, leaving those school boards with no option but to make cuts in needed services, many other boards didn't go to referenda even though they needed the funds to maintain a quality education in the districts."

"That two districts got a 'yes' vote was miraculous", according to Novakowski. "The government did everything possible to stack the situation against a 'yes' vote. The tax applies all in one year. The homeowner grant doesn't apply to referendum - approved amounts. And the education minister and premier carried out a propaganda campaign against the boards that required more money ... Bill 11, the legislation which creates referendums, hasn't even passed the legislature yet, but it is

already creating the conditions for new cutbacks in education", he contended. "The provincial government is once again centralizing control, grabbing from school boards the power to offer the level of education service needed in their communities" (BCTF "News Release", May 8, 1990).

The position on the Year 2000 educational change issues were adopted by the BCTF's Representatives Assembly in January 1990 after extensive membership discussion and presented to BCTF President Ken Novakowski.

The main BCTF concerns about the Year 2000 implementation process may be summarized as follows:

- teacher concerns about "too much, too fast"
- the BCTF expressed support for continuous progress at the primary level, but urged pilot projects to work out teacher time and resource needs
- the concept of integrating subjects in the intermediate and graduation programs needed clarification and validation
- teachers opposed the compulsory 100 hours of work experience for graduation program students
- streaming is inappropriate but the ministry says the three separate programs at graduation level are "pathways" not "streams"
- class sizes need to be addressed

The overall approach by the BCTF was to "seek agreement on a framework that calls for orderly changes, consultation with teachers and adequate resources." The BCTF also applauded the ministry's statement that it "no longer has plans to gather achievement or performance data on individual students" in the wake of complaints from parents, teachers and school trustees. The Issue Alert said in this regard: "The thought of a centralized electronic database filled with potentially invalid information about the performance of every student in the province was more than most people

could stomach. At least one school board passed a motion refusing to participate in the system, while others made public protests" (BCTF Issue Alert 5, p.2).

Other notable voices added to the protest on the use of referenda:

This could worsen disparities in education standards among boards. Standards in wealthier districts willing to finance the extra cash could go up while in others they might go down. (Province editorial, February 2, 1990)

Referendums are harder and harder to win, as fewer people have children in school. (Chris Piphon from the Education Commission of the State in Denver, Colorado)

New Democrats oppose the Socreds' plan for compulsory referendums as a means for funding education. (Mike Harcourt, Leader, New Democratic Party)

If I was in Brummet's shoes, I would resign rather than initiate this new policy. (George Puil, Vancouver City Council Member)

It will be the students and employees who suffer first, and then our economy and social fabric. It's not much of a legacy to contemplate. (Charles Hingston, President, B.C. School Trustees Association)

We are once again faced with the task of implementing major changes to the school finance system without adequate advance notice. (Executive Meeting, B.C. School District Secretary-Treasurer's Association, February 5, 1990)

It's a disaster for children with special needs; children learning English as a second language; gifted or disabled children; children who need counsellors or attendants. (Nicole Parton, Vancouver Sun, February 5, 1990)

By handing over spending decisions to whichever interest groups can control the outcome of a special referendum, the Socreds will only worsen our problems. (Crawford Kilian, Province, February 6, 1990)

The referendum is "an idea whose time is in the past." (Ed Lavalle, President, College-Institute Educators' Association)
(Source: BCTF Issue Alert (5), Feb. 13, 1990, p.4)

The BCSTA responded to the initiatives of the Brummet ministry principally on the question of education finance. In November 1989 the BCSTA released its own study in this respect, "Implementing the Royal Commission Recommendations on Education Finance, An Examination of Alternatives."

The BCSTA document, after surveying education funding formula on a Canada-wide basis, concluded that:

It is clear the B.C. costs per pupil are not too high. Indeed, an argument can be made that our costs per pupil are unacceptably low.
(p.2)

The BCSTA then urged the government to consider the following recommendations for funding education:

- 1) that Gross Operating Revenues be adopted as the base for calculating the finance formula
- 2) that the Consumer Price Index/B.C. be used as the index for the block funding system
- 3) that the sharing ratio, once set, should be considered stable
- 4) that the McMath formula for cost sharing be adopted (89% general revenue, 11% property tax ratio)
- 5) that the distribution formula be the fiscal framework from year to year, as is now the case
- 6) that the capital base be established by project approval using priorities agreed and understood by school boards and the ministry
- 7) that the total amount of these projects be consistent with the levels of capital investment needed for a \$2 billion a year enterprise (BCSTA, op cit, p-1-14)

The major thrust of the BCSTA funding proposal would seem to be a renewed call for greater ministry - school board consultation in funding, a more equitable formula for cost sharing, and increased funding for education generally.

MINISTERS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE ECONOMIC/POLITICAL/ EDUCATIONAL CONTEXTS: EVIDENCE FROM THE INTERVIEW DATA

At this juncture it would be useful to introduce the responses of Heinrich and Brummet concerning their perceptions of the economic/political/educational contexts in education. The B.C. ministers were asked three questions regarding the educational climate, the major issues of the day, and the driving forces behind the issues. Responses of Alberta ministers are also included here (Jamha did not ask all the same questions in this section).

Educational Climate

How would you describe the educational climate when you became minister?

HEINRICH:

Politics in B.C. is like politics nowhere else in North America. Politics in the other provinces is a different ballgame compared to what it is in B.C. It is tough here, it is very tough. Look at the dialogue which goes on in the houses and the state assemblies in the United States, or in Congress, where there's a House of Representatives, or the Senate. Look at the way people talk TO each other, AT each other, WITH each other, in any other jurisdiction, and it's different here. {When first introduced to the Legislature} I was in absolute shock, to be very candid with you ... Well, it was very difficult. Very difficult, because the previous minister of education was Vander Zalm, and he'd decided that we were going to have a little bit of a donnybrook ... I remember the first cartoon that I'd ever seen in the Vancouver Province by Kreiger ... And it showed a picture of me standing up and I had a fly-swatter in my hand, and dead flies around me. And the caption was, Heinrich follows Vander Zalm ... again. Because I'd succeeded him in municipal affairs, and I'd succeeded him in education.

BRUMMET:

Well, I guess it had been in sort of a conflict/confrontational situation; we had hoped to settle things down, to focus on education. It was not good, and there were screams for a Royal Commission and that sort of thing going on at that time.

Both ministers are in agreement that the educational climate in British Columbia from 1983-1990 was highly conflictive. Hyndman (1971-1975) described the Alberta education climate as "good for education" but acknowledged there was a mood for change (Jamha, p.71). Koziak (1975-79) spoke of the public wanting more control during a period of rapid growth (Jamha, p.80). King (1979-86) described the climate as "very quiet ... very good" when he took office (Jamha, p.86), but Jamha notes that the ensuing Keegstra affair and impact of the recession changed the tone of the climate to "controversy, heated debate and crisis (Jamha, p.86).

Major Issues

What were the major issues of the day in education (and the major issue?)

HEINRICH:

The major issue of the day in education, obviously, was expenditure of monies... I thought the curriculum had to be enhanced. I thought that examinations were very important, and that's proven to be the case. And the accountability of school districts. There was a great deal of resistance to it, as you know, but they came around so that it was quite generally accepted at the end. I think the thing has been toyed and played around with ever since, but it served its purpose at the time.

BRUMMET:

At that time the B.C. Teacher's Federation {wanted the teachers} to be under the Labour Code; that was supported by the B.C. school trustees, ... more control over education, I guess by the teachers. The call for a Royal Commission was probably a big item, to see what we should be

doing in education and how we should be handling it. Funding is always an issue in education. The control by the teachers, the search for purpose in the demand for a Royal Commission, the search for more control by the teachers, and the constant argument about funding. At that time, the Government was not funding as much; the demand was for the Government to fund at least 90%. So those were the main issues.

Finance issues were top priorities of Heinrich's and Brummet's ministries, followed by issues such as curriculum changes and school district accountability to the ministry (Heinrich), bringing the teachers under the Labour Code, and demands for a Royal Commission on Education (Brummet).

Alberta ministers were not so unanimous in their choice of issues and none chose financial concerns. Hyndman spoke of heightened public expectations because of the Worth Commission on Education (1970) (Jamha, p.71). Koziak spoke of the tremendous demands on a rapidly expanding system, and King identified the implementation of the special education program as the major issue of his day. (Jamha, p.80).

Driving Forces

Can you identify the driving forces behind these issues (party policy/special interests, etc.)?

HEINRICH:

It was not politics. It would be very easy to have (a) lot of money and just throw money and think that would be the solution. It wasn't. It was accountability and responsibility to the taxpayers, that was the real thing that I was concerned about. My view of everything in politics was this: Once the writ was dropped, politics come into play, the election's held, and whoever is the winner then has a period in which to act responsibly ... The driving force {was} probably to do the right thing. And the right thing at the time {was} to address the tremendous shrinkage in revenue.

BRUMMET:

The BCTF, both on its own initiative as an executive (promotes) certain things, and also in fairness as representing the teachers in the province, was a driving force. The call for going under the Labour Code was fully supported by the B.C. School Trustees Association. We always had the official opposition in government, always promising to do far more than the government was doing. So I guess you know, politics was always there and also a certain amount I believe at the Federation level. Special interests, I suppose: the teachers wanting more control, teachers wanting an improved system and wanting solutions to problems that they saw in education, the drop-out rate, those sort of things...

On the demand for a Royal Commission on Education, Brummet identifies the BCTF, the BCSTA, and the public as the major driving forces:

Certainly the BCTF was a major force in that. The School Trustees Association, BCSTA, also wanted a Royal Commission and because of that, I think there was a fair bit of demand from the public and maybe -- here again I have to make an assumption -- perhaps not so much that the public knew why they wanted a Royal Commission, but they felt that a Royal Commission might settle things down in education, to resolve the thing once and for all and settle the issues. And deal with the problems that people were speaking of, like the kids aren't being properly educated; they don't learn to read; Johnny can't read, and of course the industries saying that students weren't properly prepared for the work force. It's a whole society, I guess, that comes together in that respect.

Heinrich cites an apolitical moral imperative: "Do the right thing", as a personal driving force. Brummet identifies two interest groups as major driving forces behind policy decisions, the BCTF and BCSTA, the two major driving forces behind policy changes also cited by Giles and Cree for B.C. ministers from 1953 to 1983.

THE ROLE DIMENSIONS OF THE B.C. MINISTER OF EDUCATION

The findings in this section apply primarily to the two former ministers of education, Heinrich and Brummet, interviewed for this study by this researcher.

The following dimensions of roles will be explored: personal, government, legislature, party, ministry/department of education, and public. Each dimension is in turn categorized into role requirements, informal expectations and role behaviour.

The exception to this format will be the personal dimension for which this categorization does not apply, and a revised format will be used for the public dimension.

PERSONAL DIMENSION

Jamha and Worth (p.8) contend that the personal dimension "may be the most important factor in determining what they (the ministers) can do in the portfolio and ultimately, how they are perceived as ministers of education". For that reason this dimension is presented here first, as it sets the tone for the other dimensions. Giles (1983) and Cree (1986) found that the "highly personalized agendas" of the British Columbia ministers had a dramatic impact on policy-making (Robinson, Cree, Giles, 1988, p.14).

Aspects of the personal dimension include:

- 1) Why the minister thought he was chosen (as minister)
- 2) personal goals and aspirations
- 3) leadership style
- 4) achievements
- 5) time demands
- 6) influential individuals

In this study the personal dimension kept surfacing throughout the other dimensions.

Why Chosen By Premier?

Why do you think you were asked by Premier William Bennett / William Vander Zalm to serve as minister of education?

Both Heinrich and Brummet speak of their personal characteristics as why they were asked to be ministers. Heinrich portrays himself as a willing "lightning rod" in the volatile atmosphere of restraint and Brummet sees himself in the role of a potential diffuser of inherited confrontation. Brummet also says that his specialist background (in education) was cited as a criterion for office in a major portfolio, the welfare of which was thought to impact upon the government as a whole.

HEINRICH:

Premier Bennett was an extraordinary leader ... I am thankful for the fact that he had confidence in what I was doing, and he used me, I'm sure, as a bit of a lightning rod ... He knew I worked hard, and I would go until I dropped, which is exactly what happened.

BRUMMET:

I can answer that in two ways. One, an assumption: that education is a major portfolio in government, and so, because I had had experience as a minister from 1982 until 1986, the reason that Mr. Vander Zalm gave me when he asked me to take on education is he had said that: 'Education is in a state of turmoil, confrontation in British Columbia; you've got a background in education, I'd like you to take it on and see if we can't settle it down. Because it doesn't serve education, nor us politically the way things are going.' So that's about it in a nutshell.

Personal Goals and Aspirations

What goals or aspirations did you set for yourself when you became minister of education? Which of these were personal goals or objectives?

Heinrich does not conceive as the goals as personal per se. Throughout the interview he is consistent in claiming that his objectives as minister squared with the

mandate of accountability under the restraint program given to him by Premier Bennett. He paradoxically states that the ultimate objective of restraint was to preserve district autonomy. On the other hand, Brummet, while acknowledging the difficulty of separating personal from governmental goals, cites a commitment "to serve the best interests of the clients of the system". Brummet also refers to his experiences as an Interior school administrator as critical to his sense of the need for equity in the public school system.

HEINRICH:

I don't think my goals were personal in that sense. My goals were to acknowledge the importance of autonomy of districts, and attempt to bring them through the recession, the three years, and try to preserve that autonomy. And I did that by putting in the bill where we turn around and we were going to take control of expenditure and put a sunset clause in it, which means that at the end of three years it's out. So there's a light at the end of the tunnel for the BC school trustees. We did that. That was an important thing to do, and also I felt there were far too many regulations. I felt school district offices were getting to be massive in size, and I didn't think it was necessary to have that number of people involved. I didn't think it was necessary, and they could be shrunk, and put the money back into the classroom. So, autonomy was important to try to preserve, because you know, what happens is this: If you take away the school boards, you end up finding that the MLA is going to end up having to field all of these problems and concerns that parents have with respect to the school system, and the last thing the MLA needs is to have another school system thrown on top of his other constituent responsibilities. I think we achieved that.

BRUMMET:

Well, its hard to separate personal goals from my ministerial goals, but if you tie them together, I really hoped that we could deal with the issues, come up with a common direction, a common purpose, to serve the best interests of the students, the "clients" of the education system. So, that was really what I had hoped, that it would serve the cause of education much better if we agreed on where we were headed, why we

were headed there, and how to get there.... I tried, and did break the straight per capita allotments. Probably the best example is computers. If you go on a straight per capita basis, then a one-room school might not warrant a computer because of formulas. So what we did instead was that each school, regardless of size, got a computer and so we did a combination of some computers for every school, and then the rest of them on a per capita basis. So that way nobody would be left out.... I did that in a variety of programs, the kids in the remote and the deprived situations are also entitled to the same services. Impossible to provide everything -- to have a counsellor in a very small school because it doesn't warrant it. But at least to what extent we could, that was an emphasis, and that was part of my background having taught in a bigger system and having taught in the north.

Self-Assessment Of Leadership Style:

While you were minister, how would you describe your leadership style?

Heinrich answers: "I don't think I can answer that ... You (this researcher) will have to do that." Elsewhere in the interview (excerpt below) Heinrich gives evidence that he was a proactive, aggressive, "hands-on" type of leader, with a lawyer's eye for detail.

Brummet portrays himself as more "laid back" a leader than Heinrich but still very much "involved" ("I gave very few orders") and who nevertheless consistently challenged his staff.

HEINRICH:

And so I said, what we're going to do is, we will preserve what we have but you're going to have to take a little bit less. And so, after reading this, "California Bankrupts Schools", New York Times, July 1983, and when did I come into the education portfolio ...? May 26, 1983. I read this in July. You see the task that I had in hand, and I was absolutely determined ... I went to the ministry, and I said: Now, people, I want you to prepare for me a statement on every school board. And on that statement for that school board I want to know: student populations, I want to know over three years, because I could

see the decline occurring. I want to know what the operating budget would be over three years. I want to know what the increases were. I want to know the staff, I want a composition of the board office (in area). I want a breakdown on each of the functions for elementary, kindergarten, secondary, all major capital, operating capital, it doesn't matter what -- there were nine functions. I want the breakdown and I want it all, and I want to look at it. I want to know what their performance was, with respect to examinations, where they shone. Were they provincial averages? It got so I had each one of these standard statements, and they were updated all the time, so that I could walk into a school board office and I visited them as nobody had ever done before -- of the 75 school districts I visited about 65 of them. And I would sit and rap with these people for anywhere from 2 to 4 hours, mostly 4 hours, I'd make a really good effort, I would. It was incredible what I could find out, but also what was really more important was that they, in the school board, knew when I was talking to them that I knew their district, and I knew what they were talking about. So they were meaningful discussions. And that took a little time to develop because I had to learn something too.

BRUMMET:

In a word, involved. I wanted to be knowledgeable and informed. I expected much of my staff and supported them, -- used "positive" reinforcement regularly. I gave very few orders -- I would ask my staff if they could do this, or come up with these answers and I got good responses.

Factors Affecting Personal Options As Minister

What factors most affected your options or choices as minister of education?

Heinrich cites three factors: his overall concern for upgrading the academic profile of the system, declining enrolment, and the economic cost factors of the "whips" in the marketplace. Brummet, on the other hand, sees "good rationale and facts" rather than "status quo arguments" as being key factors in policy choices.

HEINRICH:

Well, at the time, on the academic side, I got in here and I wanted to increase the academic role with respect to exams and core curriculum. The biggest item of the day, obviously, was finance and the public sector, the whips in the marketplace, and there cannot be one whip for one and a different whip for another. I think we have to consider that. It seems to me that the biggest factors {were} the declining enrolment {and} that there was too much money going into the board offices and it should {have been} going into the classroom.

BRUMMET:

Good rationale and facts affected my options or choices. I wanted a good reason why we should do something. I did not accept as a good reason "because that is the way we have always done it".

Time Demands

Please describe the time demands required of the minister of education.

Both Heinrich and Brummet were in agreement that sixty to eighty hour work weeks, six/seven days per week, were standard. Heinrich replies that the time demands were: "extreme to severe"; Brummet: "insatiable". Both mentioned hardships to their families caused by time demands, especially for Interior ministers.

HEINRICH:

I didn't really have too much time when you consider the following, the duties that you have: I'm an MLA, I'm 500 miles from my constituency. I visited my constituency on the average once every ten days. I travelled throughout the province as well. I had many party functions, many cabinet functions. I was on the social services committee; I was on the economic development committee, I was on the treasury board; I was on the multicultural committee. You have all of these together plus the travel. And I used to get home at 2 o'clock in the morning, and I'd be up at six and gone. My family was asleep when I got there and they were asleep when I left. And that went on for years and years. That's the task that's so demanding. The public never understands that and they don't really care either. But the fact is

that if you take your job seriously ... and you know, politics is particularly hard on interior and northern members.

BRUMMET:

Time demands -- in a word, insatiable. I rarely worked less than 12 hours per day at least six days of the week. To some extent that was of my own doing. "Everyone" wanted to meet me, lobby me, or hear from me directly, and I tried my best to meet their requests. There was also the constant reading, studying and learning, much of it done enroute to meetings or home.

Significant Influences

"Sometimes there are individuals or events that have a particular influence on a person's life, work, and career" (Jamha, p.161). The ministers were asked:

Who or what was most influential in your development as minister of education?

Heinrich refers to the support of Premier Bill Bennett as critical. Brummet cites, as significant influences, his background in education, and individuals in the government and the ministry with whom he worked daily.

HEINRICH:

Most influential? The support of the premier, {Bill Bennett} he always supported me {I thought} he felt that my conduct was exemplary. He never said that to me but I remember that it came out. Because he never threw bouquets out, that guy, but you always knew ... being a premier's a tough job.

BRUMMET:

What was most influential? -- "most" is difficult to answer. I was influenced by my personal experience in education, the input from my colleagues, much reading, the knowledge and experience of my ministry staff, and my political experience about how to present proposals to gain acceptance. My writing and speaking experience also helped.

Achievements

The subjects were asked the following question:

Considering your achievements as minister of education, of which are you most proud?

Heinrich replies that enforcing district-level accountability was his greatest achievement and Brummet refers to getting the Year 2000 initiative off the ground.

HEINRICH:

Achievements as minister? Well, I can tell you, I have no idea what's happening today, but there's one thing that sure happened then. School trustees, for the first time in their lives, were going to be accountable for their expenditures. If they're going to be elected by the public, then (it's not just) a matter of running and then turning around, and thinking we're going to get more and more and more and more. They're going to have to realize that all the programs that they want, local sponsored programs, everything else that goes with them, that there's a cost associated, and that somebody in their community is going to pay for that cost. I'll tell you how they learned. You know what the acid test was? I told you earlier I disagreed with referendums. Still do. But I was being pushed so hard by all districts, certainly a number of districts, so I said to them: If you feel so strongly about the fact that you require more money ... then I tell you what I'm going to do. I'm going to bring a piece of legislation into the house, which will give you the opportunity to go to your electorate in the fall, when the municipal and school board elections are on, and if you want to ask for another quarter of a million dollars, or half a million dollars from your taxpayers, feel free to do so. I passed the bill, and you know how many took me up on it? NOT ONE. Not one. Why did they not take me up on it? Because they knew full well that they were adequately funded, and that the public had just about had the biscuit with their demands.

