

Nuts and Bolts of Educational Policy and Educational Governance: Unpacking the Nexus between the Two through a Holistic Educational Policy-Governance Approach

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Abstract: Just like that ancient riddle about who came first between the egg and the chicken, researchers interested in educational policy and educational governance keep arguing whether educational policies guide institutional governance or institutional governance controls educational policy formation, implementation, and reform. Although there is consensus about the interconnectedness between the two, controversies about their roles in each other's establishment and functioning continue to surface in literature on the topics and researchers remain interested in investigating the nexus between them. However, there is still confusion about what to consider when performing an educational policy-governance analysis. This paper discusses the relationship between educational policy and educational governance, and the debates surrounding their influence on each other. The findings of our literature review reveal that whether it is educational policy or governance, they can be categorized into three levels (top-down, bottom-up and middle-out) in terms of planning, implementation and review. Although traditional educational policy-governance analysis that usually focuses on one of the three levels may help understand each level separately, this paper proposes a holistic educational policy-governance approach (HEPGA) that can be useful in considering the complexity, interconnectedness and collectivism that characterize contemporary educational policy-governance practices.

Résumé : Tout comme l'ancienne énigme sur ce qui est venu en premier entre l'œuf et la poule, les chercheurs intéressés par la politique et la gouvernance éducatives continuent de se demander si les politiques éducatives guident la gouvernance institutionnelle ou si la gouvernance institutionnelle contrôle la formation, la mise en œuvre et la réforme des politiques éducatives. Bien qu'il existe un consensus sur

l'interdépendance entre les deux, les discussions sur leurs rôles font surface et les chercheurs continuent à étudier le lien entre eux. Cependant, il existe une certaine confusion quant à ce qu'il faut prendre en compte lors de la réalisation d'une analyse de la gouvernance des politiques éducatives. Cet article examine la relation entre la politique éducative et la gouvernance de l'éducation, et les débats entourant leur influence réciproque. Les conclusions de la revue de la littérature révèlent que, qu'il s'agisse de politique éducative ou de gouvernance, elles peuvent être classées en trois niveaux (descendant, ascendant et intermédiaire) en matière de planification, de mise en œuvre et de révision. Bien que l'analyse traditionnelle de la gouvernance des politiques éducatives qui se concentre généralement sur l'un des trois niveaux puisse aider à comprendre chaque niveau séparément, cet article propose une approche holistique de la gouvernance des politiques éducatives (HEPGA) qui peut être utile afin de tenir compte de la complexité, de l'interdépendance et du collectivisme qui caractérisent les pratiques contemporaines en matière de politique et de gouvernance de l'éducation.

Introduction

Despite the fact that the terms *policy* and *governance* are commonly used in many fields such as education, healthcare, law, sports, and environmental studies, the way people perceive them and how this influences their understanding of each concept as well as the relationship between the two are the real challenges. In the field of education, for instance, these perceptions often become the basis for understanding what an educational policy (Pauly, 2016; Ricento, 2019; Torjman, 2005) or an educational governance model constitutes (Asaduzzaman & Virtanen, 2016), who can make educational policy or govern institutes (Bell & Stevenson, 2006), who has the authority to implement and revise these policies (Hyatt, 2013; Raza et al., 2021a; Reynolds, 2019), and what is the nexus between educational policy and educational governance (Capano & Woo, 2020; Freeman et al., 2013; Parto, 2005). Similarly, such perceptions also cause the controversy of whether educational policy and governance are a public concern where anyone (e.g., students, faculty, administrators, school boards, etc.) can contribute to their establishment and implementation or whether certain people (e.g., higher administration such as deans, provosts, school principals, etc.) have the privilege to make decisions on behalf of everyone.

In order to understand the relationship between educational policy and educational governance and the debates surrounding

their influence over each other, this literature review discusses the current theoretical as well as practical issues and debates related to educational policy and educational governance. In this regard, there are two main objectives of this literature review. First, it tries to explain what constitutes a policy and governance as well as the trends and contradictions surrounding them so that a comprehensive understanding of both topics can be developed with examples from the field of education. Then, it critically analyzes the interconnectedness between the two to unpack different ways educational policy and educational governance work together to create educational systems. The last section highlights the issues that may arise as we attempt to expand the interdisciplinary field of educational policy and educational governance and points to ways to address these issues through a holistic educational policy-governance approach (HEPGA).

Nuts and Bolts of Educational Policy

The term “policy” can mean different things to different people in different disciplines. In order to understand the multiple perspectives to “policy”, we, first, explain what characterizes a policy followed by a discussion on how educational policies are constructed, implemented and revised. This section ends with the explanation of the ontologies and epistemologies that become the foundation of an educational policy. This is done with references to multiple fields and disciplines but with emphasis on education and language policies.

What is a Policy?

