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**International Education as Policy:
A Discourse Coalition Framework Analysis of the Construction, Context, and
Empowerment of Ontario's International Education Storylines**

AMIRA EL MASRI

A dissertation submitted to
The Faculty of Graduate Studies
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in Education
York University
Toronto, Ontario

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Abstract

This study aims to examine the international education (IE) policy-making context in Ontario for the period from 2005 to mid-2017 while also taking into account the announcement of the new policy document *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens*. It sets out to answer three research questions: (a) How is international education constructed as a policy discourse in the postsecondary sector in Ontario? (b) Who are the policy actors who are contributing to the postsecondary international education policy-making process in Ontario? and (c) What role do they play in influencing IE policy and empowering and silencing different discourses? To answer these research questions, this study adopts Maarten Hajer's Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) and steps of doing argumentative discursive analysis (2006). Data sources included IE stories in the three highest-circulation newspapers in Ontario (415 articles); 23 interviews with policy actors, and 195 policy documents.

Whereas policy studies employing DCF have typically identified oppositional storylines, the findings of this study reveal one dominant storyline: *Internationalize*. All discourses agree, to varying degrees, that IE is desirable and beneficial to the postsecondary education sector and Ontario. However, within the overarching *Internationalize* storyline, three storylines emerge: (a) *Internationalize, it is good for the economy (Economy)*; (b) *Internationalize, yet manage its risks (Risks)*; (c) *Internationalize, it is Canada's gateway to the world (Gateway)*. The *Economy* storyline achieves hegemony as it succeeds in imposing its logic and ways of deliberation on the IE policy landscape (*structuration*) and is translated into institutional practices and policies (*institutionalization*). The study also reveals a shifting terrain in the IE policy landscape with the

emergence of a new *Regulate IE* storyline, which has succeeded in introducing regulation and accountability discourses and reframing the hegemonic *Economy* storyline.

By moving away from the state and focusing on storylines, this study reveals the fragmentation of the IE policy landscape and exposes actors from diverse scales, levels, disciplines, and contexts; all of whom contribute to the construction of IE and its related policies. One of the main findings of this study is the role of the media in building the IE narrative and mobilizing storylines. This research contributes to our understanding of the economic aspect of internationalization, which goes beyond discourses of neo-liberalism, and argues against the traditional binary categorizations of socio-cultural and educational versus economic internationalization. On a theoretical level, the study outlines the strengths of DCF and unsettles its conceptualization of collective and individual discursive agencies.

Keywords: International education policy, policy-making process, discursive policy, Discourse Coalition framework, argumentative policy studies, postsecondary education policy, Ontario

Dedication

*To my Mom and Dad,
My inspiration, strength, and backbone*

*To Maher,
My soulmate, my greatest support, and my biggest comfort*

*To Marah, Tala, and Mo,
My everything*

This is your accomplishment too.

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List of Acronyms

ADA	Argumentative Discourse Analysis
Advisory Panel report	The Advisory Panel's <i>International Education: A Key Driver of Canada's Future Prosperity</i>
APFC	Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada
ARWU	Academic Ranking of World Universities
CASA	Canadian Alliance of Student Associations
CAUT	Canadian Association of University Teachers
CBIE	Canadian Bureau for International Education
CBoC	Conference Board of Canada
CCC	Canadian Chamber of Commerce
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CEC	Canadian Experience Class Program of Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CFS-ON	Canadian Federation of Students – Ontario
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CARMS	Canadian Residency Matching Service
CMEC	Council of Ministers of Education, Canada
COU	Council of Ontario Universities
CPA	Critical Policy Analysis
CSA	College Student Alliance
CSFP	Canada's Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship program
DCF	Discourse Coalition Framework
ESDC	Department of Employment and Social Development Canada
GAC	Department of Global Affairs Canada (Formerly Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, DFATD)
HEQCO	Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario
ICCRC	Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council
IE	International education
IRCC	Department of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship
IS	International student
ISP	International Student Program
LMIA	Labour Market Impact Assessment
MEDEI	Ministry of Economic Development, Employment and Infrastructure
MRI	Ministry of Research and Innovation
MTCU	Ministry of training, Colleges, and Universities (Between 2014 to 2018 known as the Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development – MAESD)
MCI	Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration
MoE	Ministry of Education
ODA	Canada's Overseas Development Assistance program
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OCC	Ontario Chamber of Commerce
OCUFA	Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations
OINP	Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program

OP	Office of the Premier
OUSA	Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance
OCWP	Off-Campus Work Permit program of Citizenship and Immigration Canada
PAFSO	Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers
PGWP	Post-Graduation Work Permit program of Citizenship and Immigration Canada
PNP	Provincial Nominee Program
PSE	Postsecondary education
PSEI	Postsecondary education institution
RKA	Roslyn Kunin & Associates' <i>Economic Impact of International Education in Canada</i>
SIG	Special-Interest Group
StatCan	Statistics Canada
TFWP	Temporary Foreign Worker Program
THE	Times Higher Education
UniCan	Universities Canada (Formerly Association of Universities and Colleges Canada)
QS	Quacquarelli Symonds

Chapter 1: Introduction

The beginning is the most important part of the work.
Plato, *The Republic*

This research started with a curiosity to understand Ontario's policy approach to international education. In particular, I was interested in knowing

1. How is international education constructed as a policy discourse in the postsecondary sector in Ontario?
2. Who are the policy actors that are contributing to the postsecondary international education policy-making process in Ontario?
3. What role do they play in influencing international education policy and empowering and silencing different discourses?

Whereas international education (IE) literature has extensively examined IE in the context of goals, programs, activities, and even outcomes, little is known about IE as policy. Scholars have recognized the importance of examining internationalization¹ as policy at the national and/or institutional levels. This is prompted by the realization that international education is “one of the major forces impacting and shaping higher education in the 21st century” (Knight, 2008, p. ix) and is increasingly becoming a national policy concern worldwide as more and more countries are adopting more “national strategic” international education approaches (de Wit, Hunter, Howard, & Egron-Polak, 2015, p. 27). Canada's IE policy landscape is no different as it recently has witnessed the release of different IE policies on the provincial and federal levels including *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens*.

¹ Although there have been many attempts to differentiate between the terms *internationalization of higher education* and *international education*. For the purposes of this dissertation, they are used interchangeably, a practice that is not uncommon in the international education literature (de Wit, 2002; Zha, 2003).

While there is little literature examining international education as policy in the Canadian federal context, literature examining IE provincial policy context is almost non-existent.

Examining Ontario's IE policy context is important for two reasons. First, given the unique jurisdictional boundaries for higher education between the federal and provincial governments in Canada, Ontario, similar to other provinces, offers an interesting case study of how higher education policy-making is a challenging endeavour given provincial jurisdiction over education as well as the strong culture of provincial institutional autonomy. Second, not only does Ontario have the largest postsecondary education (PSE) sector among all the other provinces, but it can also be considered a leader in international education in Canada, as 48% of all international students (IS) in Canada in 2017 chose Ontario as their study destination (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2018; Larocque, 2018). Given the fact that many scholars contend that IE is a force that is shaping the PSE sector worldwide, it is necessary to examine how it is shaping the biggest PSE sector in Canada (i.e., Ontario). Furthermore, Ontario's IE policy landscape raises interesting questions on how policy is defined, understood, developed, and enacted by different actors. Prior to the release of *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens*, there were contradictory statements with regards to whether Ontario had a strategy prior to 2018. For example, in 2008 the Deputy Minister of the Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities (MTCU) referred to a "*current* international strategy" (Steenkamp, 2008, para. 10, emphasis added); however in 2012, another official referred to an "*emerging* postsecondary education international strategy" (MTCU, 2012a, p. 5, emphasis added). Nonetheless, neither strategy was referenced again nor found anywhere in the publicly available archives. The absence of a strategy document did not deter the province from being active in the international education front. Ontario has always been

involved in IE practices (e.g., student and faculty mobility and partnership programs). Actually, Ontario's economic and immigration policies addressed some aspects of international education such as student recruitment and retention (e.g., Open Ontario plan, 2010, which aimed to increase international student enrolments and the Provincial Nominee program, 2009, which aimed to retain international students). Despite these practices and economic and immigration strategies, some PSE stakeholders stated that, unlike many other Canadian provinces, Ontario did not have an "explicit international education strategy" (Popovic, 2013, p. 10) until the release of *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens*.

In order to understand the Ontarian international education policy landscape, it is important to situate it within IE policy scholarship, both international and national.

1.1. Internationalization as Policy in the PSE sector: What Do We Know?

The limited, yet growing, literature on internationalization as a policy highlights three main themes. First, literature is indecisive as to who leads the internationalization policy arena. Some scholars highlight the role governments play in setting national IE policies and steering postsecondary education institutions (PSEIs) (Enders, 2004; Marginson & Sawir, 2005; van der Wende, 2001). Others argue that the role of the state is weakening due to the emergence of more dominant global and supranational actors and contexts (Enders, 2004; Horta, 2010; Marginson, 2002; Mosneaga & Agergaard, 2012; Rizvi, 2006; Viczko, 2012). Second, there has been no agreement on whether IE policies are witnessing a global policy convergence influenced by economic neoliberal agendas (Beck, 2012; Foskett, 2010; Maringe, 2010; Stromquist, 2007; Viczko, 2012) or that policy divergences are occurring due to the uniqueness of each country's historical, economic, political, geographical, and education governance contexts (Enders, 2004; Stensaker et al., 2008; Tamtik & Kirss, 2016). Nonetheless, it is evident that the majority of the

literature problematizes the dominance of economic and neoliberal internationalization discourses over academic and philanthropic ones (Dunn & Nilan, 2007; Taskoh, 2014). Third, in analyzing IE policies, scholars recognize an increasing diversification of agendas creating spillovers between IE and other policy sectors such as economy, innovation, immigration, and foreign affairs. These policy sectors contribute to the definition of IE as a revenue-generating source, a human capital development catalyst, an innovation propeller, and a soft power tool (de Wit 2002; Hawthorne, 2008; 2012; Knight, 2008; 2012; Stein & Andreotti, 2015; Trilokekar, 2009; 2010).

1.2. Internationalization as Policy: What do We Not Know?

Examining IE policy literature in the Canadian PSE scholarship highlights many gaps in our understanding of IE as policy and hence how policies are made, accepted, rejected, or altered and their intended and/or unintended consequences. The majority of the studies focus on examining policies from the perspective of individual stakeholders such as the state (Cover, 2016; Marttinen, 2011; McCartney, 2016; McLellan, 2008; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016a) and postsecondary education institutions (Andreotti et al., 2016; Stein, 2013; Stier, 2004; Taskoh, 2014; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016b; Yemini & Giladi, 2015). Others critically explore specific internationalization activities, particularly international student recruitment (e.g., Bolsmann & Miller, 2008; Choudaha, 2017; Devos; 2003; McCarney, 2016; Stein & Andreotti, 2015) and studying abroad (Barbaric, 2017). Some scholars attempt to contextualize the evolution of some IE activities through historical and contextual analyses (e.g., McCartney, 2016). However, no studies have attempted to date to map IE more broadly examining the different actors contributing to the construction of IE policy, the different IE activities and their rationales, and the interactions and power dynamics between the different actors and their ability to influence

the IE policy-making process. Theoretically, most of the policy research in the Canadian postsecondary education sector in general and in international education policy in particular has adopted theoretical frameworks that stem from political sciences and public policy, such as policy networks (Padure & Jones, 2009; Trick, 2005); federalism (Trilokekar, 2009, 2010); multiple stream model (Charles, 2011; Rexe, 2014; 2015); advocacy coalition framework (Rexe, 2014; 2015; Mawhinney, 1993); frameworks that stem from science, such as the actor-network theory (Viccko, 2013); and frameworks that stem from critical discourses theories (e.g., Cover, 2016; Karram, 2013; McCartney, 2016; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016a, 2016b, 2019). Whereas I agree with Rexe (2015) that theoretical frameworks from political science and public policy would help empirical studies that critically analyze the dynamics of the Canadian PSE policy-making, I argue that PSE and IE policy-making research could also benefit from alternative theoretical frameworks that stem from the fields of sociology and language.

The above context raises questions about what policy is and how it is understood. Is it an official document? Is it a government directive? Does the absence of an official IE strategy document indicate an absence of a policy? How do different actors define an IE strategy and how does that influence their perceptions of whether Ontario has/had an IE strategy or not? What led the province to release an official postsecondary international education strategy in May 2018? How do global forces such as globalization and neoliberalism influence IE policies in Ontario? Is Ontario's IE policy landscape an example of policy convergence or divergence from global IE discourses and policies? What role, if any, do supranational actors play in influencing Ontario's IE policies? What is the influence of other policy landscapes, such as immigration, economy, and foreign affairs, on the province's approach to IE?

Little is known about Ontario's international education definitions, rationales, discourses, and approaches in relation to prevailing political, social, and economic climates on the global, national, and provincial levels. It is unclear who the actors that contribute to the IE decision-making process in Ontario are and how they influence policy-making. This knowledge is critical to further the understanding of international education as a policy field in Ontario, and Canada, as well as the forces shaping this policy field. It also furthers our understanding of how policies are created, by whom, and for what purposes, and how they are understood by different actors. This knowledge plays a role in democratizing the policy-making process, revealing power disparities, and empowering actors who wish to influence policy.

Before attempting to tackle the three research questions stated at the beginning of this chapter and in light of the above context, it is important to step back and answer the question: What is policy?

1.3. What Is Policy?

In reviewing policy literature, one notices that there is no agreement amongst scholars on what constitutes policy and how to approach policy research. For some, policy refers to the actions of the government to secure certain outcomes and/or address some problems (Pal, 2010). From this perspective, policy research should focus on the government as the key policy actor and other policy actors as recipients and implementers of the government directives. Policy-making here follows a rational heuristic model. In opposition to this rational approach is the critical policy analysis approach, within which this study is situated. This critical approach views policy as a process rather than a product. Policies are participatory, “struggled over, not delivered” (Ozga, 2000, p. 2). This process-oriented definition of policy extends the possibilities for research beyond the formal mechanisms of government to involve different actors “who may

lie outside the formal machinery of official policy making” (Ozga, 2000, p. 2). Policies go beyond a mere text to include practices, processes, discourses, power dynamics, influences, outcomes, and effects (Ball, 1993; 1994; 2015; Ozga, 2000). This approach views policy as inherently complex, political, and value-laden (Bowe, Ball, & Gold, 1992; Stone, 2001).

Within the critical policy studies, critical discursive approaches were the most appealing for and fitting to the current study. The discursive approaches allow the researcher to expand the scope of research to go beyond the stated and the written text and pave the way to problematize the construction of IE as a policy by probing its contested definitions, rationales, and approaches. They problematize the use of language in framing policy problems and solutions. Critical discursive studies challenge taken-for-granted assumptions and constructions of policy problems and solutions exposing power imbalances and injustices that get normalized through discourses, policies, and practices. Of the different discursive approaches, Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) was the most appealing and best suited to the current study. Below is a brief description of DCF, its methodology, and its value to the current research. Additionally, there is an updated nuanced set of research questions to fit the new positionality of a critical discourse policy analyst.

1.4. Theoretical Framework: Discourse Coalition Framework

Based on the above examination of Ontario’s IE policy context and the understanding that policy-making is a contested process, Maarten Hajer’s (1993, 1995, 2003a, 2003b, 2006) social constructivist Discourse Coalition Framework provides a suitable lens to examine this policy landscape. The DCF conceptualizes politics and policies as struggles for discursive dominance where discourse facilitates or restricts actors in their attempt to impose and persuade others to support their definitions of the social world (Hajer, 1995). DCF is situated within

critical discourse frameworks which problematize language and perceive it as more than just a tool. Language, through social and discursive interaction, is also an agent influencing policy actors and policy-making. DCF recognizes the government/nation-state as an important actor in policy-making as it is “endowed with substantial power,” yet “it is the continuity and coherence of the institution that has become an empirical question” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 184). This perception of the state as an actor among others calls for an examination of all the actors who contribute to the IE discursive space and their practices to influence policy-making.

Hajer (1995) introduces the concept of discourse coalitions to refer to “the ensemble of (1) set of story-lines; (2) the actors who utter these story-lines; and (3) the practices in which this discursive activity is based” over a particular period of time (Hajer, 1995, p. 65). The DCF lens is particularly important in this study as international education is a sector that cuts across many policy contexts, spaces, discourses, and actors (such as education, economy and trade, foreign affairs, immigration, and labour market). It influences these entities, and in turn is influenced by them. DCF has the tools to account for the diversity of discourses and actors beyond the limitation of examining an individual institution, actor, or activity. To examine how storylines are developed and coalitions formed, DCF proposes the use of argumentative discourse analysis (ADA) where a researcher examines what is being said, by whom, to whom, in what context, and if/how actors’ discourse changes in different contexts (Hajer, 2006). DCF argues that “if argumentative discourse analysis teaches us anything, it is that the format in which policy discourses are developed has a [sic] immense influence on the construction of policy problems and the outcome of the political process” (Hajer, 1995, p. 284).

1.5. Methodology

In accordance with the Discourse Coalition Framework, this study adopts a qualitative case study approach. In order to examine the diverse IE storylines, the political and socio-historic context, and the formation of IE discourse coalitions, a long-term perspective is needed. This study focuses on the period from 2005 until mid-2017. However, I made a conscious decision to include an examination of Ontario's *International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens* which was released in April 2018, that is, outside the timeframe of the data collection. It is included because it represents a major event in the IE landscape that cannot be ignored². While data collection and analysis took place prior to the release of the strategy, data analysis predicted a strategy that is very similar to the one released. This gives credence to Hajer's theoretical framework, particularly the power of storylines in influencing policy-making.

The study adopts Hajer's (2006) steps of doing argumentative discursive analysis (ADA). Data sources included IE stories in the three highest circulation newspapers in Ontario (*Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, and the *National Post*) for the period identified (a corpus of 415 articles), 23 interviews with different policy actors, and 195 policy documents. As per ADA, I examined what is being said—by whom, to whom, and in what context; how actors react to and interact with one another in an attempt to impose their perception of the policy problem and/or solution on others; and if and how actors' IE discourse changes and in what contexts change occurs (Hajer, 2006). These three data sources provided a rich perspective on the evolvement of IE discourses, contexts, and policy landscape in Ontario. ADA helps account for fragmentation of the IE policy landscape, locate actors beyond the PSE sector that may contribute to IE policy-making in Ontario, and identify discursive practices used by coalition members to impose their

² Further discussion on the inclusion of the 2018 IE strategy is presented in Chapter 7.

definition of IE, its rationales, and approaches. This approach to policy study has the potential to highlight actors who have had difficulty making their voices heard and thus has the “possibility of making people see things differently, and, in the process, shifting the course of the political struggle” (Fischer, 2003, p. 73).

1.6. Value of DCF

The DCF is an appealing theoretical framework for this study for four main reasons. First, it helps examine Ontario’s complex and fragmented policy landscape through providing theoretical and analytical tools that help account for the cross-sectoral nature of IE and the diverse actors, discourses, knowledges, and practices that this landscape attracts. DCF helps account for global, national, and provincial discourses that emerge from not only the education policy landscapes but also others beyond education (e.g., immigration, trade, and foreign affairs). Hence, it is not bound to one actor, policy, or geographic space. Second, the concepts of storylines and discourse coalitions help explain why actors may mobilize the same discourses despite their diverse beliefs, interests, and fields of knowledge. They also help account for and understand why and how actors beyond the IE sector become active in and contribute to the construction of IE as a policy problem and/or solution. Third, the argumentative approach to studying policy which focuses on actors’ struggle to impose their construction of the policy problem and/or solution helps account for the contradiction that the same actor(s) may show in their discourses and practices. Fourth, DCF’s conceptualization of the government as an actor, albeit an important one, among other actors is helpful. DCF accounts for the multiplicity of actors and expands the scope of where those actors could come from.

Therefore, while previous studies, as illustrated earlier, have adopted critical discourses analysis (CDA) approaches to IE policy studies, all of them have focused on individual actors

and failed to probe the relationality between the different actors. If we understand policy as a socially constructed and contested process, it is important to interrogate the use of language in the policy process, examining how people struggle over meaning to impose their vision of reality and seeking historical and contextual clues to gain insight into policy-making; and to question the distribution of power and resources, problematizing who is heard and who is not, who is advantaged and who is disadvantaged (Diem, Young, Welton, Mansfield, & Lee, 2014). This study does not only propose to fill this gap, but also, through adopting the unique DCF lens, it proposes a paradigm shift in how the IE policy landscape is understood and examined. The study proposes to go beyond examining individual actors, their rationales and approaches for engaging in IE. Instead, the study focuses on the power of storylines to attract diverse actors who collaboratively, yet with no coordination, create new meanings of IE; to structure actors' understanding and involvement in IE; and to allow for the fluidity of the discourse coalitions' membership depending on different contexts. Hence, the study unravels new meanings of IE, relationships between actors, and power dynamics.

1.7. Revised Research Questions

Having assumed the positionality of a critical discursive policy analyst and in light of DCF's underpinnings, I nuanced my research questions, while still being true to the original ones, as follows:

Table 1
Research Questions

RQ.	Original	Revised
1	How is international education constructed as a policy discourse in the postsecondary sector in Ontario?	What are the IE storylines that influence Ontario's construction of international education as policy problem and/or solution in the postsecondary education sector? and what are the social, political and economic forces that influence the evolution of these storylines?
2.	Who are the policy actors that are contributing to the postsecondary international education policy-making process in Ontario?	Who are the actors that contribute to the IE discursive formation in Ontario's PSE sector and what is their discourse coalition membership?
3.	What role do they play in influencing IE policy and empowering and silencing different discourses?	How do international education storylines reinforce power dynamics by empowering and/or silencing different discourses?

1.8. Dissertation Organization

This dissertation consists of nine chapters. Following this introductory chapter are two chapters providing a literature review. Chapter 2 provides a review of international education literature examining its definitions, approaches, and activities. It also presents a review of policy-making literature in the PSE sector in Canada and Ontario in general, and within the field of IE in particular outlining main themes and gaps. Chapter 3 provides a brief examination of the historical development of IE policy in Canada on the federal and provincial levels with a special focus on the Ontario context which sheds light on the history of IE in Canada and Ontario and helps contextualize the discussion of the evolution of the IE storylines in the finding chapters.

Chapter 4 introduces Hajer's Discourse Coalition Framework (1993, 1995, 2006) as the theoretical framework of the study. It provides a discussion of its premise, definition of policy-

making, argumentative approach, key concepts, understanding of hegemony and ends by outlining the strengths and limitations of this framework.

Chapter 5 outlines the research methodology for data collection and analysis. It presents Hajer's argumentative discourse analysis steps for research sites. It outlines data sources and analysis, limitations and the researcher's positionality.

The findings of this study are presented over three chapters: 6, 7, and 8.

Chapter 6 identifies one main storyline in the IE discursive policy context in Ontario, which is *Internationalize*. However, as argued in the chapter, there are three storylines within the main *Internationalize* storyline. These are *Internationalize, it's good for the economy*; *Internationalize, yet manage its risks*; and *Internationalize, it's Canada's gateway to the world*. While all the storylines concurred, to varying degrees, that IE is desirable and beneficial to the PSE sector, their definitions, rationales, and approaches to international education differed. This chapter examines the evolution of each storyline and its coalition members in the context of prevailing economic, political, social and cultural contexts, provincially, nationally and globally.

Chapter 7 presents three "emblematic" sites which, I argue, have played an instrumental role in the process of (re)conceptualizing IE problems and solutions associated with them (Hajer, 1995, p. 276): the *Private Career Colleges Act* (2005), the Trillium scholarship (2010), and *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens* (2018a). In examining each, I illustrate how storylines emerged, merged, diverged, converged, and interacted; as well as how coalition members mobilized storylines in their argumentative struggle to influence IE policy-making in Ontario. Each emblem marks a conceptual and discursive shift in Ontario's postsecondary education international education policies.

Chapter 8 focuses on examining the discursive hegemony (or lack of it) of the three storylines. A discussion of the role of some agents of change in framing the IE debate in Ontario follows. I end the chapter questioning Hajer's conceptualization of collective and individual discursive agencies.

Together these three chapters answer the three research questions that initiated this study: How is IE constructed as a policy problem? Who are the actors that contribute to this policy landscape? And the role they play in influencing IE policy and empowering and silencing different discourses.

I end the dissertation with Chapter 9 which provides a final analysis of the international education policy landscape in Ontario focusing on how international education is understood as policy in Ontario and examining the multiplicity of discourses and storylines in this policy landscape and the actors who subscribe to or challenge them. I then investigate the impact of the three IE storylines in Ontario on furthering global social and economic imbalances and reproducing colonial hierarchies. I theorize about the strengths and limitations of the Discourse Coalition Framework as identified in this study. The chapter ends with a discussion of the contributions of this research and proposes questions for future research.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

To understand how IE has been examined as policy, it is necessary to review three strands of literature. First, I start by reviewing literature that examines internationalization as policy in relation to the broader context of globalization and neoliberalism. This review provides an overview of the different rationales and approaches to IE. Second, I look at studies that examine international education governance and policy, both nationally and internationally. This scholarship helps highlight convergences and divergences in different countries' approaches to IE governance and helps explain the role of the different policy actors in this landscape. Third, given the limited IE Canadian and Ontarian policy-making literature and the fact that this study is situated in the Canadian/Ontarian PSE sector, it is important to also examine the PSE policy-making literature in Canada and in Ontario. This review helps shed light on how policies are developed and taken up in Ontario which contributes to the understanding of how IE policies fit into the broader PSE policy landscape. Each of these literature reviews, their contributions, and limitations, further the understanding of IE as policy.

2.1. Internationalization

In reviewing the internationalization literature, one notes that the definition of IE is variable and dependent on the site of analysis (global, local, institutional, and/or departmental) as well as the stakeholder examined. There has been, as de Wit (2002) reports, a “lively debate” on the definition and meaning of internationalization of higher education and international education, two terms that are sometimes used interchangeably (p. 104; see also Zha, 2003). Despite the complexity of the debate, a shared element among scholars in defining international education is the “notion of between or among nations and cultural identities” (Zha, 2003, p. 249). In his attempt to provide an overview of meanings of international education and

internationalization of higher education, de Wit (2002) observes that definitions offered by some scholars (especially American scholars) emphasize “activities, rationales, competencies and/ or ethos;” hence, they use the term international education (p. 113). However, other scholars prefer the term internationalization of higher education as it reflects their definition of “a process” (de Wit, 2002, p. 114).

One of the most widely cited definitions for the process of internationalization of higher education is the one offered by Jane Knight (Majoor & Niemantsverdriet, 2010; Suspitsyna, 2015). She defines it as the “process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of higher education at the institutional and national levels” (Knight, 2008, p. 21). On an institutional level, Hudzik (2011; 2015) proposes the term “comprehensive internationalisation” which is defined as “a commitment, confirmed through action, to infuse international and comparative perspectives throughout the teaching, research and service missions of higher education. It shapes institutional ethos and values and touches the entire higher education enterprise” (Hudzik, 2011, p. 6). On a national policy level, van der Wende (2001) defines IE as “any systemic, sustained effort aimed at making higher education (more) responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalisation of societies, economy and labour markets” (Balvermark & van der Wende, 1997 as quoted in van der Wende, 2001, p. 253) through a variety of “activities, rationales, competencies and/or ethos” (de Wit, 2002, p. 113).

There is an extensive body of literature that examines the relationship between international education and the forces of globalization and neoliberalism. This section provides a brief summary of these forces and their influence on defining international education, its rationales and approaches.

2.1.1. Globalization and internationalization

Globalization is a critical 21st century force shaping education in general and postsecondary education in particular. It is described as “a key reality in the 21st century, [which] has already profoundly influenced higher education” (Altbach et al., 2009, p. 7). Altbach et al. (2009) define globalization as “the reality shaped by an increasingly integrated world economy, new information and communications technology, the emergence of an international knowledge network, the role of the English language, and other forces beyond the control of academic institutions” (p. 7). Knight (2008) suggests that while “internationalization is changing the world of higher education, globalization is changing the world of internationalization” (p. 1). Whereas Altbach (2004) argues that the higher education sector cannot escape the economic, technological, and scientific forces of globalization, institutions’ engagement with internationalization is optional and differs from one stakeholder to the other. Different policies and programs are developed and undertaken by governments, academic systems, and institutions to survive and/or exploit globalization (Altbach, 2004). Therefore, different stakeholders have different perspectives on what internationalization is and how to implement it.

2.1.2. Internationalization and neoliberalism

Many scholars have problematized the relationship between internationalization and neoliberalism. Neoliberalism as a force applies to economic, social, and political spheres and asserts that they are best organized according to market principles. The neoliberal logic positions higher education as “an investment in human capital which will enhance competitiveness and rewards to the individual, corporations and the national economy” (Bolsmann & Miller, 2008, p. 78). Neoliberalism privileges free trade and freedom of knowledge as forms of global capital

which are commodified and marketed internationally (Viczo & Tascon, 2016) as well as the facilitation of mobility and attraction of talent as a form of human capital.

Demographic challenges in Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries and increasing global competition for resources and highly skilled talent has forced governments to closely monitor and invest in internationalization, particularly within the PSE sector (European Commission, 2013; OECD, 2016; Tremblay, Lalancette, & Roseveare, 2012). Neoliberalism views the state's role as developing policies that encourage institutions and individuals to conform to market norms (Brown, 2006; Larner, 2000). Internationalization has become increasingly embedded in states' economic and political agendas as international education has become "a politically strategic and economically promising policy" area worldwide (Tamtik, 2017, p. 1; see also Knight, 2004, 2008; Stensaker et al., 2008). National governments, such as those of Australia, the Netherlands, Germany, Sweden, the UK, and Ireland to name just a few, have developed a wide range of "highly sophisticated strategies" to both recruit and retain international students (Becker & Kolster 2012, p. 52; see also de Wit 2011; Gribble & Blackmore 2012; Hawthorne, 2008; 2012; Johnstone & Lee 2014; Lowe 2010; Morris-Lange & Brands, 2015; Sá & Sabzalieva, 2016; Suter & Jandl, 2008). Mosneaga and Agergaard (2012) describe this current context as the "uneasy coexistence" between internationalization agendas "framed in the neo-liberal rhetoric of knowledge economy, and a strict-on-immigration agenda" (p. 520).

On the postsecondary education institutional level, Stein (2017) observes that declining public funding, development and commercialization of new technologies for national economic competitiveness, goals of preparing entrepreneurial graduates with high levels of 'human capital,' and the use of private sector logics in institutional management have all contributed to

internationalization being treated as a means to generate institutional revenues and reproduce neoliberal epistemic hegemony. Matthews and Sidhu (2005) note that internationalization can be presented as a natural and inevitable course of action in the face of globalizing forces in the education field, affording it legitimacy and an air of unquestionability in the eyes of the general public. It is within this context that many scholars have recently called for rethinking the “fundamental values underpinning” IE (Knight, 2014, p. 76; see also de Wit, 2014; Madge, Raghuram, & Noxolo, 2015; Stein et al., 2016; Tarc, Clark, & Varpalotai, 2013). This growing influence of neoliberalism on IE prompted a growing concern about the ethics of international education and problematization of the relationship between IE theories and practices (e.g., Adnett, 2010; Naidoo, 2010; Rizvi & Lingard, 2010; Suspitsyna, 2015).

2.1.3. International education: Ideologies, approaches, and activities

Many scholars examine the ideologies that drive internationalization initiatives. Stier (2004) identifies three different ideologies towards the internationalization of higher education. *Idealism* sees the creation of a better world through promoting mutual understanding, respect, tolerance, social change, and distribution of wealth as the purpose of international education. *Educationalism* views education in a broader sense where international education serves to enrich learning, promote and exchange new perspectives and knowledge, and promote personal growth and commitment to learning. *Instrumentalism* sees the internationalization of higher education as a means to maintain sustainable development and hence is linked with neoliberalism (as discussed in the previous section). It is sought after as it enhances economic growth, profit, competence availability, and the exchange of local/global know-how (Stier, 2004). Trilokekar (2009) notes that international education can also be used as an avenue to achieve broader soft power interests where governments promote cultural diplomacy, mutual

understanding, and world peace through cultural and educational exchanges and different study abroad programs as tools to secure national interests. In this context, IE is perceived as a way to strengthen future diplomatic and economic relations with other countries (Trilokekar, 2009). Ainger, Nelson and Stimpfl (1992) group these rationales to internationalize higher education into three: enhance international security, maintain economic competitiveness, and foster human understanding across nations. Callan (2000) observes that interpretations of internationalization are influenced by “the varying rationales and incentives for internationalization, the varying activities encompassed therein, and the varying political and economic circumstances in which the process is situated” (p.16).

In his review of international education literature, Zha (2003) identifies four main approaches to describe the concept of internationalization. The *competency approach* is interested in the “generation and transfer of knowledge” to develop skills, knowledge, attitudes, and values in students, faculty, and staff (Zha, 2003, p. 250). The *ethos approach* aims at creating a culture that values and promotes intercultural perspectives and initiatives. This approach perceives the international dimension of education as “fundamental to the definition of a university or any other institutions of higher education” (Zha, 2003, p. 251). The *process approach* emphasizes both the programs/activities aspect as well as the organizational aspects (e.g., policies and procedures). Therefore, it emphasizes “the integration or infusion of an international/intercultural dimension into teaching, research, and service through a combination of a wide range of activities, policies and procedures” (Zha, 2003, p. 251). The *activity approach*, to internationalization, focuses on different activities and distinct programs, such as curriculum and exchange programs for faculty and students which is “a fragmented and uncoordinated approach” (Zha, 2003, p. 250).

International education in PSE could involve a vast variety of activities. Scholars categorize them into two main streams: internationalization at home and cross border education. Internationalization at home focuses on internationalization aspects on a home campus including “the intercultural and international dimension in the teaching-learning process and research, extracurricular activities and relationships with local cultural and ethnic groups, as well as the integration of foreign students and scholars into campus life and activities” (Knight, 2008, p. 21; see also Larsen, 2016). The cross border education involves movement of people, whether students or professors; new models of delivery of educational programs such as franchising, twinning, double/joint degrees, and physical or virtual movement of the education provider through satellite campuses; and international projects such as joint curriculum development, joint research, and professional development initiatives (Knight, 2008; Larsen, 2016).

2.2. International Education Governance and Policy

International education is identified as “one of the most significant drivers facing the modern university” (Taylor, 2004, p. 168). It is “one of the major forces impacting and shaping higher education in the 21st century” worldwide (Knight, 2008, p. ix). Scholars agree that IE “is contributing to, if not leading, a process of rethinking the social, cultural and economic roles of higher education and their configuration in national systems of higher education” (Enders & Fulton, 2002, p. 1). Thus, internationalization policy is associated with substantial changes in the actual substance and structures of postsecondary education institutions. In an attempt to understand this policy landscape, the literature review is divided into three main categories: who governs IE, how different stakeholders understand/experience IE, and how they engage in the different activities of IE.

2.2.1. Who Governs IE?

Within the current dominance of neoliberalism, some scholars observe a global policy convergence directly linking international education policies with economic and political neoliberal agendas (Foskett, 2010; Maringe, 2010; Stromquist, 2007; for the Canadian context see Beck, 2012; Viczko, 2012). Other scholars still stress the importance of examining each country's unique historical, economic, political, geographical contexts as well as its postsecondary education sector's distinctive features in influencing international education policies (Enders, 2004; Stensaker et al., 2008; Tamtik & Kirss, 2016; for the Canadian context see Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016b). Regardless, the IE governance literature is indecisive as to who leads the internationalization policy arena: Is it the state; global actors; postsecondary institutions; or networks of local, national, and global actors?

Many scholars observe a growing and more strategic role of the state in the IE policy landscape, noting that IE is increasingly becoming a national policy concern worldwide (Marginson & Sawir, 2005; Enders, 2004; Altbach & Teicher, 2001). There is a growing recognition in government policies for supporting, coordinating, and expanding IE initiatives to secure their quality on the one hand and ensure that they align with national economic, political, social, and cultural interests on the other (de Wit, 2002; Enders, 2004; for the Canadian context see Kirby, 2008; Tamtik, 2017). National governments' engagement with international education depends on a variety of factors such as political and economic contexts; geographical location; dominant culture; quality of the PSE sector; past history; as well as PSE institutional values, cultures, and traditions (and how they align, or not, with national ideologies and approaches) (Stensaker et al., 2008; Cerna 2014). However, scholars observe a "tendency towards convergence in policy-making focusing on the economic dimension of internationalisation" (Stensaker et al., 2008, p. 3). Becker and Kolster (2012) report on how these national policies are

increasingly aligned with national economic strategies and foreign economic and cultural policies “focusing on increasing a country’s international economic competitiveness by investing in knowledge, innovation and a highly-skilled workforce” (p. 52). Within the Canadian context, Tamtik (2017) observes that Canada is formulating an aggressive-marketization approach to benefit from the intensified global competition (p. 1). The role of the state in governing international education in Canada is further complicated due to the unique constitutional jurisdictions which complicate the relationship between the federal and provincial governments (a point that will be further discussed in the following chapter). This complication has prompted many scholars to examine the multi-level governance of IE in Canada. Trilokekar (2009; 2010) identifies the central role that the federal government plays in shaping the Canadian approach to IE particularly through Global Affairs Canada³ (GAC). While early studies reveal lack of coordination and high levels of contestation between the two levels of authority (Savage, 2009; Shubert, Jones, & Trilokekar, 2009), recent studies reveal more alignment and coherence between the federal and provincial governments as both agree on capitalizing on the economic values of international education (Kirby, 2008; Sa & Sabazalieva, 2016; 2018; Trilokekar & Jones, 2013; 2015b; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016 b).

Other scholars argue that the role of the state is weakening due to the emergence of more dominant global and supranational actors and contexts. For example, many studies examine supranational governance within the European Union context. These studies acknowledge the influence of intergovernmental and regional agreements and visions for internationalization (e.g.,

³ A department in the Government of Canada manages Canada's diplomatic relations and works on enhancing Canada's international trade, international development, and humanitarian assistance. During the Liberal government period in the 1990s, this department was known as the Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade (DFAIT). However, in 2013, the Conservative government amalgamated DFAIT with the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) and renamed it as the Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada (DFATD). After the Liberal government took office in 2015, it was renamed Global Affairs Canada (GAC). For consistency purposes, I will refer to it as GAC.

the ERASMUS Bologna process⁴ in Europe) and of supranational reform initiatives (e.g., Lisbon process⁵), and the emergence of new policy actors (e.g., the European Commission) (Enders, 2004; Horta, 2010; Lawn & Lingard, 2002; Mosneaga & Agergaard, 2012; Stensaker et al., 2008; Teichler, 2004; for the Canadian context see Tamtik, 2017; Viczko, 2012). These emerging global initiatives, agreements, and actors have triggered reform agendas within and across countries. Some outcomes have included revising degree structures, working towards common qualification frameworks, and introducing quality control measures. Other outcomes have been increased competition in a market-oriented, knowledge-based economy—hence, strengthening the economic dimension of internationalization (Beerkens & Vossensteyn; 2011; Marginson, 2002; Rizvi, 2006; Stensaker et al., 2008). Countries’ responses to these global trends differ. Whereas some countries, such as Canada, have adopted an aggressive-marketization approach to ensure a standing in global competition, others have embraced a more balanced, comprehensive approach towards IE, focusing on equality and balanced partnerships (Tamtik, 2017). Nonetheless, even in countries that have had history of “emphasising the cultural and social motives of higher education ... one can detect a [recent] stronger focus” on IE contributions to national economy (Stensaker et al., 2008, p. 3). Within this context, Tamtik (2017) questions whether IE has become a “battlefield of political [and economic] powers” (Tamtik, 2017, p. 2).

