International Education in Manitoba:
Exploring Leadership Practices in Policy Contexts

Merli Tamtik
University of Manitoba

Abstract

International education has become an increasingly important, yet complex policy sector in Canada. When shared responsibilities and competing interests exist across governments and educational institutions, the need for policy coordination emerges. This study focuses on the province of Manitoba and its policy coordination practices in K-12 international educational. A framework is proposed to analyze the role educational administrators in policy process focusing on: (a) actor dynamic, (b) process dynamic, and (c) outcome dynamic. Data for this study were collected through a qualitative case study approach that applied document analysis and semi-structured interview techniques. Findings suggest that leadership practices go beyond the structure of single institutions, and increasingly have a shared nature involving school administrators, governments, and membership organizations. Characteristics such as shared stakeholder interests, formal power position, and the interdependence of resources play an important role in fostering the leadership practices in policy contexts.

Keywords: Manitoba international education policy, distributed leadership, K-12 school system

Introduction

International education has become a policy sector of increasing relevance to Canada. It is viewed as a mechanism to ensure the competitiveness of the national economy and as a tool for securing skilled labor (Sá & Sabzalieva, 2018; Scott, Safdar, Trilokekar, & El Masri, 2015). The Canadian federal government has declared a goal of attracting 450,000 students to Canada by 2022, focusing on priority markets such as Vietnam, Brazil, China, and India (Government of Canada, 2014). While education in Canada is a provincial responsibility, international education crosses federal-provincial jurisdictions through policies related to immigration, international trade, economic development, and labour. On one hand, provincial governments might share the promising economic interests associated with international education. On the other hand, they are dependent on the capability of schools and post-secondary education institutions to accommodate the increasing number of international students and provide them with relevant and meaningful educational experiences. As such, international education is a multidimensional and multilayered policy sector with shared responsibilities, where the implementation of international education programs depends on policy coordination and collaboration across stakeholder groups.

Perspectives on leadership practices focus mainly on actor dynamic within a group or organization (Gronn, 2000, 2009; Leithwood et al., 2007; Spillane, 2006). However, research suggests that the work of school administrators continues to intensify and becomes more complex as ideologically driven reforms and government interventions increase (Wright, 2008). With an increased tendency towards horizontal networked governance forms in education policy (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010), there is an emerging opportunity for school administrators to participate in policy decisions, and advocate for organizational interests beyond the boundaries of their own organization. The purpose of this paper is to propose a framework

that allows examining the activities of educational administrators in the policy context beyond their own organization, focusing on the actor dynamic, process dynamic and outcome dynamic. The framework is then applied to analyse the international education policy processes in Manitoba.

Scholars have been critical of Canada's policy approaches regarding international education (McCartney & Metcalfe, 2018; Stein & de Andreotti, 2016; Trilokekar & Jones, 2015). International students are perceived to be "designer migrants" (Hawthorne, 2012), "ideal immigrants" (Scott et al., 2015), "cash," "competition," and "charity" (Stein & de Andreotti, 2016) in policy documents and in practice. Several authors have pointed to the general discourse shift in Canadian policies whereby international students have moved from being the receivers of development aid to being Canada's solution to filling a void of highly skilled workers (Stein, 2017; Trilokekar, 2010). There is consensus that Canada's new federal strategy for international education (2014) is highly problematic, pointing to its primary focus on marketization and profits (Tamtik, 2017). There have been instances where local administrative practices of international education have led to "school district business companies" on the part of public school districts that often have ignored the learning needs of international students (see Cover, 2016; Fallon & Poole, 2014). Others have noted a mismatch between the perceived labour market success of international students and their lived experiences (Scott et al., 2015). Guo & Guo (2017) demonstrated how the internationalization of curriculum that is emphasized in institutional policies does not translate into classroom practice. These Canada-specific examples highlight the pressing need for policy coordination that aims to bring together government and non-government stakeholders to create a conducive learning environment for international students in Canada.