BRUMMET:

Achievements -- I am most proud of getting started the Year 2000 direction for our school system. To have the thrust and recommendations of a Royal Commission Report for a major change under way, in commitment and funding in less than a year, I consider a major achievement.

Description Of The Role Of Minister Of Education

The final aspect of the personal dimension asks the former ministers to sum up succinctly what the role of minister is.

Heinrich replies: "To translate the will of the people into the education system." Brummet answers with a more general description of aspects of leadership.

HEINRICH:

{The role of the minister of education is:} to translate the will of the people into the education system. And what was the will of the people when I was there? Well, the will of the people was:

1. enhance the core curriculum
2. {implement} external examinations
3. {promote} financial accountability

There was not any question about that, that this is what they wanted. And whether I successfully translated that will, in the method in which they wanted is another question. Because there seemed to be a lot of confrontation. Mind you, you know, when I was doing it, what was coupled with it, was trying to hold the budget in all the public sector. And of course, you've got to remember, in 1983, we had 60-some-odd thousand people out in front of the parliament buildings here. That was a difficult day. I remember having an annual convention in Vancouver following that fall, and at that annual convention -- they were 20 or 30 across, in phalanxes, marching down Georgia, up Howe, the wrong way on Howe, going full speed, and it was Solidarity. You remember Solidarity? We stood firm. And Premier Bennett would have been elected on a landslide if he'd ever gone to the polls in '86, particularly after Expo, 95 per cent approval factor.

BRUMMET:

{The role of the minister is} to provide direction and leadership and to support the education system and those involved in making it work.

In another excerpt (not in reply to the above question), Brummet elaborates on the theme implicit in Heinrich's "will-of-the-people" perspective, that a key role of the minister of education is that of steward of the public purse.

BRUMMET:

I have made this statement, and I'll stand by it: Money does not come from government, it comes through government, from the taxpayers. Part of my job is to represent everybody, not just special interest groups. It put me in a tough position sometimes When we passed the new School Act, we said fine, you want to go beyond that, ask your taxpayers to approve it. So they say, nobody votes for higher taxes, but should we as elected representatives just simply keep raising them? They won't vote for us either if we keep raising the taxes. And that's a referendum of a sort. Anyway, there'd be a lot of discussion on that one. Of course people feel injured by it, but to me there's two facets to it: rights and responsibilities. And if rights are the only consideration then where do the responsibilities come from?

The last word on the leadership role of the minister goes to Jack Heinrich, who describes his mission at the ministry with a passage, albeit with mixed metaphors, that sums up at once his Machiavelli-inspired philosophy of government and the minister's role in it:

HEINRICH:

My big concern was I didn't want an Edsel created here, I wanted a FORD. The fear I had was that it would be an Edsel. It wasn't. And the people who were screaming the loudest for this in their own quiet way were secretary treasurers who were generally supportive of the whole concept of accountability. Those who were not supportive of the concept happened to be the academics or the general teachers or administrators, superintendents particularly. I'm going to give you a passage ... by Machiavelli, The Prince: "It must be remembered that there is nothing more difficult to plan, more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to manage, than the creation of a new system. For the initiator has the enmity of all who would profit by the preservation of the old institutions, and merely lukewarm defenders in those who would gain by the new ones." That was the task at hand, and believe me -- he

was a famous philosopher, he was absolutely right. When you come up with a system and you are going to start pulling the tail-feathers out of the eagle, you are going to inherit the wind. And by cracky, I did. But something had to be done. And so we changed it around.

The Discussion Of The Personal Dimension

The personal dimension of the role of the minister of education asked questions of the two ministers regarding: why they thought they were chosen as minister; personal goals and aspirations, leadership style, factors affecting personal options as minister, time demands, significant influences and achievements.

Concerning why they were chosen ministers, Heinrich and Brummet related their roles to different mandates given by two different premiers, Heinrich a confrontational "lightning rod" of restraint, Brummet a potential diffuser of post-restraint conflict. Heinrich identified his personal goals as identical to those of the government of the day, particularly the increasing of district accountability for funding and standards. Brummet referred to serving the clients of the system - the parents and students. Leadership style varied also: Heinrich, hands-on, aggressive, directive; Brummet, more consultative, giving few orders but with high expectations. A key role identified by both ministers was the minister as guardian of the public purse.

Factors affecting personal options also evoked different responses. Heinrich cited a personal interest in promoting academic excellence and he acknowledged the sobering impact of the "whips of the marketplace." Brummet spoke of his own school administrative experience and the positive relationship with his colleagues. The biggest achievement for Heinrich was the implementation of the district accountability

program (retrenchment of the system), for Brummet the implementation of most of the recommendations of the Sullivan Royal Commission (expansion and renewal of the system).

The common denominators of the personal dimension between Heinrich and Brummet were the extensive time demands associated with the role, their strong sense of public stewardship, and the notion of a specific (and differing) mandate.

GOVERNMENT DIMENSION

The government dimension of the role of the minister of education includes the incumbents' activities as a member of the cabinet, caucus and committees. This dimension also includes the minister's activities as a representative of the government outside the province such as the Council of Ministers of Education in Canada. The principal relationships of the minister are with the premier, other cabinet ministers, other government MLAs and counterparts in other governments (Jamha, p.91). For the government and the remaining dimensions, except for the public dimension, former ministers were asked questions concerning the formal requirements, informal expectations, and behaviours of the role.

Formally Prescribed Requirements

What formally prescribed requirements were there for the minister of education as a member of cabinet?

Other than the oath of office, neither Heinrich nor Brummet cited any formal requirements regarding the relationship of a member of cabinet vis à vis other cabinet ministers. Brummet portrays a picture of an ad hoc and tradition-governed context:

There is not a formally prescribed set of rules for a cabinet minister. You swear an oath of office that you respect confidentiality. And then the rest of it is primarily a matter of fighting for policies that you want within the context of government policy and with cabinet.

"Fighting for policies that you want" was not uncommon for either Heinrich or Brummet.

Informal Expectations

"The informal expectations of significant others, such as the premier, and members of cabinet and caucus, form the second part of the requirements for the role of minister of education in the government dimension. The participants were asked about the informal expectations that they perceived to be operative when minister" (Jamha, p.95).

As A Member Of Cabinet

In addition to the formal requirements, what did you perceive was expected of the minister of education as a member of the cabinet?

Heinrich observes that he was expected to keep cabinet colleagues abreast of developments, but that intense consultations were usually required only when there

was a high profile problem in his portfolio. The role of the premier in problem handling was critical according to Heinrich especially in relation to the caucus. Brummet also discerns between the ordinary (administrative) business of the ministry and major policy changes that required advance notice and cabinet discussion before implementation. Both participants mentioned the importance of keeping MLAs (caucus) informed, but the latter were not allowed to see proposed legislation before it was introduced in the Legislature.

HEINRICH:

What would happen, generally, is that if things were going reasonably well, and you were carrying out the policy of the ministry, and carrying out government objectives, that would be all, it wouldn't be a great deal of conversation. If you get into a jam, then there would be talk about it. If MLAs were getting a lot of heat from their home base, they would try to do end-runs on you. That's why it's so important that the leader be strong. The leader (premier) has to be absolutely strong. When he says something, that's it.

BRUMMET:

Well, I think it applies to all members of cabinet, that administrative policy and how you implement it and that kind of thing was left to the individual cabinet minister but any policy changes, major policy changes, of course needed to be vetted by cabinet and approved by cabinet because it tended to affect the whole government. So you're expected to not, in effect, put the government on the hook without getting the approval in advance. With caucus it's primarily a case of trying to keep caucus informed, trying to get support for the policies and the things that you want, because you're only one of many people asking for things and I think the people have to be informed, because the MLAs, they go out and they get questioned. So I guess, two things are expected: not to commit the government to policy not agreed to by the government, and to keep the members informed about what was going on. It's a little bit difficult sometimes with legislation because there's sort of a rule that only the House is entitled to know the exact nature of the legislation. You can speak in generalities but you can't show your colleagues (your caucus colleagues, anyway) the legislation

until it has been introduced to the House. But with cabinet, of course, we thrash through because of the oath of confidentiality there, that is not considered a violation of confidence the way cabinet looks at it but it would be with caucus.

Both Heinrich and Brummet speak of the high priority that education received in cabinet discussions but stress that there was always tension of priorities between portfolios.

BRUMMET:

Everyone recognizes the importance of education within government. The biggest difficulty is to what extent. You know, what does it bump if it takes a higher priority? Because you're looking at a total pie. You want more of the pie, you've only got two choices: you expand the pie or someone else gets a lesser share. That's one of the difficulties you face all of the time, but it's a priority. There's no question about it, it's a priority in pragmatic terms, it's a priority in that everyone is pretty well convinced of the importance of education and its role in preparing people for our society, and also a priority in terms of funding. It takes priority over many other things.

Brummet differs with those who think the cabinet and caucus are of one mind:

"Actually it's quite a democratic process; because of that confidentiality, people feel quite free to state their own views and opinions". Once a decision has been made in the caucus, however, "either by vote or consensus, people are expected to support that policy."

Brummet gives a concrete illustration of the handling of a specific education issue in cabinet, the release of the Sullivan Commission Report directly to the public:

For instance, to release the Sullivan Report without cabinet members seeing it, I had to get their approval, because I felt it was a public report for the implementation strategies, the funding commitments for the ten years, all of those things were quite broadly discussed. And then as I brought up an issue, an order in council, to change a policy or something, I never got a short shrift on that. As a matter of fact, some

people thought I was dominating too much of the agenda. But that always happens when you're in the thick of it.

Informal Expectations Of The Minister By The Caucus

Both Heinrich and Brummet spoke of the need to keep MLAs in the caucus informed. It's quite evident that MLAs would be barraged on occasions with calls or letters from constituents on a particular issue and according to Brummet [the MLAs] "wanted to be able to respond properly so we tried our best to keep them informed". Brummet mentions the inclusion of teachers under the Labour Code as one occasion when MLAs were inundated with calls from constituents.

Informal Expectations With Respect To The Committee System Of The Cabinet

Brummet was more explicit than Heinrich about the committee system of the government. Most committees, Brummet contends, are not activated. The two most important committees for education are the Planning and Priorities Committee and the Social Services Policy Committee.

Did you have any such thing as an education committee in the cabinet, or any sort of inner group to discuss education issues?

BRUMMET:

No. The Legislature sets up committees, but most of those committees were never activated as such. It seemed like the discussion went on in the House as much as anything, and they didn't see much need for duplication. There was no education committee of cabinet as such. There are cabinet committees like the Planning and Priorities Committee that tries to deal with policy and directions that we're taking. The Social Services Policy Committee of the cabinet deals with health, social services, education matters, delegations and that sort of thing, but those were the committees that functioned primarily... We did tours asking people about education and so on, we took on the

practice of meeting in several communities; we tried to cover the province. But there was no formal education committee of cabinet.

It was within these two committees that the "share of the pie" would be first debated before going to full cabinet.

Council Of Ministers Of Education In Canada

What were your responsibilities on the Council of Ministers of Education in Canada?

Concerning their opinion of the value of the Council of Ministers, Heinrich and Brummet differ sharply. Heinrich says he attended a "couple of meetings" (or "maybe more") but really "wondered" about its purpose and the related expense of taxpayers' money.

HEINRICH:

The real idea, I think, of the Council of Ministers, was to prevent an erosion of provincial responsibilities by intrusion of the federal government. I think really, in my view, that's resolved but I wonder what we've really accomplished with this. Or, I could be dead wrong on that, but I don't think so.

Brummet, on the other hand, served as Chairperson of the Council in his first and second terms and admired its consensus style of decision-making. Important issues discussed by the Council during Brummet's tenure as Chairperson concerned sex abuse policy and sharing of information between provinces about teachers fired with just cause. "I was very much involved in it and I thought it was very important", says Brummet.

Role Behaviour In The Government Dimension

"Role behaviour is defined as actions performed and interactions conducted by the person occupying the role. The participants were asked to describe the ways in which they performed their role as minister in the government dimension." (Jamha, p.100)

How would you describe your style of operation as a minister in the government?

Heinrich replies that he hoped that he listened to everyone in the spirit of consensus and reason but it's clear from his reply that the confrontational climate of "fire" and "flack" virtually precluded this possibility. Brummet expands on his earlier comment that he wanted to be knowledgeable and informed about policy, citing his background in education as an advantage. Neither minister took a laissez faire attitude towards government.

HEINRICH:

I HOPED that I listened to everyone. I attempted to build a basis of consensus and reason, hoping that people would understand. Generally, I felt the public knew what I was doing, and generally were supportive. I mentioned to you earlier that while they wanted all these things done, they didn't like all the fire at the scene, and flack that was surrounding it. But there's no way to get around it, because you see the people generally do not accept all this stuff that others are saying. For example, the press of Vancouver bought repeatedly, hook, line and sinker, a lot of the crap that was said by trustees of the Vancouver School Board. And finally when I said, okay, you want to play poker, I'll tell you, we'll play, but you're going to push me to the end and something's going to happen and it did. You know you can't be liked in this game.

BRUMMET:

I guess I was probably more involved directly than some other people. I always felt that I wanted to know what was going on. I did not get into the administration, like running the ministry, but I did basically have a policy that there is no new policy in my ministry unless I have approved it. And before I would approve it I had to be knowledgeable about it... And yes, I got briefing notes, I got the facts and the particulars, but on any of the legislation, on any of the policy changes, on that I was always well-informed. If there was a Royal Commission report, I read it several times, cover to cover, summarized it myself, as well as the summaries that I was given, highlighted, underlined, because I wanted to be very familiar with it. In some respects I was known as a "hands-on" minister, in other words, because of my background in education, I understood some of the things. It was fairly difficult for someone to say to me, "Well, yeah, you're the minister of education but you don't understand what happens in the classroom or in the schools", because yes, I think I did understand. Partly that affected my behaviour. I was never dictatorial, if you like, with the ministry, if you look at the role. But I usually said: "Convince me that I'm wrong, and then I'll accept your version, but you've got to convince me, and if you want me to approve something, then you've got to convince me. Now, you can't get into every single detail, but I felt I needed to be knowledgeable, and so I spent a lot of hours at it, probably more than a good delegator would do. My deputy minister once said that "You're probably the first minister that has understood the financial formula, the fiscal framework and can explain it without referring it to us."

What was your relationship with other ministers? Other government MLAs?

Heinrich characterizes his relationships with ministers as "cordial" and in several instances provides anecdotes to show that he spent much time trying to explain policy to government MLAs, keeping them abreast and on side. He feels that the education portfolio was the toughest portfolio under the restraint program. Brummet says his relationships with ministers and MLAs were very good but that "tangles" with other cabinet ministers were inherently part of the process.

HEINRICH (with an anecdote about his relationship to fellow ministers):

I remember one {anecdote} ... I spent the whole day going over all {restraint policies}. When it was all over, they {other ministers} passed me a mortar-board, and a letter saying that -- and McGeer {a minister} did it -- "We anoint you Doctor of Education." The thing is, I truly had come a long way, and the Premier said, "That's something you should always remember, because you had the toughest task of all in restraint." There wasn't any question about that. I mean you tell me, in health the things were still going on, there was money. In social services, there was a lot of money coming from the Feds, and it was held and welfare used it, and they'd turn around and say, okay, there's going to be an X dollar increase and that's it. But I had to deal with 75 separate {board} budgets. I had to deal with the BCTF, the BCSTA, all of the other interest groups in education and they were everywhere.

Heinrich speaks further of the complexity of the education portfolio, particularly its intricate budget that Brummet addressed in a similar fashion earlier. Heinrich claims that the budget's complexity often precluded real understanding on the part of other government members, who had to trust that the minister was doing "the right thing":

One of the problems was {the budget}. {It} was reasonably complex and no one really understood it except me. That was one of the difficulties. But when you have a budget total of 1.9 billion dollars, you can't expect others, other elected people in the government, to understand what it's all about, when I'm living with this 24 hours a day. It's impossible for them to understand. What they have to have, really, is the confidence that you are delivering the right thing, and then you can.

Brummet gives us an insight on how the oath of confidentiality can promote heated debate within cabinet on "the share of the pie" that each portfolio receives. The roles of the ministers of finance and education seem pivotal to this process of "internal" negotiation.

How would you describe your relationship with other government MLAs?

BRUMMET:

I would say very good. I try to level with them and keep them informed and answer their questions, answer the questions that they get from their constituents ... I would say I had enjoyed a good relationship with my colleagues.

And ministers?

Yes, again, very good. Naturally {everybody does this} you tangle with the finance minister periodically because he says, "I have so much money", and you say you want more for your department. But I guess what I felt good about is that I could say some pretty strong things in cabinet. And because of the confidentiality, it doesn't get out.

We could have total disagreement on what should be done for this particular funding, but we did not have personal disagreements. In other words, I had a friendly relationship with the finance minister, and sometimes I would lose, and sometimes I would win.

In the following excerpt, Brummet highlights the importance of ministerial negotiation skills within cabinet.

Are there any sort of issues that you can repeat?

No, not really, not other than in general terms, because I have to maintain government confidentiality. I'm just saying in general terms, and common sense would almost indicate that, that yes, you tangle. But I always felt that I got a fair hearing. And of course, sometimes you have to take the blame yourself if you didn't get a particular policy through that you thought was really important and really made sense. Was your timing wrong, was your presentation not adequate? And there were many occasions when I felt that I was losing the battle, and it would have been tragic if I had lost altogether, so I would sort of withdraw and say I need some more information on this and try it another time. Because sometimes, if you back people into a corner on something -- I've got to have an answer: the answer is "yes" but if you insist, it could be "no." Quite a lot of people don't realize that people are competing. They're trying to represent their ministries as well as they can at that table and the finance minister is sometimes known as Dr. No, because he has to say, "It won't fit. The budget is going to go

up 10 per cent. If all of you want to go up 15 per cent, I can't do it." So that's just common sense a lot of people don't seem able to realize.

Discussion Of The Government Dimension

The government dimension of the role of minister of education includes the incumbent's activities as a member of the cabinet, caucus and committees as well as a representative of the government outside the province.

The formally prescribed requirements of the minister of education as a member of cabinet centre primarily on the notion of the oath of confidentiality. The minister pledges not to divulge matters privy only to the cabinet. The oath, while restricting discussion before legislation is introduced outside of cabinet, does seem to promote real debate within. When a policy is agreed upon, the minister is expected to support it publicly even if he/she disagrees with it, an exercise in cabinet solidarity.

Informal expectations by significant others (premier, cabinet, government MLAs etc) of the minister of education in the government dimension are numerous. The minister is expected to be the expert in his portfolio and keep his cabinet colleagues, especially the premier, abreast of major policy directions and implications before they are implemented. Government MLAs are expected to be kept informed on issues, particularly sensitive ones that could alarm constituents, but government MLAs are excluded from seeing new legislation before it is introduced in the Legislature. The minister is expected to generate support for policies with cabinet and MLAs. On the Social Services Committee, the minister is expected to present a compelling case for his portfolio in the face of competition for scarce resources

(budget) and to be an advocate for education within the committee and vis a vis cabinet and MLAs. The minister is expected to represent and speak for the ministry of education within the province and on inter-provincial bodies like the Council of Ministers of Education. Opinions vary on the usefulness of Council and the minister's role in the Council would seem to reflect this opinion.

In the context of role behaviour, styles of operation of the minister in the government vary from individual to individual. The minister's style clearly impacted in the nature of the relationship with the Premier, cabinet colleagues, and MLAs. Much effort is spent by the minister in absorbing the details of a complex ministry, "translating" policy directions and being available to significant others in the government, and negotiating for a worthy piece of the budget pie. "In-fighting" for resources depends on a number of variables: the overall policy thrust of the government, the stances of the finance minister and premier, and the skill and tenacity with which the minister of education negotiates his or her case. The complexity of the ministry is underscored by intricate budgetary details, the conflicting demands of 75 separate school districts in a huge diverse province each demanding time of the minister, and the constant pressure of important interest groups.

THE LEGISLATURE DIMENSION

Formally Prescribed Requirements

As Minister of Education, what were your formal responsibilities in the Legislature?

Both Heinrich and Brummet cited the formally prescribed requirements in the Legislature as consisting of three basic aspects: answering questions in the Legislature, explaining the budget estimates and explaining various pieces of legislation.

HEINRICH:

I suppose you can take the central approach and you can take the view of Yes Minister, you know that famous book about Hackett? And then the Deputy comes in and says, "Your function, Minister, is what? To get the legislation through, to get our budget through, attend the house, and attend to your constituency matters." That's a bureaucrat's dream! Well, I would have to say in the Legislature, one is to, I hope, intelligently respond to all questions put by the opposition during question period. To present with conviction and clarity, if at all possible, the policies of the ministry and reasons for its legislation. And then to explain, in this case, the fiscal framework, its objectives and the fact that we had to recognize the demographic differences that were occurring where there was a shrinkage of school populations.

BRUMMET:

Well, in the Legislature as in the ministry, you're expected to answer questions during question period. You are responsible to introduce and to carry through any legislation from your ministry. You are required to defend and explain your ministry budget during estimates and of course that's opened up a whole wide range, they can ask almost any questions.