Postsecondary institutions, particularly universities, have historically led internationalization initiatives (Knight, 2004; Trilokekar & Jones, 2015a; b). Nevertheless, as

⁴ The ERASMUS student mobility program is linked to the Bologna process. The latter has triggered European countries to revise their entire degree structure, to work towards a common qualifications framework, and to change the existing approaches to teaching and quality.

⁵ An action and development plan was devised in 2000 for the economy of the European Union (EU) between 2000 and 2010. Its aim was to make the EU "the most competitive and dynamic knowledge-based economy in the world" by 2010 (http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_data/docs/pressdata/en/ec/00100-r1.en0.htm).

universities are dependent on governments for resources, funding, and legitimation, they remain entrenched within and greatly influenced by the national context (Cerna, 2014; Knight, 2004; Marginson & van der Wende, 2009). Scholars have examined the influence of the emergence of the state as an influential IE policy actor on postsecondary institutions' approaches/policies to IE. Trilokekar and El Masri (2016b) note that while Ontario universities have been responsive to government policies pertaining to the recruitment and retention of IS, institutional responses are variable depending on the specific internal context of the university, the type of university, and how it is embedded locally. Jones and Oleskiyenko (2011) also draw attention to the role of faculty members in Canadian universities in initiating and shaping IE research-related policies. In studying the governance of internationalization of Canadian university research, they note that Ontario universities can have high levels of international research activity and collaboration even in the absence of government and institutional support. Faculty members are at the core of international partnership building (Jones & Oleskiyenko, 2011). Recent scholarship also draws attention to an increased influence of immigration policies on PSE institution's roles and responsibilities as they are increasingly perceived as gateways to immigration. Many scholars argue that PSEIs have been implicated by national governments to select, train, and retain international students as future immigrants (Hawthorne, 2008; 2012; Morris-Lange & Brands, 2015; Wolfeil, 2010; for the Canadian context see Brunner, 2017; Sa & Sabzalieva, 2016; 2018; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016b).

Other scholars examine coordination across multi-sector networks and/or actors situated beyond governmental agencies. Some observe a rise in nongovernmental networks that are active in influencing policy-making challenging "central authority, institutional autonomy and shap[ing] internationalization norms and values" (Tamtik, 2017, p. 4; see also Viczko, 2013).

Professional organizations and networks have emerged as actors influencing IE in Canada through their reports, strategies and policy briefs on Canada's potential in IE (Tamtik, 2017); strategic planning and advocacy (Viccko; 2013); and contribution to the PSE administrators' knowledge about IE policies and trends (El Masri; Choubak, & Litchmore, 2015; Williams, Williams, Arbuckle, Walton-Roberts, & Hennebry, 2015; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016b). Other studies highlight the role played by organizations such as the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE)⁶ and Universities Canada⁷ in shaping the IE discussions in Canada (Tamtik; 2017; El Masri et al., 2015; Viccko 2013; Williams et al., 2015).

2.2.2 Why engage with IE? Stakeholders' perspectives

In trying to understand how different stakeholders engage with internationalization as policy, many scholars investigate individual stakeholders through critically examining their policies, approaches, lived experiences and discourses.

Some studies examine the changes in states' approaches towards IE noting an increased attention to this policy landscape due to an acknowledgement of its political and economic potentials and contribution to knowledge-based economy (Altbach & Teicher, 2001; Enders; 2004; for the Canadian context see Sa & Sabzalieva, 2016; 2018; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2019, in press). Others attempt to unravel the discursive legitimization strategies employed by the state to advance their definition of IE and influence national and institutional policies and practices

⁶ The Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) is a national, not-for-profit, non-governmental membership organization dedicated exclusively to international education. CBIE promotes global learning by - mobilizing expertise, knowledge, opportunity and leadership.

⁷ Universities Canada, previously known as Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC), is a non-governmental, membership-based organization established in 1911 and governed by a board of directors consisting of university presidents. Currently its membership includes 97 public and private not-for-profit Canadian universities. For consistency purposes, I will refer to this organization as Universities Canada throughout.

(Marttinen, 2011; McLellan, 2008; for the Canadian context see Cover, 2016; McCartney, 2016; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016a).

Other studies focus on examining PSE institutions' involvement with IE (Andreotti et al., 2016; Stein, 2013; Stier, 2004; Yemini & Giladi, 2015; for the Canadian context see Taskoh, 2014; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016b). These studies reveal conflicting approaches and discourses within PSEIs outlining the tension between the universities' missions and visions and the prevailing neoliberal context. In mapping the literature that looked at internationalization discourses within the university sector, Stein et al. (2016) identify four IE articulations: (a) internationalization for a global knowledge economy, which falls within the neo-liberal discourse and Stier's (2004) instrumental ideology; (b) internationalization for the global public good, which falls within the liberal discourse of inclusivity, equity, and democracy and Stier's (2004) educationalism ideologies; (c) anti-oppressive internationalization, which is informed by anti-colonial, anti-imperial, and anti-racist commitments and Stier's (2004) idealism ideology; and (d) relational trans-localism, which recognizes and disinvests the harmful practices identified by the anti-oppressive articulation.

PSE institutions have historically led IE initiatives (Universities Canada, 2014a; Beck 2009; Jones, 2009; Shubert, Jones, & Trilokekar, 2009). Many studies, while acknowledging the role of governments, reveal that PSE institutions tend to adopt a more encompassing and far-reaching definition of IE than just recruitment and retention of IS. Different studies within the Canadian context highlight that PSE institutions have a wide range of IE rationales such as academic and cultural objectives (Universities Canada, 2014a). Hence, institutional IE strategies are "much more far reaching and inclusive" (Taylor, 2004, p. 157) than simply recruitment of international students.

However, even within PSE institutions, there seem to be disagreement and contradiction as to the value, approaches, and discourses pertaining to IE. In examining the values that drive internationalization and influence policies and initiatives in a public university in Ontario, Taskoh (2014) identifies four major rationales: commercial-financial, administrative-visibility, educational-academic, and international-collaborative relationships. These contradictions and different perceptions, according to Taskoh (2014), suggest the emergence and presence of two major discourses of values driving the related internationalization policies and initiatives: an academic-liberal discourse (with two subdivisions: education-academic based values and multicultural-humanitarian based values) and an instrumental-neoliberal discourse (with two subdivisions: material-based values and competition-based values).

Another important stakeholder of PSE is students. Studies have shown that Canadian domestic students in general acknowledge the goals of IE such as fostering diversity; experiencing a broadened knowledge and understanding of other nations, cultures, and global issues; improving their school's international profile and prestige; enriching classroom discussions; networking; developing social and emotional skills; and generating revenue (Hayle, 2008; Lambert & Usher, 2013). Whereas the federal and provincial governments see IE as a tool to develop global competence, Hayle (2008) notes that less than a half of the domestic students participating in the study report this as a main benefit derived from IE which implies that students perceive IE differently from the government. While domestic students are appreciative of the importance of IS on Canadian campuses, they express concerns that international students' language abilities; lack of familiarity with the Canadian teaching and learning approaches, contexts, and history; and limited ability to actively contribute to group work could negatively affect domestic students' classroom experience (Lambert & Usher, 2013).

A plethora of literature has focused on examining international students, but has ignored their influence (or lack of it) on IE policies. Some researchers have focused on the decision-making process of international students in choosing the study country and institution. Better education, self-development goals, career prospects, safety, tolerance, security, and, more recently, immigration prospects are reported as reasons for choosing Canada (e.g., Chen, 2017; Chirkov et al., 2007; 2008; Li & Tierney, 2013). Others examine experiences of IS in their host countries and institutions. Studies of the Canadian context have reported challenges facing international students including limited interaction with domestic students (Arthur & Flynn, 2011, Lyakhovetska, 2004; Chira, 2013; Trilokekar et al., 2014); a perceived language barrier (Lyakhovetska, 2004); lack of engagement in the university's extracurricular activities (Toyokawa & Toyokawa, 2002; Trilokekar et al., 2014) or perceived lack of institutional programming that engages international students with the domestic student body/community (Trilokekar et al., 2014; Bond et al., 2007, Leask, 2001). These studies raise questions of the relationship between state and institutional policies on the one hand and their enactment and perception by international students as one of the main stakeholders on the other. Karram (2013) highlights the tension between the discourses and practices that objectify IS "as tradable units in the market-driven discourse of economic development" and PSE institutions' discourses around IS student support which ironically provides "a buffer that limits the critique of the economic discourse" (p.4).

A few studies focus on the role of media in this policy area (Cover 2016; Devos, 2003). Devos (2003) examines the media's construction of international students as "the other" and "the bogy, or problem" (p. 164) for Australian higher education academic standards' challenges. Cover (2016) examines the official government of British Columbia policy and the media's

construction of IE: marketization (focusing on the economic benefits of IE) and internationalization (focusing on the cultural and social benefits). He argues that the media focuses almost exclusively on economic outcomes, with little mention of the social and cultural benefits that underpin internationalization arguments for international education (Cover, 2016).

2.2.3. IE activities: What has been examined?

International Education policy literature also examines certain IE activities, particularly student inbound and outbound mobility. International student recruitment and, more recently, retention have drawn the attention of scholars who examine the evolution of policies surrounding IS over time and in different contexts. Studies reveal that IS have been constructed and approached as charity recipients (McCartney, 2016; Stein & Andreotti, 2015), as research and innovation talent (Choudaha, 2017; Stein & Andreotti, 2015), as ambassadors building business and political bridges hence contributing to the host countries' soft power (McCartney, 2016), as sources of lucrative financial revenue (Choudaha, 2017; Cover, 2016; Karram, 2013; Stein & Andreotti, 2015), as highly desirable immigrants (Brunner, 2017; Hawthorne, 2008; 2012; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016a), and as a threat to hosting countries (Devos, 2003; McCartney, 2016). In his examination of immigration-related policies for IS in Canada between 1945 and 1975, McCartney (2016) observes that IS during the Cold War were seen as “worthy recipients of Canadian aid” and as valuable ambassadors (McCartney, 2016, p. 1). However, as the Canadian immigration system started attracting non-European immigrants, construction of IS shifted from portraying IS as “politically and economically dangerous” and posing a threat, to “the stability of Canadian culture” (McCartney, 2016, p. 1). Scholars report a shift in the Canadian context as IS are now seen as a pool of talented and well-aculturated potential

immigrants (El Masri et al., 2015; Sa & Sabzalieva, 2016; 2018; Scott et al., 2015; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2019), a point that will be discussed further in the following chapter.

Whereas many scholars have documented the benefits and challenges of study abroad, studies that examine study abroad from a policy perspective are limited. Barbaric (2017) provides a comprehensive review of government-led outbound student mobility policies and programs in both Ontario and at the federal level. In this study, Barbaric concludes that outbound mobility policy in Ontario has “historically taken a back seat to domestic policy issues” (p. 6). However, the policies that promote study abroad which saw the light have “tended to be the result of political will,” ... “shown an easily-communicated domestic benefit,” or been “part of diplomatic relations” (Barbaric, 2017, p. 6).

It is evident in the above literature review that studies examining IE policies have typically either focused on a particular IE actor and/or an IE activity. Few studies in the Canadian context examine the inter-relationships among multiple actors at multiple levels of authority within the Canadian higher education system. Viczko and Tascon (2016) map the IE actors, knowledges, and spaces that are discursively produced focusing on three policy documents from three national actors (GAC, the Council of Ministers of Education Canada , and CBIE) revealing the prevalence of neoliberal discourse. Jones and Olesksiyenko (2011) examine the relationship between the federal, provincial (Ontario), and institutional levels of authority and reveal a lack of correlation between government funding and institutional engagement in international research. Trilokekar and El Masri (2016a) juxtapose federal and provincial policies that aim to facilitate the recruitment and retention of international students with their lived experiences revealing a lack of alignment between the two. Other studies have examined the relationship between immigration and educational policies focusing on the relationship between

federal and provincial IE policies and PSE institutional IE policies (Brunner, 2017; El Masri et al., 2015; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016b) and the relationship between federal and provincial policies, employers, and PSE institutions (Trilokekar, Thomson, & El Masri, 2016). These studies reveal that while universities vary in their response to state policies (with some being highly engaged/implicated), employers are not. Finally, Cover (2016) examines the IE discourses mobilized by the Ministry of Advanced Education (responsible for postsecondary education); Ministry of Education (K-12); and the media in British Columbia. He reports a disjuncture between the two ministries, with the Ministry of Advanced Education focusing on the cultural and social benefits of IE and the Ministry of Education “offering a rather balanced perspective” without privileging either sociocultural or economic impacts of IE programs. The media on the other hand focuses almost exclusively on economic outcomes (Cover, 2016, p. 181).

These studies reveal a complex and dynamic interaction of multi-level policy actors. Actors do not have the same understanding of IE nor are their IE policies, approaches, and discourses aligned. While the federal and provincial governments (might) have an influence on IE policies, the approach to IE in Canada, in general, and Ontario, in particular, is not necessarily a top-down approach. It is important to examine the unique historical, economic, political, and geographical contexts as well as the postsecondary education institutions’ distinctive features, history, vision/mission and goals which play an integral role in shaping IE policies. No study to date has attempted to provide a bird’s eye view of all IE actors and activities.

2.3. PSE Policy-Making Literature in Canada

As this study focuses on international education policies in the postsecondary education sector and given the limited literature that examines IE as policy in Canada, I consulted the PSE policy-making literature to shed light on how and why certain policies are taken up and why others are not. This section reviews policy-making in the PSE sector in Canada in general and Ontario in particular.

Many studies reveal the central role that some government ministries/departments play (Axelrod et al., 2011; Padure & Jones, 2009; Trilokekar et al., 2013; Viczko, 2013; Wellen et al., 2012). On the federal level, scholars highlight the prominent role a few members, particularly the prime minister, minister of finance, and key members of their staff within the policy circle, play in pushing certain ideas/proposals forward in the government's agenda or holding them off (Axelrod et al., 2011; Wellen et al., 2012). The way proposals are channelled within policy network circles plays a substantial role in deciding which proposals actually see the light and which do not (Axelrod et al., 2011). The Ontario PSE context is no different. Padure and Jones (2009) note that it has been dominated by a ministry, representatives of the university administrators, and the Council of Ontario Universities and the Ontario Council on University Affairs (before its abolition in 1996). The voices of students, faculty, and alumni have been excluded from PSE policies in Ontario which may have contributed to the "fairly infrequent contact between the [student] association and provincial government officials" (Jones, 1995, p. 102; Padure & Jones, 2009). The ability of students and faculty to make their voices heard, participate in higher education policy networks, and influence policy decisions varies substantially depending on their financial and human resources in addition to other network structural characteristics (Padure & Jones, 2009). Nonetheless, Jones (1995) reports that student

organizations have a “network of relationships with other student and non-student pressure groups, networks or coalitions” which “can play an important role in terms of the exchange of information and the joining of forces to increase political pressure” (p. 103) not only on an institutional but also provincial level. In another study, Rexe (2015) notes that student-organized interest groups and other policy advocates have occasionally been successful in their efforts to influence policy-making when aligned with a policy preference of a political party, particularly during elections when political parties tend to be more attuned to student voices, “a critical component for successful change” (p. 41). Therefore, those studies suggest that for IE policy actors in Ontario to influence policy-making and to ensure that their voices are heard, their success may be dependent on their access to and agreement with those few central government players.

Many studies highlight the changing context of policy-making which is becoming more complex. While Trilokekar et al. (2013) observe that policy-making is “controlled from the centre” through the “the apex of power,” that is the prime minister or provincial premier, they highlight that “soft power” is also key to the policy process (p. 56). Trilokekar et al. argue that policy-making in Canada, particularly in Ontario, is highly complex and chaotic and is influenced by many direct determinants (people, power and position; internal and external environment; and mass media and public opinion) and indirect determinants (advocacy, party philosophy, networks and lobbying, timing and alignment, research, and party platform and political pragmatism). As “institutions, organizations and processes ... have become too complex, too complicated, too porous, and too slow, ... contacts, networks, and personalities have gained power and influence” (Savoie, 2010, p. 193 as quoted by Trilokekar et al., 2013, p. 56). Weingarten (2013) concurs with this finding as he argues that for universities to influence

public policy, they need to “rely less on the media and more on their president” (p. 85) which highlights the role individual actors, in this case university presidents, could play in public-policy. In addition, Jones (2013) argues that the “whining and begging” approach of PSE institutions leaders in the 1970s and 1980s is no longer effective (p. 99). Instead, university and college leaders in Ontario have recently adopted more sophisticated approaches that rely on the advocacy efforts of their sector associations. Jones (2013) observes that the existing structural and authority arrangements within the system and shared interests of its members have direct implications on how they take up the policy matter. Rexe’s (2015) study highlights that “stakeholder relations, public opinion, and brokerage politics, designed for electoral success” (p. 41) are all factors that contribute to policy.

2.4. Gaps and Contribution to Literature

The above literature review highlights four gaps that are relevant to the current research. First, PSE policy studies in Canada is an “underdeveloped field” (Rexe, 2015, pp. 53-54) Axelrod (2013) observes that whereas there are numerous studies on policy outcomes, there is “relatively little literature on the ways policy is conceived, formed, and implemented” (p. 2). This is particularly evident on the provincial level as “there is little understanding of how [provincial] postsecondary policies are determined” (Rexe, 2015, p. 42; see also Axelrod, 2013) with regard to internationalization policies (Jones, 2009). Despite the fact that education is a provincial jurisdiction, there are few studies that examine the provincial policy-making process (Charles, 2011; Jones, 1995; Jones, 2013; Padure & Jones, 2009; Rexe, 2015; Trick, 2005). More specifically, no studies have examined the IE policy landscape in Ontario, hence, this study can be considered the first exploratory study within the Ontario IE PSE policy landscape.

Second, IE policy studies in Canada have focused on individual programs and actors and failed to probe the relationality between actors and what is produced through their interactions (Viczi, 2012). Much of the IE policy research has focused on the macro level (role of the state or supranational organizations); the meso level (institutional IE policies and practices); and the micro level (e.g., the influence of these policies on international students). However, as illustrated above, defining IE has been contested in academic literature, policy texts, and rhetoric in higher education with no universally accepted definition. The way a policy actor defines IE, its value (or lack of), and its rationale influences his/her interest in developing an IE policy, the perception of best approaches/practices, and the inclusion/exclusion of different stakeholders. The few studies that examine the relationship between these multiple levels are restricted to particular IE policy (e.g., international student-related immigration policies, and the federal international education policy), a few actors (e.g., GAC, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Mitacs, Universities Canada, and PSEIs), and/or an activity (e.g., student recruitment). Little work has been done to account for the role of other actors, whether successful or not, in influencing policy-making. Little is known about the relationships among multiple levels of policy actors and how the horizontal and vertical spaces and the macro, meso, and micro levels interact and influence each other and IE policy-making. The role of actors beyond the government is particularly important in IE as this policy landscape has been increasingly attracting actors from diverse disciplines such as economics, migration, trade, and foreign affairs in addition to education. No study has attempted to map all the old and emerging/conventional and non-conventional actors involved, the relationships between them, and how they influence IE governance.

Third, whereas scholars highlight the important role the media plays in influencing policy-making (Trilokekar et al., 2013; Weingarten, 2013), the majority of IE policy studies focus on policy documents and policy actors (with the exception of Cover, 2010 within the Australian context, and Devos, 2003 within the Canadian/British Columbia media context). Given the role of media in influencing public opinion (Saraisky, 2015; Stack, 2007) and the role that the public opinion plays in influencing policies (Rexe, 2015), this study examines media's construction of IE and its influence on IE policy-making. This study contributes to the understanding of the media's role in facilitating/hindering different actors' access to the public and in constructing the public's understanding of IE.

Fourth, most of the PSE policy scholarship adopts theoretical frameworks that stem from political science and public policy—such as policy networks (Padure & Jones, 2009; Trick, 2005), federalism (Trilokekar, 2009, 2010), multiple stream model (Charles, 2011; Rexe, 2014; 2015), and advocacy coalition framework (Rexe, 2014; 2015; Mawhinney, 1993)—or frameworks that stem from science such as the actor-network theory (Viczo, 2013). Whereas I agree with Rexe (2015) that theoretical frameworks from political science and public policy would help empirical studies that critically analyze the dynamics of the Canadian PSE policy-making, I would also argue that PSE policy-making research could also benefit from alternate theoretical frameworks that bring together the fields of language and sociology. While many internationalization policy scholars have adopted Critical Discourse Policy (CDA) frameworks problematizing the discourses of IE (e.g., Ball's concepts of policy as text and discourse in Cover, 2016; Tyack and Cuban's Policy Talk in McCartney, 2016; Van Leeuwen's legitimation framework in Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016b; and Fairclough's notion of critical discourse analysis in Karram, 2013), this study proposes an alternate theoretical framework that stems

from and combines the fields of sociology and language. This framework expands the notion and understanding of policies and policy-making by accounting for discursive and social construction and practices. Through adopting a post-structural social constructivist approach, this study aims to shed light on the role of language and social and discursive interaction in the policy-making processes. It does this by looking at mobilizing/positioning actors, forming coalitions, empowering and silencing different discourses, and influencing the construction of international education as a policy problem and assigning solutions to it.

Chapter 3: Policy Context

While the previous chapter presents how scholars have examined IE as policy, this section provides a historical context of the evolution of IE strategies in Canada in general and Ontario in particular which is essential to understand the current context. As this study conceptualizes the state as a significant actor of policy-making, albeit not the only one, it is important to examine how the two levels of governments, federal and provincial, have engaged in IE policies. In the sections below, I start by providing an historical narrative of the federal government's role in influencing and steering the country's approach to IE. This is followed by a discussion of the evolution of the IE policies in Ontario highlighting some contradictions between discourses and practices. Given the intersectionality between IE and immigration policies, I then present an outline of immigration policies that have influenced IE (particularly in relation to the recruitment and retention of IS). Finally, I situate my research within this context by identifying gaps that this research addresses.

3.1. Federal Context

While Steiner-Khamsi (2018) observes that, from a supranational or cross national level, one might observe a convergence of global policies, she highlights the importance of studying the “re-contextualized versions of one and the same global education policy that tells us something about context but also about the policy process and change” (p. 277). At first glance one might observe a close alignment between the Canadian IE policy context with the global one (as discussed in Chapter 2). Upon closer examination, one could identify unique contextual factors that have played and continue to play a considerable role in influencing a unique IE policy context in Canada. Whereas scholars note that IE has historically experienced a lack of interest, an ad-hoc approach, and a lack of coordination and communication between and across

federal and provincial departments and agencies, they observe a recent shift (Jones, 2009; Savage, 2009; Trilokekar & Jones, 2015 a; b). Both federal and provincial governments have lately expressed interest in working together on policy showing increased alignment (Trilokekar & Jones, 2013). This section provides a brief history of the federal context, which helps situate the Ontario IE policy context.

IE governance in the Canadian context is an anomaly. It is the only Group of 7 (G7) member⁸ without a federal education ministry (McCartney & Metcalfe, 2018). Not only is there no national entity that oversees education, but IE is an area of contention between the federal and provincial jurisdictions. Whereas section 93 of the Canadian Constitution of 1867 clearly states that provincial governments have exclusive jurisdiction to make laws governing education in Canada, section 91 notes that the federal government has jurisdiction in areas such as economic development, human resource development, and foreign affairs (Department of Justice, 2012). This overlap of jurisdictions has arguably restricted the federal government's ability to develop and implement IE policies as the domestic dynamics are "heavily dominated by tendencies to resist any attempts to centralize policy matters" (Trilokekar, 2009, p. 112) in education whether domestic or international. However, as discussed below, the federal government has indirectly influenced specific areas that relate to education in general and IE in particular through funding and/or economic or foreign affairs policies. Scholars argue that the federal government has become increasingly interested in establishing legitimacy over IE (Axelrod et al., 2011; Kirby, 2008; Tamtik, 2017; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016 a). With the release of Canada's first ever IE strategy in 2014, *Canada's International Education Strategy: Harnessing Our Knowledge Advantage to Drive Innovation and Prosperity*, the federal government has become actively

⁸ The G 7 Groups consists of France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada.

engaged in, or even assumed a leading role in, the internationalization of education initiatives in Canada.

The federal government's involvement and its approaches towards IE have varied over the years. Trilokekar & El Masri (2019) identify four main policy shifts. First, from 1967 to 1973, IE was perceived as a soft power and cultural diplomacy tool through which the federal government focused on building relations with the international community by developing international academic programs at Canadian universities and funding international students through Canada's Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) program and scholarships such as Canada's Commonwealth Scholarship and Fellowship program (CSFP) (Trilokekar, 2009, 2010; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2019). The second, and radical, shift in government policy towards IS took place in the early 1980s as concerns were expressed about Canadians spending tax dollars on the education of IS in Canada; consequently, a fee-paying model for IS was introduced (Canadian Federation of Students, 2015). This shift was not only "a result of increasing 'nationalistic' or 'parochial' thinking on the part of the government, [but] was also directly tied to increased emphasis on an economic agenda in Canada's foreign policy" (Trilokekar & El Masri, 2019, p. 31). Canadian higher education began to be viewed as a commodity within the context of an "international market place" (Joyal 1994, p. 6). This change paved the way to the third IE policy shift in the 1990s when the terms "international dimension" and "internationalization of higher education" started to emerge in government vocabulary as IE became viewed as international trade (Trilokekar, 2009). Collaboration between the federal government, the provincial governments, and PSEIs strengthened to promote Canadian higher education institutions internationally. University presidents started to join Canadian international trade missions, Canadian education centers were established abroad, a new Educational

Marketing Unit was formed in GAC, and significant development assistance programs were gradually replaced by Canadian diplomatic and commercial interests (Trilokekar, 2010).

A fourth shift in the government's approach towards IE took place in 2002 with the release of Canada's *Innovation Strategy* in 2002. The government's approach to IS changed from "an exclusive focus on recruiting IS" towards a commitment "to attracting them as future immigrants" (Trilokekar & El Masri, 2019, p. 42). The influence of the global context is evident. For example, She (2011) argues that the 9/11 attacks in the US, which resulted in visa restrictions in the US, drove many IS to consider studying in Canada and "drew [Canada's] attention to a broader range of potential benefits from educating foreigners and activated a more strategic consideration of student mobility in the knowledge economy" (p. 77). In 2006, GAC, in coordination with the Council of Ministers of Education Canada⁹ (CMEC), announced the Edu-Canada initiative (along with the *Imagine Education in/au Canada* brand and its accompanying marketing campaign) that aimed at promoting Canada as an educational destination and enhancing the recruitment of IS to study in Canada. Whereas Canada's approach towards international education was motivated earlier by "soft power" (Trilokekar, 2009), the focus now shifted towards student mobility with an *instrumentalist* orientation (Stier, 2004)—IS recruitment to enhance the Canadian economy. While IE in Canada was characterized by a lack of interest and limited coherency at a system level (Jones, 2009), the increasing economic importance of IE has led to a "stronger alignment of interests across different government policy agendas and stakeholder groups" paving the way to more coordination (Trilokekar & Jones, 2013, paragraph 9). In 2011, the federal government took an unprecedented step and appointed a six-member advisory committee to provide guidance and direction for an IE strategy for Canada.

⁹ CMEC is an intergovernmental body founded in 1967 by Canada's ministers of education. It provides leadership in education at the pan-Canadian and international levels.

The Advisory Panel's report, *International Education: A Key Driver of Canada's Future Prosperity*, led to the announcement of Canada's first-ever IE strategy in 2014. This strategy marks a paradigm shift in the government's approach towards IE. Whereas this shift is in sync with the recent approaches of many of the OECD countries, such as the UK and Australia, aiming at talent acquisition (Hawthorne, 2008, 2012; Trilokekar & Kizilbash, 2013), the Strategy legitimizes this shift in policy with reference to Canada's local context. The Strategy also predicts that immigration will count for 100% of net growth in the work force within the next decade (GAC, 2014). In addition to targets focusing on doubling international student numbers in Canada by 2022, identifying key markets, enhancing the branding of Canadian educational products, and supporting efficient visa processes, the Strategy aims at "increasing the number of international students choosing to remain in Canada as Permanent Residents after graduation" (GAC, 2014, p. 17). The Strategy legitimizes this target in the context of Canada's domestic labour market needs, its aging population, and its increasing dependence on immigration.

For some scholars, the Strategy signals the beginning of an alignment between the federal and provincial governments' goals pertaining to IE (Trilokekar & Jones, 2013). Others are critical and suggest that the lofty goals are not combined with appropriate mechanisms to ensure their implementation (Fullick, 2014). Some question the possible effects of the sudden increase in enrollment of IS on the quality of Canadian education (Fullick, 2014; Popovic, 2013; Trilokekar & Kizilbash, 2013; Usher, 2014a, b, c). Many scholars and public policy critics question the Strategy's neoliberal IE discourse that commodifies education, treats IS as clients rather than students, and drains the financial and human resources of the home countries of the IS. For those scholars and critics, the Strategy neglects other IE values and rationales (Beck, 2015; 2016; Charbonneau, 2014; Nuthall, 2014; Taskoh, 2014; Trilokekar & Kizilbash, 2013;

Usher, 2014a, b, c). Scholars agree that this Strategy is part of a national economic development and foreign trade and immigration policy scheme (Gopal, 2014; McCartney & Metcalfe, 2018; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016 b; Trilokekar & Jones, 2015a; b).

3.2. Ontario Context

Some Canadian provinces, including Ontario, were highly involved and invested in various IE activities and programs as early as the 1970s (Jones, 2009; Picard & Mills, 2009; Savage, 2009). While many provinces developed their IE strategies independently, some even prior to the federal government doing so,¹⁰ Ontario was, in 2018, one of the very last provinces to release an IE strategy¹¹. Nonetheless and despite the absence of an official policy document outlining the province's IE strategy until May 2018, Ontario has consistently hosted the highest enrollment of IS among Canadian provinces (CIC 2015), has been engaged in multiple international partnerships on the governmental and institutional levels (Sá & Sabzalieva, 2016; Trilokekar et al., 2014), and has developed economic and immigration policies that aim at facilitating the attraction and retention of international students (Sá & Sabzalieva, 2016; 2018; Trilokekar et al., 2014; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016 a; b).

Ontario's engagement with IE traces back to the 1980s with the Four Motors¹² for Europe agreement signed under the Liberal government which is identified as the beginning of the province's IE activity (Trilokekar & El Masri, in press; Wolfe, 2000). This partnership included cooperation in many fields including education, where a number of student exchanges for university credit were established and an IE branch was set up in the MTCU to manage these

¹⁰ Refer to appendix A for more details on IE policies in other provinces.

¹¹ The only jurisdictions that do not yet have an official IE strategy are two provinces—New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island—and the three territories—Yukon Territory, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut.

¹² The first agreement was signed by the Ontario provincial government in 1986 with Baden-Wurttemberg, Germany, followed by the agreements with Rhône-Alpes in France, Lombardy in Italy in 1989 and Catalonia in Spain in 1990 (Wolfe, 2000).

exchanges (Wolfe, 2000). From 1985 to 1990, Ontario universities actively participated in meetings with their counterparts from the Four Motors to discuss IE activities such as supporting academic exchanges, interregional conferences, and seminars on specific subjects sponsored by the partner universities (Featherstone & Radaelli, 2003). However, during the following years of the NDP government (i.e., 1994-1995), enthusiasm for the Four Motors program waned due to expenditure restraint (Rachlis & Wolfe, 1997). In 1994, health coverage for international students which was formerly covered under the Ontario Health Insurance Program (OHIP) was eliminated (CFS, 2017). This was a period of cutbacks for IE that became even more severe under the subsequent Progressive Conservative (PC) government (Trilokekar & El Masri, in press). Under the PC government led by Michael Harris (1995-2002), international tuition fees were deregulated and the Four Motors bilateral exchange programs were terminated (Trilokekar & El Masri, in press). Ontario's approach to IE shifted when the Liberals led by Dalton McGuinty (2003-2013) assumed office. Whereas this research examines the construction of IE as policy from 2005 to mid-2017 in detail in subsequent chapters, I highlight here key issues that reveal some contradictions in this policy landscape.

Upon assuming office, Premier McGuinty commissioned Bob Rae to provide advice on strategies to improve higher education in Ontario; one of which was IE (Rae, 2005). The Rae Report identified IE as a priority, focusing on two aspects of IE: study abroad opportunities for domestic students and marketing Canadian/Ontarian PSE abroad (Rae, 2005). The report recommended that the Government of Ontario collaborate with institutions, Universities Canada, and the federal government to develop "a comprehensive strategy for marketing Ontario's higher education sector abroad" which would "focus on the competitive advantages of pursuing higher education in Ontario, promoting such things as quality and reputation, accessibility, affordability

and the recognized value of qualifications obtained at Ontario's institutions" (Rae, 2005, p. 58). The Rae Report resurrected the province's IE initiatives with the Ontario government responding to it through its Reaching Higher (2005-2006) program which allocated \$6.2 billion investment over five years in PSE, including funding for IE. The Ontario government announced an investment of \$1 million in 2006-2007, \$3 million in 2007-2008, and \$5 million in 2008-2009 and beyond, to support the internationalization of Ontario's postsecondary education system and to sustain and enhance Ontario's competitive position in an increasingly globalized environment (Steenkamp, 2008). The 2005 Ontario budget also allocated funds to support developing a new strategy focused on attracting more IS, encouraging study abroad for Ontario students, and raising Ontario's profile as an international research center (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2005). In 2007, the Ontario Ministry re-established the former bilateral student exchanges that were closed down under the Harris government (i.e., with Rhône-Alpes, France; and with Baden-Württemberg, Germany) and added two new ones (with Maharashtra-Goa, India and with Jiangsu, China). In 2009, it established a new Ontario International Education Opportunity Program (OIEOP) to fund approximately 800 domestic students to study abroad.

In 2008 Phillip Steenkamp, then Deputy Minister of MTCU, announced (in an article published in the Canadian e-Magazine of International Education) the creation of an IE advisory committee made up of representatives from the Council of Ontario Universities (COU) and MTCU ministry staff. The committee advised on "what the internationalization of education meant to them, what the objectives of the international strategy ought to be, the challenges facing international education in Ontario, and how funding could be most effectively allocated" (Steenkamp, 2008, paragraph 10). Steenkamp noted that the committee's input was "integral to the development of the ministry's current international strategy" which had two key objectives:

to expand and sustain the marketing of postsecondary education services to the international community, and to develop and implement initiatives to increase opportunities for Ontario students to study abroad (Steenkamp, 2008, paragraph 10)—objectives that are consistent with the Rae Report. Despite this announcement, a strategy document is nowhere to be found on the Government of Ontario website and is not discussed or referred to in later documents and/or press releases. Instead, the first goal is addressed in a policy document developed and released by the Ontario Ministry of Finance (rather than MTCU): *Open Ontario: Ontario's Plan for Jobs and Growth* (Ontario's budget document for 2010). In this document, the Ontario government outlines its goals to increase IS enrolment by 50% in five years in order to make Ontario a leading destination for PSE in the world¹³ (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2010). As part of the *Open Ontario Plan*, the Trillium Scholarship program for international students was introduced in 2010 to attract the best qualified international students to Ontario (Office of the Premier, 2010).

In a presentation by MTCU in May 2012 during the Ontario Association of International Educators Conference, a reference was made to an “*emerging* postsecondary education international strategy” (MTCU, 2012a, p. 5, emphasis added) which indicates that the Government of Ontario “does not have an explicit international education strategy,” yet “one is in development” (Popovic, 2013, p. 10). This “emerging strategy” seems to be more comprehensive than the one Steenkamp referred to in 2008. The conference presentation outlines the main areas that the new “emerging” strategy highlights: policy development, standards setting, strategic coordination, support for institutions’ recruitment efforts, fostering sound business practices, and development of data systems (MTCU, 2012a). However, not only did IE

¹³ This target was exceeded ahead of time with over 66,000 international students enrolled in Ontario PSE institutions in 2013-2014 (CBIE, 2014).

funding disappear from the provincial government budgets in subsequent years, but also different financial policies were introduced that were perceived to hinder the internationalization of the PSE sector¹⁴ by hampering PSE institutions' ability to attract IS and by deterring their ability to compete with other national and international jurisdictions (CBIE, 2012; Custer, 2012; HEQCO, 2013; Popovic, 2013). While these financial policies might be perceived by some as counter-productive to the province's internationalization initiatives, they could also be perceived by others as in line with it. This raises questions of how different policy actors perceive IE, its values and rationales.

Three years later, in June 2015, the Ministry of Education in Ontario released its first Ontario's Strategy for K-12 International Education. This strategy was presented as stage one of a province-wide IE strategy to be followed by a strategy for the PSE sector. In 2016, funds were allocated in Ontario's budget to develop an IE strategy. The government announced plans to engage with "the postsecondary education sector and the broader community to develop a comprehensive postsecondary international education strategy that will seek a balanced approach for attracting international students and new partnerships, and promoting international experience opportunities for Ontario students" (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2016, p. 109). In February 2016, MTCU released a discussion paper *Developing Global Opportunities: Creating a*

¹⁴ Examples of these financial policies are the introduction of the International Student Recovery fee which stipulated that the government of Ontario will recover \$750 per each IS (except for PhD students) from each institution's operating grant allocation effective 2013-2014 (MTCU, 2012 b). Another change in funding is the discontinuation of the \$75 funding for IS enrollment (except for PhD students) currently recognized for Grants in lieu of Municipal taxes as of 2013-2014 (MTCU, 2012b). In 2012-2013, MTCU announced that it "will be eliminating subsidies to colleges and universities to assist with their international recruitment activities" which will "result in savings of \$0.5 million" (MTCU, 2012b, p. 50). Whereas MTCU argued that these policies address "Ontario's challenging fiscal circumstances" (MTCU, 2012b, p. 5), as a response to these policies and since IS tuition fees are not regulated in Ontario, some PSE opted to address this change in funding through increasing tuition fees for international students and/or reducing the number of IS recruitment activities (Custer, 2012; El Masri et al., 2015; HEQCO, 2013).