Research shows that international education experiences are starting early with 15% of international students (out of 353 000) entering Canada for primary or secondary school education (CBIE, 2015). As such, we need to know more about how school administrators engage with policy processes in international education. Most research on K-12 sector internationalization initiatives has focused on the province of British Columbia where international education programs have significantly expanded in number and scale over the past two decades (Cover, 2016). Fallon & Poole (2014) observed that market-driven revenue sources, characterized by the commodification of education services, competition among schools and districts, and expanded consumer (i.e., parent and student) choice, are becoming increasingly evident for K-12 public education in British Columbia. There has been less written about K-12 international education policy and practice in the other Canadian provinces. The province of Manitoba, compared to other provinces, provides a unique example of internationalization approaches that stands out for its significant policy support and policy coordination across the educational providers. This study focused on Manitoba and its policy activities in international education. The following research questions guided the study: How have K-12 level international education policies and practice emerged in Manitoba? How has policy coordination been achieved to steer international education practices?

International Education in Manitoba

International education has become an important industry for Manitoba, similar to British Columbia, Ontario, and Quebec (CBIE, 2015). It generates approximately 325 million dollars for the Manitoba economy annually (Roslyn Kunin & Associates, 2016). International education supports economic growth and addresses the province's labour market needs. According to Statistics Canada (2016), Manitoba's population has been growing at a faster rate (5.8%) than the national average (5%) mostly due to international migration involving substantial contributions from international students. The Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) has been widely instituted to address distinct regional labour market needs and encourage immigrant settlement in the province.

The student mobility rates in the province have been growing steadily, reaching 11,174 students in 2013 (Government of Manitoba, 2014) (see Table 1). The mobility numbers in the K-12 sector are still quite modest, accounting for 0.75% of the total student population (1,431 students). Currently there are 10 public school boards and 5 private schools that are actively involved in the International Student Program. The school divisions with the highest annual number of international students in Manitoba include the Pembina Trails School Division (200-250 international students), Louis Riel School Division (240 international students), St. James Assiniboia School Division (100 students), River East Transcona School Division (150 students), and Lord Selkirk School Division (20-35 students) (CAPS-I, 2017).

Table 1
Total Number of International Students in Manitoba 2004-2013

	2004	**2005**	**2006**	**2007**	**2008**	**2009**	**2010**	**2011**	**2012**	**2013**
Elementary and secondary schools	1034	1055	1219	1072	1110	1082	1118	1288	1311	1431
Post-secondary education	3332	3685	3748	3536	3378	3746	4308	5057	6010	8240
ESL	1548	1099	1422	1375	1037	464	794	1317	1334	1503
Total students	5914	5839	6389	5983	5525	5292	6220	7662	8655	11174

Source: Government of Manitoba, 2014.

The decision to start an international student program at a school is made primarily at the local level by the school boards. Usually international students are non-fundable by the provincial government, so all costs must be covered by the tuition they pay. As a result, schools charge about $12,000 in tuition fees per academic year to fund the costs on a per-student basis (Government of Manitoba, Manitoba Education and Training, 2016). School divisions with a larger number of international students can generate extra revenue from the tuition fees they charge, serving as an alternative means to generate revenue in addition to the operating budgets provided by the provincial government and money raised through tax levies from the local property tax. The latter is a unique feature of Manitoba's K-12 funding system.

From a policy perspective, Manitoba can be regarded as a leader in regulating and supporting international education activities. Manitoba developed its first formal International Education Strategy in 2008 (Government of Manitoba, 2008). In 2016, it proclaimed a legally binding International Education Act, which regulates the provision of educational programs to international students and standardizes the recruitment of prospective international students (Government of Manitoba, 2016). "The Guide to the Code of Practice and Conduct Regulation for Manitoba Designated Education Providers, Their Staff Recruiters and Contracted Agents" is another document that supports quality and coherent standards in international education (IEB, 2015). In addition, the province has introduced The International Education Incentive Loan Fund - a provincial loan program to help Manitoba's public schools to develop, market, and implement innovative international education projects by providing interest-free loans to eligible schools (Government of Manitoba, n.d.). According to the interviews in this study, this loan fund has enabled western Manitoba schools to establish an international student program whereby five school divisions have worked together to hire an ISP director and initiate the program. In addition to increasing student mobility, the provincial government has entered into agreements authorizing schools overseas to offer curriculum and award Manitoba high school diplomas in China, South Korea, Bangladesh, Egypt, and Thailand. These initiatives are clear examples of a political commitment and coordinated policy approach to making international education a provincial priority.