In terms of informal expectations, the doctrine of ministerial responsibility in Canada, based on the British model, expects that a minister is responsible to his legislature for his actions and the actions of his ministry. As Minister of Education, how did you interpret this convention?

Both Brummet and Heinrich took the doctrine of ministerial responsibility very seriously. They felt this responsibility extended to the entire work of the ministry. Both former ministers spoke with dismay of the partisanship of question period.

HEINRICH:

Well, that's true. You are accountable to the Legislative Assembly, and what happens is during estimates there would be the vote. On one occasion the Opposition voted non-confidence and pushed out an amendment to the budget. I think at the time it was \$228,000 or something and they said "We move that the ministerial budget be reduced to one dollar." That's their way of saying non-confidence and that happened to me. That's all gamesmanship.

BRUMMET:

{Ministerial responsibility means just as it says}, you are responsible to the Legislature for any of the things that happen in your ministry, whether you were part of it or not. It creates some difficulties; because I stayed involved with my ministry and was knowledgeable, when my ministry wanted to do something, they ran it by me, and once I approved I would defend it, even if it didn't work out right.... The question period and some of the discussion on legislation and estimates are so partisan and so political that I had to respond in kind. I took the attitude that if a person sought information I gave him information. If he wanted a political partisan debate, then I gave him as good as he got.

What did you perceive was expected of you by the Premier and other members of the government?

The main informal requirement in terms of expectations of the Premier and other members of the government was simply not to embarrass the government. This implies keeping the cabinet informed beforehand of important issues. Both Heinrich and Brummet underscore the political nature of the Legislature, that the object of the Opposition was to embarrass the minister. If a minister fumbled, he would not only embarrass himself and his ministry but also the entire government.

HEINRICH:

(The Premier and the members of the government) expected me to know my ministry, to be able to answer questions and to answer them clearly and not to forget that this is a political chamber and if at all possible, play to win the exchange. That's sometimes difficult.

BRUMMET:

In answering a question or dealing with an issue, the Premier and the government members hope that you don't embarrass them or put them on the hook for something that they didn't know. As you know, there are people that painstakingly go through a statement and try to throw it back at you a year later. The Premier expected you to represent not only your ministry but the government as well.

What was expected of you by the Opposition?

Heinrich says the opposition expected him to fumble, and Brummet simply asserts they expected miracles. Brummet describes the atmosphere during question period as "a jungle", the main purpose of which is not to debate issues thoroughly but rather to cynically score political points for an audience beyond the Legislature.

HEINRICH:

The Opposition's function is to make you look bad, that you fumble and don't know what you're doing. So, did they succeed? I don't know.

BRUMMET:

Miracles. I guess that's a short answer. There are many complex problems and often they want a simplistic answer such as "Will you fund lunch programs in schools?", and if you say "No", then you are accused of not caring about kids, so there's a lot of this kind of thing that goes on, trying to score political points. It's kind of a stage in which people not only debate, which is supposedly the purpose of it, but it's a stage in which people perform for the cameras, for Hansard, and for their constituents. If you can embarrass the minister, that's wonderful. I was not happy with the rancour and partisanship that crept into it. People would almost deliberately misinterpret things for political advantage and distort information that you provided. I was

much happier when I could get down to the facts, to issues. It's a jungle that doesn't always allow that. You try to play by the Marquess of Queensbury rules, but you also try to defend yourself in other ways and people would try to say, "I want a yes or a no answer". Well, there aren't many yes or no answers in that kind of complex system.

Were there any requirements expected of you by the Speaker?

Both Heinrich and Brummet spoke with praise of the Speaker's role and how difficult it was in the often partisan atmosphere of the Legislature.

HEINRICH:

You're expected to be courteous and always recognize the importance of the Speaker's role, and that he is our servant and the rules are made by members of the House. They have to enforce the rules that we ourselves are the authors of. And that being the case, you must abide by and do not take issue with the Speaker's ruling.

BRUMMET:

You are expected to abide by the House rules. I guess we've all bent them a little bit, but not too far or the Speaker would call it to order. It's a difficult task. In the Legislature, for instance, people get into a political, partisan debate that has virtually nothing to do with the legislation and when the Speaker calls somebody to task, whether it's the opposition or one of us on the government side, we can always say, "Well, Mr. Speaker, I'm relating it to the legislation in this way", and there's two things he has to think about: to try and keep some order without preventing freedom of speech. And that's always a delicate issue.

What was expected of you in the Legislature by your constituents?

Heinrich portrays his constituents as essentially putting their self interests first. Brummet says that being a government member sometimes makes it difficult for constituents to understand that the minister is also representing them in the Legislature and that he felt as a minister he was in a better position to represent constituent interests in the caucus and with the cabinet colleagues rather than on the floor of the

Legislature.

HEINRICH:

Everybody puts their self interests first. When they put their self interests first, they would say, "Well, we don't care about other areas. We want more money for this district."

BRUMMET:

The constituents expect you to represent them. As a government member, you have far more opportunity in caucus and with your cabinet colleagues to try and get the things to happen, the things that your constituents want, so you don't need to use the Legislature to the same extent. But sometimes people have a hard time understanding that. They say, "Well, why didn't you give the government hell in the Legislature?" Because it would be translated into fighting the government, internal bickering and so on. My feeling was that there were no holds barred when I was fighting for my constituents in cabinet or in caucus but a certain amount of decorum (was needed) in the House. And another thing, I always felt that you can't lambast your colleagues for what they won't give you, and then ask them to give you something.

When asked if his constituents tried to lobby him on education issues, Brummet replies, "I would have to say that my own constituents treated me quite fairly in that regard. I guess I basically served notice that if I'm convinced that it's good for other people then I will fight for it but I was not in the business of granting special favours. And I guess people have more or less accepted that."

Role Behaviour In The Legislature

How would you describe your style of operation in the Legislature?

Heinrich says that he was not an orator and that he found the level of partisanship and insults inside the Legislature to be very disconcerting. Brummet replies that he adjusted his style of operation in the Legislature to the context. If

MLAs wanted information, he tried to give them information but if they wanted partisan debate, he gave them just that.

HEINRICH:

I was not an orator. Give me a podium outside, I could do a job and a half. But I believed that if there was a real issue of substance and there's something really to latch on to, then let me go. That bantering back and forth in the legislature, it just staggered me. I could not understand how some of those insults could be said and on both sides of the House! And some of those insults were just incredible.

BRUMMET:

I think probably the best thing I can say is that as a minister if people sought information I tried to give information; if they wanted a political debate, then I got into a political debate. It took me over two years to realize that it was a stage in which people performed and that it was a confrontational, conflict type situation. It got pretty rough politically. Sometimes I would not be proud of my behaviour in there, but you get caught up in it.

Discussion Of The Legislature Dimension

Concerning formally prescribed requirements, both Heinrich and Brummet agree that the rules of the Assembly and the role of the Speaker were to be respected. The minister is responsible for presenting to the Legislature legislation, government policy, and budget estimates for education. During question period the minister is expected to answer for the ministry in the Legislature. The concept of ministerial responsibility, a key informal expectation, applies to the actions of the whole of the ministry and the minister must be prepared to speak for and defend those actions. In terms of other informal expectations the minister of education is expected by the premier to present his case clearly and not to fumble in the face of the Opposition.

The Opposition expects the minister to make mistakes. The debate in the Legislature is often of a partisan and rancorous nature. Concerning expectations of constituents, Heinrich and Brummet differed. Heinrich contended that constituents were only concerned about their own interests whereas Brummet contended that his constituents understood that his role was not to provide special favours.

In the context of role behaviour, both former ministers were socialized in the vindictive atmosphere of the Legislature, joining in the partisan oneupmanship, often to their dismay.

THE PARTY DIMENSION

This dimension involves the requirements, expectations, and role behaviour of the minister of education as a member of the political party that forms the government of British Columbia. In the case of British Columbia, the Social Credit Party formed the government with one minor exception from 1953 until 1991. This dimension looks at the activities of the ministers' involvement with the party executive and its members (Jamha, p.115-116).

Formally Prescribed Requirements

Please explain the relation between party policy and government policy, in regard to education?

Both Heinrich and Brummet are very clear that party resolutions and formal declarations did not bind government policy regarding education. The minister would

often possess a wider perspective of an issue than would be reflected in party resolutions.

HEINRICH:

All parties have their policies. The party resolutions come to the floor and away they go. I can't remember anything coming in education, really, from the floor of the party conventions.

BRUMMET:

In the Social Credit Party we took the resolutions at the convention as a guideline of what the membership wanted, we tried to weigh that into the total picture; we did not feel absolutely bound by it. The Party doesn't bind us to it. And sometimes in the emotion of a convention a resolution can be passed such as teachers should not have the right to strike. As a government we have to look at that in terms of the Human Rights Charter, of the right of association, and a whole lot of other things besides whether or not people have the right to strike.

What are the formal and informal responsibilities of the minister in relation to the party?

As far as Social Credit Party in British Columbia is concerned there seems to be no formal responsibility of the minister in relationship to the party, but rather an informal expectation to keep party members informed about government policy.

HEINRICH:

There were no formal responsibilities. It's just you're accountable as a minister and during question and answer sessions at the conventions.

BRUMMET:

Well at the convention the resolutions come up before the minister and he is expected to speak to the resolutions. You have an obligation to keep your party informed of what you're doing and why you're doing it. You're expected to answer the questions that the membership raises dealing with your ministry, or to participate in debate -- not necessarily, you weren't required to do that but I guess it was an expectation. Other than that, the expectation was no more than for any MLA.

How did you handle the two hats of MLA and minister of education in your constituency?

Heinrich replies that, generally speaking, it wasn't a problem for him as the people respected the dual role that but Brummet says that the wearing of two hats as MLA and minister caused him some difficulty mainly in the context that his role of minister kept him away from his constituency a fair amount of time.

HEINRICH:

It's difficult, but people generally respected that. They recognized this, and they were always tolerant.

BRUMMET:

There's some difficulty in that my role of minister got me away from my constituency a fair amount. I was able to compensate. {Brummet goes on at length to explain the role of June Davidson who was his executive assistant} ... I think the people in Fort St. John, in one sense, got better service than if I had been just a MLA, because they had a MLA, a secretary, and virtually a full-time executive assistant working for them. And so, much of the stuff in the office I kept in touch with every time I came up, every two weeks or so, and June would have a list of 50 or 60 items that she had dealt with and we would go over them to keep me informed. And there were some of them for which she said, "over to you", that I had to deal with.

Discussion of The Party Dimension

There is a loose relationship between government policy and Social Credit Party resolutions, the latter acting as a general guideline for the minister to be adapted, modified or rejected. That the minister would keep the party faithful abreast of policy issues was an informal expectation, not formal requirement. The dual role of the subject as minister and MLA could cause conflictive time demands, but one minister compensated by the use of an executive assistant based in the constituency

office.

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION DIMENSION

The ministry of education dimension of the minister's role involves the minister's responsibilities as spelled out in various acts and regulations in which the minister was cited, the informal expectations of the deputy minister and others in the department, and the role behaviour of the minister in relation to the department ministry (Jamha, p.123).

Formally Prescribed Requirements

Formal requirements in the ministry of education dimension include the formal obligations of the "shall" requirements of the School Act, the discretionary authority to delegate, and the "may" clauses as set down in various British Columbia statutes dealing with education. The major act which guides British Columbia education from kindergarten to grade twelve is the School Act, which was revised at the end of Brummet's term as minister in 1989.

How did you perceive your role of minister as defined by the School Act?

In the School Act it noted, "The minister who shall hold office during pleasure shall manage and direct the ministry (B.C. School Act 1983)".

Both Heinrich and Brummet mention the School Act as the key formal requirement of the ministry of education dimension. Heinrich highlights the role of the deputy minister and senior advisors in keeping the minister abreast of implications of the Act. Brummet found the old Act (i.e. before 1989) "restrictive" and introduced

and got passed a new B.C. School Act, Bill 67 - 1989.

HEINRICH:

The School Act, those sorts of things, you take that for granted. Those are issues which you will expect your deputy and senior advisors to be fully aware of, and they were a great bunch in the ministry, some wonderful people to work with. They worked long, hard hours. The public never really appreciates what the public service does. And believe me, you have no idea how important they are to cover your butt. Because often you think of these things, and they'll say, "Just a minute I want you to think this through, etc." ... very, very important. Anything to do with the School Act, prescribed regulations, I would expect them to do that.

BRUMMET:

The prescription is the minister is required to govern himself according to the School Act. And sometimes that was wonderful, other times it was restrictive. As you know we did change the School Act in 1989 and we tried to provide more professional autonomy, particularly out in the field. But the minister is still required to abide by the Act.

Which government statutes impacted most on your role as minister of education and why?

In addition to the School Act, Heinrich, the minister responsible when the restraint program was in full force, mentions the compensation stabilization program with a number of acts that were attached to it. Brummet mentions the School Act, the College of Teachers Act, the Teaching Profession Act, the Labour Code, and various Health Acts particularly with the advent of AIDS.

HEINRICH:

The compensation stabilization program affected bargaining for teachers and there was a limit as to what they could get. The school district said this is how much money we've got ... Before they'd bargain, now it was the other way around: "This is the amount of money we've got here. This is what we can afford to pay."

BRUMMET:

I have to say the School Act, the College of Teachers Act and the Teaching Profession Act. Once teachers were under the Labour Code that became important. The Ministry of Health of course with their health requirements in the schools. AIDS became an issue in society. I think we were able to diffuse the issue by working with the Minister of Health in dealing with it properly so that it never became a major issue. We realized the potential of kids getting kicked out of school in any association of AIDS with teachers and that sort of thing. With the Ministry of Health we were able to change one clause: the old quarantine section in the Health Act. Any communicable disease, you know, the principal could expel people, close down the school, all sorts of things. Well, we got that changed so that could be done if a medical health officer recommended it for the safety of the pupils, otherwise no.

What did you perceive was expected of you by the staff in the ministry?

Both Heinrich and Brummet highlight the superlative effort on the part of the staff of the ministry. The ministry staff expected that the minister would appreciate and support all their efforts and it's obvious from their commentary that both Heinrich and Brummet did so profusely. Top ministry staff expected to have an open and honest dialogue with the minister, and to be kept informed of policy initiatives before they became public. Staff also expected leadership from the minister. It's clear from the commentary that the relationship between minister and top staffers is not without tension on occasion.

HEINRICH:

I appreciated the efforts that they put in. It was always a yeoman effort on their part, and there were times when I locked horns with them too.

BRUMMET:

I think they appreciated support. I think they appreciated candour. I guess my philosophy was; in my office, you know, and I only met with the management level people -- in my office I made it plain that they could say, "What you're proposing, Mr. Minister, is stupid". If they said it publicly they were in trouble, but in my office my next question would be, "Why do you think it's stupid?" Basically they were free to challenge whatever I was proposing; I felt free to challenge whatever they were proposing, we'd thrash it out and sometimes I convinced them and sometimes they convinced me. One of the hopes of the staffers in their ministry is that you don't get them into trouble when you suddenly deliver something that is impossible to deliver because you made a wild statement. And by being knowledgeable, by being in regular contact with the ministry, I think they were satisfied that I knew if I said something, the impact of that might be on their role to enforce it and so I tried not to get in a bind, and the impression I got is I didn't get them into too many binds that way. They expect leadership, they expect support, they expect some appreciation for what they do. And believe me, when you see some of the hours that these people put in, the appreciation comes easy.

Role Behaviour In The Ministry Of Education Dimension

Who was responsible for the selection of the deputy minister when you were minister?

Heinrich had a deputy already in place when he became minister of education and was very satisfied with his performance. Brummet, on the other hand, had a choice in his deputy minister (A.L. "Sandy" Peel), which he says is a combined effort with cabinet because the choice has a major effect on the government. An inexperienced minister who doesn't know the candidate might have less input into this decision than an experienced minister.

HEINRICH:

My deputy was Jim Carter, an outstanding man. He's a very good friend, remains to this day, and he happened to be the deputy there at the time. And if you want a deputy, the minister will turn around and say, okay, as long as we're going to be able to work together, there's no personality conflict, no clash, and you get along, then you do your best, and in this case it worked out very, very well. If you don't want the present deputy minister, the minister can turn around and say, "Look, I want somebody else who I'd like to make deputy", and we'll do that.

BRUMMET:

It's a combined effort, because it has a major effect on government, it's a combined effort of the cabinet and the minister. For instance, cabinet wants a say in it but they would not appoint somebody the minister objected to; similarly, if the minister just wants to pick somebody, they want a say in it so I think it's a very good system. It varies between ministers, like how much each minister would insist on the input. A brand new minister who doesn't know the people might have less input about who would be the deputy minister than an experienced minister like myself.

How are the deputy minister's responsibilities determined?

Heinrich has no response on this question but Brummet responds that the responsibilities are a mix of formal prescription and ad hoc understanding between the minister and the DM:

Partly by the School Act and sort of a broad overall framework. The DM is responsible to the minister and is responsible for everything that goes on in the ministry, so it's quite an onerous job. Determined by written regulations and by understandings. The Act pretty well spells out what powers the DM has, how far he can go, that sort of thing. And then the informal side of it is between the minister, like how much the minister would delegate without running it by him; the administration of the ministry is strictly the DM's.

The boundary line between the work terrain of the minister and that of the DM is difficult to define:

In my ministries we talked about it, which is policy, which is administration? And we reached a conclusion that political policy we'll leave to the minister. But you would have to give them a fair amount of leeway. There is no rigid demarcation between policy and administration because they overlap. And secondly, the ministry helps determine a lot of the policy, for example, if we turn around and say, "We want equal distribution of funds to the school districts, come up with a policy to do that", and they do. So you see the ministry is involved in policy all the time.

Who selected the staff and specified the duties for positions in the ministry?

Heinrich has no response to this. Brummet says the minister expects to be consulted on appointments made by the DM:

The DM has full responsibility for appointing people beneath his rank but again it was with input from the minister. I wouldn't expect my DM not to seek my opinion about that. As you go down the line those positions are chosen by a selection committee, according to an evaluation, and that determines it. You know, even the DM hasn't complete power. He has the final say and signs it but when it gets down to a certain level there's a selection committee.

How would you describe your relationship with the DM?

BRUMMET:

Very good, excellent. As I think I indicated before, they would propose something, a policy and then I expected them to be able to defend it. Or if they couldn't convince me, to come back with better ammunition or listen to me and so we modified. Modification is involved in the policy, but the relation was excellent. They were openly allowed to state their case or their criticism.

How would you describe the process by which your department dealt with a specific major policy issue and what were the mechanics of this process? Who were active in the decision making?

Both Heinrich and Brummet portray a picture of policy-making in which the upper levels of the ministry are heavily involved in a reciprocal process with the minister. Under Heinrich and Brummet, policy-making was clearly a two-way street between the minister, the deputy, and the top staff of the ministry of education. The ministry executive committee played a critical role in policy-making, promoting cross-departmental communication. Important policy issues would also be discussed in cabinet before any final policy statement.

HEINRICH:

Senior people in the ministry would work on the process and a lot of policy would be hammered out in detail between the deputy and his assistant deputy, and directors and executive directors. And once they'd hammered out the policy I would go over to the ministry office and say, "Okay, now this is what we're working on now, what are we going to do about this?" And they would go over things, and I would have some concerns, and if I had any real concerns, then my deputy and I would meet and we would have some talks and I think maybe reflect on some of the matters.

BRUMMET:

When something was recognized or designated as an issue, the staff would get together, department heads, perhaps under the direction of the DM and say, "We've got to deal with this. We've got to come up with an answer for the minister on this". So they would put together the background of the problem, the rationale and the policy -- the proposed policy and the rationale for it, and then we would discuss that and raise all the questions. We have what we call "ex-com" meetings, executive committee meetings you see, and then a lot of this stuff was run by all the department heads including the directors and the ADMs, the assistant deputy ministers, and the DM with the executive committee. And so even though it was a policy issue in one department, because of its possible effect across the board, and because

of valuable input, they generally ran it through what we call the ex-com before it came to me and it was a good process. Now how far down the line do you go as to how many people had input into the policy? I always encouraged anyone to ask anyone, the secretary in the department what they thought of it. They were always given the opportunity. Once a policy was made, if it had broader implications, then I would take that policy and justify it to cabinet and ask for approval for it. People in the ministry dealt with everything they could themselves and it was a judgement call as to when they needed to go to the minister and when they could just deal with an issue. A lot of issues are dealt with this way, but not major policy. For example, if a school board said, "What's the policy on this?", if there were an existing policy, people in the ministry could explain it to them. They didn't have to come and see me and say I told them what the policy was. But if it was a change in policy or something that wasn't understood, then of course it would have to go through the process to me.

Discussion Of The Ministry Of Education Dimension

The School Act defines the formally prescribed requirements of the minister of education. Essentially the School Act encharges the minister, in Brummet's words, "to take responsibility for anything that goes on in the system". Particularly relevant in the School Act are the "shall" provisions to which the minister must personally attend. Heinrich indicated that the senior staff of the ministry assist in the interpretation and implementation of these "shall" provisions and are active in reminding the minister of their implications. The ministers were cognizant of the 30 or so federal and provincial statutes that impacted on education in British Columbia. Some of this legislation was time specific such as restraint legislation under Heinrich. The School Act ensures that the minister of education has many discretionary powers including the authority to make regulations and the power to invoke ministerial orders. We saw in the contexts section of this chapter that this discretionary power is a

mainstay of the daily business of the ministry.