The term “policy” is often used to refer to rules and guidelines that delineate a path of action to achieve desired objectives, goals and agendas. Although its meaning and purpose can differ from context to context, in general, policy constitutes a wide variety of activities that guide individuals (e.g., educators), leaders (e.g., principals, deans), organizations (e.g., schools, colleges, academies) and governments to take certain actions in quest of attaining goals (Reynolds, 2019; Ricento, 2019). In terms of what counts as a “policy”, it can be either a text (in written form) or a discourse (as a social activity and process). Torjman (2005) argued that policy is a fluid concept that can be observed, experienced and lived but cannot be explained in simple words. His definition presents policy as a discourse that shapes human actions or is shaped by social interactions (discourse). In the field of education, Freeman et al.

(2013) argued that as a text, a policy can serve four different purposes. When a text is termed as a “policy” by an institute, it functions as a set of principles that should be followed by those it addresses. Working as “specific approval pathways” or “procedures” (p. 3), these principles are usually top-down, take a long time to change, and concern specific area of activity. Educational researchers and language policy analysts also refer to this type of policy as a macro-policy (Raza et al., 2021a; Reynolds, 2019; Torjman, 2005) since it comes from the top management or leadership down to educators or administrators.

Secondly, as whole or inclusive text, an educational policy may include “everything from statutes, regulations/rules, policies and procedures down to instructions, non-mandatory guidelines and local work institutions” (Freeman et al., 2013, p. 3). Instead of using separate words and references for each of these components, the term “policy” covers each and every one of them. Thirdly, as an informal practice, a committee’s decision about an issue (e.g., mode of instruction) or a directive issued by an administrator such as admission process for students can also be called a policy since it also relates to decision-making about institutional activities. This type of policy is often referred to as meso-level policy as it stands between the macro and micro policies (Raza et al., 2021a; Reynolds, 2019). Lastly, different units working within an educational institution can also have their own policies. Such policies, also known as micro-level policies, work in alignment with the macro-level policy but can also be extensions of the main policy to address issues that pertain to the unit or department in a larger educational institute.

Policy Formation, Implementation and Revision

Since policies are used as rules or guidelines, they are focused on a particular area, field, or event. In other words, the transitivity of policies requires the presence of an object, purpose, or a policy driver (Torjman, 2005) that the policy should be aimed at. This object informs policy formation and guides policymakers during the implementation and revision processes. Educational researchers, language policy analysts and graduate students who aim to explore how educational policies function and create educational systems pay attention to all three of these steps to understand who creates educational policies, who educational policies benefit, whose voices are on the table, and who is ignored by an educational policy (Reynolds, 2019; Torjman, 2005). Some of the educational policy

drivers outlined by Freeman et al. (2013) include, with recent examples added for illustration:

- Particular events (e.g., COVID-19 pandemic and educational administration);
- Changes in government priorities (e.g., funding for particular fields or research areas);
- Restructuring of policies (e.g., change in language program requirements);
- Objectives change (e.g., focus on students more than faculty or faculty training in a particular area);
- Gap in a policy (e.g., new emerging situations like new branch campuses);
- Operational issues (e.g., inconsistencies in policies or lack of transparency);
- Risks involved in a policy (e.g., poor record-keeping of students);
- Media pressure (e.g., international students, racism in educational institutions); and
- Review of a policy (e.g., legal requirements, overlap of educational policies).

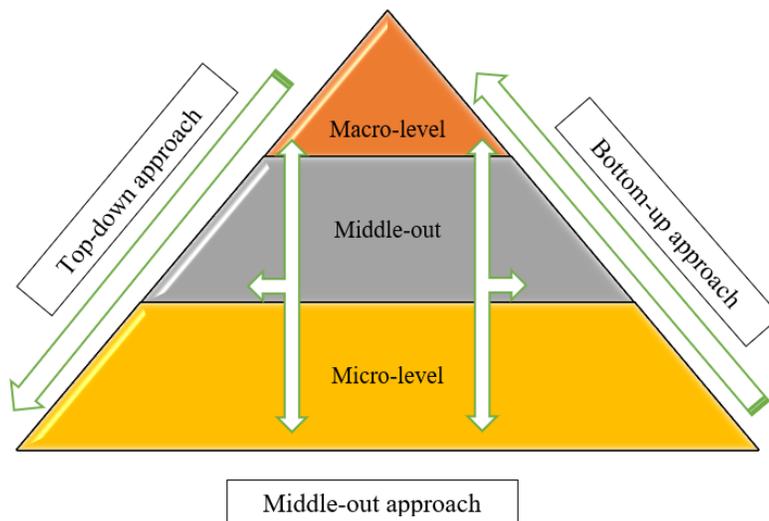
Although this list may not be inclusive of all the factors that trigger educational policy enactment, especially in social and institutional contexts that are complex and emerging, it provides a good understanding of the common factors that initiate considerations for creating educational policies.