Theoretical Approach

Overlapping responsibilities and blurred lines of authority across the federal government, provincial governments, and local educational providers have created a situation for more collaborative and shared notion of policy-making to emerge. In order to understand the nuances of this process, I drew upon distributed leadership literature (e.g., Gronn, 2009; Leithwood et al., 2007; Spillane, Diamond, Sherer, & Coldren, 2004) and interest group literature in public policy (Beyers, Eising, & Maloney, 2008; Dür, 2008; Mahoney, 2007). While the distributed leadership literature has focused on the actor relationships, the interest group literature has examined policy-specific factors (type and scope of issue, level of conflict). Each has informed the process from a distinct perspective. Based on this literature review, I developed a framework for understanding the role of educational administrators in the policy context. I then applied this framework to the case of international education policy in Manitoba.

A distributed leadership perspective suggests that there are multiple sources of leadership widely shared among individuals and groups (Gronn, 2000, 2009; Harris, 2007; Leithwood et al., 2007; Spillane et al., 2004). Scholars have noted that, while there is no clear definition of distributed leadership (Lumby, 2017; Tian, Risku, & Collin, 2016), there is consensus that distributed leadership recognizes inclusivity,

collaboration, and stakeholder relationships in which the outcome largely depends on mutual contributions. Collins (2008) sees distributed leadership as the vertical dispersal of authority and responsibility across various levels of stakeholders (e.g., different government levels) and shared leadership in terms of the horizontal dimensions (e.g., policy sectors) of these processes. As this study primarily focused on examining the leadership dynamic across the levels of stakeholders, the term "distributed" leadership was used. Existing research on distributed leadership has tended to describe the actor dynamic within an organization. Spillane (2004) suggested that leadership practices are distributed across three groups: *leaders*, *followers,* and their *situation*. Followers co-produce leadership practices through their interactions with leaders. Spillane & Diamond (2007) used the concept of "leader-plus" to acknowledge the work of all individuals in formal and informal leadership positions that influence the process of leadership.

While individual leaders act, their actions are defined in part by the actions of others, involving diversity in resources, power, and formal authority. Mahoney (2007) argued that actors' ability to organize themselves in terms of sharing power and resources can have an influence on how successful groups are in achieving their interests. Jessop (2004) further emphasized the interdependency of the policy process, noting that each stakeholder contributes specific assets that are needed by others. For example, state capacities involve political, legislative, fiscal, and/or coercive powers. Non-governmental stakeholders contribute symbolic and/or material resources such as private money, legitimacy, information, expertise, organizational capacities, or the power of numbers to advance collectively agreed aims and objectives (Jessop, 2004). Ongoing inter-dependence between sectorial stakeholders means that one cannot advance one's interests without the help and support of the others (Börzel & Heard-Lauréote, 2009).

Another core theme in both literature streams is the attention given to the process dynamic. Spillane (2004) differentiated between "coordinated distribution" and "collaborative distribution" of leadership, whereby tasks are arranged sequentially with the former, and tasks are worked separately, yet interdependently, with the latter. Gronn (2002) described three forms of engagement – process as spontaneous (focusing on a specific task), intuitive (developing working relationships over time), or institutionalized (using formal committees to address a goal). These forms may influence the level of engagement. In public policy literature, Beyers (2008) argued that it is the nature of a policy issue that drives actors' behaviors:

1. Particularistic issues concern only a few groups pursuing their interests.
2. In dividing issues, actors share common goals but disagree on how to realize them.
3. Unifying issues are seen as broader issues that impact the functioning of the whole economy and have broad societal implications.