In the context of informal expectations both Brummet and Heinrich emphasized that the top ministry staff appreciated support and candour and both give evidence that there was often a lively exchange of ideas about policy and about implementation issues between ministers and top staffers. Above all ministry staff expect leadership from the minister.

Concerning role behaviour, the degree of delegation of responsibility and authority to the deputy minister and others would seem to be a matter of negotiation and understanding between the minister and the chief parties concerned in the ministry as well as a function of prescription. The deputy minister is usually chosen by the cabinet with strong input from the minister, though Brummet suggested a less experienced minister may have less input. The boundary line between policy and administration was seen by both former ministers as being a grey area with no rigid demarcation. In fact, Brummet was explicit in claiming that policy-making is often a reciprocal process between top staff and the minister with the proviso that the minister has final say as to whether the policy will stand or not. A key unit in the policy process is the executive committee of the ministry.

THE PUBLIC DIMENSION

What were the formal functions of the minister of education in relation to the teachers and the BCTF?

Concerning formal functions of the minister of education in relation to teachers and the BCTF, the former ministers made a clear demarcation line. Both Heinrich and Brummet speak of regular visits to classrooms and one to one contacts with teachers, but vis à vis the BCTF executive, both former ministers paint a portrait of conflict and a lack of communication of long-standing tradition. The new School Act (1989) tried to bridge this gap by the creation of the Education Advisory Council, a formally prescribed exercise in building communication.

HEINRICH:

They'd play games with me all the time {referring to the BCTF}. Always playing games. The BCTF never, ever invited me to one of their functions. They were so political, in my view, they couldn't afford to have a member from our government appear at one of their functions. They would be invited by me to functions. ... It didn't matter what I did or where I went, they were immediately there -- they were agents provocateurs.

BRUMMET:

I always felt that the teachers were very important factors in the education system, so I tried to talk to individual teachers every time I went to a school for an opening or some official function. {Concerning the BCTF}, I was always running into confrontation. It was the BCTF executive particularly, not so much the teachers out in the field, I had a good rapport with them. {Under the School Act previous to 1989 there was no formal provision for the minister to meet with the BCTF, but here Brummet explains how the new School Act, passed in 1989, functions in this regard.} Under the new School Act there is the Education Advisory Council which has representatives from the BCTF, the BCSTA and from the principals and superintendents etc. and from

the native community and industry, the Chamber of Commerce and so on. This Advisory Council usually has about 20 members and the deputy minister is chairman of that. I only went once or twice to answer some questions, but by and large, they thrashed out the policy and they did an awful lot of it. They were the final screen on the Year 2000 documents and the educational strategy and the implementation strategy and the work schedule, all that went through them before it was finally approved. So there is a more formal structure now. But there was no formal requirement to meet with teachers other than that it makes sense.

What were the formal functions of the minister in regard to school boards and the BCSTA?

Unlike relationships with the BCTF it's apparent that both Heinrich and Brummet met regularly with the school boards and the BCSTA, though in the old School Act (previous to 1989) there was little formal prescription on this matter. Elsewhere in this chapter, in the contexts section, we saw evidence that Heinrich's relationship with the BCSTA was very strained as a result of moves towards restraint and district accountability.

HEINRICH:

I met with a lot of school boards, they were always interested to have me come and the school trustees association, met with them many, many times.

BRUMMET:

The ministry had liaison meetings with the BCSTA and they could ask for other meetings, either with ministry staff, senior staff, or the deputies or with the minister himself ... BCSTA has an executive committee that meets quite often to discuss things and periodically I was invited to those meetings to discuss the issues that they had on the table at the time. And then with the school boards, there were a lot of invitations, and it varied as to the amount of time that I got to meet with individual school boards. During the Royal Commission Report discussions, I tried to meet with as many school boards as I could and I think I ended up meeting with 60 of them.

What were your formal functions in terms of your relations to the interest groups?

Both Heinrich and Brummet mention that they would often be invited to discuss issues by various interest groups and that depending on the cause and the level of organization of such groups, they would try to oblige.

BRUMMET:

Primarily to meet with them on request, and I guess that to some extent is a judgement call. Sometimes there was an interest group that I would say to, "Meet with the trustees, that is where your argument is". But to the extent possible, I met with them. One of the interest groups, you might say, is the Parent/Teacher Association and so I met with them. We made some funding formula. We assisted them but we didn't ever seem to satisfy them. (He also met with the B.C. Association for the Mentally Handicapped, the Association for the Physically Handicapped etc.) ... I tried to limit this to not just meeting with any pressure group, but to meet with the official groups. If they were an organized, official group, then I was very receptive. If it was just a group that formed as a protest action group, well, I was too busy.

Brummet also mentions that the assistant deputy minister was responsible for meeting regularly with FISA (Federation of Independent School Associations), and with Parent and various other associations.

About the formal functions of the minister of education in relation to the general public?

BRUMMET:

I don't know whether that's so formal, but in terms of formality and obligations, the formal function was to keep the public informed as much as possible. It's hard to do because people generally zero in when something affects them. General information doesn't get much attention. There is now a provision in the new School Act, that every year or every so often, the minister must give a policy statement or State of the Union address. It's now in the School Act. But keeping the public informed through the Annual Report, that is a statutory obligation.

What about your formal functions in relation to the mass media?

Both Heinrich and Brummet speak of the media in two dimensions: the good and the bad. On the one hand, the former ministers recognized that the media fulfilled an important function in society but on the other hand they clearly resented what they considered to be the often partisan nature of "slanted stories", and the intrusive style of modern journalism.

HEINRICH:

The mass media, well, they just lived in my office. The media was constantly covering me. Didn't matter where I went -- and that was fair enough. The fact of the matter is it's a symbiotic relationship, it's almost parasitic, between politicians and press. They cannot survive one without the other, and so there is a good relationship that develops and you get to know who you can trust. But the other thing you are fighting too is they have their own deadlines so some are looking for scoops, or press releases. Some of the media felt themselves to be budding Woodwards and Bernsteins, and the fact of the matter is they weren't. Some are very good and some would take the time to go into detail to create understanding.

BRUMMET:

I don't think it was so much formal, because the mass media I think sometimes feel that they own you and whether you are at home or in the office or anywhere else. I resented the implication that they thought they had the right to interrupt me at one o'clock in the morning on a Sunday night at home. ... You do need the media to help you publicize. In other words, with most of the media I was on friendly terms. Somebody trying to do a butcher job on me, well, then I was less candid with them.

Both Heinrich and Brummet made a clear distinction between the press of the interior of British Columbia and that of Vancouver, citing the latter as strident, aggressive and partisan.

In addition to the formal functions, what did you perceive was expected of you by the teachers, the BCTF, the BCSTA, the media and the public?

Heinrich replies that the teachers and the BCTF probably expected miracles from him. On a more serious note, he believes that teachers expected him to be a leader with demonstrable fairness, with an understanding of the issues. Brummet portrays the BCTF and teachers as generating a lot of reasonable and unreasonable demands, and the BCSTA as demanding board autonomy but not wanting responsibility. Brummet speaks with distaste of the growing trend towards partisan and politicized school boards.

HEINRICH:

Sometimes I wondered what was expected of me. I guess miracles ... I have no idea. I think as far as I'm concerned it was always to remain cool, and be sure that my thoughts were collected. Attempt to present them with clarity, to ensure that they reflected fairness, demonstrate an understanding of what the issues are.

BRUMMET:

The expectation was that I would be available to meet with them many times. This was quite reasonable ... Often they would be unreasonable and not wish to understand. In other words, we want you and we want you now. But I would say that the majority of cases were that people would accept it if you can't make it ... and that goes for the BCTF, the School Boards, the other interest groups. The informal requirements to the general public, was I guess their right to know, to be informed. With the mass media the expectation was to respond to them, to work with them, and so we, in the ministry, could get our story out as well as their story. When I felt that they, in the media, had gone too far or weren't going to deal with it properly, well then I got very reticent about what I said.

{Concerning the expectations of the BCSTA} they expected me to meet them and I suppose in another way they expected me to do, in a sense, to somehow provide everything they asked for. And we had some good discussions on that. {And I'd say}: "... We do the best we can." I

guess they somehow or other expected autonomy. And I'm all in favour of autonomy but basically they seemed to want autonomy with me providing the financing. And I used to say, no, autonomy cuts two ways... The thing that bothered me was the partisanship that crept into the trustees association and on many boards... in the Lower Mainland. Not so much as you got out in the Interior, but in the Lower Mainland particularly when people ran on an NDP ticket. And I don't think they should, but nevertheless they'd say that's the reality, that I couldn't face reality. But when partisanship seemed to drive their field, I think it started happening far too often. Some of the bigger boards sort of took the attitude: leave us alone, just send money.

Role Behaviour In The Public Dimension

How would you describe your relationship with the teachers and the BCTF?

Brummet and Heinrich make a clear distinction between their relationships with individual teachers and the BCTF. The following quote from Brummet serves to paint a conflict-ridden portrait of relationships of both ministers to the BCTF executive from 1983 to 1990, a basic lack of trust that had its roots in earlier decades. Mutual hostility was the accepted public stance.

BRUMMET:

Well, I guess I almost have to separate it a bit because whenever I had the opportunity to discuss and meet directly with teachers I felt very comfortable. I felt we had a very good relationship. With the BCTF, they at first decided to try and avoid conflict and confrontation, that it would serve no useful purpose. I had said the same thing over and over again. There seemed to be a tacit agreement, and a day or two later there was an "Issue Alert" or something, a distortion and bang! You know I had gotten the feeling that the BCTF as an executive were basing their case on history, because when I asked them, "Why are you doing this?", they replied that, "In such and such a year Vander Zalm said" etc., "When he was minister, he said this about teachers", and so on, but they based it on history and it almost seemed like, particularly as they moved further into the union model, that they would have to have confrontation. They could not settle for working with us. They always said, "We want to work with you. We want to get away from

confrontation", but I guess the best thing you can say is, when you're constantly slapped in the face for suggestions that you make, then being asked to be friendly, it gets difficult. For the first three and a half years I tried it and their president, Kim Novakowsky, at one meeting said to me, "You should understand why we have to fight you in public, as a politician", and I said, "No, I don't understand". And he said, "Well you should. That's the way it's got to be", and I said, "Well, if that's the way it's got to be, then I'm tired of being your punching bag; from now on when you come out with something, you'd better be correct, because I'm going to react." Before that I had taken an awful lot that I didn't react to because I couldn't see that it would serve a useful purpose.

Considering the relationship with the other groups mentioned in the public dimension, such as the school trustees, both Heinrich and Brummet rated them as better than the relationship with the BCTF although both Heinrich and Brummet mentioned the partisanship of the school boards in the Lower Mainland.

In your estimation, how much influence did the various groups have on you as minister and what degree of this was evident on other members of government?

Both Heinrich and Brummet thought they had constructive relationships with various groups and that they would try to, if possible, incorporate some of their demands.

HEINRICH:

I'd listen to them; those that had constructive suggestions to make, I always did my best to attempt to accommodate them within the overall system. Remember, there was a certain rigidity that I had to impose on myself with respect to other demands. I had a budget which I knew and understood well. It was a big one and it could not be fiddled with.

Heinrich gives the example of the BCSTA in terms of their impact on him as a minister.

The BCSTA came in and said, "Okay, here's your bill (restraint program). We'll buy into it, but we want a sunset clause. And I got that from their president who was a left-winger, Joy Leach. She said, "Okay, let's work out something here", and I did and I did the same thing with municipalities, by the way.

BRUMMET:

{Concerning the influence that interest groups had on me}, it's hard to measure in empirical terms. The better the case is made, the more influence the group would have. I can give you one example -- the Principals' Association. {Brummet goes on to explain how the Principals' Association spotted an error in the proposed School Act, affecting it directly, and how the Association was able to get it changed.}

Discussion Of The Public Dimension

The public dimension of the role of the minister of education encompasses the interaction of the minister with a wide array of significant others beyond the political and bureaucratic confines of the government, the legislature, and the ministry of education. Relations with interest or pressure groups (both institutional interest groups and single issue interest groups), with the general public, and with the media are components to this dimension. Frequent contact with individual teachers and school trustees and the general public, including parents and students, also occurs. Under the old School Act, there were few, if any, formally prescribed requirements relating to the role of the minister of education in the public dimension. In the new School Act of 1989 there is now a formal requirement that allows major societal stakeholders to have an advisory capacity to the ministry. Many of the other aspects of the role of the minister in this dimension are governed by tradition and custom. While the former ministers both sought out and received advice from individual

teachers, their relationships with the BCTF executive were quite strained and confrontational. Neither minister was invited to address annual general meetings of the BCTF. Both ministers received submissions from organized interest groups. Both ministers made themselves available to the media, but the relationship was at times hostile especially with the Vancouver media. In terms of informal expectations, the media expected the minister to be available at all times. Both ministers received representations and submissions from interest groups and it is clear that the level of organization of those groups and the rationale of their arguments played a critical role in whether or not they had a successful hearing with the minister. When interest group input was considered constructive by the minister, it would often be factored into policy.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER III

Chapter III presented a review of selected literature on the concept of political culture, on role theory and its application in the study of the minister of education in Alberta, as well as a summary of findings on the experience of being minister of education in British Columbia. Also presented were an overview of the evolution of the cabinet in British Columbia and the various contexts in which the B.C. ministers played out their roles. The chapter concluded with a lengthy section on the six role dimensions of the ministries of Messrs. Heinrich and Brummet.

Political culture was defined as "the broad patterns of individual values and attitudes towards political objects." Three strands of political culture were identified: nation-state, ethnic/linguistic-cleavages, and regional political culture. Five distinct

regional political cultures were highlighted, the most relevant for our purposes being the discordant political culture of British Columbia and its largely concordant counterpart in Alberta. Political culture encapsulates political role requirements and behaviour. "Role" is the combination of what a person is or is not supposed to do (formal requirements and expectations) and what a person actually does (behaviour). Role requirements are thus the formal prescription of the role as set out in statutes and legal descriptions plus the informal expectations of significant others. Role behaviour is the actions performed and interactions conducted by the person occupying the role. Jamha's study highlighted the centrality of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility which is "a fundamental factor in how ministers define the responsibilities as members of the government." Six dimensions of the roles of the Alberta ministers were identified and described: government, legislature, political party, department of education, public and personal.

A summary of relevant findings of Giles and Cree was presented on the experience of being minister of education in British Columbia. Specific aspects of this experience included:

- 1) major issues
- 2) major lobby groups
- 3) personal agendas
- 4) functioning of the minister's office
- 5) relationships with the media

The conflictive nature of the work domain of the B.C. minister of education from the mid-1960s onwards contrasted sharply with the experience of earlier ministers.

The various contexts in which the ministers performed their roles were illuminated, including the provincial cabinet, the legal and legislative contexts, the historical origins of ministerial authority, the context of power, the economic context and the political and educational contexts. In Chapter III we saw evidence that the role of minister of education in British Columbia is bound within a complex and historical network of laws, with the Constitution Act as the touchstone of legality and the Supreme Court of Canada as final arbiter. An important legal challenge to the minister of education's authority (B.C. Supreme Court, 1985) reaffirmed the legal basis of a highly centralized public school system with the minister at its apex. The struggle for power in the educational system has given rise to a contending Instrument/Meritocracy configuration that has almost given way to a Political Arena on several occasions. The state of the provincial economy was demonstrated to have a direct impact on ministerial policy-making and affects both the margins of ministerial discretion and the degree of turbulence that normally surrounds educational governance in British Columbia.

Finally, in Chapter III, the interview data in the six role framework show the period of 1983-1990 to be highly conflictive, with important actors in the British Columbia educational system at odds over purposes and agendas of the system.

In Chapter IV the findings of this study will be addressed from the perspective of the central problem of this study, the impact of regional political culture on the role of the education minister in British Columbia and Alberta.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

On matters educational, the political view from Swift Current does not correspond to the view from Cornerbrook. (Townsend, p.30)

I wanted to support teachers and strengthen or reinforce the position of school boards as trustees of the local system and encourage decentralization and local decision making. (Former Alberta Minister of Education, L. Hyndman)

Achievements as minister? ... School trustees, for the first time in their lives, were going to be accountable for their expenditures ... They're going to have to realize that all the programs that they want, local sponsored programs, everything else that goes with them, that there's a cost associated, and that somebody in their community is going to pay for that cost. (Former British Columbia Minister of Education, J. Heinrich).

Introduction

In Chapter IV the (sub)-problems first presented in Chapter I and partially developed in Chapter III will be further analyzed. These sub-problems are:

- 1) What are the contexts in which the ministers performed their roles?
- 2) What were the role requirements of the ministers in terms of: a) formal prescription and b) informal expectations?
- 3) How were these role requirements translated into action?
- 4) What were the common and contrasting elements of role requirements and role behaviour among the ministers on an inter-provincial perspective?
- 5) What is the utility value of the concept of regional political culture in understanding and explaining a comparison of the political values, beliefs and behaviours of B.C. and Alberta ministers of education?

The main consideration in Chapter IV is to examine the central problem of this study, the impact of regional political culture on ministerial role requirements and behaviour in British Columbia and Alberta. Sub-problems one to three inclusive were largely presented in the preceding chapter and the task in Chapter IV is mainly to synthesize the material in a more coherent format from the perspective of regional political culture. The sections on the role comparisons between British Columbia and Alberta ministers and the impact of regional political culture will require a more comprehensive treatment.

CONTEXTS

Educational Climate

Both Messrs. Heinrich and Brummet described at length the conflictive and rancorous climate surrounding the educational domain during their terms of office from 1983 to 1990. Dimensions of this turbulence were felt in the confrontational politics of the era ("very tough, like nowhere else"), in relationships of the ministers with the Opposition in the Legislature ("a jungle"), in the stances of the two most important interest groups, the BCSTA and BCTF ("narrowly self interested" and "confrontational") and in the aggressive tone of the Lower Mainland media ("relentless"). The studies of Giles and Cree attest that the troubled educational climate was in fact a fixture of educational politics in British Columbia since at least the mid-1960s, when demonstrations and intense lobbying were the order of the day ("I had demonstrations everywhere I went"). A relentless adversarial battle that pitted

the minister against the BCTF can be traced at least as far back as the McGeer ministry of the late 1970s, and with a similar chasm opening between Socred Ministers and the BCSTA over funding, taxation, and accountability. Most Socred ministers from the late 1960s onwards characterized the media as "unfair", "anti-government" and "ruthless".

During roughly the same time frame in Alberta (1971-1986), perceptions of Jamha's three ministers about educational climate were as different from their British Columbia colleagues as day is from night. Jamha's ministers portray a climate that was "good for education ... very quiet ... very good" (The latter statement comes from David King who as minister had to endure the 1980s recession and the Keegstra affair) (Jamha, p.86).

Financial and funding questions were emphasized by all B.C. respondents as the big issue of the day regardless of boom or bust. In B.C. much political blood was spilt over funding and accountability initiatives of the government (restraint, the teacher's strike). None of the three Alberta ministers evoked this obsession with financial issues but spoke rather of heightened public expectations for education and meeting the demands of a rapidly expanding system in the 1970s and implementing the special education program in the 1980s.

Economic And Political Contexts

The economic contexts of both provinces paralleled each other, with major expansion of educational systems from the 1950s to the late 1970s being fuelled by robust resource-based economies and rapidly increasing populations. Both British

Columbia and Alberta suffered deeply because of the world-wide recession of the early 1980s. Alberta in fact was hit harder as the National Energy Policy and declining oil and gas prices kicked in during the recessionary downswing. From the perspective of numbers (students, funding, schools etc.) British Columbia and Alberta are of similar scale and scope. The impact of the economic debacle of the early 1980s on the political programs on the two provincial governments is telling. Whereas in British Columbia the economic downturn promoted internal turbulence over restraint and cutbacks, in Alberta the political rage was directed outwards in a Premier-led assault on the interventionist federal government.

This dichotomy in policy choices may at least in part be attributable to different political cultures. The external thrust of Albertan political protest in the 1980s recalls Dyck's observation that "Albertans are so close to internal objectives that they feel particularly affronted when others stand in their way" (Dyck, p.484). By contrast, in British Columbia a time-honoured tradition of tug-of-war was played out between two internal political poles. According to David V.J. Bell, regional political culture may drive policy choices as it:

provides a range of acceptable values and standards upon which leaders can draw in attempting to justify their policies. Unless a politically viable justification can be attached to a controversial policy, it will not usually be adopted. (Bell, in Whittington, p.108)

Lacking an Albertan consensus on policy objectives, major actors in the British Columbia educational system have established ingrained positions on policies since at least the mid-1960s that are fundamentally at odds with one another. Those "in the trenches" simply do not accept the areas of appropriate action that successive Socred

ministers have identified, which could be generally subsumed under the heading of centralized funding, standards, curriculum and accountability versus a fully professionalized, decentralized school system (Townsend, p.41). Each pole has demonstrably established its own power base within the system to promote divergent agendas (Instrument versus Meritocracy).