Postsecondary International Education Strategy for Ontario which highlights that the emerging Ontario IE strategy should focus on “enhancing Ontario’s world-class postsecondary education system” (MTCU, 2016a, paragraph 1). Ontario’s IE strategy should “not only position ... Ontario as a destination and partner of choice but also showcase ... Ontario as a leader on the global stage” (MTCU, 2016b, p. 4). The paper emphasized that “the government will work with students, publicly assisted colleges and universities, businesses and community partners” to develop this strategy (MTCU, 2016b, p. 4). In reviewing PSE international education strategies in Canada and around the world, the paper identifies “common themes” that “should be kept in mind as we develop Ontario’s strategy to ensure that benefits are broadly realized for all Ontarians” (MTCU, 2016b, p. 5). The four main themes were (1) enhancing the student experience, (2) creating skilled and talented workers, (3) driving economic growth, and (4) strengthening the PSE system. An additional theme that the paper identified was the direct revenue benefit, which “is important” yet “should not in and of itself be a driver for decision making” (MTCU, 2016b, p. 9). The paper outlined the consultation process which involved students, faculty, and “select” community partners and businesses to discuss the IE strategy which culminated with a half-day symposium hosted by Honourable Reza Moridi, Minister of MTCU, to summarize and discuss what was heard in the consultation process and highlight key outcomes (MTCU, 2016b). Two years later, Ontario released its first IE Strategy for the PSE sector which will be discussed in detail in Chapter 7.

Why have different officials had contradictory announcements with regards to the existence of a provincial IE strategy? Does this stem from a different understanding of what an IE policy should look like? What role do prevailing social, political, and economic contexts play in influencing the province’s approach to IE? It is unclear why the province opted to release an

official postsecondary international education strategy in May 2018 despite the fact that it has consistently attracted the highest number of international students and most of its institutions have been engaged in international education, even before IE emerged on the agenda of the federal and provincial governments.

3.3. International Education and Immigration Policies

The IE policy context in Canada and Ontario is entangled with the country's immigration policies, particularly in relation to international student mobility. While immigration policies initially focused on streamlining and expediting international students' entrance to Canada, they have gradually shifted to facilitating their work during and after graduation and, more recently, easing their transition to permanent residency and citizenship. These policies have had significant implications not only for IS but also for PSE institutions and their engagement with IE. Below is a description of these policies on the federal and provincial (Ontario) level.

3.3.1. Federal level

A major part of the federal government's engagement with the IE file is through its immigration policies. Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) immigration policies have gradually shifted from policies that facilitate the entry of IS to Canada yet ensure their return home after graduation to the current policies that aim to retain them (Trilokekar & El Masri, 2019). Larocque (2018) notes that the federal government adopted a national strategy to attract more IS to Canada as early as the mid-1980s which gradually facilitated the recruitment of IS (through recruitment campaigns, partnerships with provinces, and facilitating on-campus and post-graduate work permits for IS). However, the introduction of Citizenship and Immigration Canada's International Student Program (ISP) in the 2002 *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* (IRPA) is worth noting as it constructs IS as a new category of temporary residents.

Larocque (2018) notes that “Over the last decade, the immigration focus has shifted to view international students as more than temporary residents, but also as a source of temporary workers and a pool of potential permanent residents” (p. 3, emphasis in original). The ISP marks the introduction of a series of immigration measures that initially focused on facilitating the entry of IS into Canada. Subsequent program and policy changes to the ISP have been designed with a view to facilitating study and work opportunities for IS to attract them to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Evaluation Division, 2010) and then their retention as a pool of qualified possible future immigrants.

A series of immigration policy changes have taken place since 2005 aimed at facilitating IS recruitment and retention¹⁵. Policies have been gradually introduced to facilitate international students’ work in Canada including the Post-Graduation Work Permit (PGWP) program in 2005 (updated in 2008) allowing international student graduates from recognized Canadian PSEIs to work in Canada after graduation¹⁶ and the Off-Campus Work Permit (OCWP) program in 2006 allowing IS to work off campus during their studies for up to 20 hours per week. In 2008, CIC introduced a novel immigration category called the Canadian Experience Class (CEC) giving IS with professional, managerial, and skilled work experience access to a new immigration stream¹⁷ (CIC, 2010). The introduction of the CEC program with the IS stream signals “a greater recognition within CIC of the longer-term benefits that international students can bring to Canada through their eventual immigration and integration” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Evaluation Division, 2010, paragraph 12). The objectives of the ISP program are to

¹⁵ Appendix B provides a detailed timeline of all the relevant immigration policies.

¹⁶ Initially this regulation applied to IS graduates from recognized Canadian PSEIs outside Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. In 2005, IS were allowed to stay for only two years after graduation; however, this was extended to three years in 2008 with no restrictions on the type of employment and no requirement for a job offer.

¹⁷ IS education and work experience in Canada became a key selection criteria for permanent residence.

attract and retain a pool of highly qualified IS consistent with its immigration objectives and to ensure that the program “contributes to Canada’s economic, social and cultural development” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Evaluation Division, 2010, paragraph 13). Hence, the introduction of the CEC’s International Student Program marks the start of a targeted approach to wooing IS as future permanent residents. In June 2014, and following an extensive evaluation of the ISP program, CIC instituted a number of regulatory changes to the ISP to address “several Program design gaps [that] left the ISP vulnerable to potential fraud and misuse” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Evaluation Division, 2015, p. 2). Based on those findings, CIC worked with various federal and provincial/territorial stakeholders to develop a suite of regulatory amendments to strengthen program integrity. These amendments came into effect on June 1, 2014 directing that IS could only pursue study at approved designated learning institutions (identified by provinces and territories) (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Evaluation Division, 2015).

However, the immigration policy landscape is not without contradictions. Despite these policies that aim to facilitate the recruitment and retention of talent, there are other policies that are perceived to hinder the PSE sector’s ability to attract overseas talent. For example, both IS and foreign faculty have been implicated by immigration regulations that govern the work of temporary foreign workers in Canada. For example, in 2013, CIC reformed the Temporary Foreign Worker Program¹⁸ (TFWP). Among the many stipulations of this reform was a

¹⁸ TFWP was created in 1973 to allow Canadian employers to hire highly skilled foreign nationals such as academics and business executives on a short-term basis to fill temporary labor and skills shortages when qualified Canadians weren’t available. It was expanded over the years to cover low-skills occupations and to make it easier and faster for employers to bring in foreign workers. In June 2014, CIC strengthened the labor market test that employers must meet before they are eligible to hire a foreign worker by introducing the Labor Market Impact Assessment (LMIA). The LMIA requires employers to show that they tried but were unable to find a Canadian to fill the position. Among other things, employers must disclose the number of Canadians that applied and were interviewed for the job and must explain why the Canadians weren’t hired. It also requires employers to submit transition plans with their LMIA applications that demonstrate how the employer will boost efforts to hire more

requirement for employers to show that no Canadian alternative is available. Employers have to obtain a Labor Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) to hire foreign workers to fill temporary labor and skill shortages. This presented challenges to PSEIs, especially universities, in their attempts to hire foreign faculty members and senior administrators. Universities reported long delays in their hiring process, and sometimes even rejections (Tamburri, 2014). Similarly, IS access to the Canadian labour market has become more challenging as many employers expressed concerns regarding challenges with the LMIA process (Scott et al., 2015; Trilokekar, Thomson, & El Masri, 2016).

Immigration policies, including these pertaining to IS, have been the center of a political debate, particularly between the Conservative and Liberal parties. In 2015, the federal Conservative Government introduced the Express Entry program¹⁹ which reflected a more targeted approach to immigration by tightening its link with the needs of the Canadian labor market. In this first iteration of Express Entry, IS were implicated as it favored immigration applicants, including IS, who had job offers²⁰ and could immediately contribute to the labor market and the broader economy. This change in processing immigration applications initiated a debate as to whether the policy “hinders [IS] access to permanent residency instead of promoting it” (Keung 2015, paragraph 1) and if in fact it contradicted one of the main “selling features for

Canadians, either by offering higher wages, making additional investments in training or stepping up recruitment efforts at home, particularly among underrepresented groups. Alternatively, an employer can choose to facilitate a temporary foreign worker’s move to permanent residency status by making a permanent job offer. The new regulations also require employers to report on the success of their transition plans. Employers, who are subject to government inspection, could face fines if they misuse the TFWP (CIC, 2015b).

¹⁹The Express Entry is an electronic application management system that applies to most of the immigration routes: Federal Skilled Worker Program (FSWP); Federal Skilled Trades Program (FSTP); Canadian Experience Class (CEC); and a portion of the Provincial Nominee Program [PNP] (CIC, 2015c). Under the new Express Entry system (introduced on January 1, 2015), IS immigration applications are processed and ranked alongside other immigrants using the Comprehensive Ranking System (CRS) which is “a scoring mechanism tied to best predictors of economic success.” For more details see: http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/Express_Entry_Technical_Briefing.pdf

²⁰ These job offers have to be supported by a Labor Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) or provincial/territorial nomination to ensure that no Canadian alternative is available.

Canada's international education" which "is the opportunity for foreign students to immigrate and stay in Canada after earning their Canadian experience." (Keung 2015, paragraphs 21-22). Upon assuming office, the Liberals introduced amendments to Express Entry (2016). In the second version of Express Entry, IS earned extra points for their education in Canada, hence, reinstating an advantage they had over other skilled immigrants. Similarly, international students' ability to transition from permanent resident status to Canadian citizenship was part of a contentious debate²¹ in 2014 with regards to Bill C-24 (also known as Strengthening Canadian Citizenship Act). Submitted by the Conservative government, led by Prime Minister Stephen Harper, the Bill proposed changes to the Citizenship Act. Among the various amendments, this Bill, which passed as law in 2014, prolonged the period that IS needed to reside in Canada (four years rather than three) prior to applying for citizenship. Furthermore, any time that IS spent in Canada before becoming a permanent resident no longer counted towards their four years residency requirement for citizenship application, whereas previously half the period was counted (Government of Canada, 2011). The Citizenship Act became an election issue in 2015 as the Liberals pledged that they would revoke the changes introduced by the Conservative government if they were elected (e.g., Ashton College, 2015; MacQueen, 2015), a promise that they kept as Bill C-6 was introduced as soon as they assumed office. The Liberals reduced the number of days IS (and other permanent residents) need to stay in Canada prior to applying for citizenship and included the days that IS spend in Canada prior to becoming permanent residents

²¹ The Conservative government, led by Prime Minister Stephen Harper, introduced changes to the Citizenship Act included measures that allow the government to revoke citizenship of Canadians convicted to terrorism and other offences. This applies to Canadians who hold dual nationalities. They are stripped of their Canadian citizenship if found guilty of terrorism, treason, or spying offences. However, the Liberals campaigned on a promise to revoke those measures as they were perceived as discriminatory.

towards their citizenship application (Open Parliament, 2017). Bill C-6 became a law amending the Citizenship Act in June 2017.

3.3.2. Provincial level

Ontario's immigration interests are aligned with the federal ones. Ontario, as well as other provinces, has been active in leveraging IS as a potential and desirable pool of future immigrants. The "population dynamics in Ontario reveal a shifting demographic balance" with the number of both 12 + and 18 + year olds in Ontario expected to decrease until 2020, whereas the number of people 65 years old or older will increase throughout the next decade (Guhr et al., 2011). These predictions are used by the Ontario government to legitimate policy changes that aim at retaining IS²². The Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program²³ (OINP), introduced in 2009, identifies IS as a valuable pool of candidates to help meet the needs of Ontario's employers and investors. Hence, through this program "Ontario...offer[s] [international students] good career opportunities...with options to make Ontario [their] permanent residence" (Ontario, 2015, paragraph 5). The most recent immigration strategy, The *Ontario's Immigration Strategy* (2012), developed by the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI), calls for "[m]aximiz[ing] the potential of ... international students" through better promoting immigration programs (Ontario Ministry of Citizenship & Immigration 2012, p. 7).

Despite federal and provincial governmental policies that legitimize the recruitment and retention of IS as a tool to address the skill shortage that the Canadian labor market faces, some question whether such a shortage actually exists (Cross, 2014), arguing that it is nothing but a myth (Goar, 2014) and even questioning the notion that IS are able to integrate effortlessly into

²² Appendix B provides a summary of immigration related policies and regulations in Ontario.

²³ The Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program (previously known as the Provincial Nominee Program [PNP]) was introduced in 2009. This immigration program aims to attract jobs, investment, and growth to the province by helping employers and investors secure workers quickly for professional, managerial, and skilled trades' positions.

the Canadian labor market as the discourse promotes (Bond et al., 2007; Chira, 2013; Nunes & Arthur, 2013; Scott, Safdar, Trilokekar, & El Masri, 2015). Studies reveal different challenges that IS face in the Canadian and Ontarian job market (Scott et al., 2015; Trilokekar, Thomson, & El Masri, 2016). Even CIC in a recent study reveals that “Post-Graduation Work Permit Holders have weak employment outcomes” and “low median earnings (\$23,690 in 2013) which suggest many may be working in low-wage/low skilled and part-time employment” (Larocque, 2018). These studies question the alignment between policy goals, the lived experiences of IS, and the role of other policy actors such as employers in this policy landscape.

3.4. Gaps

The above narrative raises many questions. The first one pertains to the role of the two levels of government (federal and provincial) in the IE policy landscape. Scholarship has highlighted the central role that the federal government has played in shaping the IE policy nationally and provincially, despite the fact that education is a provincial jurisdiction. This poses questions about the role of both levels of the state in influencing international education policies in Ontario. Does the above narrative give credence to scholars who argue that the IE policy-making is shaped by national governments (Cerna, 2014; de Wit, 2002; Enders, 2004; Stensaker et al., 2008)? What has led to the increased alignment between the two levels of government in the IE policy landscape despite their contentious history? Does one level of government have more power in this policy landscape over the other? Does the above narrative support previous research that reveals the increasing dominance of neoliberal ideologies on international education policies (Beck, 2009; 2016; Matthews & Sidhu, 2005; Mosneaga & Agergaard, 2012; Stensaker et al., 2008)? Is the Canadian/Ontarian international education policy context another example of IE policy convergence (Becker & Kolster, 2012; Stensaker et al., 2008)? There is

also a question of the role of other actors. Are there any other actors that contribute to the IE policy landscape beyond the state, the postsecondary education institutions, and the few identified professional organizations/networks? How can interested actors/citizens influence international education policies in Ontario?

Second, whereas there have been systematic changes in terms of the IE policy context in Canada in general and Ontario in particular to facilitate the recruitment and retention of IS, some contradictory directions are evident regarding immigration as well as finance policies in Ontario. It is not clear how and why these policies were introduced.

Third, the above context also raises questions on how different actors define a policy. Why did MTCU officials give contradictory statements on the existence of an IE strategy? Does this stem from a different understanding of what a policy is? Is it an official document? Is it a state directive? Is it institutional practices? And what is the relationship between economic and immigration policies and educational ones; does one substitute for the other? How do these policy landscapes intersect with each other; which one takes precedence, and why? How do different actors perceive IE, its values, approaches, and rationales? And how does this understanding influence their perception of what the province's policy is/should look like?

In order to better understand the IE policy context in Ontario and to address some of the above questions, it is important to broaden where we look for policy actors. It is also critical to examine the evolution of different IE policy discourses in relation to the provincial, national, and global contexts, policies, and practices. A critical policy discourse analysis will help answer some of these questions and shed some light on why Ontario opted to release an "official" IE strategy in 2018.

Chapter 4: Theoretical Framework

Different conceptual and theoretical approaches have been used by PSE scholars to analyze policy-making. Each approach examines the policy-making process from a different angle and ontological and epistemological assumptions. Approaches used in PSE include positivist approaches, such as the rational stages heuristic model that assumes policy-making is linear following a clear “controlled and consensual process from conception to implementation” (Shanahan, Axelrod, Trilokekar, & Wellen, 2016, p. 132). The positivist approach has been critiqued as it fails to account for and explain conflict and competing interest and/or beliefs of policymakers; focuses on the iron triangle (administrative agencies, legislative committees, and interest groups at a single level of government) while neglecting other players; and fails to recognize that decision-making is not a rational, objective, systematic, and logical process (Lindblom, 1959; Shanahan et al., 2016; Weible, Sabatier, & McQueen, 2009). Post-positivist approaches have a different epistemological outlook as they “reject claims of neutrality or objectivity in their analyses” (Shanahan et al., 2016, p. 133). Rejecting the stages heuristic model, post-positivists view policy as a dynamic process influenced by diverse forces; actors; events; and social, cultural, political, and economic contexts that cannot be captured by that linear model. Negotiation, bargaining, and power dynamics are part and parcel of the policy process (Shanahan et al. 2016). For post-positivists, reality is an expression for and a sign of deeper lying processes (Alvesson, 2000). However, post-positivists are critiqued for their search for these deep structures and underlying patterns of reality and belief in the existence of an objective social world (Alvesson, 2000).

Critical theories that stem from social constructionism, post-structuralism, and post-modernism have emerged rejecting the existence of objective reality and absolute truth. Policy studies within this framework interrogate the use of language in the policy process; seek

historical and contextual clues to gain insight into policy-making and change; and question the distribution of power, resources, and knowledge that lead to the creation of policy “winners” and “losers” (Diem et al., 2014). Critical policy theories challenge the assumption that policy is an authoritative rational decision prescribed in an official text (Rizvi & Lingard, 2010). Instead, they view policy as a non-linear complex process that is inherently political; is infused with values; and involves practices, power, struggles, and discourses (Ball, 1994; Bowe et al., 1992; Winton, 2013; Winton & Tuters, 2015). Critical policy theories aim to unravel the bias of policies, uncover their values and interests, expose the political nature of policies by questioning who they advantage and disadvantage, reveal relationships of inequality and privilege, and examine how people struggle over meaning.

Each of these paradigms offers a distinct way of viewing the policy-making process as each approach carries different assumptions that dictate focusing on some issues at the expense of others. Hence, each has its strengths and limitations. This leaves the researcher with a difficult choice of choosing the approach(es) that best suit(s) his or her own ontological and epistemological views and research questions, yet acknowledging that each approach comes with opportunities and limitations. As a researcher, I am aligned with critical policy theories, particularly those that problematize the use of language and expose the contested process of the creation of meaning in our social world. This stems from my belief that it is through discourse that our social and cognitive worlds are constructed, expressed, and (re)shaped. While language enables people to express their ideas, thoughts, and experiences, it also has the ability to shape and constrain them. Discourse and power are closely linked since the ability to define reality (e.g., the ability to construct a policy problem and/or its solution) endows substantial power. In

the section below, I briefly discuss different discursive approaches to policy studies and situate this study within them.

4.1. Discursive Approaches to Policy Studies

Many scholars have attempted to group policy studies that focus on discourse under one umbrella referring to them as “discursive approaches” (Durnova & Zittoun, 2013); “discursive policy inquiry” (Fischer, 2003) and “policy-as-discourse” studies (Bacchi, 2000). These approaches share four guiding principles. First, they contend that discourse is not simply a reflection of what actors call “reality,” but that it also has the ability to shape this reality. Language is not only a tool that enables interaction, but is also an instrument of power that has the ability to transform “reality.” These approaches highlight the constructed, normative, and political nature of the knowledge produced by policy actors, and the significant impact of their actions on public policy development and implementation (Bacchi, 2000; Durnova & Zittoun, 2013). Second, these approaches examine the ideas, representations, knowledges, values, and beliefs that encompass discourses. They also highlight the importance of examining the social and discursive practices within which discourse is embedded (Durnova & Zittoun, 2013). Third, studies that adopt these approaches are associated with constructivist and qualitative perspectives in their attempt to comprehend the production of meaning and analyze the processes through which this meaning shapes actions and institutions (Durnova & Zittoun, 2013). Finally, the ultimate aim of these theories is to reveal power imbalances, improve democracy, and enhance social justice (Fischer, 2003).

Bacchi (2000) differentiates between two types of policy-as-discourse studies: literary deconstruction (focusing on text) and social deconstruction (focusing on processes, context and power). Both types are concerned with the process of problematization; that is how policy

problems and solutions are created through interrogating the use of language (Bacchi, 2000); however, they differ in their approach. Literary deconstruction approaches are linked to critical discourse analysis and stem from the work of Norman Fairclough. They adopt a linguistic approach to discourse analysis where grammatical structures and semantic features of texts are examined closely to reveal how language is manipulated to create power imbalances. According to Fairclough, textual analysis should be combined with an analysis of the production and consumption practices of these text; however, Leipold & Winkel (2013) argue that these practices are rarely analysed by CDA scholars.

Social deconstruction approaches are inspired by the work of Michel Foucault who draws attention to the role of discourse as the site of knowledge and power production. Foucault understands truth to be founded on discursive conventions. Hence, he moves beyond linguistic and communicative analysis by anchoring discourse in societal processes (Fischer, 2003). Therefore, in addition to the study of language or communication, discourse analysis in this approach examines the socio-historic discursive formations. Whereas Foucault never provided “any theoretically or methodologically” proposal for conducting discourse analysis (Leipold & Winkel, 2013, p. 3), his work is “undoubtedly [of] the most frequently cited in discursive studies” (Durnova & Zittoun, 2013, p. 88). A variety of methodological approaches—one of which is Hajer’s argumentative discourse analysis adopted in this study—have been developed to explore the dimensions offered by Foucault (Durnova & Zittoun, 2013; Fischer, 2003).

Hajer’s argumentative framework is unique as it offers a paradigm shift where the focus is not on individual actors’ construction of IE, but the collective discursive construction of IE that shapes and is shaped by the argumentation of diverse actors. This is particularly valuable in the IE policy field which, as illustrated earlier, is not a discrete sector. It is a sector that cuts

across, influences, and is influenced by many policy contexts, spaces, discourses, and actors such as education, economy and trade, foreign affairs, immigration, and the labour market. A discursive approach to studying the IE policy context in Ontario allows the researcher to account for the ways these diverse and scattered discourses contribute to the construction of international education in Ontario. A discursive approach allows the researcher to account for what Gee (2015) refers to as “small ‘d’ discourse” (i.e., language in use among people) as well as the “big ‘D’ discourse” (i.e., the ways in which people enact and recognize socially and historically significant identities). It is through examining peoples’ conversations on international education and how their language use and discussions flow and change across time and space (small ‘d’ discourse) that a researcher can reveal the social, cultural, and historical construction of our international education in Ontario. Previous IE policy studies, as discussed in the literature review chapter, were primarily engaged in the “small ‘d’ discourse” and/or engaged in one aspect of the IE “Big ‘D’ Discourse” (e.g., the construct of international students).

In order to study the nuanced context of international education policy-making in Ontario, this study draws on the work of Maarten Hajer’s (1993, 1995, 2003a, 2003b, 2006) Discourse Coalition Framework (DCF) which is a post-structural social constructivist discursive theory that stems from the field of sociology and language. This discursive framework and its analytical tool (argumentative discourse analysis, which will be discussed further in Chapter 5) help understand how the different and disperse IE small ‘d’ discourses meet and contribute to the construction of the big ‘D’ international education discourses in Ontario. They help identify the actors that mobilize and are attracted to different IE discourses, their relations and power dynamics, and their discursive practices at a variety of spaces and scales. Examining those discourses and actors within a larger social context help illuminate the construction of the big

‘D’ IE discourses and explain shifts that occur in this policy landscape. In what follows, I briefly discuss the two theories that DCF drew from; the premise of DCF; DCF’s argumentative discourse approach to policy studies; key concepts; DCF’s strengths and limitations (as reported by previous studies); and finally the value of DCF to the current study.

4.2. Roots of the Discourse Coalition Framework

Hajer (1995) advances theoretical understandings of discursive dynamics by combining elements of Michel Foucault’s (1972; 1973; 1977; 1980) work on discourse and power with Michael Billig’s and Rome Harré’s social interactive discourse theory (Billig, 1987; Billig et al., 1988; Davies & Harré, 1990; Harré, 1993). Those two discourse theoretical approaches, which are briefly discussed below, inspired Hajer’s Discourse Coalition Framework.

For Hajer (1995), the strength of Foucault’s theory of discourse is its discussion of the micro powers of discourse which illuminates the discursive order and regulated discursive practices through which objects are constituted. In particular, Hajer (1995) refers to Foucault’s discussion of “discursive practices and the interaction and coalescence of discourses” which have the ability to structure actors’ behaviour (p. 51). However, Hajer (1995) critiques Foucault’s “heavy emphasis on the constraining workings of discourse” while being “weak on the enabling aspect” of discourse (pp. 48-49). Hajer (1995) argues that “the role of the discoursing subject remains ambivalent” in Foucault’s theory (p. 51). He maintains that in Foucault’s perception of discourse “there is no a priori thinking subject trying to express or transcribe his or her preconceived ideas in language. The subject operates in the context of a whole group of regulated practices according to which his or her own ideas are formed” (1995, p. 49). Hence, Hajer (1995) contends that the “individual strategic action” is “far played down or conspicuously absent” in Foucault’s theory (p. 49). He argues that there is “a need to devise middle-range

concepts through which this interaction between discourses can be related to the role of individual strategic action in a non-reductionist way [i.e., beyond the focus on actors' institutional backgrounds or vested interests]" (1995, p. 52).

To address the above weakness in Foucault's theory, Hajer resorts to the field of social psychology, particularly the work of Michael Billig and Rome Harré which Hajer refers to as a "social interactive discourse theory" (Hajer, 1995, p. 52). While social interactionists share many theoretical underpinnings with Foucault with regards to the role of discourse in shaping realities, they bring "the level of interpersonal interaction" to the light (Hajer, 1995, p. 52). Social interactionists conceptualize human interactions as "an exchange of arguments, of contradictory suggestions of how one is to make sense of reality" (Hajer, 1995, p. 53). The object of their research is the practices through which actors seek to persuade others to see reality in the light of the orator or rhetorician" (Hajer, 1995, p. 53). The focus of their work, however, is not the linguistic but the argumentative performance. The argumentative interaction is perceived to be a key moment in discourse formation that needs to be examined to explain the prevalence of certain discursive constructions over others. In this perspective, actors are "active, selecting and adapting thoughts, mutating and creating them, in the continued struggle for argumentative victory against rival thinkers" (Billig 1989, p. 82). Therefore, the policy analyst should examine the skills of argumentation²⁴ of policy actors. Hence, Hajer (1995) argues that the social interactive discourse theory "fills a gap left by Foucault" by presenting ways in which "the subject can be studied as actively involved in the production and transformation of discourse" (p. 55). However, Hajer critiques the fact that the social interactive discourse theory gives "relatively little attention to the degree to which discourse can become structured in institutional

²⁴ This has resemblance to the Aristotelian distinction between *logos* (how to argue a persuasive case), *ethos* (the reputation of the speaker), and *pathos* (rhetorical strategies that aim to play on the emotions of listeners).

arrangements” (1995, p. 57). This is important as arguing against routinized understandings can be fruitless and frustrating. Hence, it is important to examine routinized institutional practices as they have “a high degree of salience” (Hajer, 1995, p. 58). More importantly, another critique of the social interactive discourse theory is that focusing on the intersubjective moment might “obscure the understanding of the real power relationships” (Hajer, 1995, p. 58).

It is from those two traditions that Hajer derives his approach to policy studies. Hajer’s approach is situated within the policy-as-discourse social constructivist approaches, in particular, the “argumentative” (Fischer, 1993), also referred to as “deliberative” (Fischer, 2003), approach to policy studies²⁵. Studies that adopt this approach share a central analytical focus on discourse, language, argumentation, interpretation, or what Wagenaar (2011) calls “meaning in action.” These approaches bring the argumentative interaction between actors into the spotlight revealing a relatively independent layer of power practices (Hajer, 1995). This argumentative rationality is, according to Leipold and Winkel (2013), “a strategy to cope with the deficits and pitfalls of human communication (such as incomplete knowledge, misunderstanding or people talking past each other)” (p. 4). Hajer’s approach focuses on “the constitutive role of discourse in political processes [a Foucauldian concept] ... and allocates a central role to the discoursing subjects [as per the social interactivist theory],” yet within a context of social structures that both enable and constrain their agency (Hajer, 1995, p. 58). This “model of social reality...maintains that society is reproduced in the process of interaction between agents and structures that constantly adjusts, transforms, resists, or reinvents social arrangements” (Hajer, 1995, p. 58).

²⁵ In addition to Foucault, these approaches are inspired by the work of Jurgen Habermas (1970a; b; 1973; 1987) who critiqued the notions of rationality and communicative reason (Durnova & Zittoun, 2013). In his communications model of action, he recognizes knowledge and discursive practices as critical dimensions of the struggle for power where actors’ cooperate in creating meaning through mutual deliberation and argumentation (Fischer, 2003). Both Foucault and Habermas have “laid the ground work for discursive approaches” (Durnova & Zittoun, 2013, p. 88; see also Fischer, 2003)

In the following sections, I elaborate on Hajer's Discourse Coalition Framework premise and its argumentative approach to policy studies.

4.3. Discourse Coalition Framework Premise

Similar to other discursive theories, DCF rejects the existence of a single "truth" (Laureen, 2009, p. 377). It acknowledges the existence of multiple realities that are "historically, spatially, and culturally contingent" and are "constructed through social interaction and relationally assembled knowledges" (Bingham, 2010, p. 4). In accordance with the belief that various actors hold different perceptions of what the problem "really" is, the DCF rejects the "single problem—single solution answer model" adopted by other empiricist and rational approaches to policy studies (Hajer, 1995, p. 43). The Discourse Coalition Framework, similar to other discursive argumentative theories, conceptualizes policy problems as social constructs where certain actors strive to impose their definitions of a policy problem and/or solution on others (Hajer, 1995).

The Discourse Coalition Framework's (DCF) contribution to discursive theories is combining Foucauldian discourse theory with the social interactive discourse theory. The value of DCF stems from the fact that it not only looks at the production and evolution of discourses but also examines how these discourses influence and are influenced by the communicative interaction of different actors. Those discourses both shape and are shaped by actors' beliefs, interests, and perceptions. Hajer (1995) proposes an "argumentative" approach which "conceives of politics as a struggle for discursive hegemony in which actors try to secure support for their definition of reality" (p. 59). Since political problems are "socially constructed," for an issue to be promoted as a political problem depends on "the narrative in which it is discussed" (Hajer, 1993, p. 44). In order to analyze the "social dynamics of problem [and solution] construction,"

Hajer (1995) introduced “the concept of discourse coalition that analyses the formations that shape up around certain social constructs”(Hajer, 1995, p. 264)— how specific ones gain influence, as well as who tries to control them and from which social positions.

Within this framework, policy-making is defined as “a set of practices that are meant to process fragmented and contradictory statements to be able to create the sort of problems that institutions can handle and for which solutions can be found” (Hajer, 1995, p. 15). Hajer (n.d.) defines those practices as the sites where language is (re)produced, for example, in “embedded routines and mutually understood rules and norms” (paragraph 6). Within this perspective, policy-making creates a sense of community which triggers ordinary citizens “to reflect on what they really value” (Hajer, 2003b, p. 88). Once this trigger is activated through a policy that is very important to those citizens, they move from being “political activists on ‘stand by’” to a group that is “politically involved” (Hajer, 2003b, p. 88).

4.4. Argumentative Approach

Hajer’s “argumentative approach” is based on two principles. First, he rejects theories that see “social constructs as a function of the interests of a group of actors” (Hajer, 1995, p. 59). He argues that “there is much more interaction between the linguistic structure and the formation of preferences” (Hajer, 1995, p. 59). Language influences the perception of interests and preference, so interests cannot be assumed as given. They are “intersubjectively constituted through discourse” (Hajer, 1995, p. 59). Therefore, Hajer (1995) argues that “the emergence of a new policy discourse may actually alter individual perception of problems and possibilities and thus create space for the formulation of new, unexpected political coalitions” (p. 59). Second, Hajer differentiates his framework from theories that argue that actions and perceptions should be understood against the background of deeply held beliefs or belief systems (e.g., Advocacy

Coalition Framework where belief systems are a priori to seeing and arguing). His argumentative approach favors a focus on “the level of the discursive interactions and argues that discursive interaction (i.e. language in use) can create new meanings and new identities, i.e. it may alter cognitive patterns and create new cognitions and new positionings. Hence discourse fulfills a key role in processes of political change” (Hajer, 1995, p. 59).

Hajer’s argumentative approach conceives of politics as “a struggle for discursive hegemony in which actors try to secure support for their definition of reality” (1995, p. 59). A reality in this argumentative game is determined by trust, credibility, and acceptability (Hajer, 1995). This struggle over discursive dominance does not take place in a social vacuum but in the context of existing institutional practices. It is important to analyze in which practices discursive dominance is based and by what means specific contentions are furthered, that is, institutional arrangements are seen as the pre-conditions of the process of discourse foundation. This is done through examining the “discursive software” of these institutions and how institutions are made to operate through subject and structure positionings (Hajer, 1995, p. 60). Hence, discourse analysis should illuminate the way cognitive and social commitments are routinely reproduced and the way in which discursive “interpellations” take place (Hajer, 1995, p. 60). Interpellations are understood as moments where routinized proceedings are interrupted— the focus here is on those discursive practices which can be understood as the interdiscursive transfer where actors exchange positional statements and where new discursive relationships and positioning are created (Hajer, 1995, p. 60).

Hajer (1995) introduces the concept of discourse coalitions to refer to “the ensemble of (1) set of story-lines; (2) the actors who utter these story-lines; and (3) the practices in which this

discursive activity is based” over a particular period of time (Hajer, 1995, p. 65). Below is a description of some key concepts of DCF.

4.5. Key Concepts

4.5.1. Discourse

Hajer (1995) defines discourse “as a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorizations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities” (p. 44). Hajer differentiates between discourse and discussion. Inspired by Foucault, Hajer examines the “institutional dimension of discourse, considering where things are said, how specific ways of seeing can be structured or embedded in society at the same time as they structure society” (p. 263). In this approach, Hajer proposes that discourse is iterative; it can construct or constrain actors just as actors are “actively involved in [its] production and transformation” (Hajer, 1995, p. 55). He argues that his approach to discourse analysis reveals how discourse has agency to constrain and/or facilitate action and recreate society. Discourse fulfills a key role in processes of political change” (Hajer, 1995, p. 59). Language, for Hajer, is not believed to be “a *means*, ... a neutral system of signs that described the world” (1993, p. 44, emphasis in original). Instead, language is problematized as it is perceived to be “a system of signification through which actors not simply describe but *create* the world” (p. 44, emphasis in original). Hence, language is not a mere product of social practices; it has the agency to produce practices as well.

4.5.2. Storylines

What are the storylines²⁶ that unite diverse actors and how are they (re)produced? Hajer (1993; n.d.) defines storylines as condensed forms of narrative in which metaphors are employed by people as shorthand in discussions. Hajer (1995) describes the role of storylines:

First of all storylines have the functional role of facilitating the reduction of the discursive complexity of a problem and creating possibilities for problem closure. Secondly, as they are accepted and more and more actors start to use the story-line, they get a ritual character and give a certain permanence to the debate. They become ‘tropes’ or figures of speech that rationalize a specific approach to what seems to be a coherent problem. Thirdly, story-lines allow different actors to expand their own understanding and discursive competence of the phenomenon beyond their own discourse of expertise or experience. (p. 63)

Hajer (1995) contends that “these shallow and ambiguous discursive practices [i.e., storylines]” are not only the “essential discursive cement that creates communicative networks among actors with different or at best overlapping perceptions and understandings,” but they are also the “prime vehicles of change” (p. 63). These storylines fulfill an essential role in the “clustering of knowledge, the positioning of actors, and, ultimately, in the creation of coalitions amongst the actors of a given domain” (Hajer, 1995, p. 63). They work metaphorically through referring to complex and wide debates in “simplified narratives, emblematic topics, buzzwords, and other reductive discursive devices” (Bingham, 2010, p. 6). This is very relevant to this study because, as mentioned earlier, IE cuts across diverse sectors. IE coalition members come from different fields and disciplines and bring their distinct knowledge, beliefs, expertise, and discipline-specific language to debates. Thus coalition members have access to diverse discipline-specific languages/discourses to use in constructing the IE policy problem and its

²⁶ Hajer notes that the concept of storylines was introduced originally by Davies and Harré yet not “properly defin[ed]” (Hajer, 1995, p. 56).

solution without necessarily being knowledgeable in the different fields. Fischer (2003) argues that storylines, by providing different actors with different ways of thinking about a problem rather than just a collection of facts, become highly interpretive and reproductive. Storylines can mask contradictions and misunderstandings between different coalition members. Bingham (2010) observes that this could lead either to positive effects, facilitating discussion and action where agreement might not otherwise take place or to negative effects legitimating policy-makers' decisions while concealing incomplete arguments and/or institutional biases. Storylines are perceived as "the prime vehicles of [policy] change" (Hajer, 1995, p. 63). The emergence of new storylines and the argumentative process prompts reordering of understandings which paves the way to political and policy change.

Whereas diverse actors bring with them different definitions, conceptions, and interpretations of the policy problem which increases the complexity of the policy issue, storylines work on abridging this knowledge, argumentation, and fragmentation and facilitating the achievement of *discursive closure* (Hajer, 1995). *Discursive closure* is achieved when complex research work is reduced to a "catchy one-liner"²⁷ resulting in a loss of meaning and elimination of all the uncertainty and conditionality of the original knowledge (Hajer, 1995, p. 62). This *discursive closure* allows the political power or policymaker to ascribe a problem definition. This framework argues that regulation and policy-making depends on the loss of meaning and multi-interpretability of text that leads to the *discursive closure* (Fischer 2003; Hajer, 1995). The underlying assumption of DCF is that people evoke storylines rather than draw

²⁷ For example, in Hajer's environmental discourses policy study (1995), he identifies the "acid-rain storyline" and in his study on the aftermath of the terrorists' attacks on the World Trade Towers, he identifies the "Ground Zero" storyline. In both cases the storylines were used with an assumption "that the hearer will know what ...[the speaker] means or refers to" (Hajer, 2006, p. 69, emphasis in original). Each actor has his/her own interpretation of what "acid rain" or "Ground Zero" means. Hajer (1995) argues that "there are hardly any actors (if any at all) who can actually understand the problem in all its details" (p. 61).

on comprehensive discursive systems for their cognition. Political change takes place through the emergence of new storylines that reorder understandings (Hajer, 1995). The influence of a new policy discourse depends on the cognitive power of its storylines, its attractiveness, who shapes it, and how it is shaped. A storyline appeals to actors due to its credibility (which is not based on the plausibility of the argument only, but also on the authority of the author/speaker), acceptability (a position that appears attractive or necessary), and trust (suppression of doubts and inherent uncertainties) (Hajer, 1995, p. 59).