Particularistic issues tend to lead to instrumental influence, where the focus is on the ability to adapt or modify existing policy tools. Unifying issues lead to directional influence that, in turn, leads to a general policy shift (e.g., change in immigration policy to support student mobility). Dividing issues might lead to either instrumental or directional outcomes that create further opportunities for leadership. Mahoney (2007) argued that the components of institutional structure (scope, level of conflict, salience of an issue to the public) can significantly influence the process outcomes. For example, if there is a high level of conflict in the process, the influence on the policy outcome is limited. If an issue-specific discussion has modest interest and salience among the public, the likelihood of influence on the policy is much higher. Based on the literature, the following components of the process are integral: (a) actor dynamic – situation, leaders versus followers, interdependence of assets; (b) process dynamic - examining issue characteristics, collaboration and cooperation, institutional structure (e.g., scope, conflict, salience of policy issue); and (c) outcomes - both instrumental outcomes (e.g., policy change, new program) and directional sense (e.g., setting new goals) (see Figure 1).
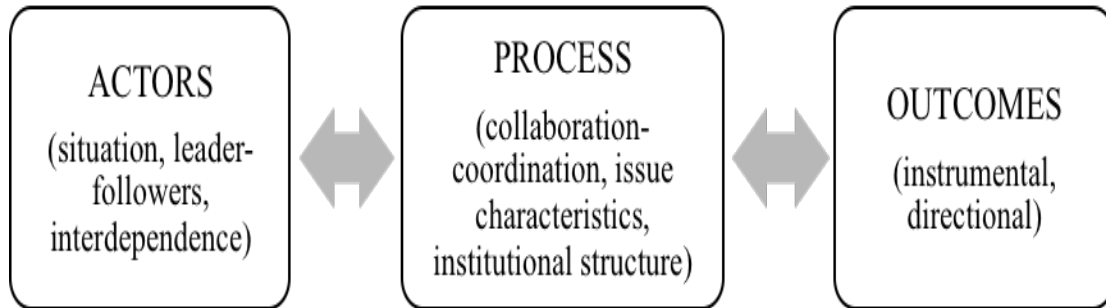
Figure 1. Author's conceptualization of leadership processes in policy contexts.

Critics have noted that there are several aspects to distributed leadership that need further attention. For example, Lumby (2013) argued that leadership is a political process, closely related to power dynamics, that leaves some players with limited capacity to have an impact. Leithwood, Mascall, and Strauss (2009) pointed out that there is a need for stronger empirical evidence to suggest a clear relationship between the distributed leadership practices and performance outcomes. Bolden (2011) asserted that the reward and recognition processes can be rather vague due to the systematic focus on relationships rather than individuals.

The framework in this study is aimed to address some of those concerns. First, it helps to unpack the power dynamic in the policy process by focusing on the interdependence of actors and their assets. As informal leaders often hold valuable resources such as information or the ability to organize, they have taken on an increasingly powerful role in policy-making. Second, this approach acknowledges the mutual influence and complexity of policy dynamics that are often not linear or rational. Although the phases in this framework are presented as cumulative, they can nevertheless intersect, reverse, or even repeat. Third, this approach focuses on understanding the outcomes of the policy process, recognizing also the informal or directional changes that are often difficult to quantify and can be easily overlooked. Overall, this approach helps to examine new and more complex forms of administration practices that require attention to developing multi-level actor's relationships in policy contexts.

Methods

Data for this study were collected through a qualitative case study approach that applied document analysis and semi-structured interview techniques. To gain a better understanding of the overall context of Manitoba's international education policy frameworks, relevant policy documents were gathered for the analysis. The following publicly available policy documents and reports were reviewed and analyzed: "Manitoba international student reports" (2004-2013) (Government of Manitoba, 2014); the "International Education Strategy of the Province of Manitoba 2009-2013" (Government of Manitoba, 2008); "The Guide to the Code of Practice and Conduct Regulation for Manitoba Designated Education Providers, Their Staff Recruiters and Contracted Agents. International Education Act Regulations 51(2) and Best Practices" (Government of Manitoba, 2015); the "International Education Act" (Government of Manitoba, 2016); and the "International Trade Strategy for Manitoba" (Council on International Trade, 2011). In addition, eight semi-structured interviews were conducted with the educational administrators: four administrators of the International Education Branch of the Manitoba provincial government and four Manitoba school administrators. The school administrators were selected based on their leadership capacity, defined as serving in the formal role of either an assistant superintendent or an International Student Program (ISP) coordinator, and having a direct involvement in overseeing the program within their schools/division. The interviews were conducted in the summer of 2016. Interviews were recorded and transcribed, and summaries were created that highlighted the core content of the interviews. Summaries were sent back to the participants for verification and further clarification. All transcripts were then coded and analyzed for emerging themes (Creswell, 1998; Strauss, 1987). Coding occurred over a three-cycle process. In the first cycle, answers were arranged into broad categories. In the second cycle, pattern coding was used to organize data into more focused themes relevant to the research questions (e.g., leadership roles in policy contexts; perceptions about the policy processes, coordination, and collaboration mech-

anisms; perceived outcomes). In the third cycle, the content of the themes was compared with, verified against, and complemented by the material collected through document analysis. Based on the analysis, and guided by the theoretical insights, the research questions were addressed, data analyzed, and findings presented.