The way educational policies are formed, implemented and revised can differ from context to context and institution to institution. There are three policy approaches reported in the literature: Top-down, bottom-up and middle-out. As it can be seen in Figure 1, a top-down policy approach will include policymakers at the higher end of a hierarchy making decisions about the identification of a problem, underlining ways to address the problem, designing the intervention, and then implementing the policy (Reynolds, 2019; Torjman, 2005). An example of this is provided by Raza (2021) in his study of the operationalization of China-Pakistan Economic Corridor project where the federal level stakeholders decide the medium of communication used in the management of the project and thus impact English and Mandarin language teaching and learning policies in the country. Chua (2021) also highlighted how macro-level policy development in Singapore

creates an English-dominated bilingual policy that is integrating as well as segregating Singaporeans and immigrants. Top-down policy making is usually criticized for ignoring ground realities at the local or bottom level and promoting autocracy in decision-making (Reynolds, 2019).

Figure 1

The Three Approaches to Policy Formation, Implementation and Review



Secondly, a bottom-up approach gives more importance to those who are the receivers of the policy (e.g., the students, teachers, and staff) and argues that they should be leading policy formation and decision-making as active agents. Considered as a democratic and localized policy formation approach, it aims to give voices to the marginalized, suppressed and unprivileged masses of a society (Cerna, 2013). Some examples of bottom-up policy making in education can be at classroom level where teachers make decisions about course content, assessment, attendance, and textbooks (Raza et al., 2018, 2020). Such decisions are often informed by students' academic needs more than the agendas set by school boards or education ministries. Theodoropoulou (2021) provided examples from her English language classroom where, as a language teacher, she decided to introduce a pedagogical practice, *humoristic translanguaging*, that utilizes students' verbal, semiotic and sociocultural resources through humor to embrace their linguistic

diversity, personalize teaching and learning, and break traditional norms of classrooms as rules-driven spaces. Similarly, Raza (2018, 2020) discussed the development of a teaching adaptation model that was triggered by his realization that the course curriculum did not always address students' language needs, thus required tailoring and adaptation. Using teacher agency and feedback from English language learners, Raza developed a teaching approach called *Teaching Adaptation Model (TAM)* that reflected and addressed students' academic needs more than the course goals or language program objectives.

A third policy formation approach that has gained interest of many educational researchers and language policy analysts (Raza et al., 2021a; Reynolds, 2019; Willans, 2021) is called the middle out as it falls between the macro- and micro-levels (Torjman, 2005). It is seen as a practical approach where both top as well as bottom level stakeholders contribute to policy enactment, implementation and review (Reynolds, 2019). Willans (2021) presented a *sideways model of policy* change that challenges the traditional binary of top-down and bottom-up approaches and engages high-level decision makers such as educational leaders with low-level participants like teachers and curriculum developers to work side-by-side to devise, enforce and review educational policies.

Ontologies and Epistemologies of Educational Policies

Whether it is top-down, bottom-up or middle-out approach, educational policies possess certain values that reflect how policymakers see or want to see the world (i.e., educational institutions) around them. The perspectives of stakeholders impact decision-making about what is included in an educational policy and what remains unsaid. In other words, educational policies are not neutral or static (Raza & Chua, 2022a; Reynolds, 2019; Ricento, 2019) and have their ontologies and epistemologies which is what invites educational researchers, language policy analysts and graduate students to unpack the ways educational policies create or shape learning.

As ontology relates to "what is", the ontological analysis of an educational policy reveals the concepts that are introduced through a policy. These concepts, which are communicated in the form of terminologies into public discourses, represent the world that an educational policy conceives and eventually creates (Hyatt, 2013; Pauly, 2016; Raza & Chua, 2022a). However, before an educational

policy can deal with a particular concept or issue, it has to create those concepts. Educational researchers interested in ontological analysis of an educational policy discourse aim to understand these concepts and how they shape the actions that create a particular social or educational structure (Ricento, 2019).

Pauly (2016) argued that understanding a policy's ontology is important for two reasons. Firstly, the classifications a policy creates influences the way those classified function or are treated. In terms of language speakers, for instance, when a language policy represents them as local versus immigrant or native versus nonnative language speakers, it characterizes them as having particular skills or qualities, which may be dissimilar (Raza & Chua, 2022a). Consequently, they get particular socio-political-economic status based upon the group they have been associated with (Ricento, 2019; Raza et al., 2021a). Secondly, "when we view a policy as a legal or administrative text prescribing certain actions to be taken, it becomes clear that a policy can only intervene in the world given a certain representation of the world" (Pauly, 2016, p. 304). In other words, the actions a policy proposes are preceded by the construction of the ontology it is postulating. For example, we cannot argue for a language policy to protect language rights of immigrants without an ontology that recognizes their existence and makes a distinction between language rights of local vs. immigrant language groups (Raza & Chua, 2022a).