4.5.3. Discourse coalition members

Actors in discourse coalitions, who may have never met, adopt the same storyline surrounding a specific problem (in the case of this study, IE policies). They do not necessarily share the same positions, beliefs, and interests and they operate beyond institutional contexts (Hajer, 1995; Hajer, n.d.). Despite the fact that they might have diverse values and goals, these actors adhere together around a particular way of *seeing or defining* IE as a policy problem. They utter the same storylines or are oriented towards the same way of arguing (even if they have arguments within that discourse). Therefore, discourse coalitions are not formed because of a stable core of beliefs and values between the actors, but rather shared storylines (Fischer, 2003).

4.5.4. Hegemony and power dynamics

Hajer (1993, 1995) shares the discursive theorists' belief that language and power are interrelated. However, Hajer's approach emphasizes that "discursive power can determine the very fields of actions including the tracks along which potential action travels" (Fischer, 2003, p. viii). That is why discourse is acknowledged as a "powerful meta-category of politics" (Fischer, 2003, p. viii). In this argumentative approach, politics is perceived as a struggle for discursive hegemony. It examines the dynamics of this "argumentative game" where actors attempt to position themselves (positively) and others (negatively) during the discourse production. Actors

may discredit an argument of another actor by positioning it as unattractive or by undermining trust of an opposing storyline or simply ignoring it as long as it does not pose any threat (Hajer, 1995).

According to Hajer (1995), discourse hegemony is accomplished when two conditions are met. First, *discourse structuration* occurs when a storyline achieves coherence and credibility, and thereby central actors are persuaded by, or forced to accept, the rhetorical power of a new discourse; use it to conceptualize the world (Hajer, 1993); and depend upon it for their credibility (Bingham, 2010). To achieve *discourse structuration*, actors may draw on the ideas, concepts, and categories of other discipline discourses (e.g., in IE, immigration or economy discourses). *Discourse institutionalization* occurs when a discourse is reflected into institutional and organizational practices, which translate it into “institutional arrangements” such as concrete policies, introducing new processes and systems (Bingham, 2010; Hajer, 1995). It may be achieved through drawing on resources such as knowledge (e.g., new evidence), legitimacy (e.g., public support), power (e.g., association of influential actors), and/or demonstration of material benefits (Bulkeley, 2000). If both criteria, *discourse structuration* and *discourse institutionalization*, are fulfilled, DCF argues that a particular discourse is dominant (Hajer, n.d.). As Ontario released its first official IE Strategy in 2018, this study examines the storyline that has achieved hegemony (*structuration* and *institutionalization*), the actors who mobilize it (discourse coalitions) and their discursive practices.

4.5.5. Emblematic issues

Hajer (1995) argues that certain issues within a policy landscape should be examined as case studies as they represent a “typical example of an emblem in environmental [or in the case of this study, international education] discourse” (p. 265). For example, Hajer (1995) focuses on

the acid rain debate as an emblematic issue for the complex “environmental problematique.” Hajer (1995) warns that selecting certain issues as emblematic is not meant to suggest that other issues are irrelevant. However, the political importance of emblems is that they mobilize biases in and out of the policy debates, they become the issues in terms of which people understand the larger whole of the policy condition, and they effectively function as a metaphor or a metonym. These emblematic issues illustrate shifts in policy discourse, help construct a general understanding of what the policy problems are, and facilitate “larger conceptual shifts” (1995, p. 265). Hajer (1995) argues that identifying and examining the emblematic issues “play a key role in the definition of solutions” (p. 265). The task of political analysis is to look at how actors are mobilized around such emblems and to examine the implications of this discourse coalition formation and policy-making. In the case of IE, identifying emblematic issues exposes the established understanding of what international education policy-making is/should be about, illustrates the mobilization of storylines, and reveals conceptual shifts in relation to international education that may lead to the discursive hegemony (*structuration* and *institutionalization*).

4.5.6. Institutional void

Hajer (2003a) argues that policy analysis should respond to the changing context of policy-making where the power of the nation-state is weakening with the “growth in civil society, the emergence of new citizen actors and new forms of mobilization” (p. 175). He argues that within this new context, “established institutional arrangements often lack the powers to deliver the required or requested policy results on their own;” hence, “they take part in transnational, polycentric networks of governance in which power is dispersed” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 175). *Institutional void* is a term that Hajer (2003a) presents to note that “there are no generally accepted rules and norms according to which policy-making and politics is to be conducted” (p.

175). Hajer (2003a) warns that an institutional void “does not suggest that state institutions ... have suddenly vanished or are rendered meaningless ... rather ... we can observe that there are important policy problems for which political action either takes place *next to* or *across* such orders, thus challenging the rules and the norms of the respective participants” (p.175). Those policy problems and their solutions are socially constructed through the discursive interaction of different policy actors. Hajer (2003a) argues that there is discrepancy between the existing institutional order (which is based on the classical model of political institutions²⁸) and the actual practice of policy-making. The classical model where institutions are perceived to have defined arrangements for official setting of policy-making and politics (representatives of democracy, differentiation between politics and bureaucracy, commitment to ministerial responsibility, and policy-making based on expert advice) is no longer valid. With this weakening of the state, Hajer (2003a) contends that the state is no longer the only actor to intervene in policy-making. Polity has become discursive and is no longer limited to the state and its institutions. According to Hajer, academics have tended to focus on juxtaposing governmental rhetoric versus ‘reality’ and studying the exercise of power by key actors. This has caused them “to lose the dimension of the *meaning of politics* and political actions” (Hajer, 2006, p. 65, emphasis in original) and lose the opportunity to trace and understand the social nature of meaning construction. “As politics is conducted in an institutional void, both policy and polity are dependent on the outcome of discursive interactions” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 176). Hajer (1995) claims that “one can observe how the institutional practices in [a given domain, such as environment or IE,] work according to

²⁸ Hajer (2003) defines classical modernist political institutions as “codified arrangements that provide the official setting of policy-making and politics” (p. 176). They are perceived to represent democracy through differentiating between politics and bureaucracy. They are committed to ministerial responsibility and are dependent on expert knowledge in policy-making (Hajer, 2003).

identifiable policy discourses that through their story-lines provide the signpost for action within these institutional practices” (p. 264).

4.6. Strengths and Limitations of Discourse Coalition Framework

Grounded in post-structural theory, Discourse Coalition Framework adopts a relational ontology that focuses on the social constructivist nature of policy-making (Fischer, 2003) through examining the role of discourse, storylines and discursive practices in policy-making (Hajer, 1995). Although this framework emerged out of Hajer’s (1993; 1995) study on acid rain in Europe and developed further by his work in 2003 and 2006, it helped provide insights to policy studies in other fields: environmental policy studies (Bingham, 2010; Späth, 2012; Schirrmester; 2014), sport policy (Prochaska, 2014); and education (Straus, 2011; Winton, 2016). Scholars who adopt DCF as a lens to examine storylines, coalitions, and their influence on policy-making report different strengths and limitations.

Scholars who used DCF in their policy studies report seven main strengths for this framework. First, it takes into account the context of specific socio-historical discourses and institutional practices in analyzing strategic action and provides conceptual tools “to analyze controversies over individual issues in their wider political context” (Hajer, n.d., para. 18). For example, in examining the impacts of sustainable development discourse on indigenous peoples in the Brazilian Amazon, Bingham (2010) argues that DCF helped mediate the understandings between the strategic action of subjects and subsequent practices while connecting specific policy problems to the broader context. Through DCF, Straus (2011) explains how a weaker coalition became dominant as it reflected broader national discussions of academic standards and accountability. Second, DCF expands the explanation of policy change to go beyond simply referencing interests. It focuses on analyzing how those interests are carried out in the context of

specific discourses and organizational practices (Hajer, 1993). Bingham (2010) notes that DCF enabled her to examine the way alternative discourses that prioritize environmental and social sustainability were compromised and coopted by the dominant storyline. Third, DCF highlights “how different actors and organizational practices help to reproduce or fight a given bias without necessarily orchestrating or coordinating their actions or without necessarily sharing deep values” (Hajer, 1993, p. 48; Hajer, n.d., paragraph 18). Bingham (2010) notes that DCF is useful in analyzing mobilization around specific biases that occurred both strategically or unintentionally. Fourth, DCF also accounts for contradictions that policy actors may show and acknowledges that the same actors can say very different things at different times and places. As those statements become part of the discursive context, they can have unintended political effects in the argumentative struggle to impose a certain way of seeing and (re)defining a problem, ascribing solutions, and positioning one’s own and other policy coalitions (Fischer, 2003, Hajer, 1995). Therefore, DCF does not perceive discourse as “free-floating outside the social contexts through which it is produced and constructed” (Bulkeley, 2000, p. 733). Instead, it is conceived as “constitutive of, and constituted by, institutions,” structuring behaviour “by both enabling and constraining social action” (Bulkeley, 2000, p. 733; see also Hajer, 1995, p. 48). Fifth, DCF expands the scope of where a policy analyst looks for actors participating in the discursive struggle to go beyond the institution. In examining the role of citizens in developing policy images and frames, DCF helped illuminate the role of citizens, in addition to government, as policy actors. Sixth, Winton (2016) notes that DCF allows the researcher to account for multiple data sources (media, written and spoken arguments, as well as practices) in examining policy-making and identifying the dominant discourse coalitions. This enables the researcher to reveal actors’ contradictory, rhetorical and argumentative strategies. Finally, scholars report that DCF

has helped probe the struggle over discursive hegemony, policy legitimization, and *institutionalization* (Bingham, 2010; Hajer, 1995; Schirmeister, 2014; Straus, 2011). Bulkeley (2000) argues that DCF could be used to examine how and why certain issues are constructed, the process through which new coalitions are formed, and the ways in which the range of acceptable policy solutions and outcomes are delineated.

Two other applications of DCF are particularly relevant to this research. First, DCF has proved to be a useful tool to examine the policy context of acid rain phenomenon which although being an environment-specific field, it, similar to international education, cannot be understood as one coherent whole as it involves discourses from many different fields (Hajer, 1995; 2003a; b; 2006). Therefore, it provides a useful tool to account for the different discourses that are produced by diverse players, disciplines, and fields. Second, DCF has been used to examine coalitions and the policy-making context of fracking in Germany which, according to Schimeister (2014), was very dynamic and evolving. Schimeister examines the different storylines and discourse coalitions in a context of an active field where policies/laws are emerging. This is particularly relevant to this study as IE as a policy area in Ontario is also very dynamic and active— particularly because while conducting this research, consultations and development of an IE strategy for Ontario were underway.

However, researchers also report some limitations of DCF. Bulkeley (2000) argues that whereas DCF offered “useful explanation of the processes of coalition formation, interaction and policy learning” through emphasizing the dynamics of meaning and legitimacy, it could not alone “explain the outcomes of the policy process” (p. 727). She notes that *discourse institutionalization* is harder to achieve than *discourse structuration*, a point that Hajer also reports (Bulkeley, 2000; Hajer, 1995). Bulkeley questions the impact of discourse coalitions that

are not aligned to institutionalized policy communities. In their examination of the forest policy discourses²⁹, Leipold and Winkel (2013) focused on analyzing the discursive agency as conceptualized by different discursive approaches, including Hajer's. They argue that the conception of agency, particularly the relationship between individual and collective actors is blurry within Hajer's argumentative approach (Leipold & Winkel, 2013). In his examination of the relationship between policy and research, Burton³⁰ (2006) critiques DCF's belief that discourse is "everything" in which "not only words are deeds but that they are sufficient to change society" (p. 187). It is important to keep in mind that discourses are created by individuals and discursive practices are implemented, performed, and practiced by individuals. Through social interaction, DCF argues that language gains agency; hence, storylines emerge and evolve. Whereas discourse, storylines, and discursive practices may not be the only factors influencing policy-making, as Burton (2006) argues, DCF provides the tools that help the researcher explore the power of social discursive practices; the role of actors who may have diverse, sometimes contradictory beliefs, yet promote and construct the same policy problem; the role of policy actors who participate in policy-making as an emotional reaction to socialization and important life-situations (Fischer, 2003); and the agency of discourse in influencing and being influenced by beliefs.

²⁹ As part of their study of forest policy discourses, Leipold and Winkel (2013) interview environmental policy actors (bureaucrats, NGO representatives, and scientists) from the United States of America, Sweden, and Germany.

³⁰ Burton (2006) examines the relationship between policy and research in Britain (the role of policy research and evidence in policy-making) using three different conceptions of policy-making (the rational stages model, Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework, and Hajer's argumentative approach).

4.7. Value of DCF to the Current Study

Through adopting the unique DCF lens, this study proposes a paradigm shift in how the IE policy landscape is understood and examined. Unlike other discursive approaches that see social constructs as a function of the interests or beliefs of groups of actors, DCF shifts the focus to the argumentative and communicative practices which influence and are influenced by the perceptions of interests, preferences, and beliefs (Hajer, 1995). Instead of focusing on individual actors' rationales and approaches for engaging in IE, DCF shifts the focus to storylines which attract diverse actors who collaboratively, yet with no coordination, create new meanings for IE; structure actors' understanding and involvement in IE; and account for the fluidity of the discourse coalitions' membership depending contexts. Hence, DCF helps unravel new meanings of IE, relationships between actors, and power dynamics.

Discourse Coalition Framework offers a helpful way to look at PSE policies, specifically international education policy-making. In a dynamic and complex field like IE, it is necessary to closely examine the definitions given to international education by different policy actors by examining the aspects of the social reality that are included and excluded in their discourses, revealing hidden political conflicts. Stemming from this perspective, Hajer's (1995) Discourse Coalition Framework provides the tools to examine how coalitions of different policy actors (who may or may not share the same beliefs) are formed to promote their own understanding of the international education "reality" and problem, and how some coalitions gain dominance and are seen as authoritative while others coalitions are discredited and dismissed. There are four main advantages of adopting DCF as a framework that would help answer the research questions of this exploratory study.

The first advantage is that international education in PSE is a narrative that is not limited to the education sector only. It attracts policy actors with diverse discourses and beliefs from other sectors such as foreign affairs, immigration, and trade and economy; and it is influenced by national and global discourses/beliefs pertaining to IE. This cross-sectoral and dynamic policy context is constantly shifting and changing as discussed in Chapter 3. Hence, it is necessary to capture and examine those discourses as together they contribute to the IE discursive map and shape the social and cognitive reality of IE in Ontario.

This is why DCF's concepts of storyline and discourse coalitions are helpful as they account for the interpretive and reproductive power of language. In this framework, it is shared discourses that bring coalition members together. This separates DCF from network approaches (e.g., Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework), which refer to shared beliefs and/or interests of the various actors. Different network approaches have been used in education policy research, including Policy Network (e.g., Padure & Jones, 2009), Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier 1988, 1998), and Ball and Junemann (2010). However, DCF offers a new vision by focusing on storylines (discourse) as the glue that holds a coalition together (Hajer, 1995, p. 66). Examining the old and the new emerging storylines and their discourse coalitions help in understanding the dynamic context of IE and the shifting power dynamics within it. DCF's conceptualization of discourse coalition membership expands the circle of policy actors beyond the iron triangle and goes beyond the focus on a coalition's shared interests and/or beliefs. It helps examine the diverse coalition members who mobilize and are mobilized by these storylines and the argumentative process of reordering the definition and value of IE that ultimately prompts policy change.

Second, as this study examines IE policy formation in Ontario, DCF's conceptualization of discursive hegemony (*discourse structuration* and *institutionalization*) in which actors try to secure support for their definition of IE is advantageous. Examining the old and emerging storylines, which are described as "the prime vehicles of change" (Hajer, 1995, p. 63), help understand the dynamic context of IE. DCF helps examine the discourse coalition members who mobilize and are mobilized by these storylines and the argumentative process of reordering the definition and value of IE that ultimately prompts policy change. This understanding is essential to democratize the policy-making process as it provides actors with the discursive tools and knowledge needed to shift the discursive structure and initiate policy change.

Third, as the literature review highlights a central role for the government in PSE and IE policy-making, a framework that accounts for the role of the government as well as other actors is needed. DCF has the advantage of perceiving the state as one actor, albeit an important one, among multiple other influential and less influential ones. Hajer's concept of institutional void is particularly relevant here. DCF accounts for the changing contexts of policy-making where the institutions are part of a broader social structure that is constructed through the discursive interaction of different policy actors, including the state. Hence, the conceptualizations of discursive polity. The fourth advantage is that DCF accounts for the specific socio-historical discourses and institutional practices in the context of wider global and national discourses which help build a more nuanced understanding of the IE policy context in Ontario.

To conclude, this study adopts a post-structural social constructivist approach to the study of IE coalitions in Ontario by adopting Hajer's discourse coalition framework. It investigates how IE as a policy problem is constructed in the PSE context in Ontario, who the discourse

coalitions are in this arena, and what role they play in influencing IE policy and empowering and silencing different storylines.

Chapter 5: Research Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative case study approach as “a way of knowing” where a researcher gathers, organizes, and interprets information obtained from texts and humans using his/her eyes and ears “as filters,” acknowledging that knowledge is constructed by the researcher (Lichtman, 2012, p. 7).

5.1. Case Study

A case study approach enables an “in-depth examination” to help understand a complex social phenomenon (Lichtman, 2012, p. 90), in this case Ontario’s PSE international education policy-making from 2005 to mid-2017. A case study approach is best suited for this research as “reality... is always dependant on subject-specific framing or time-and-space specific discourses that guide our perceptions of what is the case” (Hajer, 1995, p. 18). Policy case studies attempt to offer a thorough, rich, and deep understanding to unravel the “logic of political life” (Peters, 1998) in a particular setting, Ontario, through reporting “the complex dynamic and unfolding interactions of events, humans relationships, and other factors” (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2000, p. 181), such as discursive interactions.

Scholars report many advantages for adopting a case study approach, three of which are relevant to this study. First, case studies recognize the complex and elusive social truths offering support to “alternative interpretations” by recognizing the complexity and “embeddedness of social truths” and accounting for the discrepancies and conflicts between the viewpoints of participants (Cohen et al., 2000, p. 184). This is particularly important in a study that adopts a social constructivist approach allowing/accounting for multiple realities and discourses. Second, a case study approach focuses on the “process” rather than outcomes, and “discovery” rather than “confirmation” (Merriam, 1988). This study is interested in understanding the nuances of

policy-making process and exploring the role of argumentative discourse in influencing the construction of policy problems and solutions. Finally, a case study method in policy-oriented research can “directly influence policy, practice, and future research” as it provides insights to other similar policies/cases, thus, empowering actors with necessary information on policy-making (Merriam, 1988, p. 19). This is particularly relevant to DCF which perceives policy analysis as a form of democracy enactment. Hajer (1995) presents acid rain as a case for the study of the effects of discourse on contemporary environmental politics.

In education research, the case study has two main limitations. First, it is time-consuming (Merriam, 1988). Second, Cohen et al. (2000) report that case study data, due to its richness, is difficult to organize. To account for this, Hajer’s (2006) approach is helpful as data collection and analysis are conducted simultaneously reducing organization and overload challenges. Table 2 outlines the research questions, the different concepts within DCF that address these questions, and the methods used.

Table 2
Research Questions, Theoretical Framework and Methods

Research Question	Theoretical Framework	Methods	Data sources
1. What are the IE storylines that influence Ontario’s construction of international education as policy problem and/or solution in the postsecondary education sector? What are the social, political, and economic forces that influence the evolution of these storylines?	DCF – concept of storylines and emblematic issues	Argumentative Discourse Analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Media • Policy documents • Interviews
2. Who are the actors that contribute to the IE discursive formation in Ontario’s PSE sector and what is their discourse coalition membership?	DCF – concept of discourse coalitions and discursive practices		
3. How do international education storylines reinforce power dynamics by empowering and/or silencing different discourses?	DCF – Concept of discursive hegemony, emblematic issues, and discursive practices		

5.2. Argumentative Discourse Analysis (ADA)

DCF adopts an argumentative discourse analysis approach (ADA) to examine the argumentative structure in documents and other written and spoken statements, narratives, and storylines, as well as practices. It situates this analysis in the context of the study of the social-historical conditions in which the statements were produced and received (Hajer, 2006). The analytical tool used in the identification and analysis of discourse coalitions is the storylines that sustain them and the discursive elements that facilitate their production, reproduction, and contestation. As discourse coalition focuses on actors that utter the same storylines or are oriented towards the same way of arguing or seeing a problem (even if they have arguments within that discourse), my focus was on the empirically observable shared discourse and practices of different actors. The premise of Hajer's theory is that in uttering statements, people react to one another and thus produce meaning interactively (Hajer, 2006); therefore, using an argumentative discourse analysis (ADA) offers a method of analysis to examine what is being said, by whom, to whom, and in what context; how actors react, interact with one another; what discursive practices they use to achieve hegemony; and if and how actors' IE discourse changes and in what context (Hajer, 2006).

5.3. Argumentative Discourse Analysis Steps

This study adopts Hajer's (2006) ten steps of doing argumentative discourse analysis (Table 3). The proposed iterative approach helps construct a critical narrative of discursive argumentation. Hajer (2006) advocates focusing data collection and analysis at the sites of conflict and on the interaction between actors. He emphasizes the significance of social practices, or the "settings" which regulate the actors, over and above language. Outlined below is

Hajer's proposed 10 steps for conducting a policy research using ADA and their application in this study.

Table 3
Steps and Research Methods

Step	Purpose	Method
1. Desk research	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Construct an initial chronology and first reading of events. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conduct a general survey of the documents and positions in IE field during the period of 2005 and mid-2017-present in the three highest circulation newspapers in Ontario (<i>Toronto Star</i>, <i>Globe and Mail</i>, and <i>National Post</i>) through key word search. • Locate phrases that address IE and group them in codes named to reflect their main ideas and storylines and the members that mobilize them (discourse coalitions).
2. “Helicopter interviews”	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gain an overview from different perspectives. • Fill in some gaps in the initial desk research, identify policy actors to be interviewed later and documents to be examined. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Interview 3 actors/key informants from different positions; they can be informed journalists, key government advisors, and expert policy-makers. For this study, informants were government advisors and IE policy scholars (Refer to appendix D for list of interview questions).
3. Document analysis	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Analyze documents for structuring concepts, ideas, beliefs and conceptualization, employment of storylines, and metaphors. • Attempt to define structuring discourses in the IE discussion. • Obtain a basic notion of the process of events as well as sites of discursive production. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Locate phrases that address IE and group them in codes named to reflect their main ideas and storylines (adjust earlier codes if necessary). • Review codes to determine the actors mobilizing each storyline and determine which storylines are mobilized most prominently over time and in what context. • Group actors that mobilize similar or complimentary storylines together as a discourse coalition. • Note actors that might have changed coalitions and adopted different storylines over time and contexts of change.

- | | | |
|------------------------------------|--|---|
| 4. Interviews with key actors | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Generate more information on causal chains (which led to what). • Gain a better understanding of the meaning of particular events for the interviewees. • Understand and reconstruct how the interviewee has (re)framed his/her conceptualization of IE, and how this (re)framing took place. If a shift has occurred, probe why the interviewee found the other coalition's perspective to be valuable and decided to adopt it. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In-depth semi-structured interviews (Refer to appendix D for list of interview questions). Details on the interviews are provided in the following sections. • Review codes of storylines and grouping of actors into discourse coalitions. • Note actors that might have changed coalitions and adopted different storylines over time and contexts of change. |
| 5. Sites of argumentation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Search the data not only to reconstruct the arguments used but to account for the argumentative exchange. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Review codes of storylines and (re)group discourse coalitions. • Review nodes of relationships and coordination between and among coalitions. • Note actors that might have changed coalitions and adopted different storylines over time and contexts of change. |
| 6. Analysis of positioning effects | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Examine how people or institutions get caught up in an interplay forcing them to take up a particular role/belief (but once others are aware of what is going, they might also try to refuse/deny it). | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative analysis of interview and documents data. • Review codes of storylines and grouping of actors into coalitions if necessary. • Note actors that might have changed coalitions and adopted different storylines over time and contexts of change. |
| 7. Identification of key incidents | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identify key incidents that are essential to understand the discursive dynamics. • Transcribe these key incidents in more detail allowing for more insights onto political effects and outcomes. | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative analysis of interview and documents data. • Create a map of discourse coalitions and practices in relation to key incidents. |

8. Analysis of practices in particular cases of argumentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Go back to the data to see if the meaning of what is said can be related to the practices in which it was said. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Qualitative analysis of interview and documents data. • Review the construction of discourse coalitions in relation to contexts. • Revise map.
9. Interpretation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Come up with an account of the discursive structures, interpretation of practices, and sites of production. • Examine the relationships between discourse coalitions and their influence on policy-making. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Finalize a relational map of discourse coalitions, discursive practices and context, and their influence on policy-making.
10. Second visit to key actors	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Control if the analysis of the discursive space constructed by the researcher make sense. • Provide a learning opportunity to interviewees to recognize some the hidden structures of language. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Share the relational map developed and seek feedback on whether the map is comparable with their vision of the IE policy actors and the relation between them.

Source: Some parts of the table have been adapted from Hajer, 2006, 73-74 and Hajer, n.d.

This research followed the above steps for data collection and analysis with minor alterations due to limited access to archives, policy actors' availability for a second interview, and manageability of data (see the Limitations section for more details).

5.4. Research Site

Although the study focuses on IE policy-making in Ontario, policy actors are not necessarily geographically bound to Ontario. ADA provides tools that pave the way to identifying possible transnational and national policy actors. DCF argues that policy actors operate beyond their institutional contexts and that a researcher should not use an actor's institutional position as the starting point but the empirically observable shared discourse (Hajer, 1995). Hence, ADA focuses on examining individuals' discourses as it argues that institutions are only powerful in so far as they are constituted as authorities vis-à-vis other actors through discourse (Hajer, 1995). Hence, this study focuses on individual policy players regardless of their institutional affiliations since these actors contribute to the IE discursive space. However, it is important to note that whereas discourse is produced, reproduced, and transformed through social and discursive practices, it gains hegemony through *structuration* and *institutionalization*³¹ (that is translation into institutional practices and policies). Hence, "discourse analysis ...has a clear institutional dimension" (Hajer, 1995, p. 44).

In order to examine the diverse IE storylines and the political and socio-historic context and the formation of IE discourse coalitions, a long-term perspective is needed. This study focuses on the period between 2005 until mid-2017. The rationale for choosing this timeframe is

³¹ Hajer (1995) argues that discourse has two dimensions: social and institutional. It is (re)produced and transformed through assigning meaning to physical and social realities (e.g., in case of environmental debate it is done through academic teaching, laboratory experiments, and peer reviewed journals). The institutional dimension is produced through actual practice (e.g., practicing an alternative lifestyle, independent protest meetings instead of lobbying).

that the Rae Report, released in 2005, may be considered as a milestone in the history of IE in Ontario since, as discussed earlier, it stressed the importance of investing in IE and developing an IE strategy. Many of this study's interviewees agreed that the Rae Report was "sort of the impetus that got everything started" (Provincial Civil Servant, 5); "our guidebook" (Interview, Politician, 6); and "actually did start us on a better road" (Interview, National SIG, 10). Since the Rae Report, many discussions around IE have been evolving. At the time of writing this dissertation, this policy area was a very dynamic one as there were concerted efforts to develop an IE strategy for Ontario. In April 2018, Ontario's first *International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens* was released which indicated that a certain storyline has achieved hegemony (*discourse structuration* and *institutionalization*) as will be discussed in Chapter 7.

5.4. Data Sources and Analysis

Data analysis is the stage where data is organized, accounted for, and explained (Cohen et al., 2000). Media, policy documents, and interviews were used in this study to identify IE storylines, assemble their discourse coalitions' members, examine their argumentation and positioning of themselves and others, and probe the relation between them.

According to Hajer's ten steps of argumentative discourse analysis (see Table 3), data collection and analysis takes place concurrently. This process helped me move from description of events and documents to explanation of IE storylines evolvment, coalition formation, argumentative practices, and influence on IE policy-making in Ontario; thus moving from broad (gathering, sifting, sorting, reviewing, and reflecting on data) to narrow (matching, contrasting, aggregating, comparing and ordering the data).

Argumentative discourse analysis (ADA) of media, policy documents, and interview transcripts was utilized to probe the different storylines and identify coalition members and discursive practices. Below is a discussion of each data source.

5.4.1. Media

The purpose of accessing and analyzing media coverage of IE is to construct an initial chronology and first reading of events (Hajer, 2006). An initial search of print and digital media rendered thousands of entries. Given the fact that examining how the media addresses issues pertaining to IE is only one data source for this study, I opted to narrow down my search criteria to focus on the highest readership newspapers in Ontario. Hence, my search focused on mainstream print media (whether it dealt with IE in general or specific to Ontario) in the three highest circulation newspapers in Ontario. According to Newspapers Canada (2016), the three main Ontario newspapers based on their circulation are the *Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, and the *National Post* (both Toronto and national versions). Those three newspapers had the highest circulation in 2015 (2,331,338 weekly print and digital copies for the *Toronto Star*; 2,018,923 for *The Globe and Mail*; and 1, 116,647 for the *National Post*) (Newspapers Canada, 2016). Although the three newspapers are Ontario based, *The Globe and Mail* and the *National Post* are national newspapers whereas the *Toronto Star* is regional. It is worth noting here that this investigation considered only those three mainstream print media sources with independent media, city-specific newspapers, TV, radio, and social media falling outside of data collection (refer to the Limitations section for further details).

I used the following search engines to identify relevant articles: Globe and Mail - Toronto/Quebec edition (ProQuest), CBCA Complete (Education), Canadian Research Index (Microlog), Canadian Newsstand Major Dailies, Canadian Business & Current Affairs Database

as well as searching the websites of these three newspapers to fill gaps that were not captured through the above search engines. Based on an initial scan of the newspapers' articles, I developed a list of key search words such as international education, internationaliz(s)ation, international/foreign students, student/faculty exchange/ mobility, study abroad, academic partnerships, international education strategy, international education policy, foreign/ international faculty/scholars/academics, and branch campuses. I limited my search to postsecondary education, higher education, and universities or colleges in Canada, Ontario. I restricted my search to the period from 2005 until May 15, 2017.

Based on the search engines outcomes, the initial structure of this corpus consisted of numerous PDF files containing the actual newspaper articles without any formatting, presentation information, and/or images³². Although PDF is a convenient format for reading, it is not optimal for computer processing. Therefore, I manually transferred the data from the PDF files to excel sheets. I then read all the articles, deleted the duplicates, and retained the ones that met my search criteria. I created individual excel files for each year under examination (i.e., a total of 13 files), each containing two sheets. The first sheet captures the raw data organized in chronological order based on the publication date and includes the following: newspaper, article title, author, web link, and the actual article. I also included a column to enter my initial coding which I detail below. I located phrases that address IE and grouped them in codes named to reflect their main ideas and possible storylines. The second sheet captures my initial construction of the storylines that are present in that given year, the actors, and the policy documents, programs, events that are prevalent, and the context in which they were presented. Overall, the

³² Since the newspaper articles are downloaded without formatting, it is difficult to refer to page numbers or paragraph numbers in the in-text citations for any of the quotes from these articles. Instead, I only referred to the author and year throughout.

final corpus includes a total of 415 articles for the period from January 2005 to 15 May 2017 (Appendix F includes a list of the media articles examined).

Following the steps of Hajer's ADA, media entries were the starting point for analysis. I started by coding the contents of the 415 newspaper articles, rather than the general theme of each article. This involved examining what is being said, by whom, to whom, and in what context; how actors react to and interact with one another; what discursive technique they used; and if and how actors' IE discourse changes (Hajer, 2006). Throughout the coding and analysis process, I made sure to differentiate between and account for the words of the journalist versus those of others (i.e., actors and reports quoted). I started by giving a brief description (code) of sentence(s) that mobilize a certain discourse. Gradually, I started to develop a list of codes that emerged from the data (e.g., IS safety, recruitment, revenue generation, and competition with international jurisdictions). Once coding for all years (from January 2005 through mid-May 2017) was completed, I revisited my coding, looking for different storylines, identifying the discourse coalition members who perpetuate them, and relating them to the socio-economic and political contexts such as global recession, provincial elections, and changes in immigration policies. I constructed an initial chronology of events pertaining to IE in Ontario and ensured provincial, national, and global policies and events that are highlighted by the media were captured, focusing on their influence on the construction of and approach to IE in Ontario, the divergence and convergence of storylines, and the emergence/disappearance/reassignment of diverse discourse coalition members. Potential trends were identified and an initial picture of the argumentative interaction between different actors was constructed to be further examined during the following stages of the research and through other sources of data.

Media also helped identify not only conventional actors but also unconventional IE policy actors that have contributed to the IE discourse. Many of those actors were not captured through documents and interviews. Examining the media's presentation of different sites of argumentation, what was said, when, by whom, and to whom helped shed light on the argumentative struggle between different coalition members to impose their storylines. Examining what documents got picked up by the media and which actors' voices were heard in what context shed light on the important role of media in policy struggles. Furthermore, it gave insights onto the argumentative sites and the argumentation that took place between the different actors revealing not only the power dynamics between the actors, but also how they mobilize different storylines to achieve their goals and interests. As the first step in this research, data extracted from the media helped identify policy actors to be interviewed and documents to be reviewed.

5.4.2. Policy documents

Policy documents are an important source of data in this study. Documents are used for in-depth understanding of the research issue. They augment evidence from other sources (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). In order to provide boundaries for document analysis, the policy documents in this study were identified through the media and interview analysis. I compiled a list of all the policy documents (policies, regulations, reports, programs, and other documents) that were mentioned in the media and by the participants. I retrieved those that are publicly accessible through websites of organizations and ministries. Some documents were not publicly available for review. Other documents were no longer available either on the Internet or through organizations, as updated materials have replaced them. A few participants shared some documents with me in confidence. The complete list of documents is available in Appendix H.

The total number of documents identified through the media and interviewees was 151. I was able to locate 129 through the interviewees, relevant organizations' websites, or access to information requests.

In addition to the 129 documents, a total of 66 were identified by the researcher. Those documents fall within three categories. The first is federal and provincial budgets that were not mentioned in the media or by the interviewees. These were deemed important as they enable the researcher to capture a more encompassing picture of IE policy context in Ontario, how funding has changed throughout the period examined, and in what contexts funds were allocated (or not). The second group is documents not specifically identified. When interviewees were asked to identify documents that framed their understanding of IE and/or have influenced the IE policy context in Ontario, many identified work done by organizations such as the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario (HEQCO); Universities Canada (UniCan); the Ontario Chamber of Commerce (OCC), or regulations by Ontario's Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI). However, interviewees were not able to mention specific studies/reports/ regulations; hence, I scanned the websites of these organizations and retrieved documents relevant to IE. Furthermore, in referencing different studies, journalists referred to a "recent study" without providing specific details on the date and title of the document. In such cases, I accessed the websites of the organizations mentioned looking for relevant reports/studies released around the time the media article was published. Third, to better understand the evolution of IE policies in Ontario, I browsed the MTCU's website for any documents, reports, presentations that deal with IE.

The final corpus included a total of 195 documents divided as follows:

Table 4
Categorization of Policy Documents Reviewed

Category	Total	Identified by Media and/or interviewee	Identified by the researcher
Federal Government	48	36	12
Provincial (Ontario) Government	57	34	23
National SIGs ³³	38	24	14
Provincial (Ontario) SIGs	40	23	17
Other provinces	3	3	0
Other	2	2	0
Global	7	7	0
Total	195	129	66

Documents were organized both based on the organization and chronology to examine how IE construction evolves within the same entity over time and also in comparison with other entities. Table 5 provides a list of the organizations that authored the policy documents reviewed.

Table 5
Categorization of Policy Documents Reviewed as per the Authoring Organization

Category	Organization	No. of documents
Federal Government	Advisory Council on Economic Growth	1
	Citizenship and Immigration Canada	16
	Employment and Social Development Canada	1
	Department of Finance	13
	Global Affairs Canada	10
	Ministry of Industry	3
	Innovation, Science, and Economic Development	1
	Statistics Canada	5
	Canada Research Chairs	1
	Throne Speech	1
Provincial Government	Ministry of Finance	13
	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities	27
	Ministry of Education	1
	Ontario Ministry Citizenship and Immigration	7
	Office of the Premier	6
	Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario (HEQCO) ³⁴	3

³³ SIG: Special Interest Group.

³⁴ HEQCO was created through the Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario Act, 2005. It is an agency of the Government of Ontario that brings evidence-based research to the continued improvement of the postsecondary education system in Ontario. As part of its mandate, HEQCO evaluates the postsecondary sector and provides policy recommendations to the Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities to enhance the access, quality, and

National SIGs	Association of Canadian Community Colleges	1
	Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada	2
	Canadian Resident Matching Service (CARMS)	1
	Conference Board of Canada	3
	Canadian Bureau for International Education	7
	Canadian Chamber of Commerce	1
	Council of Ministers of Education, Canada (CMEC) ³⁵	1
	Educational Policy Institute	1
	Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council (ICCRC)	1
	Mitacs	2
Provincial SIGs	Universities Canada	14
	Canadian Federation of Students- Ontario (CFS – ON)	5
	Colleges Ontario	6
	Council of Ontario Universities	10
	College Student Alliance- Ontario	2
	Ontario Chamber of Commerce (OCC)	6
	Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations (OCUFA)	1
	Ontario Public Service Employees Union (OPSEU)	1
	Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance (OUSA)	6
	Toronto Board of Trade	2
Other Provinces	University of Windsor	1
	British Columbia (media)	1
	Saskatchewan (media)	1
Other	Nova Scotia (government)	1
	Independent Researchers	2
Global	Australia (research)	1
	Brazil (government)	1
	Germany (research)	1
	Netherlands (research)	1
	The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)	2
	USA (research)	1
Total		195

accountability of Ontario's colleges and universities. Because it is an arms-length organization, I opted to classify it under the provincial government.

³⁵ CMEC is an intergovernmental body founded in 1967 by Canada's ministers of education. It provides leadership in education at the pan-Canadian and international levels. Whereas the ministers of education have authority in their respective provinces, they work together to lobby the federal government and influence its policies. CMEC serves as a forum to discuss policy issues; a mechanism through activities, projects, and initiatives in areas of mutual interest are undertaken; a means by which to consult and cooperate with national education organizations and the federal government; and an instrument to represent the education interests of the provinces and territories internationally. Given the unique role of CMEC, it does not fit the categorization of federal nor provincial governments; hence, I opted to categorize it as national special interest.