Political culture "influences beliefs about who should be assigned responsibility for solving problems and what kind of solutions are likely to work" (Bell, p.108). Major actors in the British Columbia educational system fundamentally call into question the validity of the involvement and the proposed solutions of the other actors. Political culture also impacts on the debate about the "purposes of government" and "the kinds of processes and substantive decisions that are acceptable and legitimate" (Bell, p.108). At the heart of the British Columbia education tug-of-war is the notion of the purpose of government, whether the government has the mandate to justify a centralized approach to decision-making as champion of the taxpayer, or to promote an educational system whose values and processes are largely defined and operated by the professional educators on the front lines.

ROLE REQUIREMENTS AND BEHAVIOUR

In the previous chapter the role requirements and behaviour of three Alberta ministers and two British Columbia ministers were presented with additional reference to B.C. ministers from 1953-1983. In effect this presentation answered sub-problems 2 and 3:

What were the role requirements of the ministers in terms of: a) formal prescription and b) informal expectations and how were these role requirements translated into action?

The task at hand is to examine the fourth sub-problem:

What were the common and contrasting elements of role requirements and behaviour among the ministers on an inter-provincial basis?

In addressing this sub-problem, much of sub-problems two and three will be restated through the perspective of regional political culture.

PERSONAL DIMENSION

Jamha and Worth (p.8) contend that the personal dimension "may be the most important factor in determining what (the ministers) can do in the portfolios and ultimately how they are perceived as ministers of education."

Aspects of the personal dimension include:

- why the minister thought he was chosen by the Premier
- personal goals and aspirations
- leadership style
- achievements
- time demands
- influential individuals

Why Chosen?

Heinrich and Brummet both saw their previous experiences as ministers in other portfolios and their personal characteristics as relevant for the task of education minister. Heinrich's perceived mandate was to function as a willing supporter of restraint, a "lightning rod" in a volatile atmosphere, Brummet as a diffuser of conflict in post-restraint politics. There is little evidence from Jamha that the three Alberta

ministers were chosen for a specific mandate. Rather each of his respondents mentioned Premier Lougheed's criterion for portfolio selection mentioned in Chapter III, the primary criteria cited being a generalist with a high degree of competence. No politically-charged mandate was given or interpreted by the Alberta ministers.

Goals/Aspirations

Heinrich avowed personal goals and aspirations identical to the political mandate given to him by Premier Bill Bennett: to enforce district accountability in the restraint program and promote better academic standards. Brummet, on the other hand, expressed a desire to unite the major actors in the system for a "common purpose" and "serve the interests of the clients". He admitted that this unifying goal was still unfulfilled at the end of his term.

Regarding their personal goals and aspirations, the Alberta ministers responded in the vocabulary of integration, the Prairie political culture of consensus. Their words and phrases emphasized fairness, sensitivity, supporting teachers, supporting decentralization, partnership, looking at the goals and aspirations of all the people, enhancing the self-confidence of teachers and involving more of the lay community in the decision-making process. What is remarkable about their utterances is the collective degree of unanimity and commonness of purpose. Alberta ministers speak almost exclusively in the vocabulary of integrating and empowering major actors of the system.

Leadership Style

Heinrich gave evidence that he was a proactive, aggressive, hands-on type of leader, with a lawyer's eye for detail, confronting his staff on occasion. Brummet portrayed himself as more "laid back" but very much "involved" in the ministry, challenging top staffers to prove him wrong. Albertan ministers addressed the self assessment of leadership style as if it were an extension of their personal goals and aspirations: "responsible", "collegial", "communicative", "careful analyst", "fair", "a loving critic". In Townsend's framework, their leadership style would be described as "consensus seeking" and "democracy-finding" (Townsend, p.41).

Time Demands

Rare unanimity is observed in the context of time demands on all the ministers interviewed. The minister of education works, whether in British Columbia or Alberta, sixty to eighty hours per week on the average.

Significant Influences And Factors

All former ministers mentioned different influences: some referred to their backgrounds as lawyers or educators, others recalled "significant others" in the work setting such as the premier and the deputy minister. Significant factors for ministers included economic conditions, political priorities, the rationale of the proposed policy and sundry other considerations.

Achievements

All ministers responded differently, as could be expected, to the question about what they considered to be their greatest achievement. Heinrich mentioned enforcing school district financial accountability, Brummett the Year 2000 initiative. In Giles' and Cree's studies the "personal agendas" of B.C. ministers emerged as significant achievements. Williston was proud of putting the training of teachers on a more professional footing. McGeer (like Heinrich) recalled his achievement as increased accountability, in this case of the school system, through a core curriculum and provincial learning assessment program. Leslie Peterson mentioned improving educational opportunities and creating a modern network of tertiary institutions. Eileen Dailly, the sole NDP Education Minister until the election of 1991, spoke of achievements that rankled Socialists, especially the abolition of Grade 12 exams and the abolition of corporal punishment. She also introduced Kindergarten programs and developed Native teacher education programs. Brian Smith recalled his achievement as putting more emphasis on students' writing skills and promoting greater Canadian and B.C. content in the social studies courses.

The Alberta former ministers considered as their achievements a host of policy, curricular, and program initiatives that ranged from framing goal statements, special education initiatives, the funding of private schools and promoting multi-cultural initiatives, etc.

Analysis Of The Personal Dimension

Jamha noted that "the findings (in the personal dimension) are left to stand on their own because neither a comparison of similarities and differences among the three participants nor propositions highlighting common elements is appropriate" (Jamha, p.164). A pattern does emerge, however, as B.C. and Alberta ministers are compared. The first of these patterns concerns the achievements of many B.C. Socred ministers, particularly ministers from the mid-60s onwards, achievements which are in fact well known Socred policies. Heinrich, for example, could see no difference in his personal goals with government policy. Townsend in an earlier-cited quote noted that "Socred adherents stress the importance of discipline, the three R's, programs for the gifted, and system-wide exams (Townsend, p.42). With the exception of Brummet's Year 2000 initiative, much of the personal agenda "values" of many Socred ministers are either of the "Back to Basics" type (versus "Progressive education") or reflect the political call for centralized accountability for funding and standards. In the Alberta context, however, the achievements of the ministers are free from political cant and sloganeering. What is remarkable about these achievements in Alberta is precisely the lack of politicization that surrounded their implementation.

The second pattern that emerges from the "personal dimension" is the clear consensus on objectives and leadership styles in the discourse of Alberta ministers. The quotes are virtually interchangeable from minister to minister. The operant "personal" values and attitudes of the Alberta ministers are reflective of the Prairie political culture of concordance: consensuality, acceptance, trust, democracy-finding.

These concordant values are in sharp contrast to those evoked by the British Columbia ministers. Heinrich gives us a flavour of a discordant political culture:

My big concern was I didn't want an Edsel created here, I wanted a FORD. The people who were screaming the loudest for this in their own quiet way were secretary treasurers who were generally supportive of the whole concept of accountability. Those who were not supportive of the concept happened to be the academics or the general teachers or administrators, superintendents particularly. [cabal-finding] [conflictiveness] ... When you come up with a system and you are going to start pulling the tail-feathers out of the eagle, you are going to inherit the wind. And by cracky, I did. But something had to be done. And so we changed it around. [moralising]

The personal dimension, then, reveals two patterns that can be traced to regional political culture. The first of these is that the values underlying the personal goals and aspirations of many Socred ministers reflect Socred values (ultimately discordant) as opposed to Albertan concordant values. The second pattern to emerge is that the style of leadership is strongly influenced by the impact of a discordant or concordant political culture (conflictive or consensual, cabal-finding or democracy-finding).

GOVERNMENT DIMENSION

In the government dimension, B.C. and Alberta ministers had the most similar responses of all the dimensions. The government dimension of the role of the education minister includes the incumbent's activities as a member of the cabinet, caucus and committees as well as a representative of the government outside the province.

The formally prescribed requirements centre primarily on the notion of the oath of confidentiality. The minister pledges not to divulge matters privy only to the

cabinet. In the British Columbia context, this prescription restricts discussion outside of cabinet before legislation is introduced to the Legislature, as well as discouraging discussion of cabinet-related specifics with "outsiders" at any time. However, the same prescription does seem to promote genuine debate and "tangles" within cabinet over policy and funding issues. In Alberta the caucus is more involved in policy discussions. When a policy is agreed upon, the minister is expected to support it publicly even if he/she disagrees, an exercise in cabinet solidarity. The formal requirements of the government role, a composite of prescription (oath) and parliamentary tradition (expectations), would seem to derive from the "nation-state" strand of the political culture, and be generally applicable to any federal or provincial cabinet (Jackson, p.82-83).

Informal expectations by significant others (premier, cabinet, MLAs etc.) are similar in B.C. and Alberta contexts and follow the norms of the parliamentary tradition. The minister is expected to be expert in his portfolio and keep his cabinet colleagues, especially the premier, abreast of major policy directions and implications before they are implemented. Government MLAs are expected to be kept informed on issues, particularly sensitive ones that could alarm constituents, but government MLAs are excluded from seeing the specifics of new legislation before introduction in the Legislature. In Alberta, education matters are more widely discussed in caucus than by B.C. MLAs, through the caucus committee system introduced by Premier Lougheed. The minister in B.C. and Alberta is expected to generate support for policies with cabinet and MLAs. In B.C. the Social Services Committee hears the

minister's arguments and decides on issues before matters go to full cabinet, in Alberta the education committee serves this function. Ministers are expected to represent and speak for the ministry of education within the province and on inter-provincial bodies like the Council of Ministers of Education. Opinions vary on the usefulness of the latter body, as does the degree of ministerial involvement in both provinces.

In the context of role behaviour, B.C. and Alberta ministers were most similar in the enormous effort and time each displayed in mastering the intricate details of a complex ministry, translating policies directions, being available to significant others in the government, and negotiating for a worthy piece of the budget pie. Ministerial "in-fighting" for resources seemed more evident in British Columbia than in Alberta and was dependent on the overall policy thrust of the government, the stances of the finance minister and premier, and the skill and tenacity with which the minister of education negotiates his or her case.

As the government dimension largely defines the ministers' relationships with members of his own government and party, it is not surprising that this aspect is less tension-riddled than others. The "overarching" common values of the nation-state strand of political culture would seem to have the greatest impact on the government dimension of the minister of education's role and assure a high degree of similarity in the roles in British Columbia and Alberta.

These similarities notwithstanding, there is a significant dissimilarity in the government dimension regarding the role of the minister as chief spokesperson from a

public relations standpoint. Alberta ministers characterized one of their tasks as "speaking on behalf of the ministry" and letting the people of Alberta know "that good things are happening in Alberta education". This task was also an important expectation of significant others. No similar sunny disposition could be found in Heinrich's or Brummet's responses, nor in any B.C. respondents from the mid-1960s onwards. One may assume that if a ministry is beset by conflict, with major actors at odds over means and ends, the ability of the minister to speak authoritatively and with conviction on behalf of all major actors is severely curtailed, and that the role of internal disturbance handler largely displaces that of external spokesperson.

LEGISLATIVE DIMENSION

In the legislative dimension there are similarities in ministerial roles in B.C. and Alberta concerning the formally prescribed requirements of answering questions in the Legislature, explaining the budget estimates, and explaining various pieces of legislation. These formal aspects can be tied in with the nation-state political culture, namely British parliamentary tradition and procedures, particularly the doctrine of ministerial responsibility. The behavioural aspects of the role would seem to be largely defined by the impact of regional political culture, in which the "jungle" atmosphere of the B.C. Legislature contrasts with the rather orderly business-like setting in Alberta.

Ministers on both sides of the provincial border underscored the importance of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility, that the minister is responsible for and must defend the whole of the ministry. All ministers spoke of respecting the Speaker's role

in the Legislature.

In Alberta and British Columbia the key informal expectation (particularly by the premier) is that the minister will present the government's case clearly and not fumble in the face of the Opposition who expects the minister to make mistakes on which it could capitalize.

The role behaviour of the minister in the Legislature is directly related to the atmosphere within the Legislature. Heinrich moralizes that the atmosphere in the B.C. Legislature is unpleasantly unique:

Politics in B.C. is like politics nowhere else in North America. Politics in the other provinces is a different ballgame compared to what it is in B.C. It is tough here, very tough. Look at the dialogue which goes on in the houses and the state assemblies in the United States, or in Congress.... Look at the way people talk to each other, at each other, with each other, in any other jurisdiction, and it's different here. {When first introduced to the Legislature} I was in absolute shock, to be very candid with you.... There always seems to be vindictiveness. There seems to be a whack at personal integrity.... There are some rough guys in there, alley fighters. You often have to be alley fighters with the other side.

Brummet, who had hoped to defuse political tensions in the post-restraint era, adds his own moralizing and cynicism to describe how he felt caught up in the rancour:

I was not happy with the rancour and partisanship that crept into [the Legislature]. People would almost deliberately misinterpret things for political advantage and distort information that you provided. I was much happier when I could get down to the facts, to issues. It's a jungle that doesn't always allow that. You try to play by the Marquess of Queensbury rules but you also try to defend yourself in other ways.

Concerning his style of operation, it's clear that Heinrich was not at home in the Legislature:

I was not an orator, give me a podium outside, I could do a job and a half ... I could not understand how some of those insults could be said and on both sides of the House! And some of those insults were just incredible!

Brummet makes it evident that political vindictiveness was a two-way street:

It took me over two years to realize that it was a stage in which people performed and that it was a confrontational, conflict-type of situation. It got pretty rough politically. Sometimes I would not be proud of my behaviour in there, but you got caught up in it.

This conflictive atmosphere became the norm in the B.C. Legislature from the mid-1960s onwards. The perceptions of the B.C. ministers of the Legislature are a portrait of discord: "The quarrelsome spirit of the highly conflictive, the righteous cognition of the moralistic, the sensitivity of the cynical, and the disapproval of the cabal-finder" (Townsend, p.10).

In marked contrast to the spirit of discord is that of concord, emphasizing consensuality, acceptance, trust, and democracy. The perceptions of the three Alberta ministers concerning their style of operation in their Legislature are in the spirit of concordance.

Hyndman:

I tried to be informative. If I had the answer, I'd give it; if I didn't, I'd say so and promise to get back to them. The Legislature was the proper forum to get information to the Opposition, the media and the public, and I used it to advantage....

Basically, I tried to keep the temperature down, because I did not think that education profited from a world war going on or from name calling in the House.

Koziak:

I did not like to be abrasive, and I did not go out to embarrass anyone. Fairness was important. If the Opposition's questions were potentially embarrassing, I'd like to turn them around and provide an answer that was very positive.

King:

I wanted to be an effective communicator in the Assembly, and an effective proponent, and to a certain extent, effective critic of education. I liked to debate procedure, and as a deputy House leader, I'd sometimes get embroiled in procedural wrangles, in which I was quite partisan. When I spoke on education immediately before or after such a procedural debate, sometimes that partisanship slipped into my comments, but I hope that lasted only briefly. (Jamha, p.112-113)

Expectations by the constituents of the ministers on both sides of the Rockies varied: Heinrich portrayed constituents as "self-interested"; Brummet as "understanding"; Hyndman: constituents had "elevated expectations for schools". Koziak's inner city constituents had few expectations and King said he was not aware of special considerations in this respect.

PARTY DIMENSION

The political party dimension involves the requirements, expectations and role behaviour of the minister of education as a member of the political party that forms the government. This dimension looks at the activities of the minister's involvement with the party executive and its members.

In general there was a substantially looser relationship between party policy and ministerial role requirements noted in British Columbia (Socreds) than in Alberta (Conservatives).

Both Heinrich and Brummet are very clear that party resolutions and formal declarations did not bind government policy regarding education (Brummet: "The Party doesn't bind us to it."). There is little evidence in Giles and Cree that earlier ministers felt compelled by party policy on education to enact legislation that was a faithful reflection. However, the lack of a formal party linkage to ministerial policy is somewhat mitigated by the knowledge that Sacred values permeated the "personal agendas" of the ministers. Formal prescription may not be necessary if the values of a bipolar political culture accomplish virtually the same function.

In Alberta, the closer linkage between party policy and government policy is explained by former minister Hyndman:

Party policy reflected decisions of annual general meetings and policy conferences. Government policy has to fulfil the commitments made during the election and is prepared in consultation with the MLAs, the minister who has been in touch with all the interest groups, all the constituents, and the department people. For the most part, party policy parallels government policy, but sometimes party policy is decided at an annual meeting or policy convention in seven minutes of debate on Saturday afternoon in a hotel in Calgary. Therefore, it must be put in perspective, and modified because it had not had the appropriate degree of attention.

Party policy and government policy were two different streams in the same river. They were going in the same direction but the timing of implementation and emphasis could be different. (Jamha, p.118)

King regretted that the government, after it had been in office for a long term, "begins to plagiarize the views and attitudes of the bureaucracy and other interest groups" (Jamha, p.119). King resisted this "plagiarization". Presumably, party policy would therefore have been all the more significant in relation to government policy during King's ministry.

Informal expectations of both provinces' party executives towards the ministers usually consisted of ministers being expected to appear at annual party sessions and to answer questions at such meetings.

In the context of role behaviour, B.C. and Alberta ministers noted that the huge time demands of their portfolio made it difficult to allocate proper time to their role as MLA (the "two hats" scenario) but they all made special arrangements to see that "home bases" did not suffer unduly from lack of attention.

THE MINISTRY OF EDUCATION DIMENSION

The Ministry of Education dimension of the minister's role involves the minister's responsibilities as spelled out in various acts and regulations in which the minister was cited, the informal expectations of the deputy minister and others in the department, and the role behaviour of the minister in relation to the department/ministry (Jamha, p.123).

The formal requirements include the "shall" requirements of the School Act, the discretionary authority to delegate and to write regulations and ministerial orders, and the "may" clauses as set down in various statutes dealing with education.

Jamha notes with amazement the paucity of "shall" clauses defining the formal obligations of the minister in the Alberta School Act. The power of the minister, he notes, resides mostly in authority delegated to school boards. He adds:

Notwithstanding the endless debate over centralization versus decentralization, the provision of education has been, and continues to be, a local community administered affair. It is not surprising, therefore, that the administration of schools has been delegated to local

school authorities and that the formal requirements of the minister of education in the School Act are restricted almost exclusively to the establishment of local school authorities. (Jamha, p.127)

The former B.C. School Act (prior to 1989) is also noticeable in its lack of detail on the ministerial role. Much of the Act spells out board duties, district funding mechanisms, roles of superintendents, principals, teachers, etc. (Abridged Manual, 1986) What is critical here is not the statute law per se but how it has been interpreted and implemented, specifically the one clause, in both Acts, that mandates the minister with ultimate supervisory responsibility of the system. In the (old) B.C. School Act it said: "{There shall be a Ministry} over which the minister shall continue to preside. The minister who shall hold office during pleasure shall manage and direct the ministry." (Abridged Manual, 1986, p.11) How the minister interprets this clause relates to regional political culture.

It was noted earlier in the legal/legislative context of this study that the B.C. Royal Commission authoritatively stated that only a central authority:

could provide the vision and control necessary to establish and maintain a system of schooling in a vast territory ... A century of school laws has therefore been written in such a way that the government minister in charge of education has been granted ultimate policy and decision-making authority and has been empowered to intervene in any matter, at any level, for the good of the system. (Commission, p.40)

The political turmoil of the late 1970s and early 1980s in British Columbia can be traced precisely to the minister "intervening" at the school district level to enforce budgetary and academic accountability. An important challenge to centralized intervention was mounted by the Vancouver School Board case in 1985 and we recall that the action of Minister Heinrich in removing the trustees was upheld, with the

latter blamed by the Supreme Court of B.C. for stubbornly forcing the issue. That Heinrich chose to make this use of his ultimate responsibility for policy can be traced to the political program and corresponding statutes of the Bennett government enforcing restraint. "The political culture sets the parameters within which debate about policy justification takes place", asserts Bell (p.108).

Citing non-School Act legislation that affected his role most, Heinrich recalls that:

[t]he compensation stabilization program affected bargaining for teachers and there was a limit to what they could get. The school district said this is how much money we've got. Before they'd bargain, now it was the other way around.

The restraint program in education, vigorously enforced by Heinrich, ultimately led to a BCTF-led teacher strike, with dozens of boards and superintendents in open revolt. Heinrich justified this intervention at the school board level with the paradoxical observation that it was necessary to preserve district autonomy in the long run i.e. the minister may intervene at any level for the good of the system.

"Presiding over", "managing" and "directing" the ministry may have two totally different meanings in discordant and concordant political cultures. A phrase similar to the "manage and direct" clause in the B.C. School Act is contained in the Alberta Department of Education Act. It states:

There shall be a department of the government called the Department of Education over which shall preside the member of the Executive Council appointed by the Lieutenant Governor under the Great Seal of the Province as the minister of education." (cited in Jamha, p.129).

Jamha then asks the ministers: "What did 'preside over' mean in this context?"

Hyndman responds:

It meant that the minister was responsible for providing leadership and continuity with respect to the previous developments in education and for being responsible for and sensitive to public opinions, moods and trends. It also meant communicating with the major stakeholders in education. The Department of Education Act is the primary legal basis for the authority of the minister, but I think the tradition in Alberta, distinct as it is from all the other provinces, guided my actions as minister just as much as the formal requirements. (cited in Jamha, p.129)

This interpretation of the "preside over" clause is animated by the spirit of concordance. The "tradition" referred to by Hyndman in Alberta is, no doubt, founded on the politics of consensus. The letter of the law may not differ greatly in British Columbia and Alberta, but the spirit of the law is another matter.