Findings

Findings are categorized and presented in three main sections following the conceptual framework:

      1. Aspects describing the actor dynamic.

      2. Aspects related to the policy process.

      3. Aspects examining the outcomes.

Within each of the categories the data on general developments in relation to international education policy are described and analyzed, illustrated by participants' comments and quotes from the policy documents.

Actor Dynamic

The data revealed that the start and expansion of international student mobility in Manitoba schools has been characterized by a shifting dynamic between the leaders and the followers. According to the interviews, the establishment of an International Student Program in Manitoba started as a local-level bottom-up leadership initiative. The process started in the 1990s and was led by a school principal at Vincent Massey Collegiate in the Pembina Trails School Division in Winnipeg who was the first to initiate a more focused discussion around accommodating international students in this division. The principal turned to British Columbia (BC) to study K-12 internationalization practices in order to establish a similar program in Winnipeg. An administrator reflected:

> The principal flew out to Langley, BC and met with some people out there and found out what kind of a program they had and how it worked. [Name of the school principal] brought that back here and convinced our school board that we should try a program like this.

The principal was able to influence the school board (as the follower) to engage in the initiative and provide needed support. When the more formal ISP started in the Pembina Trails School Division in 1995, it had a target of 10 students. The program has currently expanded to several hundred. As the student numbers grew, international education became a promising policy area that had the potential to become a significant industry branch for the province. The need emerged to formally oversee and coordinate the process at the provincial level.

The findings demonstrate that once the International Education Branch (IEB) was established in 2001 by the provincial government, a shift in leadership roles occurred. In 2008, the branch released its first international education strategy, which expired in 2013 (Government of Manitoba, 2008). The document listed goals and priorities regarding the inward mobility of international students, the outward mobility of Manitoba students, the establishment of Manitoba programs in other countries, and the internationalization of Manitoba programs and students at home. As a formal coordinating body within the provincial government, the IEB took on official role of facilitator and supporter of international education activities in the province. As a participant noted: "[The] IEB is the branch of government that's responsible for developing [international education] strategy and implementing it." School administrators, once leaders in this policy area, became the followers of and contributors to the provincial policy developments.

The IEB was not able to advance the implementation of the international education strategy on its own but had to rely on the assets of others. As school administrators had first-hand knowledge of the progress and challenges related to international education, their power and influence had increased. Educational institutions were also able to organize themselves formally through the Manitoba Council for International Education (MCIE), which provided an information-sharing and advocacy platform for educational stakeholders involved in international education. Collaboration became essential, as confirmed by one of the IEB's strategic goals: "Work with Manitoba institutions to foster and increase international education collaboration" (Government of Manitoba, 2008, p. 8).

The findings also point to the importance of the broader context (situation) in advancing international education policy in Manitoba. In 2014, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (now Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada) adopted a policy that required provinces to prepare a list of Designated Learning Institutions (DLI) to ensure coherence in quality across the educational providers in the country. This

started focused policy discussions led by the IEB and involving school administrators among others. A government official stated: "We established a working group of education stakeholders which represented all the sectors of post-secondary, K-12, private colleges etc. and we met over about a six-month period." The process culminated with proclaiming the legally binding International Education Act in 2016 (Government of Manitoba, 2016) that now regulates international education activities in Manitoba. In addition, there are other non-binding guidelines in place, such as "The Manitoba Code of Practice and Conduct" (Government of Manitoba, 2015), that aim to help education providers secure quality and coherence of educational experiences across the province.

With this series of formal regulations and policy initiatives, accompanied by federal influences though immigration policy, the provincial government's IEB further secured its formal leadership role in international education. However, this was only possible through the help of other stakeholders including K-12 school administrators. The recent political changes in the Manitoba government with the Progressive Conservative party coming to power in 2016 might shift this leader-follower dynamic again. After organizational restructuring, the IEB was abolished in 2017 and a new opportunity has emerged for school administrators to become the leaders of the international education processes in the province.