Analysis started by locating phrases that address IE and grouping them in codes named to reflect their dominant and supplementary storylines. As no new storylines emerged through the document analysis, there was no need to adjust earlier codes developed through the media analysis. It was evident that documents mobilized multiple storylines simultaneously; however, some storylines were more dominant than others. I identified the dominant and supplementary storylines/discourse in each document based on the emphasis given to each (e.g., in terms of space within the document and main versus secondary goals/argument). An excel file that included a list of all documents reviewed was developed and the documents were categorized based on their use of the storylines (and the discourses they assemble).

Documents provided written statements authored by different institutions. Analyzing the different documents (as identified through the media and interview analysis) helped further my understanding of how different storylines evolved and trace shifts in institutional employment of these storylines. Documents helped fill gaps in terms of the evolution and shifts of storylines over time, within organizations, across different levels of government, and among special interest groups. Document analysis helped identify structuring concepts, ideas, discourses, and conceptualizations as well as gain a better understanding of the different sites of discursive production (Hajer, 2006). Documents were examined in the context of prevailing social, economic, and political contexts and in relation to other documents of the same time period to supplement the mapping of the process of events and sites of discursive production that were developed through the media analysis. Actors that mobilized similar or complimentary storylines were grouped together as a discourse coalition and actors that might have changed coalitions and adopted different storylines over time and contexts of change were noted.

5.4.3. Interviews

Collecting data through interviews is a method used by most qualitative researchers (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Perakyla, 2005). The purpose of the interviews was to supplement the information gathered with respect to storylines, actors, argumentation and contexts involved in the IE policy development process. The first round of interviews involved three “helicopter interviews” with key-informant individuals as identified by the initial desk research (Hajer, 2006, p. 73). These interviewees are people who have worked extensively in the field of postsecondary education and international education policy research. These interviews aimed at gaining an overview of different perspectives in the IE policy field, filling gaps in my initial “desk research” and identifying IE policy actors to be interviewed and documents to be examined (Hajer, 2006). The second round involved policy actors as identified by the key informants and the document analysis. A “snowball sampling” (Lichtman, 2012; Maxwell, 2005) method was also employed in order to take advantage of any useful suggestions made by participants. The purpose of these interviews was to generate more information on causal chains (which led to what), gain a better understanding of the meaning of particular events for the participants, understand and reconstruct how the participant (re)framed his/her conceptualization of IE, and how this (re)framing took place (Hajer, 2006). A total of 23 interviews were conducted.

The total number of participants was 24 persons (one of the interviews had two participants). The number of participants was chosen on the basis of (a) the size of the study, (b) the fact that the interviews were supplementing documentary data (media and policy documents), (c) the representation of the different organizations, institutions and individuals involved in the IE discourse as identified by the media and document analysis, (d) the representation of actors throughout the time period involved and (e) the representation of different storylines and

discourse coalition members. The interview sample included participants from the following categories (keeping in mind that many participants held multiple positions at different institutions throughout the period examined):

- Politicians:
 - Premier(s)
 - Provincial cabinet members
 - Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities
 - Ministry of Finance
 - Ministry of Research and Innovation
 - Provincial opposition
- Civil servants
 - Federal
 - Citizenship and Immigration Canada
 - Provincial
 - Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities
 - Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario (HEQCO)
 - Advisor(s)³⁶
- Special Interest Groups (SIGs):
 - National
 - Council of Ministers of Education Canada (CMEC)
 - Mitacs
 - Universities Canada
 - Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE)
 - Provincial
 - Student Groups
 - Canadian Federation of Students - Ontario (CFS – ON)
 - Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance (OUSA)
 - PSEIs Groups
 - Council of Ontario Universities (COU)
 - Colleges Ontario
 - Ontario Council of Academic Vice-Presidents (OCAV)
 - Faculty
 - Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations (OCUFA)
 - Faculty members³⁷
- Media: Journalist

³⁶ Advisors are experts (e.g., faculty members or researchers) and professionals that provide consultancy services to the MTCU.

³⁷ In reporting on the data, I amalgamated the faculty members with the provincial faculty special interest group to maintain the anonymity of the participants.

Participants were initially approached by an email, (See Appendix G – Request to Participate Email). Participants indicated their acceptance to participate by signing the Informed Consent form (See Appendix C – Informed Consent Letter). Participants held different positions ranging from senior positions (premiers, ministers, presidents, and CEOs), middle management, advisors, PSEIs administrators, faculty, and students. Some participants held positions in multiple organizations over the period examined and/or multiple positions in the same organization. They were asked to reflect on their experiences in each position/organization and how those influenced their understanding of IE. Some interviews were conducted with current public officials who were constrained by an Oath of Confidentiality. Participants could decline to answer any question(s) that they were not comfortable with (which a few did due to confidentiality issues) and could terminate the interview at any time (which none did). Participants were also free to withdraw from the study at any time (which none did).

A total of 34 invitations were sent to possible participants, 23 of whom accepted to participate in this study. A total of 23 interviews were conducted between May 2017 and October 2017 (one of which included two participants). In-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted to allow respondents the time and scope to talk about and share their opinions, experiences, and perceptions; and to allow for follow-up questions (Marshall & Rossman, 2006). Interview questions (Appendix D) were informed by the theoretical framework of this study, DCF. Nineteen interviews were conducted face-to-face and four were conducted via telephone either because of geographical distance and/or interviewee's preference. All of the interviews were one-on-one except for one which included two participants as per their request. All interviews were recorded, with the permission of the participants, and transcribed. Interviews lasted approximately 60 to 90 minutes. The researcher is not associated with any of the

participants. There were no reimbursements, remuneration, or compensation benefits associated with participation in this study.

In accordance with the Ethics Protocol and York University's guidelines (Appendix E), the privacy and confidentiality of interview participants is protected and respected at all times. No personal information is used or disclosed in the study, or will be used in publications or public presentations associated with this research. Participants are referred to numerically to protect their identity and anonymity. Access to the raw data, including voice recordings and transcripts is strictly limited to the researcher and the project supervisor, as per the Ethics Protocol.

As it is necessary to reveal how institutions were involved in the policy development process, limits to confidentiality apply to institutions and their roles and actions at specific points in time, as benefits the purpose and objects of this study. Many of the institutions (as specified in the participant categories) are public institutions, or are institutions associated with public policy development through their activities and/or by legislation. The names of individuals in the data, for example, in documents gathered from the public domain, or persons mentioned in the interviews may be unaltered. The researcher has excluded some identifying information in the data presented in order to provide some confidentiality to the persons mentioned therein. However, in order to provide the reader with an understanding of the perspective of each participant, they have been categorized into five groups: politicians³⁸; civil servants, national special interest groups (SIGs), Provincial SIGs (students, PSEIs, and faculty³⁹), and journalists. Since most of the participants have held multiple positions at different institutions throughout the

³⁸ Including premier(s), cabinet members (ministers), and opposition party/ies' leaders.

³⁹ I amalgamated the faculty membership group with individual faculty members interviewed into one group to maintain the anonymity of the participants.

period examined, the above categorization is based on their most recent position or the relevance of a previous position to IE policy landscape in Ontario.

In accordance with Hajer's steps (2006), interviews were conducted following the media and document analysis (except for documents that were highlighted or obtained through interviewees; for which analysis was done concurrently with interviews). This enabled the researcher to identify key policy actors through the media and document analysis. Other actors were identified through other interviewees as well. The purpose of the interviews is to supplement the information gathered through the media and document analysis in terms of identification of storylines and their evolution, key actors involved in policy development process and their dynamics, and key documents and events. In particular, interviews aimed to provide insights into causal chain of events and actors' interpretations of different events as well as to understand how, when, and why actors' (re)framed their conceptualization of IE (Hajer, 2006). As per ADA, interviews were analyzed for storylines mobilized by the interviewees. Actors were grouped into discourse coalitions, and any change in coalitions' membership over time and contexts was noted. Whereas no new storylines emerged from the interviews, some storylines, such as the *Gateway* storyline which will be discussed later, were more prominent in the interviews than the media. Interviewees were asked to reflect on their conceptualization of IE and how it (may have) changed over time and why. Interviews helped fill in gaps in terms of the build-up of events and highlighting prevailing social, political, and economic context at different critical times in the IE policy landscape.

Interviews helped probe the policy actors' different perspectives, understanding of different events/policies, and identify other policy actors/documents that the media analysis did not reveal. Interviews helped confirm and build on the causal chain of events as identified by the

media and document analysis, gain a better understanding of the meaning of particular events for the interviewees, understand and reconstruct how the interviewees (re)framed their conceptualizations of IE, and how this (re)framing took place. Interviews also helped probe why some interviewees experienced shifts in their conceptualization of IE and why certain storylines appeal to them more than others. Interviews allowed me to hear more detailed accounts from the different actors adding color, personal experiences, and thoughts to the storylines and argumentative sites. It also allowed me fill gaps in the media's reporting and give voice to actors who were absent/not well represented in the media.

Together, those these three sources contributed to the identification of the storylines, coalition members, and key incidents. The three data sources complemented each other while reconstructing the different IE sites of argumentation, positioning, discursive practices, and relationships between discourse coalitions and their influence on policy-making. They also provided the researcher with an opportunity to compare actors — their use of storylines, and discursive practices between different data types. In order to construct the emblematic sites⁴⁰, a file was created for each site where all relevant data from the three sources were compiled. In addition to accounting for the diverse arguments, the argumentative exchange between actors and their discursive practices were mapped. I created an excel sheet for each emblematic site which included all the statements made in relation to this argument, who made them, when, where, and why. This helped account for the multiplicity of discourses mobilized and how storylines emerge/gain dominance influencing policy-making while other storylines fade and/or are silenced. It also helped reveal nodes of relationships and coordination between and among

⁴⁰ These are sites that mark shifts in policy discourse by facilitating conceptual shifts and mobilizing biases in and out of the policy debate. Refer to Chapter 4 for more details.

coalitions, actors that have changed coalitions over changing time and contexts, as well as positioning effects.

5.5. Data Saturation and Triangulation

Saturation of data in qualitative research indicates that in analyzing the data, the researcher reaches a point where more data does not lead to more information related to the research questions (Cohen et al., 2000; Creswell, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Triangulation, on the other hand, is used to indicate that more than two methods or techniques are applied in social studies to provide a wider view of the complexity of human behaviour and people's reactions to different situations, and to cross-check the consistency and credibility of data and information derived from different sources (Cohen et al., 2000; Creswell, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Whereas some scholars critique triangulation for its positivist assumption that multiple data sources are superior to a single source, an assumption that "violates the interactionist principles of emergence, fluidity, uniqueness, and specificity" (Denzin, 1997, p. 320), this study used triangulation for a different purpose. Using multiple data sources is also an important part of DCF as the premise is that "what people say differs according to the practice in which they engage" (Hajer, 1995, p. 69), and they might "utter contradictory statements" in different argumentative contexts (Hajer, 1995, p. 70). As the study is embedded in the premise that reality is constructed and varies from one individual to the other, from one context to the other, and from one timeframe to the other, multiple data collection methods were used to ensure the inclusion of as many voices and storylines of the diverse IE policy stakeholders as possible. Collecting data through diverse methods also helped identify different discursive practices and discursive contradictions employed by the same actor in different contexts. In analyzing the three data sources, the same storylines emerged consistently. No storyline emerged in one data source

yet not the other. In terms of discourse coalition members, discursive practices, and emblematic sites, the most prominent and consistent ones were captured by the three data sources; however, each source provided a different lens which helped provide a richer account of the IE policy landscape in Ontario.

5.6. Limitations

There are a number of limitations associated with this study. In terms of media, the current study's corpus of media texts was limited to articles published in three of Ontario's most widely read newspapers. While independent media, city-specific newspapers, and radio and television broadcasts could have provided great insights, the "inconsistent archiving makes a comprehensive historical comparison difficult" (Whyte, Beelen, Mierke-Zatwarnicki, Cochrane, & Loewen, 2016, p. 8). Social media, on the other hand, is relatively new and has a different content structure which makes comparisons to traditional media "both impractical and potentially misleading" (Whyte et al., 2016, p. 8). The exclusion of these media data sources might have resulted in the loss of identifying discourses that might not have been present in the print media analysis as well as a loss of a more nuanced analysis of the buildup and interpretation of IE discourses in different geographic, socio-economic, and political contexts. Interviews, however, may have compensated for the absence of focus on social media. Since media is only one source of data that aims to provide a general understanding of a chronology of events, the identification of actors, and an initial construction of storylines, these three newspapers were deemed sufficient to provide those insights, which are complemented by the other data sources: policy documents and interviews. Hence, it is important to note that the findings of this paper are confined to the three media sources, policy documents, and interviews conducted.

Although the researcher attempted to follow Hajer's ten steps for conducting discourse analysis as closely as possible as explained above, the researcher had to make a choice of limiting the document analysis to the ones identified by the media, by the participants, and by the researcher (as outlined earlier). Although Hajer (2006) recommends accessing governmental and organizational archives to examine parliamentary debates, minutes of inquiries, presentations and the interpretation of evidence presented to research commissions, and panel discussions at conferences, the researcher excluded them. Whereas parliamentary debates are publicly accessible and might have provided further depth to the construction of IE as a policy issue, the most outstanding debates have been reported by media as well as by the politicians that were interviewed. Minutes of meetings and evidence presented to research commissions are not necessarily in the public domain nor are governmental and organizational archives. As the IE policy file was active while conducting this research, it was difficult to gain access to the concerned archives, particularly those of MTCU. Hence, the researcher opted to depend on policy documents that are available publicly through the access to information act and those provided by interviewees. Finally, due to the busy schedules of the key policy actors, the researcher opted not to conduct a third set of interviews (step 10 of Hajer's steps for conducting discourse analysis). There was enough evidence to the accuracy of the storylines, coalition members, and power dynamics that are constructed given both the multiplicity of data sources and saturation of data.

The researcher did not have access to some policy actors. For example, although the private sector (career colleges, language schools, and recruitment agencies) and immigration lawyers were identified as actors to be interviewed, the researcher was not able to conduct interviews with representatives. Multiple emails were sent to private colleges, language schools,

and immigration lawyers (as identified by the media and interviewees), yet the researcher either received no responses or was not able to schedule an interview. However, a glimpse of their perspective is captured through the media.

This study is limited to IE policy-making in Ontario: constructing the definition of IE as a policy problem in the PSE sector in Ontario, identifying and mapping the different IE policy discourse coalitions, and probing the power dynamic between them and their contribution to PSE IE policy-making. Ideally, in order to examine the uniqueness of the Ontario IE policy-making context, it should be compared with that in other Canadian provinces. Although examining Ontario's uniqueness would have been interesting, it would be a mega study that cannot be undertaken given the time and funding limitations.

5.7. Researcher's Positionality

Although, as discussed earlier, I depended on documents and interviews to gather data, I acknowledge analysis and interpretation of this data through my conscious and unconscious filters that are influenced by ontological and epistemological views and personal experiences. My background in language and literature, specifically postmodernist, has had a great influence on the decision to choose an interpretive social constructivist theory. I embrace the idea that "reality" is an elusive term that is influenced not only by the time and place but also by the perspective from which it is being examined. The perception of reality not only differs from one person to the other, but also might differ for the same person over time. Language is not just a tool to communicate thoughts and ideas. It has the power to (re)produce and (re)frame ideas. It is not just a tool to reflect a social or political reality: "it actually constitutes much of the reality that has to be explained" (Fischer, 2003, p. viii).

The researcher is relatively new to the Canadian context. I was introduced to Canadian politics in general and the education system and its policies in particular seven years ago when I moved to Canada and started my Master's program at York University. Although this posed some challenges as I attempted to familiarize myself with the different historic, social, cultural, and political contexts, it introduced opportunities to explore the policy-making context in Ontario with fresh eyes. This positionality provides me with the ability to view the Canadian/Ontarian PSE international education sector from the inside (as a student and researcher in a Canadian PSE institution) and the outside (as a new immigrant to Canada who worked in the PSE sector internationally). During my seven years in Canada, I have participated in research projects examining different aspects of international education in Canada and Ontario such as examining the discourse of international students as ideal immigrants, international students' lived experiences in Ontario, and the discourse around world-class universities. I acknowledge that my prior research may not only have influenced my interpretations and understanding of IE as policy in Ontario, but may also have contributed to different storylines.

Having lived and worked internationally, I have been exposed to different realities, definitions, rationales, and approaches to IE in different contexts, spaces, and times. I have had the opportunity to interact with diverse stakeholders, such as academic and administrative staff at universities, public officials and policy-makers, students, and parents. This has enriched my knowledge and experiences as to the diverse, conflicting, and competing beliefs and discourses pertaining to the value, expectations, and roles of IE. Having worked in the IE field, both as a professional and a researcher, I have developed my own interpretations and understandings of IE. In a world that is dominated by a struggle for power and competing constructions of problems and solutions, some voices are lost and overpowered by more hegemonic ones. I hope,

through my research, to contribute to the democratization of the IE policy-making process by not only unraveling the hegemonic storylines that frame the IE debate in Ontario, but also revealing their discursive practices. Actors who wish to influence the IE policy landscape may use this knowledge to ensure that their arguments gain credibility and trust by situating them within the accepted “historically specific ways of arguing” (Hajer, 1995, p. 273). I hope also that problematizing the construction of IE as a policy problem and/or solution will expose hidden taken-for-granted assumptions and question power dynamics in Ontario’s approach to IE.

Findings

I present the findings of the study by amalgamating the data from the three sources. This amalgamation helped provide a rich and nuanced understanding of the different storylines, the dynamics of the coalition members that perpetuated them, the emblematic issues, and the discursive practices that influenced IE policy-making. The findings are organized as follows:

- Chapter 6 presents the main storylines, the coalition members that mobilized these storylines, and the influence of global, national, and provincial economic, social, and political contexts on the emergence, evolution, convergence, and divergence of storylines and coalition members.
- Chapter 7 presents three emblematic sites pertaining to IE policy-making: *The Private Career Colleges Act (2005)*, the Trillium Scholarships (2010), and *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens (2018a)*. These sites helped build a more nuanced understanding of how certain storylines gained hegemony leading to policy change, whereas others failed. These sites also highlighted the role of the socio-economic and political contexts in the evolution of the storylines.
- Chapter 8 examines the discursive hegemony of the *Internationalize, it's good for the economy* storyline and the shifting terrain of the IE policy in Ontario. It also highlights the role of some actors as agents of change in framing the IE debate in Ontario. The role of these individual actors prompted a discussion of Hajer's conceptualization of collective and individual discursive agencies.

Chapter 6: Storylines and Coalition Members

I think we all have same [ideas about IE], I don't think there is a big difference. I think... it was a matter of emphasis. Some people put more emphasis on money and others really saw the opportunity to attract some of the best minds from around the world and enhance Ontario and Canada and have that ambassadorship role.

(Interview, Politician, 6)

All actors and the discourses they mobilized in the policy-scape under study saw IE as an imperative in the current globalized 21st century. Nowadays, “a provincial education system can no longer just be provincial in its boundaries and its horizons. It has to participate in something bigger. There are many different ways to do that but internationalization of education is partly about that” (Interview, National SIG, 18). This study revealed one dominant storyline:

Internationalize. In examining the different data sources and discourses that emerged through them, there were no discourses that spoke against internationalization. Instead, all discourses agreed, to varying degrees, that IE is desirable and beneficial to the PSE sector. No discourses within the three data sources challenged the dominant storyline by speaking against internationalizing the postsecondary education sector or arguing for eliminating *all* aspects and activities of international education. However, as will be discussed below, actors had very diverse understandings of why and how Ontario and its PSE sector should engage in international education. Hence, there were convergences and divergences in their rationales for internationalizing the PSE sector and in their IE approaches and activities. This finding is consistent with Knight's (2014) observation that “internationalization has become a catch-all phrase used to describe *anything* and *everything* remotely linked to the global, intercultural or international dimensions of higher education and is thus losing its way” (p. 76, emphasis added).

The *Internationalize* storyline functioned as a *container phrase* (M. Hajer, personal communication, February, 16, 2018), bringing varied groups of people together in a discourse coalition because of its ambiguity. The fact that no discourses objected to internationalizing Ontario's PSE sector was a surprise since the assumption of DCF is that policy landscapes would be a discursive battle field between opponents and proponents. However, the international education policy landscape in Ontario proved to be different from the environmental policy landscape from which DCF originated. While the findings of this study revealed that there were no discourses opposed to internationalization, they also suggested that within this container phrase (i.e., *Internationalize*) the discursive struggle continued. While there was an agreement that international education is valuable and needed, discourses constructed and defined international education differently. Some focused on its benefits (which varied and sometimes were contradictory); others focused on how to mitigate risks associated with it. Even where there was a general alignment, discourses highlighted different motivations, rationales, benefits/risks of, and approaches to international education. Therefore, I decided to adapt Hajer's framework by taking it a step further and examining the next layer of storylines within the *Internationalize* storyline. It was important to sieve through the complexity of discourses of the 'anything' and 'everything' of IE to examine how they were shaping IE policies. Hence, I opted to take my analysis a level further⁴¹ by identifying and examining three storylines within this dominant *Internationalize* storyline as they met Hajer's (1995) criteria of forming discursive coalitions

⁴¹ In his analysis of acid rain policy landscape, Hajer (1995) identifies two main storylines: Ecological Modernization and the Traditional Pragmatist. He argues that "Ecological modernization is based on some credible and attractive story-lines.... Each story-line replaces complex disciplinary debates" (p. 65). Although in his study Hajer opted to examine the two dominant storylines, I opted here to take my analysis further by examining the storylines within the over-compassing *Internationalize* storyline. This is deemed to be necessary to understand the complexity of the IE policy landscape in Ontario and to examine how different storylines influenced the construction of IE as a policy problem and assigned solutions to it.

from previously independent practices and creating a common discourse in which several practices get a meaning in a common political project.

In an attempt to capture a nuanced understanding of IE, its values, rationales, and approaches as well as the shifting terrain of the IE narrative build-up which influenced policy-making, I outline three main storylines, within the overarching *Internationalize* storyline, that float in the international education policy scape: (a) *Internationalize, it is good for the economy*; (b) *Internationalize, yet manage its risks*; (c) *Internationalize, it is Canada's gateway to the world* (referred to as *Economy*, *Risks*, and *Gateway* henceforth). These storylines, as will be discussed below, influenced the way Ontario engaged in IE and played an important role in influencing policy-making. Each storyline, *Economy*, *Risks*, and *Gateway*, encompassed multiple discourses within it that attracted “actors with different or at best overlapping perceptions and understandings” of IE (Hajer, 1995, p. 63). Although actors gathered around the same storyline, they might “nevertheless interpret the meaning of these story-lines rather differently and might each have their own particular interests” (Hajer, 1995, p. 14). Hajer (1995) argues that a storyline is a “middle-range concept” that illustrates how discursive orders are assembled, maintained, or transformed (p. 61). In order to understand the IE policy-scape, Hajer (1995) argues that a researcher should examine the distinct discourses and knowledge claims of these storylines which influence the sort of communication that takes place in the context of IE issues.

Whereas the *Internationalize, it is good for the economy* storyline was more successful in achieving hegemony (both *structuration* and *institutionalization*), the *Risks* storyline is gradually gaining dominance (while operating within the more hegemonic *Economy* storyline). Although consistently present in this landscape, the *Gateway* storyline's ability to initiate policy change

seemed to be limited. It was more often than not used as a supplementary storyline supporting/opposing one of the two more dominant ones.

In the following sections, I examine each storyline. I start by outlining the evolution of the storyline, and examining the discourses within it, in relation to the global, national, and international contexts. I then identify the storyline coalition members and how they interpreted the storyline differently. The construct of storylines allowed for navigating beyond the perceived sectoral boundaries of IE towards integrating the complex and fragmented IE policy landscape and for accounting for discourses and actors beyond the ones commonly examined in other IE studies (e.g., state, PSEIs, faculty, and students). Through the lens of DCF and the construct of storyline, this chapter provides a new notion of thinking about IE discourses by tracing how they emerged, shifted, and converged over time. In addition to expanding on previously identified discourses and identifying new ones, this chapter illustrates how these discourses are interconnected in ways that did not materialize in previous literature. Furthermore, through DCF, this chapter identifies policy actors that were never identified or discussed in previous literature.

6.1. Storyline 1: *Internationalize It Is Good for the Economy (Economy)*

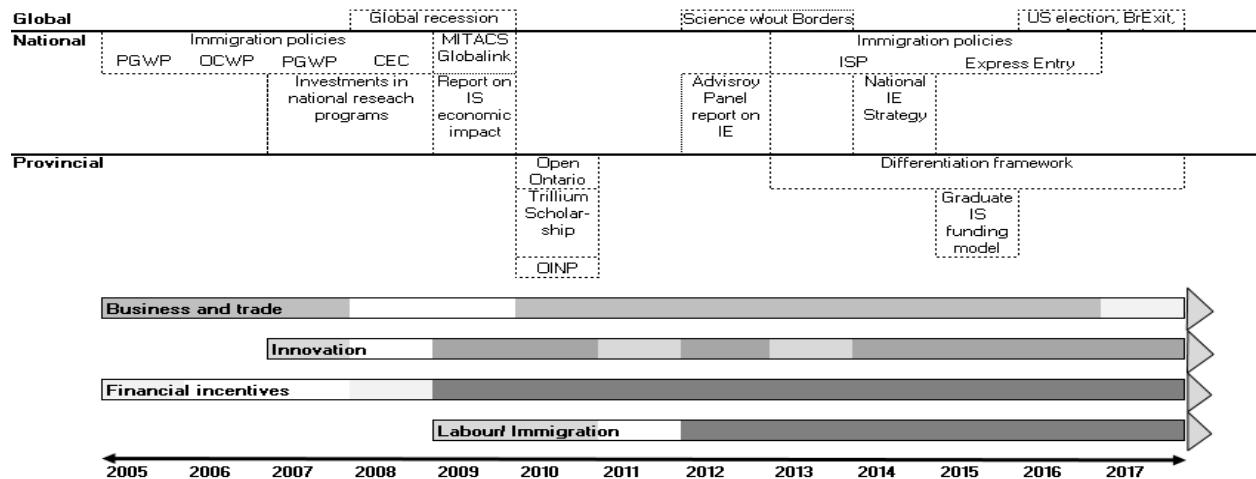
In the '60s you know Canadian premiers were focused much more so on what was happening inside the provinces and then their relations with other provinces, but clearly, we have a globalized economy now and Ontario businesses are competing with businesses around the world ... And so, it just ... seems to me that responsible leadership has an obligation to build linkages to the rest of the world.

(Interview, Politician, 22)

The *Economy* storyline promotes IE as an imperative in the current global knowledge economy. This storyline is inward-focused as the discourse highlighted leveraging IE to the benefit of Canada/Ontario's economy and future prosperity. This storyline is consistent with a global trend where internationalization of the education sector, particularly the postsecondary

education sector, is immersed in the development of the global knowledge economy and is influenced by neoliberal reforms to governance (Olssen & Peters, 2005). The emergence and evolution of this storyline in the Canadian/ Ontarian context was in sync with both a global neoliberal discourse and policy reforms (as explained in Chapter 2) and national contexts (as explained in Chapter 3) that shifted the internationalization of the PSE discourse to a capitalist one that commodifies, markets, and trades IE. This storyline is similar to Stein et al.’s (2016) “internationalization for the global knowledge economy” articulation and Stier’s (2004) Instrumental IE ideology. Even though the role of economy was identified in previous internationalization studies (as illustrated in Chapter 2), using DCF revealed a much more complicated notion of economy with multiple elements that were not identified and/or never examined jointly in the prior literature. In the section below, I illustrate how throughout the period examined, this storyline evolved in scope assembling four main discourses (business and trade, innovation, financial incentives, and labor and immigration) (Figure, 1).

Figure 1
Evolution of *Economy* Storyline in the Media and Its Relation to Global, National and Provincial Events



The shading reflects the intensity of this discourse the media. The darker the shade, the more intense this discourse was in the media. The emergence/intensity of the discourse in the media was linked to global, national, and provincial events represented in the boxes on the top.

Although all these discourses linked IE to enhancing Canadian economy, their rationale(s) and approach(es) towards internationalizing the PSE sector (Table 6), differed.

Table 6

Internationalize, It's Good for the Economy—IE Rationales and Approaches

Storyline 1: Internationalize, it is good for the economy				
	Business	Innovation	Financial Incentives	Immigration
Rationale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote international trade ties • Develop global employment skills • Enhance reputation as an international business hub 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enrich research and innovation • Enhance reputation as an international hub of research and development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respond to government cuts • Enhance local economy • Address decreasing enrolments 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Address changing demographics • Recruit “model immigrants”
Activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IS recruitment • Study abroad • Branch campuses • Academic partnerships • Internationalization of curricula 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Talent recruitment/exchange • International university rankings • Research partnership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IS recruitment • Branch campuses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IS recruitment
Common		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • GAC • MTCU • CBIE • PSEI SIGs (e.g., Universities Canada & COU) • PSEIs • Student groups (e.g., CFS, OUSA, & CSA) • Faculty groups (e.g., OCUFA) 		
Coalition Members*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministries of finance & industry • Business PSE schools (administration, faculty & students) • Economy, industry & trade SIGs • Employers • Business, political/foreign affairs, and PSE journalists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ministries of innovation, Industry & Finance • Research intensive universities (U15) • Mitacs • International ranking organizations • University faculty, researchers & scientists • Employers (Technology & health) • Domestic & international graduate students • Science/technology, political/foreign affairs & PSE journalists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CIC • Ministries of finance • PSEIs (Administration) • Colleges Ontario • Journalists 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CIC & MCI • Ministries of finance & industry • Employers & employment agencies • Canada & Ontario Chambers of Commerce • Immigration & PSE journalists
Discourse specific**				

*This is not an exhaustive list of the coalition members. This list of coalition members is an aggregate one for the members throughout the period examined. Actors joined the coalition at different times and moved in and out of it in different contexts. Hence this table does not capture the fluidity of discourse coalition membership.

**While those actors are invested in one discourse, some of them also mobilized the whole *Economy* storyline.

6.1.1. Business and trade

Within the *Economy* storyline, the first discourse highlighted the role IE plays in enhancing Canada/Ontario's business and trade opportunities. IE is necessary to develop/maintain global business networks, develop an understanding of emerging markets (particularly Asian), foster international trade relationships, help Canada or Ontario become a business hub, and build a globally experienced skilled labour force needed for the Canadian/Ontarian local-going-global businesses. IE here is viewed through the lens of student mobility (IS recruitment and study abroad), internationalization of curricula, branch campuses, and academic partnerships.

Ontario's PSE sector identified the role international education plays in enhancing business and trade partnerships and graduating a globally skilled labour force. Business schools⁴² (administration, faculty, and students) perpetuated this storyline heavily in the media throughout the period examined, (e.g., "No Borders Here" [Moxely, 2005]; "Rotman Students Travel the World" [Brent, 2007]; "World Power; Canadian Business Schools Are Responding to Student Demands for More International Experience and Learning Opportunities" [Johnson, 2011]; and "Global Experience Looks Good on Resumé" [Deveau, 2012]). To maintain and enhance Ontario's economic competitive edge in this global economy, business education should "mirror the borderless business world today" (Brent, 2006). PSEIs invested in study abroad, branch campuses, and partnerships with emerging industrial powers—especially China and India which were also highlighted as target markets in GAC's Global Markets Plan⁴³. For example, York

⁴² Schools are particularly York University's Schulich School of Business, University of Toronto's Rotman School of Management, University of Western Ontario's Ivey School of Business, and Queen's University's School of Business.

⁴³ Through the Global Markets Action, the federal government identifies global markets that hold the greatest promise for Canadian business. "The plan plays to Canada's strengths and ensures that all Government of Canada

University's Schulich School of Business chose to open a campus in India, Western Ivey School has a campus in China, and Centennial College initiated an animation program in India.

Participants, civil servants, and provincial university SIGs, noted that PSEIs, particularly universities, approached the Ontario government to join worldwide trade missions to connect with international businesses and education sectors—a request that was received favourably by the Ontario government as it met their “human capital skills policy” and “an economic development” agenda (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 8). Participants gave examples of partnerships between national businesses and PSEIs on the one hand and international business/trade and PSEIs where training, skills development, and exchange of expertise is core on the other. Hence, “when Ontario is trying to promote an industry or a sector [in those trade missions] ... the human capital export as well or the curriculum or the training [are] ... part of a package” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5).

International education is perceived to transform Ontario into a business hub by attracting businesses from all over the world. This discourse, according to some participants, went back to David Peterson, Ontario's 20th premier (1985–1990), who initiated the Four Motors initiative which Premier McGuinty reignited and capitalized on (as discussed in Chapter 3). A participant noted that the diverse and internationalized universities in the Greater Toronto Area have also helped attract international businesses to the area. The official noted “I have a very strong recollection of an opening of [an international company which] ... chose to locate in Toronto to serve their global needs ... [since] Toronto ... had a proliferation of postsecondary

diplomatic assets are harnessed to support the pursuit of commercial success by Canadian companies and investors” (<https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2015/06/global-markets-action-plan-market-access-plans.html>)

institutions ... and we have a diverse population so they could hire people that spoke most languages” (Interview, Politician, 20).

This business discourse was particularly mobilized in relation to emerging economies, especially China and India as well as other countries mentioned in the Federal government Global Market’s Plan (2013). Think tanks that focus on Canada’s relationships with Asia (e.g., the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada and the Asia Competence Task Force) perpetuated this storyline noting that it was “crucial [to maintain] short-term and long-term economic opportunities” and enhance “future ties with Asia” through IS recruitment, exchange programs, and partnerships with Asian companies and PSEIs (as quoted in York, 2006; see also Millar, 2014). Federal economic advisory councils, and ministries of Industry; Finance; Innovation, Science and Economic Development; and Employment and Social Development Canada perpetuated this storyline as well. Similarly, on a provincial level, The Task Force on Competitiveness reiterated this storyline. International and national employers and recruiters, particularly banks, financial services, and high-tech companies, perpetuated this discourse to highlight their need for a labour force with international exposure. The majority of journalists mobilizing this discourse were specialized in business/economics, national affairs, politics/foreign policy, and science/technology.

The business discourse emerged in the policy documents as early as 2005 in government policies and (commissioned) reports (e.g., the Rae Report, 2005). It was mostly presented in the media in relation to PSEIs’ (particularly business schools) interests in recruiting IS as well as to support of changes to CIC regulations that allow IS to work in Canada during and post their studies (e.g., OCWP; PGWP).

6.1.2. Innovation

The second discourse within this *Economy* storyline emphasized the role of IE in advancing Canada's/Ontario's innovation and research agenda and their ability to compete in the current global knowledge economy. IE is necessary for “[m]aking Canada an innovation powerhouse” (Chakma, 2014). IE is seen as domestic and international talent recruitment/retention (of researchers, faculty, and graduate students), research partnerships, and universities' international reputation as centers of research and innovation for which international rankings became an important indicator.

This discourse stressed the fact that “[t]alent is global today and Canada needs to adapt” (Cryne, 2016). As universities aim to acquire/maintain their status as energetic innovation hubs for top-notch research, they need not only enhance their connections and partnerships with international research communities but also engage in a global race for top talent. This discourse perpetuated that “[f]oreign students in Canada promote innovation and investment” (Vitullo, 2012) and “add brainpower to research projects” (Brown, 2015c). Media constantly called on the federal government to address a perceived brain drain where other countries, particularly the US, are draining Canada of its promising domestic and international students. In order to stop this drain and to compete with other OECD countries in attracting best foreign talent, Canada should increase its investment in higher education to be a leader encouraging innovation and prosperity (Marlow, 2009). This concern was amplified by a recognition that the landscape is shifting and new competitors are emerging; in particular countries that traditionally exported their talent are now working on attracting them back (Wheeler, 2009). Within this increasingly competitive context, Canada needs to decide on its position: “We can be the ‘go-to’ nation on an ever wider

number of first-class technologies. Or we can revert to watching the world pass us by” (David, 2009).

The federal ministries of Industry, Innovation, Finance, and GAC were active mobilizers of this discourse through different expert commissioned reports and policies (e.g., *Expert Panel on Commercialization*, 2006; and *Mobilizing Science and Technology to Canada’s Advantage*, 2007). These reports/ policies highlighted the importance of maintaining/enhancing Canada’s leadership in research and development and ensuring “that higher-education institutions have the leading-edge research equipment and facilities required to compete with the best in the world; and supporting domestic and international research and networks in areas of strategic importance to Canada” (Expert Panel on Commercialization, 2006, p. 14). Federal budgets from 2006 to 2017 linked IE with innovation, allocating funds for research infrastructure development; scholarships for talented international graduate students; research councils (e.g., Natural Sciences and Engineering Research Council, the Canadian Institutes of Health Research, and the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council) which promoted engagement with international research partnerships; and investment in the Canada Research Chairs⁴⁴ (2000) and Canada Excellence Research Chairs Programs⁴⁵ (2008) which aimed to attract and retain international and domestic scholars. Similarly, on a provincial level, Ontario universities were constructed as “competing for the best and the brightest students around the world.... It really is

⁴⁴ The Canada Research Chairs Program (CRCP) was established in 2000 by the federal government. Through creating 2,000 research professorships, the program aims to “attract and retain some of the world’s most accomplished and promising minds” making Canada “one of the world’s top countries in research and development” (Government of Canada, 2015).

⁴⁵ Launched in 2008, the Canada Excellence Research Chairs (CERC) Program supports Canadian universities in their efforts to build on Canada’s growing reputation as a global leader in research and innovation. The program awards world-renowned researchers and their teams up to \$10 million over seven years to establish ambitious research programs at Canadian universities (Government of Canada, 2017).

about research and partnerships globally, it really is about finding the best students in the world and bringing them to Canada” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11).

Since research is a major component of this discourse, Mitacs⁴⁶ and research-intensive universities were the strong mobilizers of this discourse. Mitacs’s Globalink program (initiated in 2009) aimed to attract and retain talented graduate IS who were to contribute to Canada’s research and innovation agenda. Research-intensive universities, most of which belong to the U15⁴⁷, such as University of Toronto, Queen’s University, McMaster University, and Western University in addition to a few comprehensive universities such as York University and the University of Guelph, (yet none of the primarily undergraduate universities) perpetuated this discourse to lobby for government funds to maintain their status as energetic innovation hubs for top-notch research, enhance their international ranking, and attract the best international students and faculty. Research-intensive universities used this discourse to lobby and advocate for initiatives (a) on the federal level, such as Canada Research Chairs and Canada Excellence Research Chairs Programs, and the Brazilian Science without Borders⁴⁸ initiative and (b) on the provincial level, such as the Ontario Trillium Scholarships program (2010), Differentiation

⁴⁶ Mathematics of Information Technology and Complex Systems (Mitacs) is a national, not-for-profit organization that is committed to supporting research-based innovation through working closely with partners in industry, academia, and government. It was founded in 1999 as a Canadian Network of Centres of Excellence dedicated to supporting applied and industrial research in mathematical sciences and associated disciplines (Mitacs, 2019).