The informal expectations of the ministry/department of education concern the expectations of other individuals within the organization.

Ministers on both sides of the Rockies stated that their staffs expected leadership, support, candour, an open mind, access, etc. Mentioned prominently by Alberta ministers but not in the replies of B.C. ministers is the role of ministerial advocacy which Koziak says, "extended beyond the department to education generally" (Jamha, p.135). King explains that the department of education people "expect the minister to communicate that he is proud of education in general. They want a minister who is on the offensive, who is carrying out the message to the province" (Jamha, p.135). Though B.C. respondents gave every indication of being proud of the "yeoman" efforts of their staff, and aggressive in representing the ministry in the internal policy debates, there is little evidence of the expectation that

the minister perform as a "goodwill ambassador" for the ministry in British Columbia. This omission may in fact be a trade-off of the role of external spokesperson for that of internal disturbance handler (discussed earlier). This trade-off ties in directly with a turbulent bipolar political culture.

In the context of role behaviour, the relationship with the deputy minister and other department/ministry staff was highlighted. Little difference is noticeable in the deputy minister aspect of the education ministry dimension between provinces. The choice of the deputy minister is a key position in which the premier and cabinet have a large stake. A consensus is reached as to the best candidate. The duties of the deputy minister are a combination of formal prescription (School Act), ministry/department tradition, and ad hoc arrangements with the minister of the day. All ministers understood the difference between the policy prerogatives of the minister and the administrative domain of the deputy minister but acknowledged that the boundary lines between the two can often be blurred. Moreover, top staffers often generate policy options for the minister to consider and thus directly play a role in its formation. The minister approves, rejects or amends these options as he/she sees fit, in keeping with political priorities, cabinet concerns, and, last but not least, the wishes of the premier.

PUBLIC DIMENSION

The public dimension of the role of minister of education involves the activities of the minister in relation to teachers, school trustees, the general public (including parents and students) and the mass media (Jamha, p.142).

Jamha notes that (in Alberta) the "formal requirements of the minister's role in the public dimension ... are not found in statutes, regulations or rules, but exist in tradition, custom, and common practice" (Jamha, p.142). The same can be said of British Columbia. Thus ministers were asked questions about what they perceived as the "formal demands" and requirements placed on the minister of education by the various publics.

Generally speaking, in the public dimension, the differing themes of the British Columbia discordant political culture and the Alberta concordant culture run through the minister's relationships with teacher associations, trustees, other interest groups, the general public, and the media. The public dimension in British Columbia since the late 1960s has been dominated by confrontational politics and adversarial posturing. In Alberta, the tradition of a business-like politics of consensus has been pursued with equal vigour in the educational domain.

Concerning relationships with teachers and teacher associations the dichotomy of political cultures is readily apparent. In the British Columbia context of Heinrich and Brummet, the evidence is plain that the relationships between the ministers and the BCTF varied between "cold war" and all-out battle. "Lack of communication" is one aspect of this relationship; B.C. ministers were not invited to address BCTF functions, as Heinrich recalls:

They'd play games with me all the time. Always playing games. The BCTF never, ever invited me to one of their functions. They were so political. In my view, they couldn't afford to have a member from our government appear at one ... (They'd appear wherever I went) ... they were agents provocateurs.... The political agenda of the leadership of the BCTF was to defeat the government, under any circumstance.

This conflict-ridden, cabal-finding perspective was reciprocated in kind by the BCTF. Brummet confronted the BCTF executive as to why they behaved in this openly-hostile manner:

They (the BCTF executive) replied that "In such and such a year Vander Zalm (said) this about teachers" ... (Brummet continues) particularly as they (BCTF executive) moved further into the union model, they would have to have confrontation.

Giles and Cree provide evidence that there was indeed "a history" to this confrontational stance that virtually precluded regular discussion of issues of mutual concern. McGeer claimed the BCTF approached him only once, to discuss educational finance. Brian Smith recalled the BCTF as having a "narrow, purposeful perspective focusing on collective bargaining" and Vander Zalm moralized that the BCTF's confrontational stance blinded them from attending to other important issues (Cree, 1986, p.168).

The Alberta ministers distinguished between the "fixed" positions of the ATA and the "flexible" position offered by individual teachers, a contrast also to be found in Heinrich and Brummet regarding the BCTF and teachers. The major difference between the two provinces is not occasional tension and disagreements between minister and teacher associations, but to what degree the differences defined the relationships. On the whole, the relationship between the Alberta ministers and the ATA was generally open and dignified. Former minister Hyndman makes this observation, full of trust and democracy-finding:

I felt a degree of collegiality with both groups (the ATA and ASTA). I could be candid in exploring alternatives and policies with them and could ask them informally what they thought of something before it was

needed to be done. I respected the personalities, and I think there was unquestioned loyalty to education in their numbers. I did not see them as antagonists whom I had to fight but rather as people who were crucial parts of the system. We had to communicate, work together, and form a partnership. I tried to avoid this "we-they" approach. (Jamha, p.149)

The "we-they" approach, on the other hand, was a fixture of British Columbia confrontational politics.

Concerning trustee associations and school boards, ministers in British Columbia and Alberta would meet regularly with, respectively, the BCSTA and the (RC) ASTA. In British Columbia the Heinrich years (1983-86) witnessed a very strained relationship with the BCSTA because of the restraint program and the accountability drive, a tension also noted during the terms of the McGeer, Smith and Vander Zalm.

Both Heinrich and Brummet mentioned that they met with many other interest groups. They clearly differentiated between ad hoc protest groups and well organized, stable interest groups. Commented Brummet in this regard: "If they were an organized, official group, then I was very receptive. If it was just a group that was formed as a protest action group, well, I was too busy". Giles noted that the advent of the 1960s brought interest group politics to the fore in British Columbia and both Giles and Cree observed similar attitudes on the part of B.C. ministers about the criteria by which interest groups would be considered legitimate by the minister and receive a proper hearing (Robinson, Giles, Cree).

On the Alberta side, Jamha noted that the minister is expected to support the positions held by all interest groups and individual members of the public and, at the

same time, to find ways of reconciling their differences. The role of the minister as mediator of interest group concerns does not appear in the perspective of B.C. ministers. The following quote from former Alberta minister Koziak underscores the mediator role, that the minister seeks to build and maintain a consensus between all relevant groups in education:

I'd make sure that all the major groups were represented and had a say in the process. It was a good opportunity to get them on-side with a decision that had to be made. If they were part of the process, the program would be easier to implement. There is an old saying in education, "No matter how good the program, if the people are not behind it, it can't be implemented; and no matter how bad it is, if the people are behind it, they can implement it. (Jamha, p. 148)

These words of trust and democracy-finding are reflective, in Townsend's phase, of "the politics of integration".

Ministers in both provinces spoke in positive tones of their meetings with individual teachers and trustees. Such meetings would provide a source of information outside the official networks and allow ministers to get various "inside" views as to what the issues at hand were.

In terms of informal expectations of teachers associations and trustee associations, there are decidedly more conflict-laden views, cabal-finding and cynicism from British Columbia respondents on this issue than from Alberta ministers. Heinrich and Brummet exclaimed that the BCTF executive probably expected "miracles" from them, generating a lot of "reasonable" and "unreasonable" demands. Concerning BCSTA demands for more district autonomy, Brummet said the BCSTA wanted autonomy, with ministry providing the financing. "And I used to say no,

autonomy cuts two ways. Some of the {highly partisan} boards said: 'Leave us alone, just send money'. Brian Smith, a former B.C. minister, characterized the BCSTA as an "institutionalized group that did not speak for its members" (Cree, 1986, p.160).

Alberta ministers spoke in more positive tones about the expectations of the ATA and ASTA. Hyndman: "Each group expected me to be sympathetic, to genuinely respect their suggestions, and if I rejected them, to give reasons for my decisions. King: "They expected the minister to be the defender of the system". The three Alberta ministers spoke of differing "institutionalized" expectations of the ATA/ASTA as opposed to those of the general memberships but this difference was not used to attack or disparage these organizations (Jamha, p.145-146). Ministers in both provinces identified the teacher/trustee associations as being significant influences in major policy decisions.

Regarding the minister's relationships with and the expectations of the media, B.C. respondents made a division between the good (Interior press) and the bad (the Vancouver dailies). Heinrich's comment that the Vancouver dailies believed the "crap told them by the Vancouver School Board 'hook, line and sinker' about restraint and cutbacks "is an indication of big city media hostility of the period from 1983 to 1986. Heinrich said the media in British Columbia actually functioned as the Official Opposition, a notion at that time articulated in print by the late journalist Marjorie Nicholls. Brummet adds: "The mass media (forced) me into undoing the harm that they were doing in incorrect fears that they were generating in people." Both Heinrich and Brummet resented being hounded at all hours by the media. Previous

B.C. ministers presented a varied picture of relationships with the media: Williston, "respectful"; Peterson, "unfair, anti-government"; McGeer, "no positive coverage"; and Smith "fair" (Cree, 1986, p.130-131). Generally speaking, most B.C. ministers since the mid-1960s had difficult to overtly hostile relationships with the major city media, and a more supportive relationship with the media outside the Lower Mainland, traditionally the home-base of Socred support. B.C. respondents had little to say if the media had much of an influence on their decisions, but if the size of media clippings files of Messrs. Heinrich and Brummet is to be used as a barometer of minister's interest in press coverage, then the level of interest is rather high.

Alberta ministers presented a low-key mixed-bag of attitudes about the media. The three ministers noticed the opportunistic aspect of the media, that the media hoped the minister would make mistakes because bad news is inherently newsworthy. Koziak was the most even-handed of Alberta ministers in his reply: "The media do not want to have the rug pulled out from under them so, when they write a story, they want to be as accurate as they can and they want a minister to give them good information" (Jamha, p.148).

SUMMARY OF THE IMPACT OF REGIONAL POLITICAL CULTURE ON THE ROLE OF THE MINISTER OF EDUCATION IN BRITISH COLUMBIA AND ALBERTA

The findings in Chapter IV generally validate Townsend's observations about the dichotomy of regional political cultures in British Columbia (discord) and Alberta (concord), judging from the "political talk" of the elite group of people who managed,

directed, and presided over the ministry/department of education in British Columbia and Alberta.

The findings in Chapter IV reveal that British Columbia has a bipolar regional political culture that has impacted on educational governance for decades. This bipolar political culture is discordant, with major attributes being conflictiveness, moralism, cynicism and cabal-finding. By contrast, Alberta's "politics of integration" are very much in the spirit of a Prairie cooperative political culture of concordance, the major attributes being consensuality, acceptance, trust and democracy-finding.

In the context of role analysis, the greatest impact of regional cultures was found in the informal expectations and role behaviours of the ministers. The formal role requirements were most deeply imbued with the nation-state political culture. The greatest impact of regional political culture was found in the personal and public dimensions, the two least formally prescribed. The government dimension had the highest degree of inter-provincial similarities of all dimensions.

The impact of regional political culture was shown to be salient in all the six role dimensions in British Columbia and Alberta: personal, government, legislature, party, minister of education and public. In addition, regional political culture also directly affected the educational climate, the policy choices made by the ministers, and heavily influenced the debate, particularly in British Columbia, about the purposes of government and about the margins of state intervention in educational governance.

The educational climate in British Columbia was described as conflictive and volatile with major actors at odds over policy and implementation issues. The climate

in Alberta, on the other hand, was described as generally "good for education" and stable.

The political reactions of the two provincial governments to the economic recession of the early 1980s is reflective of policy choices influenced by the dominant regional political culture. Whereas in British Columbia the politics of restraint catalyzed a tug-of-war among major actors in educational governance, in Alberta the political rage was directed outwards, focused on the federal government. In the restraint debate in British Columbia, major actors in educational governance called into question the fundamental legal and policy prerogatives of the minister. In Alberta during the same period, the ministers actively sought to mediate and reconcile the interests of major actors, with a great degree of success.

In the personal dimension, the personal goals and styles of leadership were directly reflective of regional political culture. "Personal agendas" and achievements of B.C. ministers (with the exception of Eileen Dailly) largely reflected Sacred values. In Alberta, the personal goals and aspirations of the ministers mirrored a high degree of consensus on the values of integration.

In the government dimension, a key aspect in defining ministerial behaviour in both provinces was the formal requirement of the oath of confidentiality. This aspect is related to the values and traditions of the nation-state political culture, and an inherent part of the parliamentary tradition. The informal expectations by significant others (premier, cabinet, MLAs) of the minister and ministerial role behaviour were largely similar in both provinces. One noticeable difference, however, was found in

the absence of an acknowledged role for the British Columbia minister as spokesperson, from a public relations standpoint, to let the people of the province know that "good things are happening in education." This spokesperson's role overlaps with the ministry of education dimension, where it was also noted that this role was cited as a critical informal expectation by Alberta ministers, but not by B.C. ministers. The high degree of conflict among major actors in the educational domain of British Columbia and their basic lack of mutual trust would seem to deny the opportunity for the minister to speak convincingly on behalf of all major actors, that things are indeed "good" in the state of education.

In the legislative dimension, the impact of nation-state political culture can be seen in how the concepts of collective and individual responsibility define the minister's role in both provinces. The impact of regional political culture is apparent in the divergent behaviours of the minister in the legislature. The "vindictive" legislative atmosphere in British Columbia was compared to a "jungle" where the skills of an "alley fighter" are called for. In the Alberta Legislature, by contrast, the atmosphere was decidedly low key, business-like and cordial.

In the party dimension, there was a salient difference in the relationship of party policy to government policy, with a much looser relationship between Socred Party policy to government policy in British Columbia compared to Conservative Party policy and government policy in Alberta. The bipolar regional political culture of British Columbia may partially explain this looseness, in that Socred values permeated the "personal agendas" of the ministers and the political program of the

government of the day. In this context the regional political culture may define the operant values, with the role of the party in this respect redundant.

In the ministry/department of education dimension, a key formal requirement that defined the role of the minister in both provinces is the provincial School Act, particularly the minister "shall" clauses. It may be suggested that the clause that empowers the minister to "manage and direct" or "preside over" the ministry/department is interpreted by successive ministers in the light of regional political culture. In British Columbia a highly centralized system has been fashioned in which the minister may, and does, intervene at any level for what is perceived as for the good of the system. In Alberta, decades of ministerial behaviour have reinforced a more decentralized educational system in which a key mediating role of the minister is to "get everyone on side". Regional political culture, then, may animate the spirit of the law. The position and choice of a deputy minister is accorded a high cabinet priority in both provinces. The common method of selecting the deputy minister (by cabinet consensus) suggests that the modern parliamentary system has further "rationalized" its decision-making processes. The fact that other provinces share the same method of selection and accord the deputy minister with similar administrative duties would suggest that this aspect of the ministry dimension is reflective of the nation-state political culture (Dyck, p.10-11).

The impact of regional political culture is readily apparent in the public dimension which defines the minister's relationships with key actors in the system and the media. In the bipolar political culture, the minister is master of a divided house

consumed by confrontational politics and adversarial posturing. An on-going game of "brinkmanship" characterizes the relationship of the minister with two of the other most important actors in the educational system, the BCTF and the BCSTA. Lacking in the public dimension of the B.C. minister of education is the expectation of the minister as mediator of group interests, a reconciler who like the Alberta counterpart seeks to build a consensus for education. Instead the politics of education in British Columbia has often cast the minister as champion of the taxpayer against the "special interests" perceived to be profligate of the public purse, i.e. key actors in the system whose cooperation is necessary for goal achievement. An active player in this scenario has been the mass media of British Columbia, divided into two camps vis à vis the minister, Interior (friendly) and Vancouver (hostile). In Alberta the relationship of the minister to the media, and vice versa, has been on the whole more stable and dignified.

In conclusion, the impact of regional political culture seems to be greatest in those dimensions least formally prescribed, the personal and the public dimensions. Jamha and Worth (p.8) contend the personal dimension may be the most important as it largely defines the minister's values, attitudes, and behaviours in the other dimensions, an observation supported by these findings. It should be noted however, that the personal dimension is itself largely a reflection of regional political culture, and not ascribed to random personality traits. The public dimension is also critical as it frameworks the minister's relationship with important stakeholders in the educational system whose cooperation is vital for goal achievement, and with the

media.

RELATED FINDINGS

Introduction

In the course of this study on the impact of regional political culture on the role of the education minister, it became apparent that the bipolar culture in British Columbia acts as a catalyst to tensions already built into the educational system. These tensions may be seen as structurally-based and power-based (discussed in Chapter III), though both concepts do overlap. What is unique in the context of British Columbia is not that these tensions exist, for they are to be found in most provincial and state educational systems. Rather, it is the degree to which these structural and power tensions have been catalyzed by the bipolar culture, to the verge of system dysfunctionality on occasion.

To understand the root causes of these tensions, it would be useful once again to leave the conceptual framework of political science (role theory, political culture) and to study organizational theory for findings that may be of relevance in helping to understand the overall picture of the B.C. educational system. Just as the impact of regional political culture produced discernable patterns in ministerial role behaviour, so the bipolar culture can be said to profoundly impact on the structural tug-of-war within the British Columbia educational system.

Chapter IV will conclude with another related finding, how the bipolar political culture has given birth in British Columbia to a highly politicized layer of educational governance, school board trustees.

STRUCTURE-BASED TUG-OF-WAR

In addition to the political culture's impact on major actors in the educational system, we should consider how it catalyzes role behaviours that are structurally programmed, i.e. that are related to the needs of the organization and the nature of the work done in the organization. Specifically, we need to ask ourselves how does the structure of the B.C. school system to a large extent define the organizational behaviour of its members? The concept of structure is critical here as it defines "the sum total of ways in which it {the system} divides its labour into distinct tasks and then achieves coordination among them" (Mintzberg, 1979, p.2). Henry Mintzberg, the Bronfman Professor in the Faculty of Management at McGill University, is well known internationally for his frequently-published research on managerial work, strategic decision making, strategy formation and organizational structuring. In The Structuring of Organizations (1979), Mintzberg develops five archetypal structures that dominate the world of organizations. His findings are useful to us to uncover and classify the tensions within the B.C. educational system, to examine the conflicting pulls that are inherently part of any large public educational system, the behaviour they induce, and how, if not reconciled, these conflicting pulls can lead to a dysfunctional educational system.

The Public Machine Bureaucracy

In essence, the British Columbia Ministry of Education functions as a large executive ("Super Strategic Apex"), technostructure and support apparatus for the school system. Taken from this perspective, the administrative apparatus, support

systems and technostructure at district level, when plugged into the ministry level, are a formidable bureaucratic umbrella that attempts to define, monitor, and control the work processes of individual schools.

An important design parameter that can be used to analyze the school system is that of the decision-making system. The critical question is: Where does the locus of power for major decisions reside in the B.C. school system? Essentially the evidence presented thus far would suggest that there is a limited amount of vertical decentralization in the system "or the dispersal of formal power down the chain of line authority" (Mintzberg, 1979, p.185). The minister, we remember, establishes policy and may intervene at any level in the system at his/her discretion. The system is explicitly centralized. The minister within a formal and as well as a discretionary framework delegates certain authority to school boards and superintendents. This in turn establishes another linkage of limited decentralization, from the district level to principals and individual schools.

Mintzberg writes that the "more an organization is controlled externally, the more its structure is centralized and formalized, the two prime parameters of the Machine Bureaucracy" (Mintzberg, 1979, p.331). He continues:

External control is often most pronounced in government agencies, giving rise to a common example of this configuration which we can call the public machine bureaucracy. Many government agencies -- such as post offices and tax collection departments -- are bureaucratic not only because their operating work is routine but also they are accountable to the public for their actions. (Mintzberg, 1979, p.331)

This observation reminds us of the perspective of the B.C. Royal Commission Report on Education that "only a central authority could provide the vision and control

necessary to establish and maintain a system of schooling in a vast territory with a diverse population (by) ... centralization of control" (p.40).

Accountability is thus a standard theme of public machine bureaucracies. Standardization of work processes, (definition of programs, curriculum content and specifications, centrally-set exams, learning assessment programmes, resource procedures, protocols for school accreditation, budgetary procedures), is the prime coordinating mechanism by which the government binds the disparate elements (functionally and physically) of the school system together, in addition to relying on standardization of teacher skills. Centralized accountability of funding and academic standards was a prime goal of every Socred education minister since the McGeer ministry of the late 1970s. A great deal of political turbulence was engendered in the 1980s by the issue of implementing standardized and centralized mechanisms of accountability in the educational system.

The Professional Bureaucracy

Mintzberg explicitly categorized schools as professional bureaucracies (Mintzberg, 1979, p.348-350). "The Professional Bureaucracy", writes Mintzberg, "relies for coordination on the standardization of skills and its associated design parameter, training and indoctrinating specialists -- professionals {teachers} -- for the operating core, and then gives them considerable control over their own work ... Control over his own job means that the professional works relatively independently of his colleagues, but closely with the clients {students} he serves" (Mintzberg, 1979, p.346). Typically "pure" professional bureaucracies are "flat", highly decentralized

structures with very small technostructures and support systems. Highly skilled and experienced teachers are often given more autonomy in the classroom than less experienced or less skilled teachers. "This structural looseness of the school (or Weick's concept of 'loose coupledness') supports a professional basis of organizations" (Hoy and Miskel, p.130).