The epistemological analysis of a policy, on the other hand, focuses on how we know what we know. It pays more attention to the axiology of a policy and how it creates the world. As public policies create classifications, these classifications become significant in how people are categorized and recognized (Hyatt, 2013). In terms of language policies, for instance, languages are classified into official versus unofficial, recognized versus unrecognized, majority versus minority, and thus language speakers into native versus nonnative, monolingual versus multilingual, local versus foreign/immigrant, and insider versus outsider (Raza et al., 2021a). Originally, and from a language policy perspective, this classification may be done to understand the differences between the two languages or language groups so that actions can be taken to accommodate the needs of a certain group (a policy's epistemology), but this may also result in creating a divide where one language group becomes superior to the other and the inferior group has to conform to the superior (Raza & Chua, 2022a). For instance, the native speaker status assigned by a language

policy to people who speak English from childhood gives them a higher social status over people who learn English as a second/foreign/additional language; thus, creating a binary of native versus non-native English speakers (Raza et al., 2021a). The meanings and identities associated as a result of the classification, which could have socio-politico-economic influences, can put one language group at advantage and the other at disadvantage.

An epistemological analysis of a policy such as an educational policy explains how it represents the world or how different learners or language speakers are viewed. Similarly, the language choices made in a policy to describe the speakers of a particular language compared with speakers of other languages also create particular identities of language users (Hyatt, 2013), which may have implications for their socio-politico-economic as well as educational endeavors (Raza et al., 2021b). For example, an epistemological question may ask, when language policies categorize language speakers in a community into local versus immigrant language speakers, what does this mean for both groups about themselves and others? Similarly, as governments aim to integrate immigrants into the mainstream social culture, how do these terms intervene in their integration (Raza & Chua, 2022a)?

The epistemological analysis of an educational policy looks at the meanings created by the classification of people, their languages, educational level, and roles, and how this shapes the way certain stakeholders are viewed, served and governed (Hyatt, 2013; Pauly, 2016; Raza et al., 2021b). The way a language policy, for instance, represents different language speakers is part of how it intervenes in the lives of these languages and their speakers (Raza & Chua, 2022a). For example, when a language policy assigns native and non-native status to language speakers, the way it shapes their identities, social status and language practices is how they are treated in the field of education, employment and society (Reynolds, 2019).

Nuts and Bolts of Educational Governance

What is Governance?

According to the Governance Institute of Australia (2021), “governance encompasses the system by which an organization is controlled and operated, and the mechanisms by which it, and its people, are held to account. Ethics, risk management, compliance and administration are all elements of governance” (para. 1). What this definition means for educational researchers and language

policy analysts is that educational governance is a form of relationship between an institution, different position holders in that institution (e.g., program leaders, deans, provosts), educators and staff members working for the institution, and other stakeholders like school boards, organizations and students associated with the institution. While educational governance allows institutions to develop structures and systems that assist them in achieving educational objectives, it also supports them in monitoring performance of those that contribute to attaining institutional goals.

The concept of educational governance, however, is not so simple that it can be explained in a single definition or statement. Asaduzzaman and Virtanen (2016) argued that considering the long history of governance as a concept and a practice, the existing literature on the term is not enough to claim that governance can be defined in simple words. They add that it is a complex system of authority, rule, government and domination that requires continuous investigation to understand how it functions and operates. Shneider (2004) claimed that the complexity and vagueness of governance is in fact its real strength. This means that the less people know about how governments and institutions govern them, the least they will question their operationalization, procedures and performance. Although Farazmand (2012) categorized governance into the good, the bad and the ugly, Asaduzzaman and Virtanen (2016) did not agree that this categorization was sufficient to understand the complexities inherent in governance practices as other factors such as global politics, international organizations, globalization, and bureaucracy contribute to how educational governors perform.

Models and Approaches to Educational Governance

Despite the complexity in the concept of educational governance, literature on the topic is full of different definitions, theories and models that attempt to explain how educational governance works or should work. While some scholars (Capano & Woo, 2020; Deering & Sá, 2018; Usher, 2020; Raza et al., 2021b) aim to explain how different educational governments, organizations, and institutions function, others (Carver, 2017; Drori, 2018; Mintzberg, 2015; Raza & Chua, 2022b) argue for models and frameworks that governing bodies should adopt for better performance and productivity.

Capano and Woo (2020), for instance, highlighted how higher education governance in Canada and USA, despite many differences, is influenced by federalism where federal governments, directly or indirectly, intervene in provincial/state affairs of educational policy formation and implementation. Similarly, Usher (2020) criticized the overdependence of Canadian postsecondary institutions on international students for revenue generation and how this governance model has shifted the focus from local student population to foreign students. Turning to external factors that influence governance in educational institutions, Deering and Sá (2018) argued that the field of education is becoming another version of the corporate world with universities adopting management practices to promote marketization and corporatization, hence neoliberal agendas in education. Accountability or accountablization, as one of the neoliberal practices, has also emerged as one of the tools employed by educational leaders to create an institutional relationship between themselves and their staff/subordinates (Macheridis & Paulsson, 2021). Driving its roots from managerial ideologies, the notion of accountability calls for keeping check and balance to ensure productivity, performance and improvement.