⁴⁷ The U15 is a collective of Canada’s self-declared research-intensive universities, established in 1991. Headquartered in Ottawa, it represents its members’ interests in research and research funding primarily to provincial and federal governments. Their website distinguishes them as universities that “foster the development and delivery of long-term, sustainable HE and research policy, in Canada and around the world” (U15 n.d.). These universities are Dalhousie University, McGill University, McMaster University, Queen’s University, the University of Alberta, the University of British Columbia, the University of Calgary, Université Laval, Université de Montréal, the University of Manitoba, the University of Ottawa, the University of Saskatchewan, the University of Toronto, the University of Waterloo and Western University.

⁴⁸ Science without Borders is a program funded primarily by the Brazilian Government and aims to send Brazilian students to study internationally in the science, technology, engineering, and mathematics. As the Brazilian government paid domestic rather than international graduate fees, Canadian universities lobbied the federal and provincial governments to foot the bill. However, they did not succeed forcing some universities to offer discounted tuition for Brazilian graduate students.

Framework⁴⁹ (2013), and a new funding model for graduate IS⁵⁰. These policies were perceived to enable Ontario to compete with internationally renowned universities and serve as a “a faculty retention and attraction strategy as well as a PhD student strategy” (U of T president as quoted in Chiose, 2015a); “a sustainability strategy for high-end talent” (COU president as quoted in Chiose, 2015a); and a means to attract “excellent students who move across the world to contribute to the intellectual life of the University as teachers and researchers” (domestic students/CUPE 3902 as quoted in Chiose, 2015a). One participant argued that IS enrolment was essential to keep certain graduate programs open, noting “we could not find enough science or math or engineers to fill our graduate students’ spots. We would have to close all of them, all of the graduate programs. It would close because of that” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17). It is within this context that international rankings of Canadian/Ontario universities (such as Times Higher Education [THE], Quacquarelli Symonds [QS], and Academic Ranking of World Universities [ARWU]) became central to this discourse. The release of the annual international ranking results was often utilized by research intensive universities and MTCU to support their argument for a more differentiated university funding model. Hence, international ranking systems emerged as a global actor. The Times Higher Education (THE) editor warned that Canada “ha[s] to run fast to stand still in this context of intense global competition” (quoted in Chiose, 2016d).

⁴⁹ The Differentiation Framework signaled change in PSEIs funding differentiating between research and teaching focused universities. This discourse is mobilized to rationalize differentiated funding to secure Ontario’s global competitiveness through the creation of “World-Class Research and Innovation Universities and colleges [as] ... engines of innovation that grow Ontario’s knowledge economy” (Government of Ontario, 2013, p. 8). Therefore, “Ontario’s universities need to expand their reputations internationally as part of the province’s push for institutions to specialize” (Minister of MTCU as quoted in Chiose 2014c).

⁵⁰ The Ontario government agreed to extend funding for graduate studies to international students. No new money is attached to the change. Instead, universities are now permitted to use up to 25% of allocated public funding to support international graduate students giving institutions more freedom to give graduate placements to foreign students.

Retaining foreign talent (students and scholars) is central to the country's and province's prosperity. The global turbulences of 2016, such as Brexit in Europe and the decisive US elections, were portrayed in the media and by many participants as an opportunity for Canada to attract top talent. This discourse was usually perpetuated to advocate for or against immigration policies that are perceived to help/hinder attracting and retaining foreign researchers, faculty, and graduate students (e.g., Temporary Foreign Worker program⁵¹ (2014); the first iteration of Express Entry⁵²). Immigration lawyers and talent acquisition consultancies, which supported universities in their international hiring, emerged as new actors mobilizing this discourse. They argued that although they supported the government's attempt to protect Canadian workers, "when it comes to certain positions in the corporate sector or in the academic world, having international experience and skills can only enhance our competitiveness" (Baker & McKenzie as quoted in Chiose, 2015b). This discourse was also mobilized by business/economic, national, political affairs, and science/technology reporters as well as university professors of economics, political science, and computer science who warned that Canada has to decide to either "pursue global leadership in R &D or be bystanders ... watching the world pass us by" (Olive, 2009).

International scholars and students, think tanks and organizations (e.g., the Board of International Scientific Organizations at the National Academies and the Center for China and Globalization) were quoted in the media perpetuating the same discourse (e.g., Kielburger &

⁵¹ New regulations for Canada's Temporary Foreign Worker program took effect on December 31, 2013. Although most changes affect low-skilled foreign workers, changes also affected the recruitment of highly skilled workers. As a result of the changes, universities have to submit a transition plan with details of how they will reduce their reliance on temporary workers and must explain why they did not hire the top Canadian candidates. This was perceived to hinder universities' ability to recruit international faculty (Chiose, 2015c; d). Refer to Chapter 2 for details.

⁵² The first iteration of Express Entry took away a privilege IS previously had over other skilled immigrants in applying for permanent residency (PR). Because of this change IS were expected to stay longer in Canada before applying for PR which was perceived to limit their ability to secure meaningful full-time jobs. Refer to Chapter 2 for details.

Kielburger, 2008; Wheeler, 2009). They commented on the war for talent, arguing that even countries which used to export their talent are now “successfully coax[ing]” their scholars back “upping the ante for Canadian authorities to attract and retain graduates” (Head of Center for China and Globalization as quoted in Wheeler, 2009). While similar to the labour and immigration discourse (discussed in section 6.1.4), the innovation discourse focused on the recruitment and/or retention of the highly skilled, STEM⁵³, and graduate international students and scholars.

6.1.3. Financial rewards

The third discourse revolved around the financial incentives of international education. Although this discourse was articulated in the media and policy documents in the earlier years examined, it gained importance as of 2009, the year in which there was a global recession. Governments started to face financial challenges and PSE institutions were faced with shrinking/tighter budgets due to this recession. This discourse focused on the recruitment of international students and branch campuses as activities. It is worth noting that while the federal and provincial governments instigated the financial incentive discourse in relation to IS recruitment, it was PSE institutions that instigated it in relation to branch campuses (a point that will be discussed further in Chapter 7).

IS recruitment as a means to generate economic benefits was instigated by the federal government and adopted and endorsed immediately by the provincial government. Federally, the release of Roslyn Kunin and Associates’ (RAK) report, commissioned by GAC, *Economic Impact of International Education in Canada* (2009; with two subsequent updates: 2012 and 2016) which quantified the economic contribution of IS to the Canadian economy in terms of

⁵³ STEM: Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics

revenue and job creation, not only instigated this discourse, but was also the most cited report in the media and the interviews. Many participants described this report as a “very seminal piece” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17) that “shifted... how we see international students [which]... shifted to these kinds of economic arguments” ever since its publication (Interview, National SIG, 16). One participant challenged the accuracy of the numbers presented in the RKA report on the economic return of IS arguing “I do not 100% buy her numbers I think their multipliers are particularly opportunistically chosen to justify government policy” (Interview, National SIG, 16). Nonetheless, the participant acknowledged that this report succeeds in “mak[ing] the economic case” and “shift[ing] ... how we see international students” (Interview, National SIG, 16). That is, the report succeeded in structuring the IE debate within an economic discourse. The reports from the Advisory Panel on Canada’s International Education Strategy (2012) and the Federal IE Strategy (2014) frequently cited the RKA report to rationalize their interest in increasing the number of IS in Canada. CIC reproduced this discourse as an impetus for creating IS friendly immigration regulations to help attract more IS (e.g., International Student Program (ISP) and the second iteration of the Express Entry Program) both of which aimed to facilitate the path for IS to permanent residency.

Whereas IE, particularly IS recruitment as a means to generate economic benefits was instigated by the federal government, it was adopted immediately by the provincial government. A participant described the Roslyn Kunin and Associates’ *Economic Impact of International Education in Canada*⁵⁴ (RKA) report as “a major report ... that he [former Premier McGuinty] just latched onto and it was discussed everywhere ... and he started to put it in all of his speeches

⁵⁴ This report was commissioned by Global Affairs Canada (DFAIT at the time). It was first released in 2009 and updated in 2012 and 2016).

and discussions about how much money international students, not just money from tuition but also the kind of contribution to the economy in terms of housing and food and all of that” [brought to Ontario] (Interview, Politician, 6). Actually, there were numerous media articles that cited Former Ontario Premier McGuinty referring to the GAC’s 2009 report as well as to Australia’s success making IE “its third-largest industry” (as quoted in Howlett, 2010). IE was framed as a plausible solution to generate much needed revenue and boost the economy in McGuinty’s *Open Ontario Plan* (2010) that aimed to double the number of IS in Ontario.

This discourse soon attracted diverse members. Media articles argued that as Canadian PSE institutions were desperate for financial resources, IS recruitment became “one bright spot” (Lam, 2010) and “key to prosperity” (Baluja, 2012). PSEIs, universities and colleges, argued that “as provincial grants are worth less than they once were and domestic tuition can only be raised so much” (Queen’s President as quoted in Bradshaw, 2010a), IS recruitment became a means to raise much needed funds. School boards, similarly faced with declining enrolments and financial challenges, perpetuated this discourse and engaged in pathway partnerships with PSE institutions in an attempt to distinguish Canadian/Ontarian schools and universities from their national and international rivals in the race to attract IS who “bring ... in much-needed new revenue” (Sieniuc, 2014). Although public PSEIs championed this storyline, geographies mattered. There were disparities between PSEIs: Those outside the GTA, which were facing declining enrolments, found IS recruitment to be financially rewarding and addressed the demographic challenges they were facing. However, while PSEIs in the GTA supported IS recruitment, they argued that it might cause an extra burden without the government’s financial support of capital expansions.

Another activity linked to this thread was exporting education to generate financial revenue. This activity was instigated and led by PSEIs rather than the federal or provincial governments. This discourse was present in the media in relation to branch campuses (e.g., the York University's Schulich School of Business in India and the presence of Algonquin and Niagara Colleges in Saudi Arabia). PSE administrators highlighted the financial benefits of branch campuses as they “raise capital from new sources” at times when “government money to universities is dwindling” (as quoted in Alphonso, 2012). Media articles questioned whether Canada missed the boat on export education: “Exporting Education; Canada Has Barely Tapped World Demand for Higher Learning” (Horváth, 2012) and “Education Exports: Is Canada Missing Out on Billions of Dollars?” (Lawrence, 2015a). However, in mobilizing this discourse, coalition members ignored concerns from other actors about the financial viability of such endeavours and other risks pertaining to reputation and quality — a point that will be further discussed in Chapter 7.

6.1.4. Labor and immigration

The fourth discourse focused on the retention of international students as they were perceived to be an excellent source of skilled labor and a solution to Canada's aging population, low birthrate, and skill shortage. They were constructed as “model” immigrants (CIC Minister as quoted in Cohn, 2012). Canada, similar to many other OECD countries, faces demographic challenges; hence, it is increasingly dependent on immigration. IS are constructed as “among the most fertile source of new immigrants for Canada. By definition, they are educated. They speak English or French...[and] they know something about the country, so they should be first on our list of people who we court to come to Canada” (CIC as quoted in Zilio & Chiose, 2016). This discourse is consistent with other global discourses, as examined in the literature review chapter,

that construct IS as model immigrants (Choudaha, 2017; Hawthorne, 2008; 2012; Morris-Lange & Brands, 2015, Sa & Sabzalieva, 2016; 2018; Zigrus & Law, 2006).

Although the IS as ideal immigrants discourse appeared in the media around 2012 (with early references to the value of IS in addressing labor market needs), it was evident in the federal government policy documents as early as 2006 through government (commissioned) reports and policies (e.g., Department of Finance budgets, 2006, 2008, 2011–13, 2017; Ministry of Industry's expert panel report Commercialization report (2006), *Mobilizing Science and Technology to Canada's Advantage* (2007) and Compete to Win report (2008)). This discourse was further mobilized in and attracted more attention through GAC's Advisory Panel report (2012) and the Federal *Canada's International Education Strategy* (2014) in which Canada's fierce competition with other OECD countries for foreign talent was highlighted. Whereas GAC set the goal of retaining IS, CIC operationalized it by "eas[ing] international students' path to permanent residency" (Zilio & Chiose, 2016).

Ontario's provincial government soon adopted this discourse. However, a study participant noted the tension this discourse created. While IS retention "was certainly something that we talked about, ... we probably talked about it more internally than externally because it gets very awkward to tell a country that is struggling a little bit that it is sending its best students over here [and] that we want to keep them. But certainly, internally there was that view that we should be keeping them and there was work that was done ... through the provincial Ministry of Citizenship to allow them to stay in Canada or stay in Ontario" (Interview, Politician, 6). The Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration through its commissioned reports (e.g., *Expanding our Routes to Success* [2012] and *A New Direction: Ontario's Immigration Strategy* [2016]) repeatedly mobilized this discourse and institutionalized it with the introduction of the

Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program (2009) which facilitated retention of international students in Ontario past their graduation, adding impetus for the province to support this discourse.

Employers emerged as actors mobilizing this discourse in the media, highlighting the need to attract highly skilled workers—particularly in the fields of science, technology, engineering, and mathematics—in order to “put a dent in Canada’s growing skills gap” (Toronto based employer as quoted in Cryne, 2016). Immigration lawyers also became politically involved and emerged as an unconventional actor perpetuating the *Economy* storyline to oppose the first iteration of the Express Entry Program. A Toronto-based lawyer said “the new system is flawed.... We want people who went to school and have work experience in Canada. These people are already fully integrated. And now we are ignoring them. It is just bizarre” (as quoted in Keung, 2015a). Whether lawyers’ involvement was to serve their self-interests (IS are their fee-paying clients) or because of their genuine belief in the value of IS is unknown. Regardless, they contributed to the *Economy* storyline, particularly the ideal immigrant one.

6.1.5. *Internationalize, it is good for the economy* coalition members

The *Economy* storyline attracted coalition members from different scales and spaces who agreed that IE contributes to the prosperity of the Canadian/Ontarian economy: Some saw it as a main attribute while others saw it as supplementary one. The ambiguity and elasticity of the storyline helped create communicative networks among actors who had different and sometimes overlapping perceptions and understandings of international education.

An examination of the mobilizers of this storyline on an organizational level reveals that this storyline was heavily mobilized by federal and provincial government agencies such as the Department of Finance, GAC, the MTCU, federal and provincial ministries of immigration (CIC, MCI), the federal ministries of Industry, of Innovation, Science and Economic Development, and

of Trade and various economic advisory councils (ESDC, ISED, and ACEG) in addition to CMEC. Former Governor General David Johnston and former Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty stood out in the media as mobilizers of this storyline. However, whereas governmental agencies participated in the argumentation over defining IE, they did not dominate the deliberation. This storyline was also mobilized by diverse special interest groups (SIGs), both on the national and provincial levels. These groups include:

- CBIE;
- associations that represent PSEIs (e.g., Universities Canada, Council of Ontario Universities, Association of Canadian Community Colleges, Colleges Ontario, Canadian Federation of Deans of Schools of Business);
- research focused SIGs (e.g., Mitacs);
- economy-focused SIGs (e.g., Conference Board of Canada; the Canadian Chamber of Commerce; the Ontario Chamber of Commerce; the Toronto Board of Trade; and economy-Asia-focused SIGs such as the Asia Competence Task Force and the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada); and
- recruitment SIGs (e.g., Canadian Education Center in China).

Globally, the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) as well as countries such as Australia, the US, Germany, Netherlands, and Brazil were quoted as mobilizing this storyline.

Universities and colleges also mobilized this storyline frequently, particularly in the media. Whereas administration in PSEIs mobilized this storyline frequently, it is noted that student groups (e.g., Canadian Federation of Students – Ontario [CFS – ON], College Student Alliance – Ontario [CSA], Canadian Alliance of Student Associations [CASA], and Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance [OUSA]) as well as individual faculty members and faculty groups (e.g., OCUFA and OPSEU) occasionally mobilized this storyline in an attempt to lobby

for study abroad, research funding, extended protection/benefits for IS, and displacement of domestic students. The fact that these actors had to use the *Economy* storyline in their argumentation is an example of the *structuration* of this storyline (a point that will be discussed later).

Media and interviews revealed that this storyline was activated and mobilized by actors that are not traditionally involved in the IE policy landscape such as employers, private talent acquisition consultancies, independent scientists and researchers, immigration lawyers and business, foreign affairs, and science/technology journalists. These actors emerged in specific contexts (e.g., private talent acquisition consultancies emerged as an Economy coalition member in the context of the TFWP) and disappeared afterwards.

To sum up, the *Economy* storyline managed to bring four different discourses (along with all their different rationales, interpretations, and actors) together allowing for agreement, no matter how shallow it was, between different actors who did not necessarily share the same ideologies, experiences, and interests.

6.2. Storyline 2: *Internationalize, Yet Manage Its Risks (Risks)*

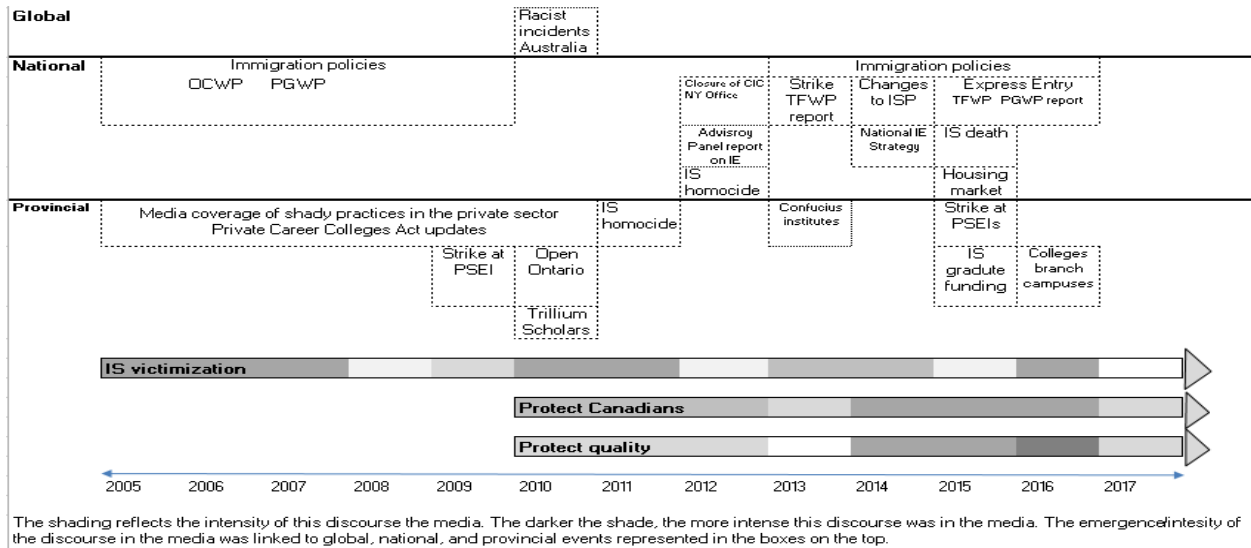
When government thinks about it [i.e. IE] they tend to think about the management risks and the fiduciary responsibilities and what I call the treasury board rules and regulations to control as opposed to market and advance. It is controlling regulatory framework as opposed to a business or cultural opportunity.

(Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 8)

This storyline is built around risks associated with IE that should be mediated. The *Risks* coalition attracted three main discourses: protect IS from victimization, protect Canadians from foreigners, and protect the quality of the learning experience at Canadian/Ontario PSE institutions. Whereas the first argument was present throughout the years examined, the second

two emerged in 2010 coinciding with the emergence of discourses that constructed IE as a source of financial revenue and talent acquisition in the *Economy* storyline (Figure, 2).

Figure 2
Evolution of *Risks* Storyline in the Media in Relation to Global, National and Provincial Levels



Although the three discourses were focused on the risks associated with IE, their definition of risks differed: one was concerned about the perceived exploitation of IS, whereas the others were focused on the perceived negative effects of IE on Canadian students and PSEIs (Table 7).

Although they all highlighted the need to mitigate the risks associated with international education, those risks carried very different, and sometimes competing, meanings.

Table 7
Internationalize, Yet Manage Its Risks— IE Rationales and Approaches

		Storyline 2: Internationalize, yet manage its risks		
		Protect IS	Protect Canadians	Protect quality of the PSE sector
Coalition Members*	Rationale	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protect IS rights for quality education and services • Regulate private sector • Maintain reputation as a safe and welcoming country • Regulate IS tuition fees • Protect IS from victimization due to their immigration status 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weed out disingenuous IS • Maintain the integrity of the immigration system • Allow only the IS that meet pre-set criteria • Limit foreigners' access to the labor market • Prioritize access to PSEIs space and funding to Canadian students 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ensure enriching educational experiences for all students • Manage financial risks • Maintain Canadian values
	Activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IS recruitment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IS recruitment 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • IS recruitment • Branch campuses • Partnerships
	Common		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CIC • MTCU • Journalists (especially Immigration and PSE) 	
	Discourse specific	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Faculty groups (e.g., OCUFA, OPSEU, & CAUT) • Student groups (e.g., OUSA, CFS, & CSA) • Lawyers & human rights SIGs • IS, their families, governments, & media of sending countries 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opposition parties (NDP & PC) • SIGs (medical students & aboriginal students) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Opposition parties (NDP & PC) • Faculty groups (e.g., OCUFA & OPSEU) • Student groups (e.g., OUSA, CFS, & CSA) • PSEIs SIGs (e.g., Universities Canada, COU, & ACCC)

*This is not an exhaustive list of the coalition members: It is an aggregate for the members throughout the period examined. Actors joined the coalition at different times and moved in and out of it in different contexts. Hence this table does not capture the fluidity of discourse coalition membership.

Whereas the previous internationalization literature documented discourses pertaining to victimization of IS and influence of internationalization on sending countries (e.g. issues of brain and financial drain), this study revealed new risk dimensions pertaining to the local context (i.e., negative repercussions on Ontario, as will be discussed in the following sections).

6.2.1. Protect international students

This discourse focused on protecting IS from fraud, malpractices, and substandard services of some PSEIs. For some actors, this was necessary as an ethical issue whereas for others it was important to maintain Canada's/Ontario's reputation and ability to attract IS. Coalition members were concerned about fraud/misleading practices of PSEIs, treating IS as cash cows, access of IS to needed support services, and the volatility of the immigration regulations. These discourses are consistent with those identified by prior studies that critiqued the exploitation of IS and their construction as sources of cash and profit (Choudaha, 2017; Cover, 2016; Stein & Andreotti, 2015) and victims of lack of support services of IS and unstable immigration regulations (Karram, 2013; Scott et al., 2015; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016 a; b).

Protecting IS from victimization discourse was present as early as 2005. Initially, this discourse focused solely on dubious and shady practices of some private educational institutions (career colleges, recruitment agencies, and language schools). Media repeatedly reported on “unscrupulous [private] operators of degree mills that cater to the foreign market and don't meet proper accreditation standards” (Cohn, 2010; see also Church & Boesveld, 2010 a; b; Keung, 2012b; Fisher, 2012; Francis, 2012). Following extensive media coverage, the MTCU responded by developing the Private Career Colleges Act in 2005 with almost yearly updates afterwards⁵⁵. In 2010, CIC emerged as a regulatory body that protects IS by “crack[ing] down on sham colleges” (Keung, 2012b) through its International Student Program (2010). CIC warned that “some educational institutions take advantage of international students by promising programs of study they are unauthorized or unequipped to deliver, while others operate as visa mills with the sole purpose of facilitating the entry of foreign nationals into Canada” (Canada Gazette, 2012,

⁵⁵ Chapter 7 provides more details on this emblematic site.

paragraph 1; see also Canada Gazette, 2014; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Evaluation Division, 2015). Stories of incidents that involved perceived wrongful practices by a few public colleges emerged in the media in 2010 which coincided with provincial/national policies that aimed to increase numbers of IS to generate revenue as illustrated in the *Economy* storyline, for example, “Ex-Students Sue College Over Online Program” (Hall, 2015) and “Foreign Students Win Class-Action Lawsuit Against a Toronto College for Misleading Course Description” (Jones, 2012).

The emergence of the financial revenue discourse in the *Economy* storyline evoked an opposing counter discourse warning against exploiting IS and treating them as “cash cows to be milked relentlessly” (McQuaig, 2012, see also Brown, 2014a; b). Championed by faculty members and students, coalition members described Canadian authorities as “suffer[ing] from a peculiar form of gold rush fever” (Crowley, 2014). As opposed to other jurisdictions (e.g., Quebec, and Scandinavian and North European countries) where postsecondary education was perceived as public good, Ontario was perceived to have a “lack of generosity toward others” (McQuaig, 2012). Cash-strapped PSEIs charged differential and unregulated IS tuition fees that increased at higher rates compared to all other students. A participant cautioned that “it is not unfair to charge money for some international elements and tuition fees and so on, but it is unfair to be exorbitant about it and put it out of reach” (Interview, National SIG, 10). Different policy documents and position papers, particularly by student associations (CFS – ON, CSA, and OUSA) and faculty associations (OCUFA and OPSEU) articulated this concern. For example, CFS noted that “we’re very concerned that international students are being exploited to make up for gaps in revenue.” ... If we want them to make Canada their home, it’s important to treat them fairly” (as quoted in Brown, 2014 a, see also CFS – ON, 2016). Faculty members “question[ed]

the ethics of international student recruitment, as students are being ‘ripped off’ by receiving a sub-standard educational experience” (MacKay, 2014, p. 18, see also OCUFA, 2016) and expressed concern that “all the talk about international students is really a talk about dollars” (Canadian Association of University Teachers as quoted in Bradshaw, 2010a). Different position papers called for capping or regulating IS fees (e.g., CFS – ON, 2016; OUSA, 2011; OCUFA, 2016); ensuring predictability and transparency of tuition schedules (e.g., OUSA, 2011); providing need-based assistance to IS (e.g., OUSA, 2011); and ensuring that profits of IS tuition are used to provide support services to IS (e. g., MacKay, 2014).

In parallel to discourses that focused on the need to increase IS recruitment, a discourse that warned that many PSEIs lacked quality support services for IS was evident. PSE Faculty and students argued that “we must ensure that we are also good hosts rather than simply avaricious landlords to international guests who come here to study” (Di Matteo, 2010). Some reported the importance of protecting IS from discrimination and ensuring their integration (e.g., CBIE, 2013; Popovic, 2013); providing IS with support services and work opportunities (e.g., Universities Canada, 2007; CFS – ON 2016; Popovic, 2013), and ensuring their ability to access reasonably-priced private health (e.g., COU, 2010) or reinstating⁵⁶ IS access to Ontario’s Health Insurance Plan (OHIP) (e.g., Reitmanova, 2008; CFS – ON, 2016; 2017; OUSA, 2011).

Concerns over repercussions of unpredictable and continuously changing immigration policies on international students were voiced by IS and immigration lawyers. Those concerns surfaced whenever there were changes to immigration policies/processes that were perceived to disadvantage IS. This discourse became more palpable with the introduction of the first iteration

⁵⁶ In 1994, the Ontario government eliminated coverage for international students from the Ontario Health Insurance Program (OHIP). Hence, IS must enroll in a private health insurance program such as the University Health Insurance Plan (UHIP) for university students and other health plans determined by individual colleges (CFS, 2017).

of Express Entry⁵⁷ in 2015. This change was described as “a radical move that is devastating to international students” (Toronto immigration lawyer as quoted in Chiose, 2015c). IS argued that they worked hard to form ties, socialize, work, and pay taxes in Canada; however, those changes make them “underclass” (as quoted in Keung, 2014). In other cases, IS were positioned as unintentional victims of immigration policies. For instance, despite the fact that the post-graduation work permit program was intended to attract IS to Canada by giving them the chance to gain work experience, making it easier to apply for permanent residence, this program “creat[ed] a low-wage work force” (CIC as quoted in Chiose, 2016a; b). IS were reported to earn less than half that of their domestic counterparts due to their inability to find good jobs before they have permanent residency (Chiose, 2016a; b). This is consistent with literature that highlights challenges that IS face in accessing the Canadian/Ontarian labour market (Bond et al., 2007; Scott et al., 2015; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016a; Trilokekar, Thomson, & El Masri, 2016).

6.2.2. Protect Canadians

The second discourse within the *Risks* storyline focused on protecting Canadians from foreigners who posed different types of threats, namely displacing domestic students in public PSEIs, benefiting from tax-payers money, competing with Canadians in the labor and housing markets, and conning the immigration system. Historically, McCartney (2016) traces this discourse to the period following the Cold War where he observes a change in IS construction from “worthy recipients of Canadian aid” to “politically and economically dangerous” posing threats on “the stability of Canadian culture” (McCartney, 2016). In the context of the current

⁵⁷ The Express Entry Program, introduced in 2015, is an electronic application management system that applies to most of the immigration routes. In its first version, the program did not give extra points to applicants for their education in Canada. This was perceived to be counterproductive to Canada’s efforts to attract and retain IS as it withdrew an advantage they had in the previous system over other applicants. Amendments were introduced in its second iteration (2016) in which applicants with Canadian education received extra points. Refer to Chapter 3 for further discussion.

study, protecting Canadians from foreign competition was a discourse that intensified with the release of policies proposing increasing recruitment of IS (e.g., *Open Ontario Plan* and *Canada's International Education Strategy*) and/or funding of IS (e.g., the Ontario Trillium Scholarships). A participant argued that the global political context has intensified Canadian's fear of "the other" noting that "9/11 had an impact everywhere and certainly increased what we have seen or sustained the suspicion of foreigners" (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 1).

Access to public PSE was a major concern. A participant noted "the perception that international students were filling positions that could be filled by Canadians, Ontarians ... can get pretty ugly if it becomes a kind of political campaign, and it has in the past" (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 1). This "perception" can be powerful as one interviewee mentioned: "One story in the newspaper about some kids who can't get into computer science program in their local institution and the parents claim it is because we are bringing in international kids and the government will go crazy and will shut this [IS enrolment] down" (Interview, Provincial Civil servant, 12). Cognizant of this concern, it is notable that whenever the Ontario government proposed increasing IS enrollment in public PSEIs, this statement was always accompanied with a disclaimer that this would be done while guaranteeing spaces for qualified Ontario students (e.g., Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2011; Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration, 2010; and for the media see Benzie, 2010a; Branshaw, 2011b; Church, 2010a; b Chiose, 2015a; O'Neil, 2014). When asked whether the public's concern regarding IS displacing domestic students was justifiable, many participants emphasized that while the public PSE sector in Ontario has not reached a stage of saturation, it is difficult to measure this. A participant explained the complexity saying: "How do you calculate what would've, should've, or could've, or would've gone to a domestic student versus an international student? ... I am not sure how

you measure that. I didn't get into this university of my choice because they have too many international students" (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 8). This comment is consistent with the outcomes of a GAC commissioned study which noted that while Ontario PSE sector is not expected to face any capacity issues in the near future due to IS enrolment, PSEIs in metro areas and specific intuitions "are reaching elevated levels" of students' enrollment (Guhr et al., 2011, p. 7).

A media reporter observed that for "every story on international students, I get comments or emails from readers who object to international students 'taking the place of Canadians at our universities,' so there is a perception that we don't have accessibility and we have to displace domestic students in order to take international students." According to this participant, what made matters worse was that "no one is responding to that perception. It is ... as if it doesn't exist" (Interview, Journalist, 4). A participant noted that the MTCU is aware that "there have been questions from time to time in respect of is there an ideal amount of international students at any particular campus? Is there a concern that international students could displace domestic students? So... [MTCU] have never answered that and ... [they] don't have a number" (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Concerns of IS displacing domestic students were an issue particularly connected with competitive programs, such as medical schools (e.g., "Would-Be MDs Forced Overseas for Studies" [Blackwell, 2007]; "Dalhousie Medical School To Sell Saudis 10 Seats" [Bradshaw, 2011a]; see also Francis [2012]). A participant recalled multiple controversies about medical schools admitting IS as "there was a lot of opposition to that because so few people are admitted into medical school and admitting students from outside Canada when there are qualified Canadians, and it just becomes a huge issue" (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 1). Commenting on another incident, a participant

explained “some concern was when Saudi Arabia ... were [*sic*] training some of their physicians at our medical schools and they were in a sense creating additional spots and that caused a great deal of concern because I mean the public didn’t understand ... [that] they were not taking Canadian spots; basically if we had 100 spots then Saudi Arabia was saying well we will buy 10 extra and we will send our students.... But try explaining that to the public!” (Interview, Politician, 6).

This discourse intensified and became politically charged when funding of IS using taxpayers’ money was proposed. A participant noted “When *The Globe and Mail* runs an article on international students, and, you know, we are crowdsourcing the funding for this graduate student, or the *Toronto Star*, read the readers’ comment. It is horrible. There is huge backlash against this” (Interview, Provincial Civil servant, 12). In 2010, the Ontario government announced the Trillium Scholarships program for international doctoral students which was highly critiqued and contested by the opposition parties⁵⁸ and some members of the public. A participant observed that “a lot of the rhetoric we were hearing back is that ... international students were not born here and they haven’t been paying taxes and their families haven’t been paying taxes since they were kids” which makes them, according to the public, unworthy of taxpayers’ funds (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 14).

Foreigners were perceived to pose another threat for Canadians in the labor market. CIC was cognizant of this perceived risk early on; hence, when it introduced the IS off-campus work permit in 2006, the CIC Minister noted “this will not take jobs away from Canadians, but rather allow all students to compete for jobs on an equal basis” (as quoted in Alphonso, 2006). However, when the province experienced a rapid growth (140% between 2010 and 2014) of

⁵⁸ The Trillium Scholarships program is discussed in details as an emblematic site in Chapter 7.

post-graduation work permit holders (CIC, 2015a), it was the CIC that raised red flags in 2015 introducing regulations that aimed to protect Canadians from competing with IS and foreign scholars. In a “secret⁵⁹” CIC study evaluating the PGWP for IS (Chiose, 2016a), the authors warned that PGWP had facilitated the creation of a “large pool of temporary labour [i.e., IS], largely in low-paid positions” which “may be in conflict with the objectives of the Putting Canadians First strategy” (CIC, 2015c, p. 9). Different media articles called on the government to guard Canadians from “disingenuous study permit holders [i.e., IS who] use their study permit as a primary means to gain full access to the Canadian labour market” (Keung, 2012b; see also Fisher, 2012; Francis, 2012). The federal government, particularly CIC, emerged as a strong mobilizer of this discourse particularly when introducing new regulations such as changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program which aimed to ensure “that study permit holders are genuine students” and “weed out disingenuous international students” by granting student visas and work permits to only those enrolled in government-accredited schools (as quoted in Keung, 2012b; see also Fisher, 2012; Francis, 2012). Similarly, the introduction of the LMIA application process intended to “help unemployed Canadians get back to work and ensure that Canadians are given the first chance at available jobs” (Department of Finance Canada, 2013, p. 85; see also Department of Finance Canada, 2015; CIC, 2015c; Keung, 2015 a; b; Chiose, 2016e). This discourse was also mobilized in relation to calls to prioritize the hiring of domestic over international faculty.

⁵⁹ This report was only released after an access to information battle with the media. *The Globe and Mail* obtained the report after a nine-month battle. Whereas the government initially refused the request, following an appeal to the Information Commissioner of Canada and discussions between the commissioner, Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the newspaper, “the government provided a partly redacted version of the report” marked as “secret” (Chiose, 2016a).

For some coalition members, those fraudulent international students were perceived to threaten Canada's immigration system making it "vulnerable to potential misuse" (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Evaluation Division, 2010, p. ii). Some foreign nationals were perceived to use study permits as a means "to enter Canada for purposes other than study, including conducting illegal activities" (Canada Gazette, 2012, paragraph 1; see also Canada Gazette, 2014; Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Evaluation Division, 2015). Many members cautioned that IS recruitment for financial incentives had attracted what they called a "new wave of brash, rich Asians looking for safe place to 'park their cash'" (Hutchinson, 2014) and facilitated "affluent foreigner[s]" access to "buy[ing their] ... way into a degree-granting program" and "a head start in the permanent residency sweepstakes" thus risking the integrity of the Canadian immigration system (Cohn, 2010). Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation argued that foreigners used the IS visa as a leeway to access the Canadian housing market "boosting prices, making housing unaffordable for locals and putting it at risk of a crash if the funds pull out quickly" (as quoted in Dmitrieva, 2016). Reporters called for "putting safeguards in place to monitor providers of 'education' to foreigners" and suggested that being highly selective of IS who are given access to the permanent residency/citizenship was paramount (Francis, 2012). Similarly, CBIE agreed that there was a need to be more selective of IS who are eligible to work and reside in Canada after graduation, noting that "we need to know what are the downstream impacts of having a wide-open program when maybe it should be tailored a bit more, maybe it would be more conducive to the success of the student and to society in general" (as quoted in Chiose, 2016c). CIC assumed its role as the entity that has to "weed out 'disingenuous' international students" (Keung, 2012b) through amendments to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulation, changes to the International Student Program, and the

introduction of a designated institutions list (2014). As many scholars argued, CIC “responsibilized⁶⁰” other actors, particularly PSEIs, to police IS immigration through regulations such as Designated Learning Institutions⁶¹ (2014) and Bill C 35 section 91⁶² (Brunner, 2017; Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016b).

6.2.3. Quality of educational experiences/system

This discourse focused on the importance of safeguarding and mitigating the risks that could jeopardize the quality of educational experiences, international reputation, and financial sustainability of Ontario’s PSE sector. Whereas the previous two discourses in the *Risks* storyline were focused on IS recruitment, this focused on IS recruitment, branch campuses, and partnerships. It was common for members of this coalition to frequently refer to the Australian experience and the challenges its PSE sector faced at a certain point in terms of declining quality, tarnished reputation, and financial instability (e.g., Anderssen, 2012; Cohn, 2010; Campbell, 2011). This discourse was more prevalent on the provincial level (both government and special interest groups) and was championed mainly by PSEIs, particularly faculty members, CBIE, Mitacs as well as the MTCU. On the federal level, CIC mobilized this discourse as well, yet in the context of weeding genuine from fraudulent IS (i.e., the integrity of the immigration system). Maintaining Ontario’s reputation as a provider of quality postsecondary education is paramount

⁶⁰ Responsibilization is a term used in governmentality literature to refer a neoliberal strategy in which subjects are rendered responsible for a task which previously would have been the duty of another (usually a state agency) (Brown, W. 2015; Ferguson, 2009).

⁶¹ In 2014, only IS actively pursuing study at one of the approved designated learning institutions (identified by provinces and territories) while in Canada were permitted access to work permits. This increased PSEIs reporting on IS enrolments.