But schools are not like other professional bureaucracies like medical clinics, lawyers' offices and accountancy firms, bureaucracies that Mintzberg also classifies as "professional". "The demand for uniformity in product, the need for movement of students from grade to grade and school to school in an orderly process, and the long period over which students are schooled {require} a standardization of activities and hence, a bureaucratic basis of school organizations" (Hoy and Miskel, p. 136). It is precisely the role of the minister of education (Super Strategic Apex) and superintendents and local boards (the Strategic Apex) to ensure this "standardization of activities" mainly through the design parameter of teacher behaviour formalization and standardization of teacher work processes as the prime coordination mechanism. A centralized accountability system is the prime means of ensuring that the elements of the system comply with the ministry mandate.

Within each school it is the role of the principal to ensure that school activities mesh with the mission, policy, programs, and boundaries as defined by the ministry and board. This is a statutory obligation derived from the School Act. Administrators in most other "pure" professional bureaucracies, however, rarely have an equivalent role. Consequently within each school the principal must be empowered

with enough decision-making authority to fulfil the delegated mandate for which he/she is directly answerable to the local superintendent. In the present structural configuration of many educational systems the principal must mediate the conflicting pulls upon the school organization: "The pull to centralize by top management, the pull to formalize (and standardize) by the technostructure, and the pull to professionalize by teachers" (Hoy and Miskel, p.137). Thus what emerges as the local site-based configuration in the B.C. school system is not an "ideal type" professional bureaucracy but a hybrid of it, the "simple professional bureaucracy" that gives teachers some degree of autonomy in the exercise of jobs and, at the same time, tries to "render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's" (satisfy the requirements of the ministry).

Professional bureaucracies are a response to a complex work environment similar to that of the teaching profession. Teaching is an art that is very situation-specific. The increasing degree of professionalization within teaching exerts a strong pull within school systems to accommodate this trend structurally, primarily by decentralizing the decision-making system and promoting the in-service training of teachers. Brummet related that a central concern of the Sullivan Commission stemmed from increased demands for greater teacher control by teachers and the BCTF.

The following quote from Susan Rosenholtz is worth reflecting upon as it summarizes in a nutshell the complex technical system (i.e. the art of teaching), the strong pull for task autonomy that this entails, and their relationship to the teacher's

own goals and strong sense of mission:

That schools may now more exclusively be given over to production-line work implies that teachers are nothing more than semi-skilled workers, and education itself nothing more than specific parts waiting for assembly. But studies conducted over the last twenty years show that students vary in how they learn and how fast they learn; they learn differently at different stages of development, and in different subject areas. This body of findings and our own research strongly suggests that the successful school is a non-routine technical culture where teaching professionals are asked to make reflection and its requisites, the master of action and its requisites.

Indeed, in so far as teachers exchange information and experiences with each other, in so far as they owe allegiance to their peers and the profession, and in so far as they seek control of their work in light of their own shared standards and common identity, they can claim extensive technical knowledge and task autonomy that rivals any other profession. In this spirit, teachers empowered by technical knowledge presently are not reluctant to test the limits of their professional jurisdiction -- to continue to exercise judgment and discretion on a daily basis in the course of performing their work. They discover loopholes, technicalities, and elegant circumventions to approach their work with purposive disregard for reforms that do not advance their educative intention. But how long this may continue is now an uneasy question. (Rosenholtz, p.215-216)

Written from an American perspective, these insights show how intrusive bureaucratic controls would seriously jeopardize the best efforts of teachers to perform their complex tasks, a key concern of professionalization.

On the other hand, the pull to professionalize by teachers poses a potentially destabilizing and counterproductive effect on the system if carried to logical extremes.

Within a pure professional bureaucracy that gives full reign to teachers demands for job autonomy ("all power to the teachers"), the problems of coordination would soon overwhelm the organization. Because the professional bureaucracy can coordinate effectively only by standardization skills (attained in Faculties of Education and

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developed in the practice of teaching), "direct supervision and mutual adjustment are resisted, as direct infringements on the professional's autonomy" (Mintzberg, p.372).

Though some school organizations can approach the ideal of a pure professional bureaucracy if all their members are equally highly skilled and dedicated, the structure itself "cannot easily deal with professionals who are either incompetent or unconscientious" (Mintzberg, 1979, p.373). The structure of pure professional bureaucracies also "encourages many (of its members) to ignore the needs of the organization." Professionals in these structures do not generally consider themselves part of a team. "To many, the organization is almost incidental, a convenient place to practice their skills ... But the organization has need for loyalty, too -- to support its own strategies, to {man} its administrative committees, to see it through conflicts. Co-operation is crucial to the functioning of the administrative structure" (Mintzberg, 1979, p.374). Collegial relationships and school-wide planning are difficult to sustain in a pure professional teacher bureaucracy.

In this vein, Rosenholtz eloquently contrasts the difference between "high consensus" schools characterized by a spirit of mutual adjustment, the desire to innovate, and permeated by the educational leadership of the principal, with that of "low consensus" schools characterized by isolated teacher self-reliance, resistance to change, and defensive posturings by principals:

In high consensus schools, principals and teachers appeared to agree on the definition of teaching and their instructional goals occupied a place of high significance. These schools revealed a style, an attitude, a single-minded characterization. In their out-of-classroom work they culled and socialized the brightest of best educated novices with all the wholeness and harmony of group solidarity. They seemed attentive to

instructional goals, to evaluative criteria that gauged their success, and to standards for student conduct that enabled teachers to teach and students to learn. Teachers appeared to partake in shared school goals because their thoughts were not merely their own, but inspired by a multitude of supportive collegial voices.

By contrast, in low consensus schools, few teachers seemed attached to anything or anybody, and seemed more concerned with their own identity than a sense of shared community. Teachers learned about the nature of their work randomly, not deliberately, tending only to follow their individual instincts. For want of a common purpose there was little substantive dialogue. Without shared governance, particularly in managing student conduct, the absolute number of students who claimed teachers' attention seemed greater, and their experiences left bitter traces and tarnished hopes as their time and energy vaporized into thin air. (Rosenholtz, p.206-207)

High consensus vibrant schools thrive, paradoxically, as well-managed norm and value-driven, highly adhocratic structures that promote collegial interaction over isolated claims for total job autonomy. Teachers in such schools share a well-defined professional "ideology" or culture that differentiates them from others.

Trying to change a professional bureaucracy from within the system is highly problematic; change from without is even more difficult. "Change in the Professional Bureaucracy does not sweep in from new administrators taking office to announce major reforms, nor from government technostructures intent on bringing professionals under control. Rather, change seeps in, by the slow process of changing the professionals -- changing who can enter the profession, what they learn in its professional schools (ideals as well as skills and knowledge) and thereafter how willing they are to upgrade their skills" (Mintzberg, 1979, p.379). The Year 2000 initiative of the Brummet ministry swept massive change into the B.C. school system. The BCTF's reaction: "Too much, too fast!"

Rosenholtz illustrates the relationship of teachers upgrading their skills by generating new knowledge, school-site educational leadership, and collegial rapport:

In learning-enriched settings, an abundant spirit of continued improvement seemed to hover schoolwide, because no one ever stopped learning to teach. Indeed, clumped together in a critical mass, like uranium fuel rods in a reactor, teachers generated new technical knowledge, the ensuing chain reaction of which led to greater student mastery of basic skills. Principals' frequent and useful evaluations seemed also a powerful mechanism for delivery on the promise of school improvement as they also served as guides for future work. (p.209)

Such learning-enriched settings would indicate that the best hope of promoting new technical knowledge in schools is not from top-down directives but by bottom-up initiatives that are school specific, and nurtured by educational leadership at school and district levels. Rosenholtz from the educational setting has arrived at the same conclusions as Mintzberg about the futility and counter productiveness of a highly centralized, bureaucratic system of accountability vis à vis the complex work of the teachers in the operating core:

In our view, then, the first problem for policy makers is not how to regulate schools but how to deregulate them so that they are still responsive to community needs; not how to put more power into bureaucratic hands but how to get more power into the hands of local teachers and principals. Schools can (and should) stand for public accountability and the common good without making a centralized bureaucracy its only instrument.

To accomplish this, however, policy makers will have to learn to trust teachers, something too few politicians and bureaucrats seem capable of doing. And to trust them when they err as well as when they act wisely. For without mistakes, there is no learning; without learning there are fewer psychic rewards; with fewer psychic rewards there is lower commitment; and with lowered commitment there is far less student growth. (Rosenholtz, p.216)

Trust is no easy virtue to generate in a regional political culture that thrives on its opposite.

Mintzberg provides us with particularly relevant insights concerning the conflicting pulls of professionalization, formalization, and centralization when carried to extreme within the structural configuration of the school system. In response to the question of what the problems of coordination, discretion, and innovation (in the professional bureaucracy) evoke in the context of accountability, he asserts:

Those outside the profession -- clients, non-professional administrators, members of the society at large and their representatives in government -- see the problem as resulting from a lack of external control of the professional, and his profession. So they do the obvious: try to control the work with one of the other coordinating mechanisms. Specifically, they try to use direct supervision, standardization of work processes, or standardization of outputs. (Mintzberg, 1979, p.376)

Such attempts to establish external control in professional bureaucracies by direct supervision are bound to fail because "specific professional activities -- complex in execution and vague in results are difficult to control by anyone other than the professionals themselves." Other forms of standardization "instead of achieving control of the professional work, often serve merely to impede and discourage professionals ... Complex work processes cannot be formalized by rules and regulations and vague outputs cannot be standardized by planning and control systems.

This would force the professionals "to play the machine bureaucratic game -- satisfying the standards instead of serving the clients" (Mintzberg, 1979, p.376-377).

In this vein, the superintendents' protest group ABCCESS asserted to Minister Heinrich: "Messages that directly or indirectly criticize teachers and which attempt to

rectify perceived {shortcomings through} controls, merely introduce new stresses"
(cited in Kilian, p.176-171)

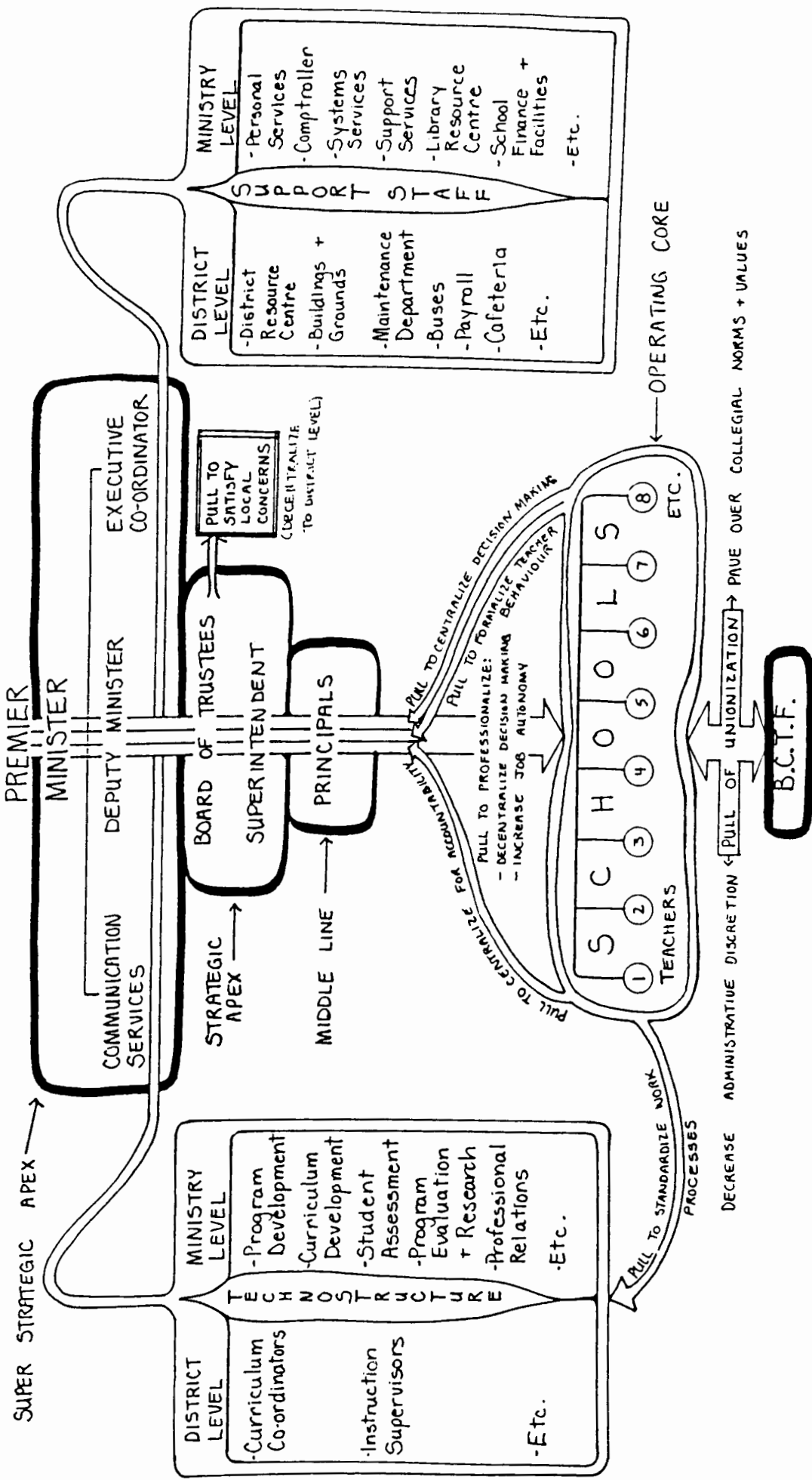
An additional strong pull is exerted in both directions in the school system by unionization. A double-edged sword, unionization at once promotes greater decentralization and job autonomy by limiting administrative prerogatives yet at the same time curtails job autonomy by proscribing any behaviour not sanctioned by the contract, even if the professional teacher feels it is necessary to satisfy the needs of clients (students). Whether under the title of "Federation" or other label:

Unionization paves over professional and departmental differences and more importantly (challenges) individual control of the work, seriously damaging professional autonomy and individual responsibility ...
Unionization also damages a second key to the effective functioning of these (professional) organizations -- collegiality, which means in part professional control of administrative decision-making, either directly by the operating professionals or through their representative positions (Mintzberg, 1983, p.414).

Collegiality and individual responsibility are key indicators of Rosenholtz's high consensus schools.

The conflicting pulls coming from different parts of the educational system may be illustrated by an organogram (Figure 7), a graphic representation of the flows of decision-making, authority, and communication within the school system. This organogram is designed from the district-level perspective within the provincial school system.

Figure 7: VIEW OF THE B.C. SCHOOL SYSTEM FROM A DISTRICT LEVEL
 A STRUCTURAL TUG-OF-WAR IN A PUBLIC MACHINE BUREAUCRACY/PROFESSIONAL BUREAUCRACY HYBRID



The Effective Structuring Of Organizations

"Effective structuring", writes Mintzberg (1979, p.220), "requires a consistency among the design parameters and contingency factors". Where design parameters are not consistent they must be reconciled, or redesigned for consistency.

In many educational systems the organization faces the conflicting (not consistent) pulls that characterize the B.C. educational system. These three sets of pulls may be summarized:

Ministry level/Public Machine Bureaucracy

- the pull to centralize for accountability
- the pull to centralize decision making
- the pull to standardize work processes
- the pull to formalize teacher behaviour

District / School level / Professional Bureaucracy

- pull to professionalize
- pull to decentralize decision-making
- pull to increase job autonomy
- pull to satisfy local community and client concerns

Unionization

- pull to decrease administrative discretion
- the pull to pave over collegial norms and values

The pulls conflict precisely because of the hybrid nature of the educational system: the pulls at the ministry level are designed for a public machine bureaucracy, the pulls for the district/school level are designed for a professional bureaucracy. The differing sets of pulls reflect a different prime coordinating mechanism for each configuration: standardization of work processes (Public Machine) versus standardization of skills and mutual adjustment (Professional). The conflicting pulls may co-exist within one hybrid as long as one set does not seriously impair the functioning of the other by

outright domination. This co-existence requires a delicate balancing act in which a consensus of values and mutual trust, an organizational "ideology", glues the members of the system together. When the public machine bureaucracy and the professional bureaucracy levels of the educational system are driven by a political culture that inhibits a consensus of values and mutual trust, then the delicate balance within the structure gives way to a continuous structural tug-of-war. This tension is reinforced in British Columbia as the bipolar culture forms a divergent overlay on top of the already dichotomous structural needs of the members of the organization at the apex and in the operating core. Thus the cry for "greater accountability" becomes politicized at one pole within the system, and the demand for greater professionalization becomes the political slogan of "those in the trenches". In British Columbia, an organizational dilemma is thus translated into a political problem in which both sides want to enforce their own solutions.

Jamha's thesis gives ample testament that the three sets of conflicting pulls are also operational in the Alberta education system. The critical difference in that system is the obvious effort of all major actors in the system to reconcile the various pulls. The minister is the reconciler and mediator of the system par excellence through the politics of integration. In British Columbia we have instead major actors in the system, including the minister, as champions of one set of contending pulls, polarized in a regional political culture that reinforces differences and that translates the structural needs of its members into a political holy war.

The public machine/professional bureaucracy hybrid presents two different sets of contingency factors, coordinating mechanisms, design variables and processes for policy and decision making. Figure 8 summarizes these differences.

**FIGURE 8: THE CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK
OF THE PUBLIC/PROFESSIONAL EDUCATION BUREAUCRACY**

<u>PUBLIC MACHINE BUREAUCRACY</u>	<u>PROFESSIONAL BUREAUCRACY</u>
Prime Coordinating Mechanism: - <i>standardization of work processes</i>	- <i>standardization of skills</i> - <i>mutual adjustment (in more adhocratic structures)</i>
Main Design Parameters: - <i>formalization of behaviour by rules and job descriptions</i> - <i>limited decentralization</i>	- <i>in-service training and indoctrination</i> - <i>highly decentralized</i>
Flow of Decision Making: - <i>top down</i>	- <i>bottom up</i>
Nature of Work in Operating Core: - <i>routine, formalized, with little discretion</i>	- <i>skilled, standardized, with much individual autonomy</i>
Flow of Informal Communications: - <i>discouraged</i>	- <i>significant in more adhocratic structures</i>
Environment: - <i>simple and stable</i>	- <i>complex and stable (more adhocratic: complex and fluctuating)</i>
Power: - <i>technocratic and external control</i>	- <i>professional operator control</i>
Size: - <i>complex structure, many levels</i>	- <i>usually small, "flat" structures</i>
Tightly Coupled (policy levels to operators)	- <i>loosely coupled</i>
Control Systems: - <i>top-down accountability</i>	- <i>collaborative, collegial process</i>
Rational Decision Making: - <i>concerned with calculations and control</i> - <i>use research to justify means</i> - <i>downplay role of interest groups</i>	Political Influence: - <i>favour decentralized decision making</i> - <i>use research to analyze results</i> - <i>involve more stakeholders</i>

<p>Clear Policy Statements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>consistent with classical, top-down model of implementation</i> - <i>policy is a set of instructions which are clear and specific</i> - <i>implementation: "irresistible unfolding"</i> 	<p>Mutual Adaptation:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>consistent with evolutionary model of implementation</i> - <i>policy is a set of multiple dispositions to act</i> - <i>context determines shape of implementation</i> - <i>diverse forms of adaptation</i> - <i>implementors are members of different subcultures which makes clarity, behavioural change, understanding and full co-operation difficult to attain</i>
<p>Fidelity to Policy Statements:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>focus on discrepancies between intended and actual outcomes</i> - <i>often use data to mobilize criticism</i> 	<p>Actual Consequences:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - <i>focus on complexity</i> - <i>describes what actually occurred including unexpected side-effects</i> - <i>seeks identification of variables which can be manipulated</i> - <i>seeks to identify causes of change</i>

(Foster, 1990, p.1-2; Mintzberg, 1979, p.466-467; Coleman and La Roque, 1987)

THE BIPOLAR POLITICAL CULTURE AND PARTY POLITICS IN SCHOOL BOARD ELECTIONS.

A recent study of the growth of party politics in school board elections draws the conclusion that a discordant political culture is the catalyst for this politicization:

The fact of the matter is that more school board elections in urban and suburban Canada are becoming partisan contests. This is particularly true in Quebec and British Columbia, two areas of Canada which have had high levels of political discord in education. (Robinson, Cohen, Nielson, 1992, p.6-7)

In an article entitled "Party Politics in School Board Elections: Boon or Bane?", Norman Robinson, Sharon Cohen, and Valerie Nielson studied the growing trend towards partisan politics in education. "This growth has occurred because education has become more of an issue in national and provincial politics ... Political parties on both the right and the left have developed positions on education which reflect their

basic ideological differences" (p.1).

While the most recent study (1980) showed that over 80 per cent of the school board elections in the thirty largest school districts in Canada were non-partisan contests, the authors of the 1992 study highlight the growing trend towards partisanship particularly in urban centres and spreading to the suburbs. For example, in the 1990 school board elections in British Columbia, there were partisan contests in nine of the ten suburban school districts surrounding Vancouver. A decade earlier, less than half of these districts had partisan contests.