In terms of proposed models and frameworks of governance, Drori (2018) presented creativity-governance model that rejects dependence upon professional expertise and referentiality, disapproves schematic thinking, and argues for creative governance where creativity is not seen as an obstacle in governance but an asset and an opportunity to grow. Mintzberg (2015) problematized current imbalance of right and left (i.e., public and private) in mainstream governance models and presented an integrative framework that comprises public sector (political), private sector (economic), and plural sector (social). He added that the plural sector should emerge as a third force between nationalization and privatization where socialization and *communityship* take more preference than ownership and selective benefits. In the field of education, Raza & Chua (2022b) argued for a global-contextual leadership approach that allows educational leaders such as language program administrators to turn to the local as well as global trends in language education to design, interpret and implement language policies.

Theory-based models of educational governance often highlight leaders and their characteristics as important factors in successful governance (Anderson et al., 2017). They assume that the type of leadership a person practices would define the way they will govern

their program, organization or institution. Leadership theories that focus on positive leadership qualities, for instance, presume that an educational leader who possesses these abilities would create an environment that is best for the institution as well as its members. For example, while servant leadership gives more priority to the needs of the followers/subordinates (Greenleaf, 1977) in decision-making, distributed leadership promotes collaborative work environment, collective efforts, and coordinated performance (Spillane et al., 2003). Similarly, ethical leaders promote confidence, positivity, safety and transparency among subordinates through rewards and punishments (Sagnak, 2017) to legitimize their governance style; whereas transformational leaders work as change agents and push their followers beyond traditional boundaries to get the best out of them (Davis et al., 2012). While literature on educational leadership and governance highlights how effective educational leaders create successful governance (Schneider, 2004), the practice of bringing down the complex notion of educational leadership (and governance) to theory-based, formulaic perspectives has also received criticism. For instance, Anderson et al. (2017) showed how some of the common leadership theories do not align with the characteristics of younger generation, termed as *GenMe* or *Millennials* that are comparatively driven by individualistic, self-centered and attention seeking objectives. Similarly, Pollock et al. (2015) used complexity theory to highlight four variables (administration, policies, external pressure and affiliation, and issues and solutions) that can affect the work of school leaders. This points to the fact that although leadership theories can provide guidance in how leaders can imagine their workplaces, they are limited in terms of their application and require understanding the context and situation where the concepts of educational leadership and governance are being negotiated (Hallinger, 2018; Raza & Chua, 2022b; Raza et al., 2021b).

Although corporate based governance models have received criticism for their importance to neoliberal agendas such as accountability, marketization, and internationalization (Deering & Sá, 2018; Macheridis & Paulsson, 2021) more than social development, they continue to gain attention of educational leaders and researchers. Carver (2017) presented such a governance model that links expectations and concepts of leaders, owners and stakeholders to results and reality by creating an accountability chain where board members, only answerable to owners, enjoy unlimited power in creating policies and procedures that are

followed by those who work under the board to achieve organizational objectives. Such models empower selective stakeholders such as board members with infinite authority so that they can create policies and plans that ensure economic benefits for the ownership only. As Carver put it, “A board that is committed to representing the interests of the owners will not allow itself to make decisions based on the best interests of those who are not the owners” (p. 2). However, such managerial practices in educational settings have also received criticism for ignoring learners’ educational needs and the contextual complexities that require tailoring of educational policies that are borrowed from other but dissimilar contexts. Raza et al. (2021b), for instance, have pointed to the ways international branch campuses may receive instructions from the main campus of an American university that may not align with the students’ educational needs. Such managerial instructions may result in “tensions between the main and branch campuses... failing to accommodate student needs and maintain faculty retention” (p. 15).

Nexus between Educational Policy and Educational Governance

Although the interplay between educational policy and governance has been explored previously (Capano & Woo, 2020; Freeman et al., 2013; Parto, 2005), the complexity inherent in their relationship as well as the way their collaborative functioning or lack of it constructs educational systems is what keeps inviting educational researchers and graduate students to continue to explore their interconnectedness. As Bell and Stevenson (2006) argued, “educational leadership does not exist in a vacuum- it is exercised in a policy context... It is important, therefore, that studies of leadership adequately reflect this wider policy environment” (p. 7). This is also the main focus of this review as it tries to understand how educational policy and governance interact. Developing upon the previous sections where we discussed policy and governance with examples from the field of education, and the literature on the interrelatedness of both topics, the purpose here is to see how educational policies function as guidelines for institutional leaders and how the latter use or ignore educational policies to justify, shape and align their practices with policy objectives. Our review of the literature on policy and governance (Bell & Stevenson, 2006; Capano & Woo, 2020; Freeman et al., 2013; Parto, 2005) reveals that although both are interconnected and often work together, the way

they shape and influence each other depends upon how they are perceived and used by those in power. As the previous sections highlighted, policy and/or governance can be top-down, bottom-up or middle-out, the discussion in this section will focus on these three approaches to see how policy and governance function around each of these approaches. Examples from educational settings will be provided for illustration.