Process Dynamic

Following Beyer's (2008) conceptualization, the findings suggest that the issue of characteristics in the case of international education in Manitoba have evolved from a particularistic issue (the need to help a few international students in schools) to a unifying issue (the prospect of economic benefits through international education). In the mid-1990s, international students in Manitoba were seen as an opportunity to diversify the student population and to provide local students with cross-cultural learning experiences. An administrator commented: "The reason the program started was to try and help students, give them a different program. …[Name of the school principal] also wanted to bring the world to the Canadian classroom". The data revealed that the rationales have changed over time, aligning now more towards economic rationales as a unifying issue among stakeholder groups. International education is seen as an industry in policy documents, a sector with the potential to turn Manitoba into a "competitive economic center" and "lucrative destination for investment" (Council on International Trade, 2011; Government of Manitoba, 2008, p. 4). This has had an impact on the K-12 sector as well. A school administrator noted a shift towards economic rationales:

> Absolutely the rationales have changed! We no longer need an international student program to enhance diversity. We have a lot of diversity in our school division. For the schools who have a large number of international students, it can be a significant revenue source that will allow them [the schools] to do all kinds of great things for students that they would not be able to do otherwise, if they waited for public funding.

Still, the data also showed that the rationales differ across school divisions, pointing to the influence of institutional factors such as the availability of resources or institutional structure (e.g., scope of the issue in the school context, benefits to the institution), on the international education agenda. Informants representing smaller institutions with fewer students noted that international education was still a way to enhance multicultural learning experiences for all students rather than a way to generate revenues.

In order to move forward with a coherent vision for international education, coordination and collaboration processes have become crucial. One theme that emerged from the data was the interdependence of resources (such as local knowledge and formal contacts abroad) with institutional factors (such as time, human resources, political support) needed in order to achieve policy coordination in international education.

The findings pointed to several collaboration mechanisms that help coordinate policy discussions vertically across the government levels. As Gronn (2002) theorized, the primary mechanism is the institutionalized approach, taking place through formal committees. The federal government uses the Federal-Provincial Consultative Committee on Education Related International Activities (FPCCERIA) to collect provincial feedback on proposed international education initiatives. The committee meets face-to-face twice annually and holds frequent teleconferences. According to the informants, this committee is used as a formal mechanism for bringing local issues to the attention of the federal government. As such, it serves as another example of distributed leadership that is interdependent with the input from others.

The Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC) has set up a Provincial/Territorial Consulta-

tive Committee on Education Related International Activities (PTCCERIA) to organize province-to-province dialogue. This is a provincially led mechanism for collaborating and achieving consensus on international education issues before discussing them with the federal government. The findings indicate that, among broader policy discussions, this committee allows stakeholders to resolve any dividing policy issues that might limit the coherence of their message to the federal government. Such a networked approach is characteristic of the distributed leadership process, whereby consensus within a group is needed first before taking a policy issue to the next level. An informant reflected:

> So first of all, whatever work we do, we try to come to some type of consensus as provinces as to what we want or what we are proposing and give feedback together [on policy issues]… Some of the problems can be very lengthy to get consensus. But, either you do it or you have to work individually and that would take as much time.

While education-related topics do not typically require involvement from the federal government, it was clear that issues of international education have a different nature. International education is closely linked to immigration policies, and, in order to advance the policy sector locally, collaboration with the federal government becomes necessary. As these processes have a top-down direction, it challenges the distributed leadership claim for voluntary participation. The interdependence of this relationship was described as follows: "The international part belongs to the feds and the education part belongs to the provinces and so international education is kind of right in between so we have to work with the federal government".

In addition to vertical policy collaboration, the findings revealed more informal horizontal collaboration activities across government departments such as the IEB working together with the Department of Growth, Enterprise and Trade; Manitoba Education, Citizenship and Youth; and Manitoba Advanced Education and Literacy (Interviews; Government of Manitoba, 2008). As those working relations have developed over time around particular policy issues, they serve as an example of the intuitive leadership process (Gronn, 2002). The Canadian Association of Public Schools-International (CAPS-I) serves as another horizontal institutionalized communication mechanism among K-12 schools. It is committed to advocacy and promotion of international education programs across Canadian K-12 public schools. CAPS-I works closely with the federal government, particularly regarding topics around immigration.