Partisanship either took the form of civic branches of the national and provincial political parties (the NDP were most active in this respect) or were distinct civic parties. In Delta, B.C., where school board elections had been non-partisan contests until the 1980s, the budget restraint policies of the B.C. provincial government gave rise to political slates. The authors found that civic parties/slates in urban and suburban areas around Vancouver performed the functions of aggregating opinions and attitudes of candidates equally successfully. All candidates were found to be card-carrying members of provincial political parties.

The authors conclude by suggesting that the growth of partisan politics at the school board level would probably have a beneficial aspect by increasing mobilization and participation of voters, increasing information to voters and increasing the focus on issues (p.6-7). "The growth of partisan contests in school board elections in Canada means that ideological differences in the community will be brought more into the exposed arena of political debate", giving voters a better rational choice of policies

among the parties and slates (p.8).

The growth of party politics at the board level will also undoubtedly increase the level of tension between boards and the education minister, as articulated mandates could easily differ at the two levels of educational governance, as they have in the 1980s particularly in the Lower Mainland. The growth of partisan party politics, while providing a valuable service to voters in interest aggregation and articulation, will undoubtedly widen the gap between the education minister's authority (with boards complying to higher-level statutory obligations) and the minister's power (with locally empowered boards mandated to challenge ministry policies deemed not beneficial to local concerns). The increased politicization of the "External Coalition" of the educational system will also produce a noticeable increase in the politicization and "power game" playing of the "Internal Coalition", the employees of the system, following the logic of Mintzberg's "power configurations". Board partisan politics should also increase the conflicting pulls emanating from the public machine and professional bureaucratic levels of the educational system as the entire system becomes an overtly political domain.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

The first section of this chapter addressed the comparison of roles of the education minister in British Columbia and Alberta, seen from the perspective of the impact of regional political culture. Salient differences found in the personal, government, legislature, ministry, party and public dimensions could often be traced to differing regional political cultures of discord and concord. Role similarities

stemming from formal role requirements often were tied into the notion of nation-state political culture. This section would suggest that the concept of regional political culture in educational governance as defined by Richard Townsend has a great degree of validity in understanding the roles of the education minister in British Columbia and Alberta.

The related findings of Chapter IV focused on two aspects, the impact of regional political culture on the structural hybrid of the British Columbia educational system and on the growing trend of party politics in school board elections. Here, the impact of a bipolar discordant political culture was seen as a catalytic agent. The bipolar culture increased the intensity of the conflicting pulls between the public machine and professional bureaucratic levels of the educational system. The discordant B.C. political culture was also seen as having a critical impact on the growth of partisan party/slate politics in school board elections in British Columbia.

In Chapter V the summary, conclusions and implications of this study are presented.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, IMPLICATIONS

In this final chapter, a summary of this study will be presented along with pertinent conclusions. The chapter will also address some practical and methodological implications that have arisen from this study.

SUMMARY OF THE THESIS

CHAPTER I

Chapter I introduced the focus of this thesis, highlighted the central problem and sub-problems, and discussed the significance, assumptions, and limitations of the study as well as presenting an overview of each chapter.

The main focus of this thesis was identified as the impact of regional political culture on the role of the political elites at the apex of the educational system, the ministers of education in British Columbia and Alberta. Political culture was defined as "the broad patterns of individual values and attitudes towards political objects. These may be concrete objects such as government institutions or national symbols such as the flag, but they may be intangibles like power" (Jackson, p.80). Regional political culture was seen as one dimension of regionalism, a pervasive pattern in politics whereby the vastness of Canada promotes profound differences in socio-economic structures, in geography and in language; these variables in turn condition the political values, attitudes, beliefs and behaviours of regional citizenry. Part of the impact of regional political culture is on the roles of political leaders, providing "a range of acceptable values and standards upon which leaders can draw in attempting to justify their policies" (Bell, p.108). Political culture also helps define the

tenor and nature of debate about problems, what problems are to be discussed, and who should be assigned responsibility to solve them. Political culture was identified as "encapsulating" political role requirements and behaviours.

The central problem addressed in this thesis: What is the impact of regional political culture on the role requirements and behaviour of the minister of education in British Columbia and Alberta? Regional political culture was treated as an independent variable, impacting upon the dependent variable, ministerial role requirements and behaviour. Sub-problems analyzed in this study included:

- contexts in which ministers performed their roles
- role requirements in terms of formal prescription and informal expectations
- the translation of role requirements into action
- common and contrasting elements among the ministers on an inter-provincial perspective
- the utility value of the concept of regional political culture in explaining ministerial behaviour.

The sub-problems of context, role requirements and behaviour were addressed in Chapter III, the inter-provincial and regional political culture perspective and the utility value of the concept of regional political culture were analyzed in Chapter IV.

The significance of this study may be summarized as its being the first attempt to analyze the impact of regional political culture on comparative education ministerial roles. Generally, there is a dearth of studies of a conceptual nature on the role of the education minister.

The main data base of this study concerned interviews undertaken by this researcher of two former British Columbia education ministers, Jack Heinrich (1983-86) and Tony Brummet (1986-90). The findings of Allan Jamha in his study of the role dimensions of

three Alberta ministers were also critical for this study as were the findings of Giles and Cree for B.C. ministers from 1953 to 1983.

An important assumption of this study was that the perceptions of the subjects were accurate and truthful. Limitations, discussed in Chapter I, related to the large sample of B.C. subjects as opposed to Alberta ministers, to cabinet confidentiality, to the use of interviews as primary means of data collection, and to the lack of inclusion of perceptions of "significant others".

CHAPTER II

In Chapter II the research requirements and procedures used in this study were outlined, brief biographical sketches of B.C. subjects presented, and the validity of comparing B.C. and Alberta as units of analysis was discussed.

Concerning data collection and treatment, the two B.C. subjects were interviewed (tape recorded) by this researcher for five to six hours each, producing a transcript of approximately 100 single-spaced typed pages. The interview guide used closely followed the role dimensions format developed by Allan Jamha, augmented by several questions from Giles' and Cree's interview guides, as well as several questions designed by this researcher. For data validation and background, extensive use was made of pertinent B.C. Ministry of Education documentation.

British Columbia and Alberta as units of comparison were explored to show a reasonably comparative basis in terms of population, size, diversity, economies, government income and government spending, especially concerning education.

CHAPTER III

In Chapter III selected literature was examined pertaining to political culture, to role theory and its application in the Alberta context, and to relevant findings on the experience of the education minister in British Columbia. The contexts in which the two former ministers interviewed by this researcher performed their roles were outlined. Finally the role requirements, expectations for and behaviours of the two B.C. ministers were explored in depth.

Concerning political culture, three strands were identified: nation-state, ethnic/linguistic cleavages, and the focus of this study, regional political culture. Five distinct regional political cultures were highlighted, with the main emphasis on the discordant political culture of British Columbia and its largely concordant counterpart in Alberta, in the specific setting of educational governance.

"Role" was defined as a combination of what a person is or is not supposed to do (requirements) and what a person actually does (behaviour).

Jamha's study underscored the importance of the doctrine of ministerial responsibility in how ministers defined their roles. Six dimensions of the roles of Alberta ministers were identified and described: government, legislature, political party, department of education, public and personal. The personal dimension emerged as a key to understanding ministerial behaviour in the other dimensions.

A summary of relevant findings of Giles and Cree on B.C. ministers from 1953-83 was presented on major issues, major lobby groups, personal agendas, functioning of the minister's office, and relationships with the media. The conflictive nature of the work

domain of the B.C. ministers from the mid-1960s onwards contrasted sharply with the relatively placid experience of earlier ministers. A central theme that emerged during the late 1960s was the struggle between important actors in the system over ministry-level initiatives for centralized accountability and district-level demands for greater autonomy. Funding issues were usually the focal point of this struggle.

In Chapter III the various contexts in which the ministers performed their roles were illuminated, including the provincial cabinet, the legal and legislative (authority) context, the historical origins of ministerial authority, the context of power, the economic context and the political and educational contexts.

The reform of the cabinet system with cabinet committees was undertaken in British Columbia in the mid-1970s by the government of Premier William Bennett, years after similar reforms had taken place in most other provinces and at the federal level. The key players in the new cabinet scenario are the premier, at the apex of the political party and governmental structures, and the minister of finance as head of the Treasury Board. In B.C. the high profile education portfolio is assigned to the Social Services Committee and major policy and funding issues are debated within this committee before moving to full cabinet deliberation.

The role of the education minister in B.C. is bound within a complex and historical network of laws and since 1982 the Constitution Act has been the touchstone of legality with the Supreme Court of Canada as final arbiter. The Vancouver School Board case (B.C. Supreme Court, 1985) reaffirmed the legal basis of the minister's authority to intervene at any level in the system.

Though the authority system (power vested in office) clearly favours the statutory prerogatives of the minister, the power system (the ability to effect/affect outcomes) divides power between the mandate-based Instrument level and the expertise-based Meritocracy level of the system. The politicization of the Trustee level has reinforced this dichotomy of power sharing.

The state of the provincial economy in British Columbia was demonstrated to have a direct impact on ministerial policy-making and dramatically affected the relationship of major actors in the system.

Finally, in Chapter III, the interview data in the six roles framework showed the period 1983-1990 to be highly conflictive, with important actors in the B.C. educational system as odds over purposes and agendas of the system. This volatile atmosphere was "inherited" from former ministers by Jack Heinrich, a "lightning rod" of restraint, and by Tony Brummet, a post-restraint renewer of the educational system.

CHAPTER IV

The first section of Chapter IV addressed the comparison of roles of the education minister in B.C. and Alberta from the perspective of the impact of regional political culture. Salient differences in the personal, government, legislature, ministry, party and public dimensions could often be traced to differing regional political cultures of discord and concord. Inter-provincial role differences were greatest in the least formally prescribed dimensions, the personal and the public. Role similarities stemming from formal role requirements were often tied into the notion of nation-state political culture. Regional political culture also directly affected the educational climate, the policy choices made by the

ministers, and heavily influenced the debate, particularly in B.C., about the purposes of government.

The related findings of Chapter IV focused on two aspects, the impact of regional political culture on the structural hybrid of the British Columbia educational system and on school board elections. Here, the impact of a bipolar discordant political culture was seen as a catalytic agent.

CONCLUSIONS

Richard Townsend's observations about the dichotomy of regional political cultures in British Columbia (discord) and Alberta (concord) would seem highly accurate in describing the "political talk" of the elite group of people who managed, directed, and presided over the ministry/department of education.

This study lends credibility to the notion that British Columbia has a bipolar regional culture that has impacted on educational governance for decades. This bipolar political culture is discordant, with major attributes being conflictiveness, moralism, cynicism and cabal-finding. By contrast, Alberta's "politics of integration" are very much in the spirit of a Prairie cooperative political culture of concordance, the major attributes being consensuality, acceptance, trust and democracy-finding.

In the context of role analysis, the greatest impact of regional political cultures was found in the informal expectations and role behaviours of the ministers. The formal role requirements were most deeply imbued with the nation-state political culture.

The impact of regional political culture in B.C. and Alberta was shown to be evident in all of the six role dimensions: personal, government, legislature, party, minister of

education and public. In addition, regional political culture also directly affected the educational climate, the policy choices made by the ministers. And the debate about the legitimacy of governmental action, especially in British Columbia. The bipolar political culture also heightened the structural tensions already built into the B.C. educational system, sometimes to the point of dysfunctionality, and catalyzed a power game of mandate versus expertise. The politicization of school board elections in British Columbia is also related to the impact of a bipolar political culture.

The impact of regional political culture seems to be greatest in those dimensions least formally prescribed, the personal and the public dimensions. Jamha and Worth (p.8) contended that the personal dimension may be the most important as it largely defines the minister's values, attitudes, and behaviours in the other dimensions, an observation supported by this study. The public dimension is also critical as it frameworks the minister's relationship with important stakeholders in the educational system whose cooperation is vital for goal achievement, as well as with the media.

IMPLICATIONS

Practical Implications

This study may be of use to students and perhaps practitioners of educational governance, particularly in British Columbia and Alberta. Specifically it may offer some insights to those who seek to probe the role of the education minister more deeply.

This study may offer some insights into the organization design of the British Columbia educational system. The bipolar political culture has a number of negative impacts

on this system, not the least of which is the high level of conflict and adversarial posturing between the minister and major actors in the system. The central problem here is that to accomplish the goals of the system, the cooperation of all the major actors in the system on a long term basis is necessary. The minister cannot control these actors and must seek therefore to influence them.

The British Columbia ministers do not get top marks for influencing or persuading key actors "to get on side", if the relationship of the minister with the BCTF, BCSTA, and teachers in general is considered since the late 1960s. This study pointed out the political cultural cause of this antagonism and examined the structural "hole" in the government/ministry dimensions where this impact is most apparent: the lack of a role of the minister as public relations spokesperson on behalf of the actors of the educational system and as a mediator/arbitrator of group interests. In a ministry beset by conflict, with major actors at odds over means and ends, the ability of the minister to speak authoritatively and with conviction on behalf of all major actors is severely curtailed, and the role of internal disturbance handler largely displaces that of external spokesperson and mediator of group interests.

The literature on educational governance suggests that the cooperation of "core constituencies" is vital to the well-being of the system (ministry, teachers, teacher and trustee associations, parents, students etc.). Based on this assumption we are faced with two choices: either change the political culture that produces the political impasse or redesign the organization to accommodate the core constituencies.

Reinventing the political culture is a challenge of the highest order, as it virtually

entails rewriting 100 years of British Columbia political and social-economic history, and challenging core political values, beliefs, attitudes and behaviours. Such an endeavour could only be undertaken over a long period of time and involve a fundamental shake-up of the political system in British Columbia. This would require unprecedented political leadership and an unheralded exercise of collective will. The problem here is that the maintenance of the political party system as we know it is tied to the maintenance of the status quo political culture. Perhaps only a major breakdown of society (such as during the Depression) could serve as an impetus for such a change.

A more modest effort at group interest reconciliation may be attempted through organization design. In this scenario the organization (the B.C. educational system) would consciously attempt to inculcate, on a small scale at first, a culture of integration and consensus within the system. The creation of a high profile role within the system to promote integration is certainly within the bounds of possibility. In Alberta this role is already undertaken by the minister, but a strong tradition in the politics of consensus makes this role less inherently challenging than in the British Columbia context where no such consensus of values is shared by major actors. That the education minister in British Columbia could undertake such a role at the present time is highly doubtful, given the history of the last twenty years and the already overburdening nature of the minister's portfolio. Rather, the integrative role could perhaps best be performed by an additional deputy minister whose sole function is that of spokesperson, integrator, and mediator. The creation of such a role (Deputy minister of organizational relations) would be contingent on two critical factors. First, the government and cabinet must possess the long-term political will necessary to

support policies for integrative change and not use the role as "window dressing" for partisan public relations. Secondly, the major actors in the system would have to agree that such a role is warranted and take part in discussions to articulate its mandate. "A clearing of the air" is a vital part of this process. Such a role would necessarily require impeccable skills in diplomacy, negotiation, mediation and spokespersonship on the part of the person occupying it.

The alternative to consciously redesigning the organization to promote the growth of integrative politics is to allow matters to continue down the path of conflict and divisiveness, a direction which is proving increasingly unworkable, as it severely detracts from fashioning a client-centred education system instead of settling for a conflict-beset system-centred organization.

Methodological Implications

This study would suggest that for a comparative analysis of ministerial roles, the six dimension role format is useful but not sufficient to fully explain similarities and differences in role requirements and behaviours. The inclusion of the notion of (regional) political culture is necessary to understand discernible differences in political values, attitudes, and behaviours of elites and citizenry alike.

The model developed in this study to show the impact of regional political culture on political role requirements and behaviours may possibly be of benefit for the study of other ministerial contexts, especially at the provincial level.

The contribution of organization theory to this study (power and structural configurations), especially the work of Henry Mintzberg, suggests that a fuller understanding

of complex organizations such as school systems requires a wider conceptual net than any one discipline (such as political science) can provide.

Suggestions for Further Research

An important area suggested by this study for further research is a furthering of our conceptual knowledge about roles and role behaviour. Specifically, further investigation of managerial role dimensions would help us to understand how the "generic" work domain of the minister is defined. Mintzberg in The Nature of Managerial Work (1980, p.59) suggests that ten roles explain the work of all classifications of managers:

Formal Authority
and
Status

Interpersonal Roles
- Figurehead
- Leader
- Liaison

Informational
- Monitor
- Disseminator
- Spokesperson

Decisional Roles
- Entrepreneur
- Disturbance Handler
- Resource Allocator
- Negotiator

It should be observed that many of these roles were cited in this study and by Jamha but a systematic exploration of them would require an in-depth "shadowing" of the minister (or several ministers) by a researcher over time. Such research, while highly labour intensive, would truly present a quantum leap in our understanding of just what the minister's job entails.

Another topic of research suggested by this study would be to flesh out our knowledge of the "technical system" of the work of teachers as described by Rosenholtz and Hoy and Miskel, as well as the technical systems of other levels. Organization theory informs us that understanding the technical systems of an organization is critical to effective design. More work needs to be done to describe and analyze what teachers do and consequently what the structural and power implications are for the educational system in which they work. This research need is particularly relevant as massive external pressures are forcing public officials and educators to reevaluate their missions, goals, structures, and processes.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GUIDE

PART I -- Personal

1. Why do you think you were asked by Premier Bennett/Vander Zalm to serve as the minister of education?
2. What goals or aspirations did you set for yourself when you became minister of education? Which of these were personal goals or objectives?
3. While you were the minister, how would you describe your style of leadership?
4. What factors most affected your options or choices as minister of education?
5. Considering your achievements as minister of education of which are you most proud?
6. If you were asked to describe the role of minister of education in one sentence, what would you say?
7. Please describe the time demands required of the minister of education.
8. Who or what was most influential in your development as minister of education?

PART II

A Government Dimension

1. What formally prescribed requirements were there for the minister of education as a member of the cabinet?

B Informal Expectations

1. In addition to the formal requirements what did you perceive was expected of the minister of education:

- a) as a member of the cabinet?
 - b) in relation to the caucus?
 - c) with respect to the Social Services Committee of the Cabinet?
2. How much attention did your ministry receive in cabinet discussions?

C Role Behaviour

1. How would you describe your style of operation as a minister in the government?
2. What was your relationship with other ministers? Other government MLAs?
3. What were your responsibilities on the Council of Ministers of Education in Canada?

PART III -- LEGISLATURE DIMENSION

A Formally Prescribed Requirements

1. As minister of education what were your formal responsibilities in the Legislature?

B Informal Expectations

1. The doctrine of ministerial responsibility in Canada, based on the British model, expects that the minister is accountable to the Legislative Assembly for his actions and the actions of his Ministry. As minister of education, how did you interpret this convention?
2. In addition to the formal requirements, what did you perceive was expected of you in the Legislature by:
 - a) the Premier and the other members of the government?
 - b) the Opposition?
 - c) the Speaker?
 - d) your constituents?

C Role Behaviour

1. How would you describe your style of operation in the Legislature?

PART IV -- PARTY DIMENSION**A Formally Prescribed Requirements**

1. Please explain the relation between party policy and government policy in regard to education.
2. What were the formal responsibilities of the minister of education in relation to the party?

B Informal Expectations

1. What was expected of you at party meetings as minister of education?

C Role Behaviour

1. How did you handle wearing the two hats of MLA and minister of education in your constituency?

PART V -- MINISTRY OF EDUCATION DIMENSION**A Formally Prescribed Requirements**

1. How did you perceive your role as minister as defined by the School Act? ("The Minister, who shall hold office during pleasure, shall manage and direct the ministry.") (1983)
2. Which government statutes impacted most on your role as minister of education? Why?

B Informal Expectations

1. In addition to the formal requirements what did you perceive was expected of you by the staff in the ministry?

C Role Behaviour

1. Who was responsible for the selection of deputy minister when you were the minister? How were the deputy's responsibilities determined?
2. Who selected the staff and specified the duties for positions in the department under the deputy?

3. How would you describe your relationship with the deputy minister?
With other staff in the department of education?
4. How would you describe the process by which your department dealt with a specific major policy issue? What were the "mechanics" of this process? What "players" were active in the decision-making process?

PART IV -- PUBLIC DIMENSION

A Formally Prescribed Requirements

1. What were the formal functions of the minister of education in relation to:
 - a) teachers and the B.C. Teachers Federation?
 - b) school boards and the B.C. School Trustees Association?
 - c) other interest groups?
 - d) the general public?
 - e) the mass media?

B In addition to the formal requirements, what did you perceive was expected of you by:

- a) teachers and the B.C. Teachers Federation?
- b) school boards and the B.C. School Trustees Association?
- c) other interest groups?
- d) the general public?
- e) the mass media?

C Role Behaviour

1. How would you describe your relationship with:
 - a) teachers and the B.C. Teachers Federation?
 - b) school boards and the B.C. School Trustees Association?
 - c) other interest groups?
 - d) the general public?
 - e) the mass media?
2. In your estimation, how much influence did the various interest groups have on you as minister? What degree of influence was evident on other members of the government?

PART VII

1. How would you describe the educational climate in B.C. when you became minister?
2. What were the major issues of the day in education?
3. Can you identify the driving force(s) behind these issues? (party policy, special interests etc.)
4. Are there speeches or papers of yours which will be helpful to me in completing this study?
5. Are there any additional questions you think I should have asked you?