Top-Down Policy-Governance

As top-down approach focuses on the priorities of leaders, administrators and policymakers at the higher end of a hierarchical system, it promotes status quo, dominance, control, and authority (Reynolds, 2019). Working as powerful and autocratic decision-makers, these administrators devise and use educational policies and procedures that determine organizational and institutional goals and objectives. In such situations, educational policy becomes a tool for the construction of systems that empower the top-level administration in decision-making. For instance, Carver's (2017) model of a commanding board that is only answerable to the ownership and has unlimited powers in devising policies to achieve economic benefits for the owners is an example of a governance model where policy functions as a tool to monitor performance, take control, increase accountability and create conformity. Accountability, a system that usually heavily relies upon macro-level policy formation and implementation, has become a common practice in higher education today. Deriving its roots from managerial ideologies that call for keeping check and balance to ensure productivity, performance and improvement, governments and school boards as well as university administrators hold their subordinates and staff accountable through financial results, administrative routines and processes, accreditation agencies, and international evaluations (Macheridis & Paulsson, 2021). Education policies play a central role in creating a system that ensures achievement of these goals and objectives set by the higher administration, boards and governments (Bell & Stevenson, 2006).

Although education policies often function as tools to achieve objectives, they are sometimes ignored or twisted by actors at macro-level to foreground their agendas and priorities (Parto, 2005). Capano's and Woo's (2020) examples of federalism in higher education governance in Canada and USA revealed that "while the constitutions clearly provide for granting exclusive powers regarding higher education to federated units, federal governments

have nonetheless constantly disregarded said constitutional design” (p. 301). Although there are policies that require power-sharing, top-down higher education governance approaches in North America continue to overlook these policies to achieve their own objectives. Similar results are also reported by Raza et al. (2021b) from the Middle East where top-level leadership ignores micro level realities and creates conflicting and unrepresentative educational policies.

Bottom-Up Policy-Governance

Role of local-level actors and stakeholders in educational policy formation, implementation and review is the main focus of a bottom-up approach. This perspective argues for empowering educators and students in policy enactment and encourages their active involvement in decision-making. Since the real power rests with the majority (the educators and students), there is no hierarchy or one-man rule. As a result, policies are enacted by the people and are pushed upwards for leaders to enforce. An example of such a policy-governance can be from the field of language policy and planning where home language policy in a society can become the basis for envisioning how languages are taught and practiced at the very basic level-the home (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). These practices may then inform school or institutional language teaching policies, pushing the trend upwards to become part of the provincial and national language policy followed throughout the country (Raza et al., 2021a). Similarly, initiatives taken by teachers to differentiate instruction and facilitate linguistic, educational and non-educational needs of students (see Theodoropoulou, 2021; Raza, 2018, 2020) can become examples of how schools can support students. Educational institutions, school boards and district governments can use these examples to create policies to provide educational support to diverse groups of students nationally.

Such educational governance models are built by/for the people from the basic level where their practices, needs, and expectations function as policy guidelines for the leadership to use as data to make decisions. Servant leadership (Greenleaf, 1977), that gives preference to followers’ and subordinates’ needs and expectations more than organizational agendas, can use such an approach to create policy-governance which foregrounds local welfare and engagement above institutional benefits. A qualitative study by Raza et al., (2021b), for instance, highlighted how teacher-led initiatives such as involvement in research, conference

presentations, and facilitation of students' academic and non-academic needs became guides for language program leadership to review their program focus and service provision to better serve students' multilingual needs.

Middle-Out Policy-Governance

In middle-out policy-governance approach, both the top-level as well as bottom-level actors and stakeholders collaborate and cooperate to create policies and governance that reflect the expectations of both parties. As a democratic approach, it recognizes the complexity of the issues policy-governance aim to address (Pollock et al., 2015) and acknowledges that a feasible solution would require cooperation between the higher and the local actors (Raza, 2021a; Reynolds, 2019; Spillane et al., 2013). Willans' (2021) proposal of working sideways for change is an example of such an approach which contends distancing away from the traditional dichotomy of top-down and bottom-up approaches and working together to create sustainable educational policies that reflect everyone's perspectives and needs. Since classrooms are argued to be places where institutional as well as local participants' values face each other, Reynolds (2019) argued for using classrooms as platforms to create policies for multilingual immigrants that include "top-down approaches to what should happen in a classroom in order to promote multilingualism, but also a need for more bottom-up indicators that multilingualism is developing" (p. 57). He presented an example from Qatar where "the government and local citizens have collaborated with global companies, international para-governmental organizations, and transnational educational institutions" (p. 63) to develop socio-economic institutions.