⁶² Whereas international student advisors at universities were able to provide immigration advice to IS, Bill C 35 (2014) mandated that only individuals who completed the Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council certification program (ICCRC) can provide immigration advice—prompting many PSEIs to either introduce new staff positions by hiring licensed immigration lawyers/consultants and/or provide training to their existing staff (Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016b).

to the coalition members as “there are nearly 100,000 international students in Ontario colleges and universities and there are tremendous benefits attached to that, and we should ensure that we protect the brand and the reputation that Ontario has” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Quality carried different meanings for *Risks* coalition members. It included enriching cultural and academic experiences for domestic and international students, avoiding the dilution of the Canadian brand abroad, ensuring not to engage in internationalization activities that are against Canadian values, and protecting the financial sustainability of the PSE sector.

Coalition members stressed that domestic and international students’ access to a high quality and enriching academic experience should not be jeopardized due to institutions’ engagement in IE activities. “Maintaining high educational standards is paramount” (Fisher, 2012) to ensure that Ontario does not “award degrees that are inferior to degrees elsewhere” (as quoted in Church, 2010b). For some, this entailed investments in support mechanisms, infrastructure expansions, and faculty hiring to maintain the quality of education for both domestic and international students, particularly in PSE institutions that were at (almost) full capacity (e.g., Church, 2010b; Bradshaw, 2011b; 2014). For others, quality was linked to the calibre of IS recruited ensuring that they were up to the Canadian academic standards (Sieniuc, 2014; Cohn, 2010), that “borders of academic honesty [were not] being strained” (Bradshaw & Baluja, 2011), and that while PSEIs were engaged in “foreign-student gold rush, standards [did not] get left behind” (Crowley, 2014). Others were concerned about partnerships between PSEIs, school boards and private international schools where admission requirements were relaxed (e.g., Sieniuc, 2014; Quan, 2017). This raised concerns about “accountability and liability and credential integrity” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). For others, the quality of overseas operations was a concern as the Canadian “brand” may be diluted if reputation and standards

were not equivalent to the home institution (President of Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada as quoted in Lawrence, 2015b; see also Alphonso, 2012). Others worried about jeopardizing Canadian values through internationalization partnerships that were perceived to be counter to Canadian values. For example, faculty raised concerns regarding PSEIs' partnership with China-backed Confucius institutes which "train...instructors to self-censor topics that are politically taboo in China" (Alphonso & Howlett, 2014a; see also Alphonso & Howlett, 2014b; Howlett & Freeze, 2014). In 2016, the operation of two Ontario branch campuses in Saudi Arabia for men only caused a heated political debate. The Ontario Public Service Employees Union⁶³ (OPSEU) and opposition parties warned that in their pursuit to raise badly needed money, these colleges were operating campuses that were inconsistent with Canadian values and were "effectively condoning the segregation of women" (NDP foreign affairs critic as quoted in Chase, 2016; see also Leslie, 2016; Csanady, 2016). This incident⁶⁴ sparked a fierce debate about the role Canadian institutions should play abroad and what aspects of Canadian laws should carry over (Csanady, 2016; see also Chase 2016).

On a financial level, coalition members warned that many PSEIs might become too dependent on a volatile IE market. Some argued that IS recruitment should not be used as a "quick fix" to budgetary challenges (Di Matteo, 2010) nor as a "financial stabilizing mechanism for institutions experiencing domestic enrolment decline" (OCUFA, 2016, p. 2). A participant noted that "international students now contribute to many institutions a majority of the tuition revenue, ... [and] that creates a vulnerability for institutions should the market conditions change" (Interview, National SIG, 23). This is particularly risky for "some colleges and

⁶³ OPSEU represents faculty in the college sector.

⁶⁴ Further discussion is in Chapter 7.

universities that cannot survive without international students because of the simple demographic fact” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Some questioned whether PSEIs were “becoming overly reliant on revenue attached to those international students” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Furthermore, over-dependence on certain markets such as India and China which “are expanding rapidly” was risky as “we might not always have access to those students” (PSEI senior administrator as quoted in Baluja, 2012). Within this discourse, Australia’s and the United Kingdom’s experiences were repeatedly referenced. A participant noted, “There is also a risk management component to that You look and see what happened in Australia so it is referenced so much it is almost a cliché, but it happened. Or what happened in Great Britain where you have large institutions relying on international enrollment, right?” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). It is worth noting that overdependence on IS enrolment was particularly risky for the Ontario government with regards to the college sector as they “are a creature of the government;” if a college “gets into trouble,” it would show on the government’s books as a deficit influencing “the province’s bond rating or the province debt” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). A participant noted that “sustainability is a real concern for the college sector. It is also a concern for the universities sector” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 9).

6.2.4. *Internationalize, yet manage its risks* coalition members

The *Risks* storyline attracted a diverse group of coalition members from different spaces and at different scales. Whereas there were actors that had consistently been members of this coalition, others emerged and faded depending on the context. There were many actors contributing to this storyline, yet their discourses were still dispersed and were sometimes contradictory. While protecting IS and protecting Canadians discourses focused on potential

risks of IE, they could be contradictory at times. For example, within the discourse that constructs IS as cash cows, some actors (e.g., student and faculty groups) called for subsidizing IS tuition fees, increasing IS scholarships, and enhancing IS support services which might contradict at times with the discourse mobilized by other coalition members (e.g., opposition parties) that called for ensuring that taxpayers' money was spent on Canadians only.

Immigration (CIC) and Education (MTCU, Ministry of Education [MoE], school boards) regulatory bodies emerged as the main champions of this storyline. Whereas CIC was an active *Economy* coalition member, following the release of its ISP Evaluation Report (2010), it frequently switched coalition membership joining the *Risks* coalition whenever there were concerns over the integrity of the immigration system, concerns over Canada's PSE sector's reputation, and/or perceived risks to Canadians. Provincially, the *Risks* storyline was articulated in provincial government policy documents as early as 2005 focusing the discourse of protecting IS and the quality of the PSE sector. Although it started with a concern over the quality of education/services provided by the private sector, it soon broadened to include concerns over the public sectors as well in terms of ensuring the provision of quality education/services and avoiding overdependence on IS recruitment to support the institutions' operations. Unlike the federal government, the discourse of protecting Canadians was less evident in the provincial government policy documents where the focus was on protecting IS and the reputation/quality and sustainability of the Ontario PSE sector.

Special-interest groups were active members in this discourse. These groups represented a wide range of interests including:

- student groups (e.g., CFS – ON, OUSA, CSA-ON);
- faculty groups (e.g., OCUFA, OPSEU, Canadian Association of University Teachers (CAUT));

- PSEIs (e.g., UniCan, COU, Colleges Ontario; Association of Canadian Community Colleges (ACCC); Career Colleges Ontario⁶⁵);
- recruitment (e.g., Canadian Consortium for International Education Marketing); research (e.g., Canadian Council of Learning⁶⁶; Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada);
- rights and freedoms (Canadian Liberties Association⁶⁷);
- Mitacs;
- CMEC; and
- CBIE.

These groups were highly invested in the discourses that focused on protecting IS, ensuring the quality of the educational experience, guarding the reputation of the PSE sector, and ensuring the financial sustainability of the PSE sector. On the other hand, some SIGs were solely invested in the discourse of protecting Canadians from foreign competition particularly medical students (e.g., Canadian Residency Matching Services and the Canadian Medical Association) and indigenous students (e.g., National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation and the Assembly of First Nations).

This storyline attracted global actors such as foreign governments (consulates, embassies, and ministries of education), parents of international students; and representatives of international recruitment agencies of sending countries (e.g., China and Korea) who were quoted in the Canadian media. They mobilized this discourse calling for guarantees for the safety and

⁶⁵ Career Colleges Ontario, formerly the Ontario Association of Career Colleges, is a non-profit organization with more than 240 members from private career colleges.

⁶⁶ “The [Canadian Council on Learning \(CCL\)](http://voices-voix.ca/en/facts/profile/canadian-council-learning) is a national, independent, and non-profit research corporation established in 2004. It focuses on lifelong and innovative learning in Canada, as well as on the general state of education in the country”: <http://voices-voix.ca/en/facts/profile/canadian-council-learning>

⁶⁷ “CCLA fights for the civil liberties, human rights, and democratic freedoms of all people across Canada. Founded in 1964, we are [it is] an independent, national, nongovernmental organization, working in the courts, before legislative committees, in the classrooms, and in the streets, protecting the rights and freedoms cherished by Canadians and entrenched in our [the] Constitution.” <https://ccla.org/our-mission-and-history/>

quality of educational experience for IS. Frequently, Universities Australia and Universities UK were cited articulating the risks associated with IE as per the respective countries' experiences.

The *Risks* storyline was frequently employed in political debates and to lobby for funding. Opposition parties mobilized this storyline to critique the leading government. For example, the NDP and PC opposition parties heavily mobilized this storyline in critiquing the provincial Liberal government, calling on them to protect Canadians (e.g., Trillium Scholarships as the government was constructed to be spending tax payers' money on foreign students⁶⁸) and protect the reputation of the PSE sector and Canada abroad (e.g., branch campuses as the government was constructed to be condoning practices that are against Canadian values⁶⁹). The *Risks* discourse was frequently used to lobby for additional funding, particularly by universities and colleges in urban areas.

The *Risks* storyline was frequently in non-education policy fields by actors, who are not necessarily interested in educational policies yet contribute to this storyline to achieve policy goals that are not necessarily related to IE. For example, this storyline was used in 2012 in relation to the sudden closure of an immigration office in New York and during a 2013 labour dispute between CIC and the Professional Association of Foreign Service Officers Union. The Union used the *Risks* storyline to warn against using the services of "inexperienced" personnel who did not "have strong local knowledge of criminal networks, of fraud practices, of human smuggling practices" which was perceived to "pose a significant risk to the integrity and security of Canada's immigration system" (as quoted in Cohen, 2013). It was also used during the 2015-2016 housing market inflation crises by Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) to

⁶⁸ This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

⁶⁹ This will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

lobby for limiting foreigners' access to the Canadian housing market. Similarly, this storyline was perpetuated, particularly in the media, in the context of two high profile cases of homicide involving IS (one in Ontario in 2011 and another in Montreal in 2012). These stories were presented in the media with frequent references to the racist incidents that IS faced in Australia. Many articles emerged expressing this concern, such as "Overseas Parents Fret Over Students" (Keung, 2012a); "Toronto Student's Death Hits Nerve With Foreign Students" (Morrow & Wingrove, 2011a); and "Liu's Death Hits Nerve With Foreign Students" (Morrow & Wingrove, 2011 b). This discourse was also perpetuated in the media in relation to labour strikes at public PSE institutions (2009; 2014) and their impact on IS such as losing a year of their education, housing arrangements, funding, and study visas expiration (Brown, 2015a; b) and in relation to a debate regarding limiting the number of foreign athletes allowed in college sports teams.

6.3. Storyline 3: *Internationalize, It's Canada's Gateway to the World (Gateway)*

I'm not an Athenian and I am not a Greek I am a global citizen.
(Interview, Politician, 22)

We need more and more people to see themselves not as like just Canadians or Irish or Jordanian Canadians but rather as just members of the human family. We need them to be global citizens and Canada is better poised than most countries given our immigration heritage to act as global citizens more so than many others around the world. And one of the ways to nurture that identity and that responsibility is through international education I think.

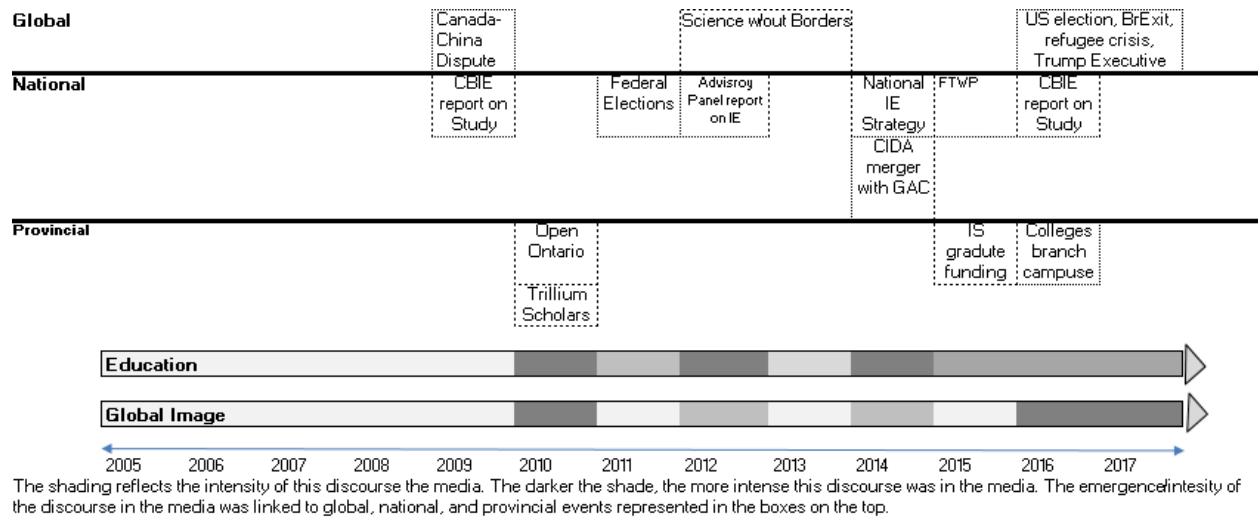
(Interview, Politician, 22)

This storyline brought together two discourses: the educational value of IE and the role of IE in shaping Canada's and Ontario's global image. Both discourses are associated with IE ideologies identified by IE scholars: The earlier is associated with Stier's (2004) *Educationalism* ideology and Stein et al.'s (2016) internationalization for the global public good, while the latter

is associated with the understanding that IE is a soft power tool that fosters human understanding among nations (Ainger, Nelson, & Stimpfl 1992; Trilokekar, 2009; 2010). It reflects the global discourse and ideology that perceive IE as a tool to promote mutual understanding, respect, and tolerance—as well as to enrich learning, to promote the exchange of new perspectives and knowledge, and to promote personal growth and commitment to learning (Stier, 2004). Unlike the previous two storylines, the *Gateway* storyline did not witness major shifts throughout the period examined (Figure 3). This storyline tended to be more often presented in tandem with, and in support of other storylines. This storyline, particularly the global image discourse, was closely linked with global events (e.g., US election, Trump Executive Ban, Brexit) as well as with Canada’s foreign policy (e.g., structural changes within GAC⁷⁰; Canada’s relationship with Saudi Arabia; tension between Canada and China) and elections (e.g., a federal election). Furthermore, this storyline was mobilized to lobby for/rationalize special funding for international education (e.g., Science without Borders, Trillium scholarships, graduate funding for IS, and study abroad).

⁷⁰ For example, the merger of the Old Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) with GAC which will be discussed further in 6.3.2.

Figure 3
Evolution of the *Gateway* Storyline in the Media in Relation to Global, National and Provincial Events



The *Gateway* storyline constructed IE as a two-way stream where collaborations and partnerships between different countries were fundamental to exchange knowledge, develop global citizenship, and build cultural bridges. It promoted a wide variety of IE activities such as inward and outward mobility for students and faculty, online education, philanthropic missions abroad, branch campuses, research partnerships, curricula internationalization. (Table 8). This storyline was rarely present in isolation. It was mostly present as a secondary storyline supporting a more dominant one (*Economy* or *Risks*); less frequently it was used as a main storyline, yet supported by the *Economy* storyline (particularly with regards to the benefits of study abroad).

Table 8

Internationalize, It's Canada's Gateway to the World—Rationales and Approaches

		Storyline 3: <i>Internationalize, it's Canada's gateway to the world</i>	
Rationale	Education		Global Image
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Enrich the PSE experience • Develop an international community of scholars, students, workforce and human beings • Enhance global citizenship • Exchange knowledge & get introduced to new cultures • Develop interpersonal and language skills 	
Activity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student mobility (Study/ work abroad, IS recruitment) • International faculty recruitment • Student and faculty exchange • Research/academic partnerships • IS scholarship • Branch campuses • Internationalization of curricula • Online education • International academic conferences and events • Philanthropic activities in developing countries support <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MTCU • PSEIs (administration, faculty & students) • CBIE • PSEIs SIGs (e.g., Universities Canada, COU, & Colleges Ontario) • Faculty SIGs (e.g., OCUFA, OPSEU) • OECD 		
Coalition Members*	Discourse specific	Common members	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Student groups (e.g., CFS, OUSA, CSA) • PSE journalists 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political & foreign affairs journalists

*This is not an exhaustive list of the coalition members. This list of coalition members is an aggregate one for the members throughout the period examined. Actors joined the coalition at different times and moved in and out of it in different contexts. Hence this table does not capture the fluidity of discourse coalition membership.

6.3.1. Education

[It is] a two-way street, Canadians looking out and international ... people from abroad looking in and trying to connect through the education system ... international education is a key component of ... [education] without which education is no longer education in our world today. It has to be international or it isn't education really.

(Interview, National SIG, 10)

The first discourse within this storyline emphasized the value of IE as the major force shaping PSE institutions nationally and globally (Shoukri, 2010). Coalition members argued that education transforms people, changes world perspectives, and provides students and faculties with access to diverse learning communities where “the classroom [becomes a] ... global village” (Bitt, 2012). They further stated that IE improves the quality of education by enhancing the interaction between people; facilitating transmission of civilization, knowledge, and culture; and allowing youth to learn how to navigate the world successfully and peacefully. Others (e.g., faculty members, researchers and scientists, national and provincial education SIGs) perceived the benefits to include building global academic, scientific, business, and social contacts; acquiring new research and language skills; as well as developing personal traits of self-confidence and self-reliance, and personal enrichment. Ultimately, IE helps in developing “globally competent graduates” and feeds into local and international communities fostering vibrant intellectual and cultural environments (Randall, 2016). A participant emphasized the importance for

advocates and ... educators [to] bring it forward at every opportunity and just remind people that without the knowledge intelligence ... from other countries, we wouldn't be what we are and we have so much to give as well so education and knowledge and growth and expansion and flourishing doesn't happen in a vacuum. Canadians generally know that but sometimes when they feel threatened and when people aren't explaining ... it is challenging.

(Interview, National SIG, 10)

PSEIs are perceived to be the “safe space” where “bridging intercultural pathways and building understandings” can happen through exposing students “to different ideas and different cultures and different languages” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 13).

Participants repeatedly used the phrase “two-way street” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5; Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 13; Interview, National SIG, 10) to emphasize that IE should have benefits for Ontarians/Canadians and for their international partners. IE provides students with “a sense of cultures, pedagogy, paradigms, [and] different ways of seeing the world; not just through their own eyes but seeing it through the eyes of other people [which] is really critical if they are going to understand the global context” (Interview, National SIG, 16).

Coalition members highlighted a variety of ways to internationalize the PSE sector. Some coalition members focused on the value of IS in Ontarian classroom as they “provid[e] a different perspective that benefits the domestic students ... [particularly in] parts of Ontario that are more homogenous” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Others focused on study abroad as it helps students understand themselves and their place in the world and be able “to identify beliefs, values and actions that help create respectful behaviours. It is knowing and respecting of the many different ways of life in the world” (President of Centennial College as quoted in International Education Nurtures, 2013). Other members focused on the importance of “challeng[ing] ourselves and see how our curriculums are put together then what kind of authors and books we are reading and who are the authors of those books. Is it international enough?” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 14). “It is about embedding in the curriculum and international perspective ... [and] honing people’s critical thinking skills and giving them a bit of a global perspective in the curriculum” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17). For another participant, “it is around who is in our classrooms and around who is teaching in our classrooms

... they should ... at least be sensitive to or trained that there are other ways of thinking and doing” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 7).

Despite the fact that this discourse highlighted the importance of different IE activities, there was a special focus on student mobility (recruitment for IS and study abroad for domestic students). Interestingly, whereas this discourse was used to support government policies pertaining to IS recruitment, it was used by PSEIs, faculty and student groups, and national and provincial SIGs to lobby for more funds/support for domestic students to study abroad⁷¹. Many reports warned that Canadian students are ‘homebodies’ and emphasize the importance of study abroad for domestic students (e.g., Barbaric, 2018; CBIE, 2009; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2015; 2016; COU, 2017a; Ministry of Industry Canada, 2007; Popovic, 2013). As one participant put it “we [Ontarians] are a little bit insular” (Interview, Journalist, 4). Participants argued that whereas Ontario is good at attracting IS, it fails in terms of sending domestic students abroad and “recognizing that there is a wealth of knowledge and wonderful research going on all over the world and I think building those pathways [through study abroad] would better encapsulate the internationalization concept” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 13). Stemming from this belief in a two-way IE, many government-commissioned reports as well as special-interest groups⁷² highlighted the importance of study abroad and called on the government for a strategic approach and funding⁷³ rather than just focusing on IS recruitment.

⁷¹ For detailed review of Ontario’s policies and initiatives pertaining to outbound student mobility refer to Barbaric, 2017.

⁷² Provincially: Rae, 2005; Drummond, 2012. Federally: GAC’s Advisory Panel, 2012; Competition Policy Review Panel, 2008; Expert Panel on Commercialization, 2006. Special interest groups have also been active in this area (Provincially: OUSA: Grewal, 2010; 2011; 2017; Fernlund et al., 2014; Clubine et al., 2017; OCUFA, 2016; Paras & Mitchell, 2016; CSA: Popovic, 2013; CSA, 2016; COU, 2010; 2014; 2016; 2017a; b; CFS – ON, 2016. Federally: ACCC, 2010; CBIE, 2009; 2012; 2013; 2014; 2016, CMEC, 2011, CBoC: Martin, 2015a; b; Universities Canada, 2007; 2011; 2012a; b; 2014, a, b, c; 2015)

⁷³ The government responded by ensuring that promoting and supporting study abroad is a goal for the PSE sector championed provincially by the MTCU (MTCU, 2007; 2009; 2012; 2016; 2018a) and federally by GAC’s IE

6.3.2. Global image

The second discourse within the *Gateway* storyline is outward focused, emphasizing the role of IE in building Canada's/Ontario's global image. Mobilizers of this discourse worried that Canada's diverse population has arguably given "a false sense of international education" leading to a lack of interest in study abroad among domestic students and policy makers (president of the Asia-Pacific Foundation as quoted in Chiose, 2014a). In this discourse, internationalization is connected to diplomatic relations of Canada/Ontario with other countries across the world. It perceives "education [a]s a door to the international community" (Interview, National SIG, 18). As globalization has transcended national boundaries, creating alignments and collaboration between countries does not happen through "pompous diplomatic agreements" but through diplomacy of knowledge and "through person-to-person interaction" (PSE administrator as quoted in Campbell, 2012). This discourse is consistent with what some scholars describe as a "Pearsonian" internationalism which sees foreign affairs and internationalization based on engagement in and with the world, peacekeeping mediation, and commitment to be a good international citizen (Brown, 2012; Brown 2013; Nimijean, 2013; McKenna, 2013). This discourse perceived IE as a channel to promote Canada's/Ontario's reputation as a country "of inclusion, diversity, and multiculturalism" (PSE senior administrator as quoted in Chiose, 2017a). Canada built its image as "a middle ground between the United States and Europe" offering the technology and innovation of the US along with the safety of Europe (PSE faculty as quoted in Chiose, 2017d).

Education was perceived as "quiet diplomacy" and "soft power" where countries, through their scholars, researchers and students, engaged in dialogue and friendly argumentations to

strategy (2014) as well as allocating funds (e.g., Provincially: ON MoF, 2005; 2008; 2016 and Federally: Department of Finance, 2007; 2008; 2011; 2013; 2015; 2016).

address conflict resolutions (McWhinney, 2010). IE helped Canada fulfil its role in the international community through providing academic support programs and scholarships to developing countries. Coalition members argued that education can do what politics cannot; for example, a faculty exchange program kept academic relations and dialogue between Canada and North Korea; “one of the world’s most closed countries” (Hopper, 2013).

This discourse was frequently used in the media by political and foreign affairs reporters and columnists to support and oppose Canada’s foreign policies. For example, it was used to oppose the decision to move the old Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) (which lead/financed many Canadian philanthropic educational initiatives in different parts of the world) to become a part of the expanded department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development⁷⁴ in 2014. O’Neil (2014) critiqued this shift as it “de-emphasize[s] ... matters like human rights and poverty alleviation” to be more aligned with trade and investment. Even global actors use this storyline to comment on Canada’s foreign affairs policies. For example, in 2009, the head of the Center for China and Globalization, a private think tank in Beijing, commented on “a continuing dispute between China and Canada” which resulted in delays in Canada gaining approved-destination status for Chinese tourists (as quoted in Wheeler, 2009). With the recent turbulence hitting different parts of the world (e.g., refugee crisis, stringent immigration rules, Brexit, and the US decisive election in 2016), Canada was perceived to emerge “as a beacon of stability, openness, tolerance and inclusion,” and “is seen as an increasingly rare bright light on the world stage” (Gertler, 2016). For example, following Trump’s Executive Ban⁷⁵ in 2017, coalition members (e.g., Universities Canada, universities, and faculty members) spoke out

⁷⁴ Currently Global Affairs Canada (GAC).

⁷⁵ Trump issued an executive order in 2017 banning citizens from seven countries from entering the United States.

against Trump's U.S. travel ban, debated boycotting US conferences, and discussed ways to help students and faculty stranded by Trump's order (Chiose, 2017a; b; c). Canadian universities issued "a rare political statement" opposing Trump's Executive Ban to offer support to academics around the world as well as to support international and domestic students, faculty, and staff on Canadian campuses (Universities Canada as quoted in Chiose, 2017a). During this global turbulent time, Canada became "a kind of foster home" offering support to academics and students around the world (PSE senior administrator as quoted in Chiose, 2017a). In 2016, this discourse was initially used by faculty associations but was soon picked up and mobilized strongly by the opposition parties (NDP and PC) to critique the operation of men-only branch campuses and Canada's trade relationship with Saudi Arabia (Chase, 2016). This discussion was part of a bigger discussion on Canada's commercial ties with Saudi Arabia. Critics questioned the ethics of selling weaponized armoured vehicles to a country with "an abysmal reputation for its treatment of women, dissidents and prisoners" (Chase, 2016). Whether the opposition parties' mobilization of this storyline stemmed from their belief that such partnerships were against Ontario's/Canada's values or was politically motivated (to critique the government and capitalize on the public's opinions) is unknown. What matters here is that they mobilized this storyline strongly and paved the way to changes in Ontario's IE landscape (a point that will be discussed further in Chapter 7).

Whereas this discourse was more often present in the media and policy documents as a supporting storyline to a more dominant one, it emerged strongly during interviews⁷⁶. Many

⁷⁶ This may be attributed to different reasons. First, some of the actors, especially faculty, were not frequently cited in the media. Second, it could also be that interviewees' personal discourses are not necessarily represented in the policy documents of the organizations they work in (e.g., government and national and provincial SIGS). Finally, it could be that interviewees did not feel the pressure to structure their arguments according to accepted set of practices in order to convince the audience or assumed that the researcher would share and/or appreciate such a perspective.

participants regretted that the PSE sector was an “underleveraged asset to promote Ontario’s place in the world” (Interview, National SIG, 23) and that “our foreign policy approach to ... [IE] is underdeveloped” (Interview, National SIG, 18). An interviewee noted that “the weight of the international trade side is predominant” in Canada’s IE partnerships and foreign policy arguing that “international education [should be connected] with real geopolitical concerns” (Interview, National SIG, 18). Some coalition members (especially faculty members, national SIGs, and journalists that are concerned with foreign affairs) argued that Canada and Ontario should target places “where the potentials for destabilization ... [and] where ... a Canadian presence [can] make a difference” ... “Ontario could sneak in the back door there and be part of the real transformation of [countries] ... to democratic societ[ies]” (Interview, National SIG, 18).

Here a concern emerged whether “internationalization steals resources from abroad” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 1). This discourse was not articulated in any of the government policy documents reviewed despite, as illustrated earlier, being discussed internally within the Ontario government. This speaks to the hegemony of the *Economy* storyline. Participants argued that Canada/Ontario needs to reconsider its approach to IE “as an economic driver and ... an immigration driver” and think of its role “as a member state in the world ... think ... about our duties to the rest of the world ... how we are helping build these other systems and what is the giveback” (Interview, National SIG, 16). Whereas encouraging IS to study and stay in Canada was desirable, “Ontario has a responsibility to the countries where it recruits students” by recognizing that such a policy “remov[ed] needed intellectual and scientific expertise from developing economies;” therefore, Ontario “should explore ways of transferring knowledge and expertise back to the countries from which we recruit students” (OCUFA, 2016, p. 3). Participants offered different ways that Ontario could balance its IE “trade” (Interview,

National SIG, 16; Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12). Many participants argued that Ontario PSEIs should “go out to the world” and help build the capacity of developing countries in their PSEIs rather than by drawing IS to Canada (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant). These participants reiterated Stier’s (2004) *Idealism* IE ideology and Stein et al.’s (2016) call for challenging the dominant global imaginary that “tends to naturalize existing racial hierarchies and economic inequities in the realm of education and beyond” (p. 2). Hence, many interviewees talked about Canada’s/Ontario’s “global responsibilities” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12) towards the rest of the world, especially to “other parts of the world that are not as fortunate” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12) and “the global south in terms of the responsibility to help support development there in a way that is culturally sensitive” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 19). However, some noted that such global involvement was not necessarily “all altruistic”; it is also about “finding opportunities for Canada to develop influence” and “building up Canada [*sic*] and Ontario [*sic*] prestige and recognition” (Interview, National SIG, 18).

6.3.3. *Internationalize, it’s Canada’s gateway to the world coalition members*

The *Gateway* storyline attracted the least coalition members as champions, in terms of number and diversity. PSE institutions (administration, faculty, and students) and special interest groups were the primary mobilizers of this discourse. This was part of their advocacy efforts to increase funding for specific IE activities (e.g., scholarships for IS; study abroad funding). It is worth noting that Liberal party leaders, both on the federal and provincial levels, mobilized this storyline yet less frequently.

It was also noted that the education discourse was more mobilized on the provincial level (in both government and special interest groups) than the global image, whereas the opposite trend was observed on the national level. This may be attributed to the jurisdictional

responsibilities since foreign affairs is a federal responsibility and education is a provincial one. This was consistent with participants' observation that Ontario did not have an international strategy, let alone an international education strategy. One participant noted "The Government of Ontario has not had a robust consistent international strategy for the province, period, whether it is on international investment or international trade" (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 8). The provincial government, particularly MTCU, mobilized this storyline focusing on the educational benefits of IE (particularly in relation to student mobility).

The *Gateway* storyline was mobilized by other actors, yet only to support their main *Economy* or *Risks* storyline. These actors mobilized this storyline, but not as champions. For example, in advocating for study abroad funding and also, in some cases, IS recruitment, this storyline was strongly mobilized in support of a more dominant *Economy* storyline. These actors can be divided into three categories. The first is the federal government, particularly GAC, mobilized the *Gateway* storyline to support the *Economy* storyline (e.g., Advisory Panel report, 2010) and MTCU (e.g., Developing Global Opportunities Discussion Paper, 2016). The second is educational institutions including postsecondary institutions' administrators; faculty and students from diverse disciplines (e.g., Business, Education, Political Science/International Relations, History, and Languages/Arts) and educational SIGs. Some of the SIGs are invested in the value of education as a venue for global understanding (e.g., CBIE, Universities Canada, Council of Ontario Universities, Colleges Ontario, the Association of Canadian Community Colleges, OCUFA, OPSEU, College Student Alliance, Canadian Federation of Students – Ontario, OUSA, Canadian Council on Learning⁷⁷ and Mitacs). Other educational SIGs are more

⁷⁷ The Canadian Council on Learning (CCL) is an independent, non-profit corporation that promotes and supports research to improve all aspects of learning. They focus on three key areas: research and knowledge mobilization, monitoring and reporting on progress in learning, and exchange of knowledge about effective learning practices among learning stakeholders (CCL, n.d.).

invested in the value of international education and global understanding to serve the economy and business (e.g., Canadian Federation of Deans of Schools of Business, Conference Board of Canada, and Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada). The third group is private organizations invested in the business of study abroad and educational tourism. The unconventional actors perpetuating this discourse that emerged through the media were private investment counselling firms. They argued that study abroad exposed students “to new cultures, languages and people,” yet it came “with a hefty price tag” that families needed to plan for ahead of time through creating Registered Education Savings Plans (RESPs) for their children (Nairne, 2010). Investment counselling firms’ interest in study abroad could potentially be seen as a marketing strategy to attract possible clients. Whereas all the above actors mobilized this storyline in their advocacy for study abroad, they mobilized it alongside or in support of the *Economy* storyline. Parents of Canadian students joined this coalition mobilizing the *Gateway* storyline arguing that study abroad “broadens your horizons. It helps you see how other people cope. It opens your mind” (as quoted in Leong, 2013).

Similarly, this storyline was mobilized by global actors such as international academic institutions, think tanks, and lobby groups (e.g., the OECD, Universities Australia and Universities UK⁷⁸, Center for China and Globalization,⁷⁹ and Scholars at Risk Network), yet again in support of another more dominant storyline.

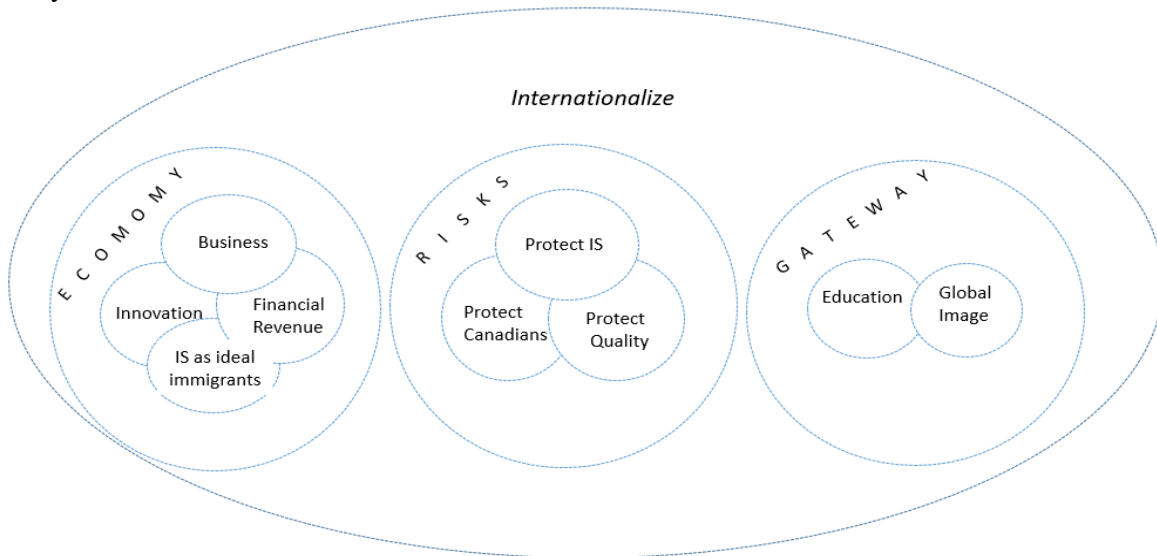
⁷⁸ Lobby groups for the PSE sector in the United Kingdom and Australia

⁷⁹ The Center for China and Globalization (CCG) is a Chinese independent think tank based in Beijing. It is dedicated to the study of Chinese public policy and globalization <http://en.ccg.org.cn/about/>

6.4. Summary

To summarize, the dominant IE storyline was *Internationalize*. This storyline advocated the value of IE to Ontario and to Canada in general and the postsecondary education sector in particular. The data of this study did not capture any discourses that counter this dominant storyline or challenge the values and benefits of IE. Instead, some discourses attempted to limit/qualify the approaches and activities of IE. In order to provide a more nuanced understanding of the IE policy context in Ontario, three IE storylines were identified: (a) *Internationalize, it is good for the economy*; (b) *Internationalize, yet manage its risks*; (c) *Internationalize, it is Canada's gateway to the world*. Figure 4 provides a visual conceptualization of the IE storylines and discourses within them.

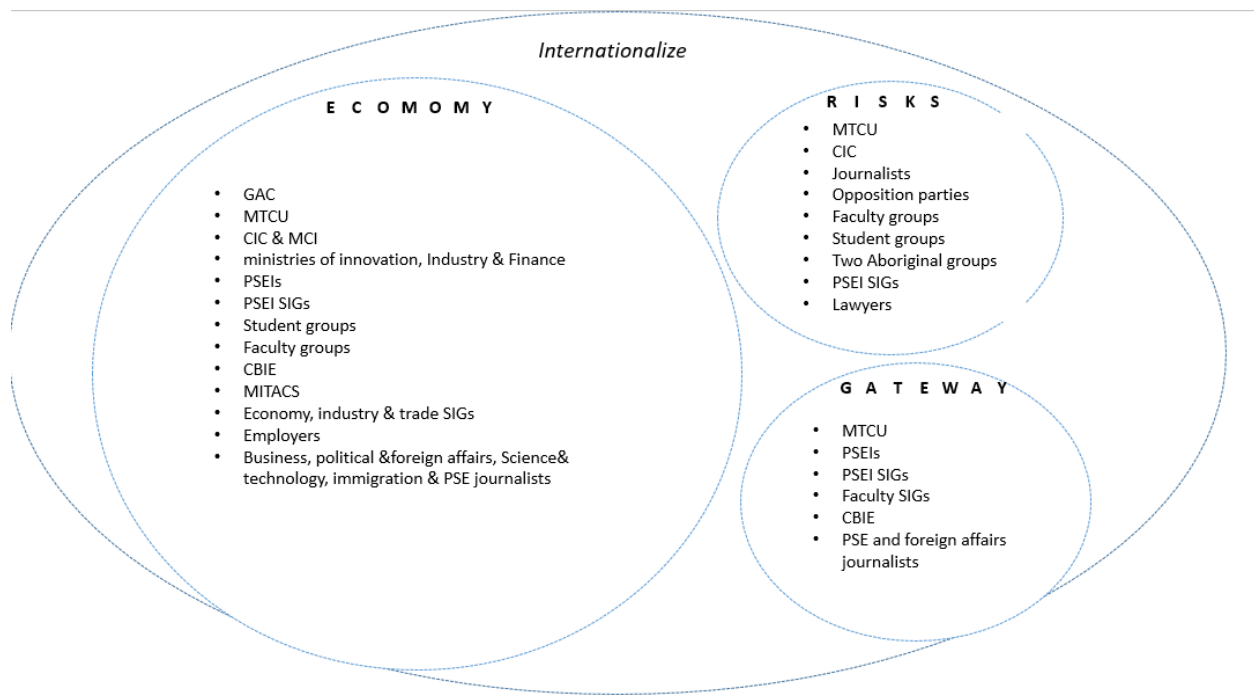
Figure 4
IE Storylines in Ontario



- The main storyline *Internationalize* encompassed three storylines, all of which saw internationalization as beneficial and desirable.
- Each storyline assembled multiple discourses within it, all of which shared the same overarching *Internationalize* storyline. These discourses overlapped as well in their interpretations of IE, and all agreed on the overarching storyline.
- Although the three storylines, and the discourses within them, are represented as autonomous ones here, they converged and diverged in different argumentative sites allowing for different/multiple interpretations and facilitating actors' change of coalition memberships.
- The dotted lines that surround the three storylines and the discourses they assemble are meant to reflect the fact that membership of these storylines is fluid. Actors move in and out of these storylines depending on the context and the policy site.