The communication between schools and the provincial IEB tends to have mostly an informal nature. Only if there are specific tangible objectives to be achieved (feedback to a policy or a creation of a regulation), is a more formal working group activity organized. In this study, there were some coordinators from smaller school divisions that advocated for closer collaboration opportunities. In their experiences, there was limited dialogue between their division and provincial governments, which led to some confusion and resistance regarding international education. Here is an example of an opinion that aligns with Gronn's (2002) notion of spontaneous leadership initiatives emerging as a result of a specific task:

> The relationship [between the provincial government and the school] is not as close. I know they [International Education Branch] are there, I have given them a call a couple of times when I need help with a specific case. But if I had to choose between asking a question about policy or guidelines from CAPS-I or from the International Education Branch, I would probably call CAPS-I first.

This experience alludes to the notion that not all stakeholders have similar experiences with vertical coordination processes across the levels of government. There is a diversity of views on who is the most trusted partner when area-specific help is needed. Overall, the results demonstrate collaboration and cooperation in international education through formal and informal mechanisms. The findings also revealed power relations among stakeholders that influenced collaboration processes. Those with a formal position in the power hierarchy (federal government versus provincial government) could be selective in choosing their partners. Those with limited individual power (e.g., K-12 school coordinators) were interested in collaboration among partners with similar positions and resources using organizational networks (e.g., CAPS-I) in order to increase their impact on the processes.

Outcome Dynamic

The findings demonstrate that, while international education practices have led to specific instrumental outcomes in Manitoba (e.g., the adoption of policy documents, an increase in student numbers, enhanced program development in schools), the real benefit of a distributed leadership process occurs through di-

rectional formats – increased importance and institutional support for international education, ownership of decisions, improved communication, increase in school reputation and enhanced learning experiences for students. Those results essentially provide a foundation for broader policy change and policy implementation.

The processes related to international education in Manitoba have led to developing a set of policy documents that now guide internationalization, for example, "The Manitoba Code of Practice and Conduct," and "International Education Act" (Government of Manitoba, 2015, 2016). Those documents set Manitoba apart from other Canadian provinces by providing policy support that describes the expected standard for international education. The policy discussions around provincial international education regulations have involved representatives across the system - educational institutions from the post-secondary sector, the K-12 sector, and private colleges and language schools. This involvement and an opportunity to contribute have created a buy-in and ownership of decisions across the stakeholder groups. The data indicated that most international education coordinators saw value in the policy developments at the provincial level. A school leader referred to the involvement of the staff in international education policy discussions and made a connection with the quality of the programs:

> We are proud of the quality of the ISP program. We hold it in very high regard. Our coordinators [staff names] have served on all different kinds of committees for international education. So, I know that it's a respected program, partly because of the longevity but also for its quality.

Another school administrator noted: "We wanted to match our goals with theirs [the provincial government]. So, we work very closely with the province and with their mandates."

Most ISP coordinators noted improved quality in the educational programs offered in their schools. They were very clear in observing direct learning outcomes for local students, pointing to enriched learning experiences. An ISP coordinator reflected:

> I think that one of the most important outcomes is bringing the world into the classroom as that was our goal and outcome. And I really believe that the students in [name of the school] are becoming more aware of the world and the cultures in the world through our international program… So, I think we have certainly satisfied that outcome.

Another important outcome of collaborative decision-making approaches has to do with improved communication among individuals and awareness about the local needs that the stakeholders represent. An administrator commented:

> So, some of the CIC [federal immigration department] people, the policy people know me now. So, they will phone just have a chat, see "What do you think of this?" from a K -12 perspective. Ten years ago that wouldn't have happened.

Despite the general alignment of goals and the willingness to work together, there are still areas where stakeholders' interests diverged, leading to increased awareness of the areas of tension. The findings show that the federal government has become highly influential in international education. That has alarmed the provincial government and other educational organizations, leading to the mobilization of forces in order to protect the constitutional rights of provinces in governing education. For example, CMEC as a pan-Canadian intergovernmental organization of educational ministers, guards very closely the provincial-territorial policy jurisdiction. They have released joint ministerial statements (CMEC, 2008) in which they have emphasized their primary coordinating role in education in Canada and have signed an understanding with the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (now Global Affairs Canada), which regulates Canada's representation in international education-related conferences. The data indicates that, while it may be difficult to resist the federal policy developments at the local level, there is definitely heightened awareness, leading to protection and mobilization of forces for guarding the provincial powers over education.