Another example of middle-out policy-governance is from Canada where the federal government has been collaborating with the Indigenous Peoples to create a Crown-Indigenous Governance model where Indigenous governance, characterized by distinct languages and long history and culture of indigenous ways of doing and living, can work beside the mainstream Canadian Governance that works under federally and provincially administered constitutions (IG, 2019). The main purpose of the project is to give right of self-determination to the Indigenous Peoples so that they can make decisions about education, health care, economics and other affairs with the assistance of the Canadian government; thus, creating a governance model that reflects the expectations and

preferences of the Indigenous Peoples but is also approved and recognized by the federal and provincial governments.

Implications for the Field of Educational Policy and Governance

This paper provides an overview of the three dominant approaches to policy formation and governance and uses a good amount of literature to provide examples of how policy and governance work together. This is with the realization that a single review cannot cover all the available literature on a topic because of limitations like space and time. However, what is significant about this review is its attempt to encompass all three policy-governance approaches in a single paper with examples from multiple disciplines and fields such as applied linguistics, education, and educational leadership. This should provide an interdisciplinary perspective on the topic and help educational researchers, language policy analysts and graduate students in understanding how different levels of policy and governance function. In order to provide future-oriented directions on how to engage with the policy-governance nexus or what to consider when doing so, in this section we discuss some issues that may arise while studying educational policy and governance practices.

Firstly, when attempting to understand or analyze an educational policy, one big question that analysts have to address is *how to do it?* This question may seem simple and a few guides are already available in the field (e.g., see Hyatt, 2013) but what remains critical is the ontological and epistemological positionings of the policy analyst. Ontologically, this requires defining what is a *policy* for the researcher and what reality or realities does this policy create. Is this policy only in text form (e.g., Freeman et al., 2013) or are other forms or sub-forms such as oral directions, dominant practices, or known behaviors considered policy or extensions of it? Similarly, what is governance (Asaduzzaman & Virtanen, 2016) and how is it understood in relation to an educational policy? Although policy interpreters or actors often draw upon some written policy (e.g., Raza, 2021; Raza & Chua, 2022a), but they may include various interpretations based upon their perceptions or priorities. One common perception about educational policy is that it is only in some written form and includes detailed guidelines about how to function in a particular situation or position. However, educational policy is not always in a written form and can also include shadow policies where actors' and interpreters' perspectives play a pivotal

role (see Torjman, 2005 for policy as a discourse and Raza & Chua, 2022b for multiple layers of a policy). Raza et al. (2021b) reported autoethnographies of three language program leaders and discussed how each leader perceived an appropriate teacher candidate for their program based upon their previous experiences, academic preferences, and personal priorities. Although all three leaders were working for language programs within a dominant Arab culture, their interpretations of a suitable English language teacher differed based upon their priorities or preferences. As an educational policy analyst, one has to define how they see the term policy and what types or forms of it are recognized so. This will help limiting and focusing on the terminologies or language used to construct the realities that a policy postulates (Freeman et al., 2013). For instance, what a policy recognizes as existing is how it argues for that reality (Pauley, 2016); the missing objects in the policy are non-existent or unnecessary. We provided some examples earlier in this paper to explain how a policy's ontological analysis is performed. Readers may benefit from it while deciding what policy to include in their analysis.

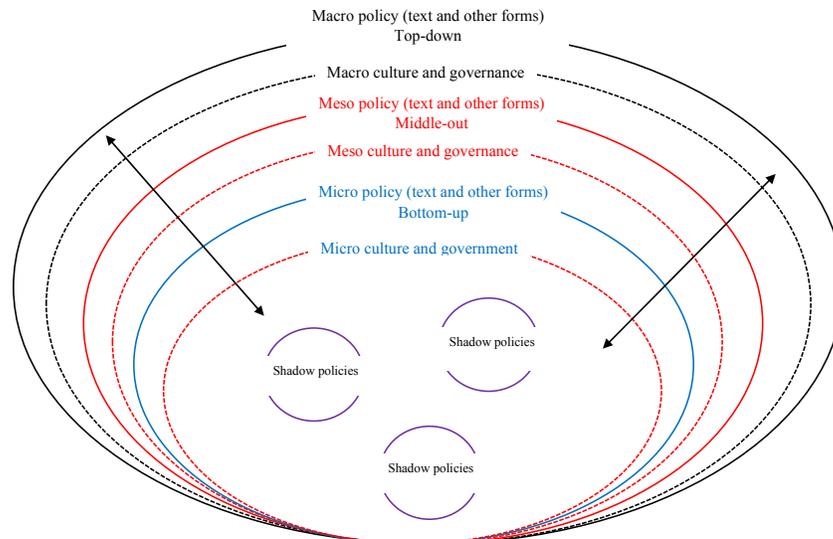
Epistemologically, researchers need to clarify how they know what they know. For examples, how do they know that the educational policy they have selected is relevant to the topic they are investigating? Same question can be targeted towards educational governance. As an axiological question, it points to the sources that are used or will be used to investigate an educational policy. For instance, when a policy is categorized as bottom-up, the factors that help reach this decision will be part of the epistemological analysis. This is followed by the selection of a methodology and data collection and analysis methods that will help study the policy. Although some methodologies are very common in the field of policy studies such as ethnography, case study, and program evaluation, following Denzin's and Lincoln's (2018) suggestion that "each generation must draw its line in the sand and take a stance toward the past.... renew our efforts to honor the voices of those who have been silenced by dominant paradigms" (p. 12), researchers should opt for a methodology because of its relevance with their research question(s) instead of its popularity or dominance. In order to expand the field of educational policy studies, there is a need to experiment with newer, non-traditional and interdisciplinary methodological choices.