Increased awareness of inter-jurisdictional responsibilities has also brought forward some issues among K-12 school administrators. As local schools and school divisions are responsible for initiating ISPs in their schools, the priorities and financial opportunities for establishing and marketing these programs differ across the province. As a consequence, the ISP has not spread evenly across Manitoba. The most active schools tend to be in urban and suburban areas in and around Winnipeg where homestays are more readily available. Some schools with limited resources and/or different emphases on international education are afraid of losing out financially. Informants noted that the Winnipeg School Division does not have an international program yet, partly because the division already has high levels of immigrants and

refugees and they do not need to bring in international students in order to internationalize their schools. Other school divisions are too small to operate their own ISP program and are losing out financially. In order to promote equality and fairness, some school divisions have decided to distribute the generated income from their ISP across all the schools within their division, so that smaller schools that do not host international students can also benefit from this extra income to build and strengthen their educational programs.

Conclusion and Discussion

This paper examined the development of international education policy in the context of Manitoba's K-12 international education setting through a framework that draws on the concepts from distributed leadership and the interest group framework. The findings confirmed that leadership practices go beyond the structure of single institution and increasingly have a shared nature involving school administrators, governments, and membership organizations. School administrators are becoming an essential part of international education policy processes. Characteristics such as shared stakeholder interests, formal power position, and interdependence of resources play an important role in fostering leadership practices in policy contexts.

The findings confirm that the actor dynamic has a flexible nature, allowing room for rotations. In the Manitoba international education context, the initial leaders were the local level school administrators. With the emerging need to create a system-level coherence among international education initiatives, the roles shifted and the provincial government's International Education Branch asserted a formal leadership role. Spillane (2006) noted that such changing roles are useful, as they provide opportunities for broader leadership practices to emerge whereby multiple formal and informal leaders work for a major change, creating ownership of the decisions. With the recent changes in the government, the responsibilities of the IEB were distributed among three divisions within Manitoba Education and Training in 2017: (a) Post-Secondary Education and Workforce Development, (b) Immigration and Economic Opportunities, and (c) Healthy Child Manitoba Office and K-12 Education. With this restructuring, it remains to be seen how coordination across the units will be achieved and what impacts it will have on international education in the province.

Collaboration and cooperation are essential in the process dynamics. While several formal and informal collaboration mechanisms were visible among the Manitoba educational stakeholders, the participants' responses pointed to limitations in the process. Depending on the formal power possessed by a stakeholder in the policy hierarchy, the choice of collaboration can be restricted. For example, changes in federal immigration policies required provincial level responses, making policy cooperation a mandatory, not a voluntary choice. As it was necessary for influencing provincial international education policy, cooperation from school administrators could also be regarded as an interest-driven necessity rather than a deliberate choice. In addition, there was a tendency for administrators from large school divisions to have more active contact with provincial government officials, while administrators from smaller school divisions pointed to the need for closer communication with them. This finding calls for a need to apply a more critical lens when analyzing the processes of collaboration and cooperation in regards to the influence and agency of their stakeholders.

Research points out that distributive leadership has an impact on improved student outcomes (see Leithwood et al., 2007; Malloy & Leithwood, 2017; Spillane & Orlina, 2005). This study contributed to those outcome-related findings from a policy perspective. In the Manitoba context, the outcomes of shared leadership practices translated into both formal and informal results. School administrators appreciated the formal policy documents that brought clarity in regulatory standards for international education. However, the processes had important informal implications as well. Those regulations were perceived as a tool leading to better quality learning experiences resulting from an increased reputation of Manitoba schools. Involvement in the processes increased communication among a variety of stakeholders, provided them with a shared understanding of the importance of policy, and led to ownership of decisions.

Overall the framework of leadership processes in policy contexts focusing on actors, process, and perceived outcomes proved to be useful. It helped to differentiate among the specific aspects of the policy process beyond individual organizations and allowed a critical approach to power-relations among actors. This approach helps to accentuate the shared ways in which policies get developed, emphasizing the potential of school administrators to have an important advocacy role in the process. While this framework is

useful, it is only a starting point in assessing the complex relationships between the policy-making process and the school administration in the context of international education. It provides exciting possibilities for more strategic future growth of educational administration and leadership practices that go beyond the context of individual organizations.

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