Secondly, although this review discusses all three policy-governance approaches individually, they do not always function

separately from each other. Despite the fact that they are usually separated from each other in traditional policy-governance analysis based upon who is perceived to be the creator or implementor of the policy (see Carver, 2017 for top-down policy creation and implementation and Theodoropoulou, 2021 for bottom-up policy making by teachers), the complexity inherent in their functioning, the relationship between the two, and the fluidity between the boundaries of the three levels discussed above make it hard to draw the line of where one level finishes and the other starts. This calls for going beyond a reductionist approach of dividing policy-governance into macro, meso or micro-levels to taking a holistic approach (see Figure 2) where policy-governance are perceived to be evolving and always changing practices that require continuous investigation and consideration of multiple sources of information for a better analysis.

Figure 2

A Holistic Educational Policy-Governance Approach



There are three main reasons why we argue for an HEPGA. Firstly, a traditional analysis often endorses a particular power-hierarchy (top-down, for instance) where some stakeholders in an institution (e.g., chancellors, presidents or deans) are considered to be powerful

and key decision-makers (e.g., see Carver, 2015), hence the focus of analysis, while others such as organizations, bureaucrats, teachers, and committee heads are excluded from the discussion. Although solo decision-making may be a common practice in some contexts where democratic traditions are not very strong, policy-governance choices are often an amalgamation of different voices in contemporary workplaces and be made anywhere in a less dominant or collective manner (see Raza et al., 2021b). As it can be seen in Figure 2, the HEPGA recognizes the complexity involved in contemporary educational leadership practices, management styles, and policy enactment (Capano & Woo, 2020; Pollock et al., 2015), and promotes multidimensionality in analytical practices where a particular power-hierarchy (e.g., top-down or bottom-up) can be a starting point for analysis but should include other key actors and forces in the process (see Raza 2022 for critical analysis of policy proposals and analyses in Pakistan). Secondly, the interconnectedness, dependency, fluidity and overlapping of relations, tasks, and authority between different stakeholders in an institution makes it hard to draw or recognize rigid boundaries between their positions, thus making it difficult to limit the discussion to the role of specific actors within a workplace. Raza et al. (2021b) discussed the influence of external forces in language program administration and how leaders are often restricted or forced by outsiders in decision-making related to the operationalization of their programs in the areas of curriculum, assessment, and recruitment, for instance. Through collaborative auto-ethnographies, the authors “highlight the significance of a sub-culture that exists within a dominant culture and influences policies and practices at a program/college/institutional level” (p. 15). The separation of roles and isolation of actors from each other that remains common in traditional policy analysis does not recognize the interconnectedness of factors that may contribute to, complement or influence policy-governance decisions, thus providing an incomplete picture of the story. Finally, policy analysis can be targeted towards individuals and specific groups (Anderson et al., 2017) or systems (Chua, 2021; Raza et al., 2021b). The former focuses on the parts rather than the whole, thus exploring individual performance in policy-governance. The latter, as shown in Figure 2, takes a holistic approach to examine collective failure or success with an emphasis on system level analysis. While there is nothing wrong with investigating individual practices as they can be focused on improving a person’s performance in a leadership

position, an HEPGA is aimed at social development and collective welfare with an emphasis on the role of multiple actors and variables (e.g., policy creators, interpreters, and implementers or text, shadow policies, and subcultures) that constitute a system.

Conclusion

Despite the interconnectedness between policy and governance, the way both work for or against each other is not a simple phenomenon to unpack in a single literature review like this. The complexities involved in how educational policy and governance are perceived and exercised invites educational researchers and graduate students to study different levels at which educational policies are made and governance is practiced. This review of the literature indicates that there are three dominant approaches to policy and/or governance: Top-down, bottom-up, and middle-out. As each one of these approaches is practiced differently, the role educational policy plays in institutional governance and the ways governments, leaders and organizations use or ignore educational policy to guide or justify their practices depends upon the approach they take to governance. The examples and discussions provided to explain policy and governance as individual concepts and then their joining up to form each policy-governance approach can help understand the characteristics of both concepts separately and in combination with each other. In order to advance the field of educational policy-governance from a reductionist, narrowed and individualistic practice that limits its focus to specific actors or variables in isolation from others, a holistic educational policy-governance approach is proposed that promotes interdisciplinarity, holism and multidimensionality in unpacking the nexus between educational policy and educational governance as well as the various factors that contribute to collective failure or success.

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