Figure 5 illustrates the main discourse coalition members of each storyline by mid-2017 regardless of the time they joined the coalition. This figure does not capture the fluidity of coalition membership depending on context. Actors who mobilized the *Gateway* storyline to support the *Economy* storyline are only represented in the *Gateway* storyline here (and vice versa).

Figure 5
IE Storylines and Coalition Members in Ontario



Chapter 7: Emblematic Sites

Some people think the world is made of atoms and I think it is actually made of stories.
(Interview, Politician, 22)

Policy discourses within a given policy domain tend to be dominated by specific emblems; that is issues that dominate the perception of the problem. They mark shifts in policy discourses by facilitating conceptual shifts. The political importance of these emblems is that “they mobilize biases in and out of the policy debate” (Hajer, 1995, p. 20). They are issues “in terms of which people understand the larger ... [policy] debate” (Hajer, 1995, p. 20). Hence, the task of the policy analyst, according to Hajer (1995), is to look at how actors are mobilized around such emblems and examine implications of this process of coalition formation on the policy discourse.

In this section, I attempt to construct the sites of three emblematic issues which played an instrumental role in the “conceptual” and institutional change processes in the IE policy landscape in Ontario (Hajer, 1995, p. 276). The three sites are

- *The Private Career Colleges Act* (2005)
- The Trillium scholarship (2010)
- *Ontario’s International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens* (2018a)

These emblematic sites are examples of discursive “interpellations;” that is moments where routinized proceedings are interrupted and policy change emerges (Hajer 1995, p. 60). These three emblems, I argue, provided alternative ways of conceptualizing IE problems and solutions associated with them. The choice of these sites was deliberate as they had a long term impact on the IE policy landscape. The first site, *The Private Career Colleges Act* (PCCA),

marked the build-up and “*institutionalization*” of a storyline that perceived the private sector as a risky player which needed to be strictly regulated within the IE policy landscape. The second site is the Trillium Scholarship (2010), which while it succeeded in institutionalizing an IS scholarship, it also witnessed the emergence and increasing dominance of the “*Ontario first*” storyline (a storyline that is associated with the Protect Canadians discourse). The third site marked the development and release of Ontario’s PSE *International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens* (2018a). This emblematic site, I argue, denoted a shift in the terrain of IE storylines towards regulating IE, a sector that has not been regulated. It also institutionalized an IE storyline where IE was constructed as a solution to policy problems outside the education sector.

In discussing each emblem, I illustrate how storylines emerged, merged, diverged, converged and interacted, and were mobilized by coalition members in their struggle to influence IE policy making in Ontario. In this “argumentative game,” coalition members engaged in active positioning of self and other; they attempted to position themselves favorably while discrediting the argument of rivals (Hajer, 1995, p. 59). It is this argumentative interaction between actors that explained the prevalence/emergence of certain discursive constructions (storylines) and the struggle for dominance.

7.1. Emblematic Site 1: Private Education Sector⁸⁰

Discourse around the operations of the private education sector (private career colleges, recruitment agencies, and language schools) was mostly negative throughout the period examined. This section illustrates how the *Economy*, *Education*, and *Risks* storylines converged creating *The private education sector can be risky* storyline focusing on the risks associated with private educational enterprises. This storyline (re)surfaced/ intensified at different times, leading to policy changes. While this section focuses on private career colleges (PCCs), it aims to illustrate the build-up of the *Risks* storyline around the private education sector in general. Using Hajer's DCF framework, this section examines the evolution of *The private education sector can be risky* storyline which has attracted coalition members provincially, nationally, and globally. Through achieving *discourse structuration* and *institutionalization*, this storyline has succeeded in initiating policy change, culminating in the development of Ontario's *Private Career Colleges Act* in December 2005⁸¹.

7.1.1. Context

In addition to the 21 public universities and 24 public colleges of applied arts and technology (CAATs), Ontario's PSE sector hosts more than 580 registered private career colleges (PCCs), a number that fluctuates constantly as new institutions open and others close (MTCU, 2018b). While there is overlap between the programming areas of CAATS and PCCs (both vocational in nature and offering certificate and diploma programs), PCC programs are

⁸⁰ The private education sector here is defined as private career colleges, private universities, recruitment agencies, and language schools. Private faith-based institutions are excluded as neither the media nor the interviewees referred to them whether positively or negatively; hence, I do not include them in my discussion of the private education sector.

⁸¹ The Private Career Colleges Act was released in 2005 and frequently updated since then: Sept. 2006; Oct. 2006; 2007; 2009; 2010; 2013; 2014; Jan. 2015; Mar. 2015; Mar., 2016; and Jan. 2017.

typically shorter than their public counterparts (Malatest & Associates, 2008), more flexible in terms of start dates and delivery times and patterns (Pizarro Milian, & Hicks, 2014), and more expensive to students (Malatest & Associates, 2008). Unlike their public counterparts, PCCs' tuition fees are unregulated and these private colleges do not receive any direct operating funds from the government. However, they benefit indirectly from government-funded programs for domestic students such as the Ontario Student Assistance Program (OSAP) and tuition rebate programs (Pizarro Milian & Hicks, 2014). A few PCCs received the Minister of TCU's consent to offer degrees following recommendation of the Postsecondary Education Quality Assessment Board (PEQAB)⁸². PCCs in Ontario enroll around 43,000 students (Career Colleges Ontario, 2013); it is not clear how many of these are international students. PSE scholarship has paid little attention to the private education sector (including PCCs), prompting some to refer to it as the "shadow sector" (Paquet, 1988; Skolnik, 2004) or the "invisible sector" (Li & Jones, 2015).

The provision of any programming or credentialing in Ontario should be authorized by the government regardless of whether it is public or private. However, regulations and governance differ greatly between public and private colleges. CAATs and private degree granting colleges are governed through the *Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology Act* and the *Postsecondary Choice and Excellence Act*. In the case of PCCs, the majority of which are non-degree-granting, regulation is through the *Ontario Private Vocational Schools Act* of

⁸² The Minister of TCU's consent authorizes private institutions, out-of-province institutions, and Ontario Colleges of Applied Arts and Technology to offer degree programs. The consent process is as follows (MTCU, 2019):

- Prior to the Minister's grant of consent, the Postsecondary Education Quality Assessment Board (PEQAB) reviews the program for which the school is seeking consent to offer a degree.
- After reviewing the quality of the program, PEQAB makes recommendations to the Minister, who makes a decision on whether to grant consent for the program.

The consent process is governed by the *Post-secondary Education Choice and Excellence Act, 2000*.

For a complete list of institutions who have received the consent to offer degrees:

<http://www.peqab.ca/CurrentConsent.html>

1974, which has not been updated for more than 30 years (Pizarro, Milian, & Hicks, 2014). However, in 2005, MTCU released its first PCCA. This section examines this emblematic issue. It marks a conceptual change toward viewing IE as a valuable sector that needs to be protected from what is perceived to be a less-trustworthy private education sector.

7.1.2. Emergence of *The private education sector can be risky* storyline

From 2005 onward, journalists have been extensively covering incidents of scams and frauds by some private career colleges targeting international students⁸³. Media stories have frequently sounded alarm bells with articles such as, “College’s Degree is Fake, Foreign Student Finds” (Matas, 2006) and “Reputation of Canada’s Private Colleges Takes a Hit” (Keung, 2007; see also Armstrong, 2005; Naili, 2005a;b; Gillespie, 2006; Qiao, 2007; Church & Boesveld, 2010a; b). *The Toronto Star* and *The Globe and Mail* extensively covered “stories of international students claiming they felt cheated by glossy brochures and promises of a first-class education that didn’t materialize when they arrived in Toronto” (Gillespie, 2006). Media stories of unregistered, unaccredited, or substandard private institutions emerged mainly from Ontario and British Columbia and involved international students largely from China, India, and Korea. Whereas some IS chose to take legal action, others resorted to the media to express their frustration over some PCCs’ broken promises and false advertising. Other IS were silenced by these private operators who took advantage of IS fear of losing their legal status, the money they had already spent, or even “contractual obligations” to silence them (Qiao, 2007). It is within this context that *The private education sector can be risky* storyline emerged.

⁸³ Whereas these private colleges enrol domestic students as well, who may have had similar concerns, it is the international student dimension that was highlighted in the media.

The private education sector can be risky storyline attracted actors from diverse spaces and policy areas who shared a perception of a risky private sector (an outline of coalition members is provided in figure 6). International students were members of this coalition as they shared their own experiences with the private sector. The voices of IS emerged in the media narrating their experiences with the private sector warning that if the government did not “set up a law [to protect them from mal-practices of some PCCs], ... no people will come to Canada” (IS as quoted in Armstrong, 2005). This coalition included international actors (e.g., embassies and consulates, foreign media, and parents of IS) who spoke out against private education providers. For example, the Chinese government issued a warning to its citizens in December 2006 titled “Don’t apply to Canadian private schools blindly” citing complaints of “substandard programs, lax regulation and lack of support for students victimized by colleges that promise more than they deliver” (as quoted in Keung, 2007). Similarly, the media reported on the Korean consulate warning that they “receive[d] many complaints from our students about these private schools. We talk[ed] to [Canadian officials], but the damage always goes to the clients, the students.” (Education director at South Korea’s Toronto consulate as quoted in Keung, 2007). Hence, the coalition members argued that the negative word of mouth will influence Ontario’s, and even Canada’s, PSE sector, both at public and private levels.

The *Private sector can be risky* storyline positioned public PSEIs as being “held to higher standards by the government” and are victims of the private sector’s malpractices since “parents in sending countries do not necessarily distinguish between public and private” PSEIs⁸⁴ (Public PSE administrator as quoted in Keung, 2007). Actually, PCCs were positioned by coalition

⁸⁴ Ironically, in 2010, some public colleges became the center of media coverage of alleged fraud and questionable marketing targeting IS (e.g., “Ex-Students Sue College over Online Program” (Hall, 2015) and “Foreign Students Win Class-action Lawsuit against Toronto College for Misleading Course Description” (Jones, 2012).

members as an outsider to the PSE sector. A participant noted “I’m a little bit leery about [PCCs] just because of their history. I prefer to think [of Ontario’s PSE sector] more in terms of ...publicly ...licensed institutions or at least publicly funded or publically supported. The private colleges in my view are not of the same caliber” (Interview, Politician, 20). Many participants referred to PCCs and private language schools as “bad actors... [who] just didn’t care about the students and they just wanted their cheque” (Interview, Politician, 6).

The private education sector can be risky storyline also attracted actors from beyond the PSE sector. Immigration consultants who deal with IS visa applications contributed to the storyline by “declin[ing] to deal with private schools” (Toronto-based immigration company as quoted in Keung, 2007) due to concerns over their lack of integrity and unethical marketing practices. Lawyers, who represented IS in their disputes with “profit-driven businesses,” warned IS from enrolling in PCCs that lack “an established history and reputation” (Lawyer as quoted in Qiao, 2007). They joined other coalition members in calling on the Ontario government to clamp down on private, non-degree-granting institutions by closing loopholes in existing regulations that “give these private business the opportunity to take advantage” of IS (Lawyer as quoted in Qiao, 2007). Special interest groups focusing on Canada and Ontario’s relationships with Asia (e.g., Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada and a Waterloo-based Centre for International Governance Innovation) became active coalition members, arguing that sending countries’ concerns over the practices of some PCCs will “damage not only the reputation of the private colleges but the whole industry” (as quoted in Keung, 2007).

Of the most dominant coalition members of *The private education sector can be risky* storyline were media actors, with immigration and higher education reporters playing a critical role in this emblematic site. It was the media’s frequent coverage of stories of the PCCs’

fraudulent practices that prompted the MTCU to develop and frequently revise *The Private Career Colleges Act*. This is consistent with Trilokekar et al.'s (2013) observation that the PCCA was driven by media exposure of PCCs' alleged violation of legislation. In many cases, reporters noted that it is the media's coverage of different PCC stories that spurred the MTCU to crack down on these private business. Examples are: the media reports on Dominion College and Canadian College of Business and Computers (see Keung, 2007), Nordic College (Gillespie, 2006), and Hawkesbury University in 2010 (Church & Boesveld, 2010b) which, according to the reporters, prompted the MTCU to take action. Media, intentionally or unintentionally, reported only negative stories of PCCs, hence, providing a one sided view of PCCs to the public.

However, were there any counter storylines to *The private education sector can be risky*? Although access to representatives of the private sector (private career colleges, language/apprenticeship schools, and recruitment agencies) was not possible for this research⁸⁵, ADA analysis of media articles revealed a weaker and more defensive *A few bad apples should not define the PCC sector* storyline. This storyline did not oppose the more hegemonic *The private education sector can be risky* storyline, yet attempted to qualify and limit it to a few colleges that, it claimed, did not represent the entire private sector. The *A few bad apples should not define the PCC sector* coalition did not succeed in attracting actors. The voices of the private sector were rarely present in the media. When they did emerge, they tended to be used to distance themselves from the "bad apples," hence contributing to the perceived riskiness of the private sector and to *The private sector can be risky* storyline *structuration*. The Executive Director of the Association of [private] Career Colleges' attempted to demote the power of the

⁸⁵ This researcher sent multiple interview requests to different private career colleges, language and apprenticeship schools, and recruitment agencies. Although a few initially responded positively, neither responded to follow-up requests.

The private sector can be risky storyline by arguing that sending countries were overreacting to “a few bad apples in the system” and that sending governments’ warnings to their citizens against Canadian PCCs will not have a “major impact” (as quoted in Keung, 2007). He argued that, under the Association’s code, colleges could lose their membership if they had three or more complaints unresolved for one year. However, he followed this statement by noting that loss of membership did not prevent them from carrying on their operations (as quoted in Keung, 2007) The fact that the Executive Director argued within the confines of *The private sector can be risky* storyline is an evidence that this storyline has achieved *structuration*. *A few bad apples should not define the PCC sector storyline* failed to attract any other actors, including IS who attended the “good apples” and were missing from this whole argument. Even though the Minister of MTCU acknowledged that “the overwhelming majority of private career colleges do a good job,” and reiterated that “there are always a tiny minority that place students in enormously difficult and unfair situations, and frankly, tarnish it for the rest” (Chris Bentley as quoted in Gillespie, 2006). This is another example of the *structuration* of *The private sector can be risky* storyline as it illustrates how a counter-argument is structured by the hegemonic one. In his attempt to defend the PCC sector, he reconfirmed concerns that bad apples could tarnish the reputation of the whole sector.

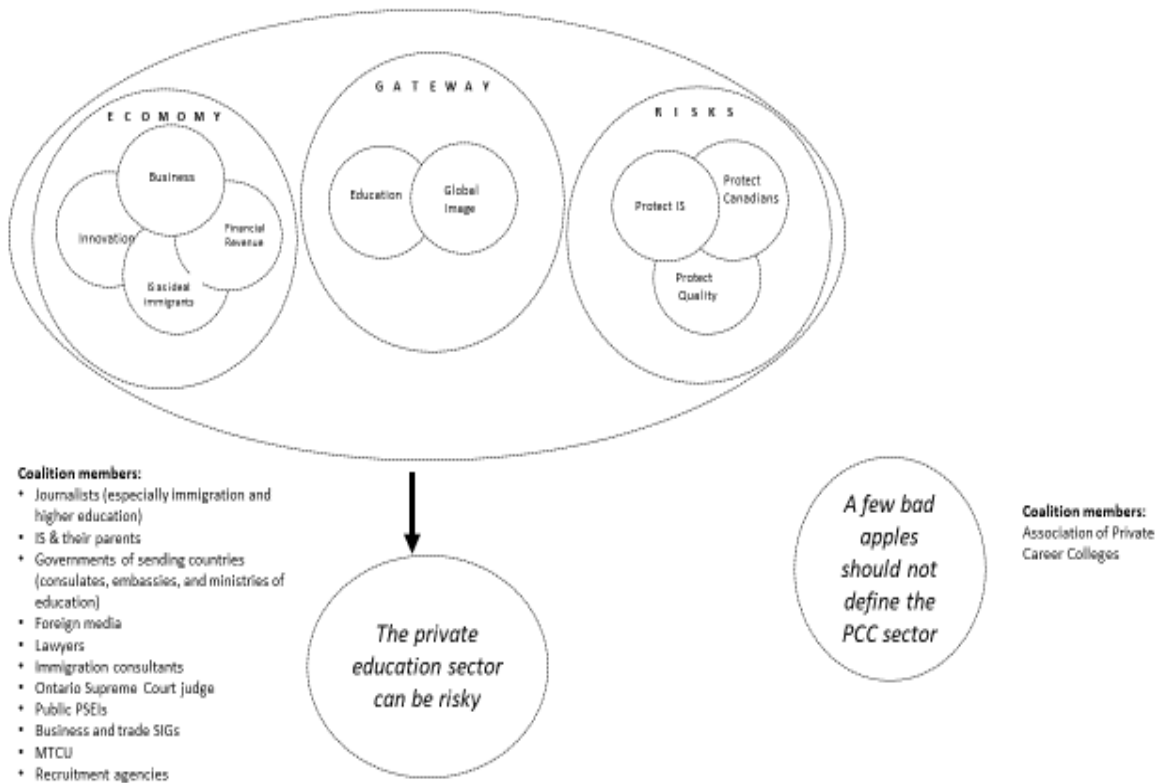
7.1.3. Discursive hegemony: *The private education sector can be risky*

Therefore, *The private education sector can be risky* storyline became multi-interpretive and more coherent, achieving *discourse closure*. Whereas it carried different meanings to different coalition members, they all agreed on the overarching storyline. Some actors (e.g., student groups, IS and their parents, foreign governments, foreign media, reporters, lawyers, and an Ontario Supreme Court judge) were concerned about the exploitation of IS through unethical

and/or unlawful practices. Others, (e.g., public PSEIs, MTCU) were concerned about tarnishing the global reputation of the Ontarian and Canadian PSE sector which would negatively influence Canada's image as a destination of quality education. Other actors (e.g., IS recruiters, public PSEIs, MTCU) expressed concern that this would negatively influence Ontario's ability to recruit internationally and maintain a steady IS influx which would, in turn, negatively influence Ontario's economy. For others (e.g., business and trade SIGS), the concern was the threat to Ontario's ability to sustain a healthy relationships with key countries, particularly emerging economic powers. This is the case because, as mentioned earlier, IS influenced by these practices are mostly from China, India, and Korea. Others (e.g., CIC, lawyers, immigration consultants, and immigration and higher education journalists) were worried about the integrity of the immigration systems as some IS enrolled in these PCCs as a gateway to enter Canada. Hence, *The private education sector can be risky* storyline attracted actors from provincial, national, and international spaces as well as actors from non-education policy spaces such as immigration and business/trade, each actor contributing their sector- specific knowledge and language to the discourse surrounding this issue. Figure 6 provides a visual conceptualization of the storylines converging in this emblematic site.

Figure 6

The private education sector can be risky vs. A few bad apples should not define the PCC sector



The private education sector can be risky storyline gained hegemony as evident by its *institutionalization* through the development and release of the *Private Career Colleges Act* (December 2005), with updates that were at least yearly and sometimes bi-yearly. With each update, the minister of MTCU expressed hopes that changes would give IS a “reasonable guarantee of a good high-quality program... the protections [they]...expect to receive” (as quoted in Gillespie, 2006) and help “repair Canada’s reputation” (as quoted in Keung, 2007). This act prohibited PCCs from marketing their services, recruiting students, operating campuses, or issuing any credentials unless they were registered and approved by the ministry (MTCU,

2005). However, despite this legislative framework⁸⁶, the storyline was so powerful that some participants expressed continued unease towards the private operations and mobilized discourse that highlighted the need to further regulate this sector. Whereas the *PCCA* governed the operations of private colleges, participants in this study argued that it did not protect IS from other private education enterprises such as language and apprenticeship schools or private recruitment agencies as they did not fall under the regulatory power of the MTCU. A participant acknowledged this limitation of the *PCCA*, stating that these private education enterprises “tended to be more outside the postsecondary [hence, limiting the MTCU ability to regulate them]...[While] the Ministry tried to clamp down on the[se] private [operations],...it is very frustrating to say... [it] didn’t [succeed],... nobody had any authority over them... [Students] can complain to different consumer groups, I mean there is regulation that way, but [they] ... don’t...fall under ...[the Ministry] and it’s so hard to explain that to people, particularly journalists” (Interview, Politician, 6).

It is interesting to note that, while the public sector was constructed by MTCU and public PSEIs as a provider of higher quality education and services for IS, this was soon questioned. As of 2010, the media reported on some public PSEIs’ partnerships with private recruitment agencies, immigration consultants, language schools, and even private career colleges. *The private sector can be risky* storyline was immediately mobilized by some media reporters, faculty, and IS recruiters in an attempt to stop public PSEIs from engaging in these partnerships.

⁸⁶ The legislative framework includes the creation of the Superintendent of Private Career Colleges’ position to oversee the operations of PCCs, fee schedules, and student contracts, and in establishing complaint and refund processes. This includes ensuring that PCCs collect no more than 25 per cent of fees upfront and require them to hold visa students’ fees in a trust account until they begin studies (MTCU, 2007); the establishment of a Training Completion Assurance Fund that assures students of refunds or further training if a school closes suddenly (MTCU, 2009a); and ensuring “that courses offered to foreign students are legitimate” (MTCU as quoted in Church & Boesveld, 2010b).

Coalition members argued that these private operations were scamming IS by making them believe that “they’re signing a deal with the university. They’re not. They’re signing a deal with an entrepreneur who signed a deal with the university” (Recruiter as quoted in MacKinnon & Mickleburgh, 2010). These private businesses “buy the brand name” of the university to gain credibility and gain a competitive advantage” while not meeting the standards of the public PSEIs (Canadian Association of University Teachers Students as quoted in MacKinnon & Mickleburgh, 2010). In 2018, the media revealed a controversy regarding partnerships of six public colleges with private ones, warning that these “deals between public-private colleges pose unacceptable risks to the students, the province and the quality of education” (Chiose, 2018). *The private sector can be risky* storyline was strongly mobilized again, arguing that such partnerships facilitated the delivery of substandard education, tarnished the reputation of the whole PSE sector, gave IS attending these private institutions access to the Ontarian labour market (which they did not otherwise receive), and jeopardized the integrity of the immigration system. Furthermore, these partnerships created unethical competition within the sector as they allowed IS to receive a prestigious Ontario public PSE credential while they “may never set foot in [that public college]” as a private college “do[es] all of the instruction” at a lower cost (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). In addition, these partnerships contributed to producing “ghettos” where IS do not integrate with either domestic students or other IS, defying some purposes of internationalization as well as raising “accountability and liability and credential integrity” concerns (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Hence, members of this coalition argued that these “potential risks should be a deep concern for government” (Report to MTCU on public-

private partnerships⁸⁷ as quoted in Chiose, 2018). MTCU was critiqued for not “having the tools to monitor the quality of the student experience at the private-branch campuses, including whether they are meeting academic standards, providing support services, and whether students are satisfied with the program” (Chiose, 2018).

However, what prompted public institutions who were members of *The private sector can be risky* to shift their membership to *A few bad apples should not define the PCC sector* and partner with some private operations? Here it is important to examine this discursive shift in its social and cognitive context (Hajer, 1995). The public-private partnerships, which emerged in 2010, coincided with the global recession and the emergence and dominance of the *Economy* storyline, particularly the financial incentives discourse. As public PSEIs started facing financial challenges and predicted a decrease in domestic student enrollments, these partnerships provided an opportunity to generate more revenue⁸⁸ by attracting more IS whose tuition fees would pump their operational budgets. Whereas the public PSE sector continuously positioned itself as superior to the private sector, some PSEIs shifted coalition membership which is evident in their practices (i.e., engagement in partnerships with the private sector). This shift gives credence to Hajer’s concept of fluid coalition membership. Nonetheless, their shift in coalition membership did not weaken the dominance of *The private sector can be risky* as a storyline, evident in MTCU’s announcement of “a moratorium on the [public-private college partnership] programs” (Chiose, 2018).

⁸⁷ This report to MTCU on public-private partnerships was obtained by *The Globe and Mail* through freedom of information legislation. It, according to Chiose (2018), led to a moratorium on these programs.

⁸⁸ For example, six public Ontario colleges partnered with private colleges, allowing PCCs to deliver curricula and diplomas from the public institutions in ten GTA locations owned by the private partners. Under the deals, the private colleges received most of the fees paid by international students and remitted a percentage to the public colleges - as little as 10 to 15 per cent (Trick, 2018). These deals led to an increase of almost 5,000 international students between 2015 and 2016 and \$30.5-million more in projected revenue at the six institutions in 2017 (Trick, 2018).

This site is an emblem as it marks a conceptual shift in the IE policy landscape where the private sector became perceived to be a risky actor requiring close supervision and regulation. *The private education sector can be risky* storyline was mobilized frequently ever since the *institutionalization* of the PCCA. Examples of this are the amendment of the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations Act (2014) by introducing the Designated Learning Institutions List⁸⁹ and the cancellation of public-private college partnerships in 2018). This emblem illuminates the influence of social expectations on maintaining a reputation of quality education and sound ethical practices on the development of IE discourses by regulating the private sector. It illustrates how the private sector became an emblem of a risky actor in the PSE sector which needed to be closely supervised. This site illuminates the emergence and dominance of a storyline that constructed the private sector as a problem within the IE policy landscape and assigned regulation as solution to this problem, revealing how political decision making took place in the context of, essentially, fragmented and contradictory discourses within and outside the IE domain.

⁸⁹ *The private education sector can be risky* storyline was mobilized again in 2010 by CIC following an evaluation of the International Student program which identified integrity gaps within the Program that compromise Canada's reputation for quality education and raise serious concerns related to national safety and security (Evaluation Division, 2010, p. 23). The report raised concerns over "non-genuine students and questionable educational institutions" who fraud and misuse the Program through the "creation of illegitimate schools ("visa mills"), fraudulent consultants and ... individuals using the study permit to get into Canada with no intention of studying" (Evaluation Division, 2010, p. 23). Since the federal government does not have the ability to assess private educational institutions, as this is the jurisdiction of provinces and territories, it instructed all provinces, including Ontario, to provide them with a list of Designated Learning Institutions and ensure that, if any privately-funded institution is to make the list, the province should ensure that they provide quality and reliable services geared toward the needs of IS and ensure the integrity of the Canadian immigration system (Evaluation Division, 2010). In 2014, CIC announced the amendment to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations (i.e., introduction of the Designated Learning Institutions List) to protect Canada's reputation as a study destination of choice and to ensure that the ISP continues to benefit the country (Canada Gazette, 2014).

7.2. Emblematic Site 2: Ontario's Trillium Scholarship

On November 4, 2010, Ontarians woke to an announcement made by then-Premier of Ontario, Dalton McGuinty, speaking to professors and students at the Hong Kong University of Science and Technology in China. He announced that Ontario had established the Trillium Scholarship, providing 75 of the world's best students with \$40,000 each year for up to four years to pursue doctoral studies at an Ontario university. Following this announcement, an intense and sensationalistic debate between proponents and opponents of this scholarship emerged. This section will elaborate on how this has influenced the way IE is discussed and constructed in Ontario.

Using Hajer's framework, I illustrate how the *Economy* and *Gateway* discourse coalitions merged together to form a new discourse coalition under the storyline of *IS Scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* and engaged in argumentative struggle with the *Risks* coalition. I also illuminate how prevailing socio-economic and political contexts facilitated and/or hindered the arguments of different storyline coalitions. This emblematic site revealed the role of McGuinty in shifting the IE debate in Ontario from constructing all IS as fee-paying students to constructing some IS, particularly at the graduate level, as talented students to be actively recruited, sponsored and probably retained. While McGuinty operated within the dominant *Economy* storyline, he nuanced it by constructing IS as an investment worthy of the taxpayers' money. As discussed in this section, this emblematic site had an everlasting influence on the IE policy landscape in Ontario. This raises questions on the discursive agency of individual actors in shifting discussions (a point that will be further examined in Chapter 8).

7.2.1. Context

In 2010, Ontario, as the rest of the world, was coming out of a period of recession which had taken a toll on its economy. Ontario was arguably hit harder than other Canadian provinces due to the direct effect of the global recession on its manufacturing and forestry sectors (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2010). Ontario's budget surplus in 2007-2008 changed into a projected \$21.3 billion budget deficit for 2009-2010 (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2010; Ontario NDP, 2012). Despite the deficit, the Liberal government invested further in the PSE sector by increasing operating grants by \$310 million in 2010-2011, adding 20,000 new student spaces, as well as providing \$155 million to fully support enrollment growth (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2010, p. 7). The government claimed to have dedicated the "largest multi-year investment in [Ontario's] postsecondary education in 40 years through Reaching Higher, announced in 2005" (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2010, p. 6). Ontario had the highest rates of PSE attainment in the world, at 62 per cent with goals to increase it to 70 per cent. McGuinty's interest and investment in the education sector made some people call him the "Education Premier" ("McGuinty deserves," 2012). In terms of IE, as outlined in Chapter 3, McGuinty introduced and/or resurrected different IE initiatives (e.g. bilateral student exchange programs, IE international marketing campaigns, and IS recruitment campaigns). A participant described the period between 2006 and 2010 as "exciting times, there was money allocated to [IE]... things were going well and it had a bit of a flagship status" (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Many participants considered McGuinty a champion of IE in Ontario's educational policy landscape. A participant argued Premier McGuinty "very much provided the leadership" to IE (Interview, National SIG, 23). McGuinty's interest in IE stemmed from personal, ideological, and economic reasons. On a personal level, McGuinty "was introduced at an early age to the notion of

international education” (Interview, Politician, 22). His parents hosted three Chinese international students at their home at a time when China was “trying to break out into the world” (Interview, Politician, 22); he studied abroad; and his children participated in different study-abroad experiences. Ideologically, McGuinty “had an international outlook and an international worldview” (Interview, National SIG, 23). His belief in the value of IE as a soft power and foreign diplomacy tool was reinforced when he, as the Premier of Ontario, approached China when “the whole world started to court China, an economic dynamo with a huge trade potential and economic opportunities” (Interview, Politician, 22). He was “a very rare foreign leader who would stand up and say, you know, in 1973, when you were just trying to break out into the world long before it became fashionable for us to line up and court you, you sent nine of your young people to Canada ...[his family] took in three” (Interview, Politician, 22). Hence, McGuinty was able “to establish a relationship with China that was more than political and economic, it was personal” (Interview, Politician, 22). Economically, McGuinty “became enamored with the idea of international education as being an economic driver for Ontario. There was a major report that came out in the federal government [i.e. the RKA Report] and... he just latched onto it. ...He became a huge champion for international education and he started to put it in all of his speeches and discussions about how much money international students, not just money from tuition but also the kind of contribution to the economy in terms of housing and food and all of that.” (Interview, Politician, 6). A participant noted that, during McGuinty’s premiership, there were plans to develop a comprehensive international education strategy which included increasing the number of IS and providing scholarships to talented international PhD students (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17).

In March 2010, the McGuinty government announced its *Open Ontario Plan* which, as the name indicates, reflected the goal to open up to the rest of the world. In regards to the PSE sector, the goal was to make Ontario “one of the leading jurisdictions for postsecondary education in the world” (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2010, p. 6). To achieve this goal, Ontario aimed to “aggressively promot[e] Ontario postsecondary schools abroad to encourage the world’s best students to study here, settle here and help Ontario build a stronger economy” (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2010, p. 7). There was a strong recognition that international students were also “more financially rewarding for our postsecondary institutions than are our domestic students” (Interview, Politician, 22). The *Open Ontario Plan* set a goal to “increase international student numbers by 50 per cent” (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2010, p. xvii). A participant noted that, prior to the *Open Ontario Plan* “we [already] had international students studying in Ontario” and “a lot ... knocking on our doors and seeking opportunity here,” so “it was already ... growing organically, ... a number policies [were put] in place to kind of grease the wheels” (Interview, Politician, 22). For this participant, “there were already a number of forces in place that were leading to growth in international education” such as “good schools and a good reputation and it is safe and an accepting social environment” (Interview, Politician, 22).

The goal to increase the number of IS in Ontario’s PSEIs generated lots of debate. It appealed to different coalitions for different reasons. It was highly interpretive. It appealed to some of the *Economy* discourse coalition as members saw in it a chance to generate much-needed revenue for cash stripped PSEIs. For others, IS represented a pool of talent that could infuse the environment of innovation at universities. Others addressed labour market shortages and declining demographics. This policy also appealed to the *Gateway* coalition members. Some valued exposing domestic students to diverse cultures, knowledges, and perspectives whereas

others saw it as an opportunity establish and/or enhance Ontario's image on the world stage. However, some *Risks* coalition members expressed concern that IS would displace Ontario students and/or reduce the quality of Ontario's PSE as institutions might attract and enrol unqualified IS to increase their revenue. Other *Risks* coalition members warned against treating education as a commodity and seeing IS as cash-cows. However, McGuinty and his government consistently argued that IS would not crowd out domestic students, citing the *Open Ontario Plan's* commitment to fund new spaces, as well as their history of increasing access to PSE. McGuinty also argued that revenue generated from IS, who pay higher tuition fees than domestic students, would open up spaces for domestic students and "help expand our schools for our kids and create jobs" (McGuinty as quoted in Benzie, 2010a). The 2010 provincial budget proposed "a five-year plan that promises to improve access to colleges and universities for Ontarians by subsidizing them with fees from international students" (Benzie, 2010a). Similarly, the 2011 budget set the goal to "increase international enrolment by 50 per cent while maintaining spaces for Ontario students (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2011, p. 41). 2010 witnessed the highest number of op-ed articles on this subject by academics and university presidents, who can be perceived as authority figures in the PSE sector, focusing on the benefits and values of IE (e.g., Chakma, 2010 a; b; Di Matteo, 2010; Hamdullahpur, 2010; Kelly, 2010; Orwin, 2010; Shoukri, 2010).

7.2.2. A sudden earth-shattering announcement

It is within this context of heated debate over the benefits and risks of increasing the enrolment of fee-paying IS in Ontario PSEIs that the Trillium Scholarship was suddenly announced. This was an announcement "which caused ... no end of headaches" (Interview, Politician, 6). Former Premier McGuinty was on an official visit to China where educational ties

between the two countries was on the agenda. During that visit, “he [McGuinty] was going into a dinner and they wanted to have him announce something quite grand,” so he announced the Trillium Scholarship (Interview, Politician, 6). This announcement came as a surprise to all those involved, including the McGuinty government in Ontario. The Trillium Scholarship was actually part of a more comprehensive “international proposal” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17) that “we [officials and civil servants] had been working on” and had “been aware of it” (Interview, Politician, 6). However, participants agreed that there were “no plans to announce it at that time” (Interview, Politician, 6). “Instead of ... announcing it as part of the whole, the Premier let it slip in a scrum in China” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17). A participant reflected on this, saying “I mean, it wasn’t very well coordinated to roll out ... it was just a last minute thing to announce it in a very grand way in China without that coordination back in Ontario” (Interview, Politician, 6).

The timing of this announcement is critical for two reasons. First, the announcement was made in China and, due to the time difference between the two countries, members of the McGuinty government in Ontario were “kind of hit [by the news as they] went into the question period [at the Legislative Assembly of Ontario the following day] ... and there was one question asked. [The liberal cabinet members] ... didn’t have all of the facts at [their] ... fingertips and the conservative party just went to town and they went to absolute town on it. They never asked the question again on it and then once ... [the Liberal cabinet] had all of the facts and figures it was too late” (Interview, Politician, 6). The second timing issue pertains to the fact that the 2011 provincial election was approaching and this scholarship “became an election issue” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). A participant recalled that opposition parties portrayed the scholarship as a “scandal” since the government was “spending more money on foreign students

than on domestic students and they would cancel the program right away” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Thus, the Trillium Scholarship became a political issue in the approaching provincial election (Cohn, 2011).

7.2.3. Emergence of two storylines

Regardless of the method and timing of the announcement, McGuinty argued that

offering scholarships to the world’s brightest students will help Ontario universities compete with top international universities. This will help keep Ontario at the forefront of the global knowledge economy and strengthen academic, cultural and business ties with key markets around the world
(Office of the Premier, 2010, paragraph 3).

The creation of the Trillium Scholarship allowed for multiple interpretations on the subject of its importance. For the *Economy* coalition, (IS) PhD students helped enhance Ontario’s research and innovation agenda, as well as build business and trade ties. Attracting the best and brightest also enhanced “Ontario’s reputation overseas as an ideal place to get a high quality education” (Minister of MTCU as quoted in Office of the Premier, 2010, paragraph 9). Raising Ontario’s PSEI profile helped attract more IS, including fee-paying students- and international scholars. This construction also attracted the *Gateway* discourse coalition members as “opening our doors to more international students is good for our students, good for our intellectual and cultural life and good for our economy” (McGuinty as quoted in Benzie, 2010b). Furthermore, for Ontario to be a “fully engaged global player, we must increase the internationalization of our universities and the IS scholarships gives us a strong push” (Hamdullahpur⁹⁰, 2010). The Scholarship was perceived as sending a message to the world that “Ontario is serious ... [and] committed to achieving global ambition” and to “bolster the brainpower of existing research enterprises” at Ontarian universities (Hamdullahpur, 2010). Support for this scholarship mobilized faculty

⁹⁰ University of Waterloo Chancellor

members and domestic students who reiterated arguments that IS have positive implications on undergraduate education as they will be the teaching assistants for undergraduate students, adding diversity to the classroom (Orwin⁹¹, 2010). The College Student Alliance even called for expanding the scholarship to cover both colleges and universities (Coyle, 2010). This scholarship also became an emblem of different approaches to foreign affairs policy and ideology. McGuinty was perceived to embrace an “eyes and arms out” approach, (Coyle, 2010) looking to “build better relationships” with the rest of the world through IE (Ontario Finance Minister as quoted in Church, 2010b).

While this construction of the Scholarship attests to the dominance of the *Economy* storyline, it also suggests that the *Economy* and *Gateway* discourse coalitions, which had different though sometimes overlapping constructions of IE, met up under a new storyline *IS Scholarship is desirable and good for Ontario* (an outline of coalition members is provided in figure 7).

However, this scholarship did not appeal to all. The *Risks* discourse coalition members constructed the scholarship differently: it was Ontario’s taxpayers’ money spent on foreigners rather than on the more worthy domestic students who could hardly afford the cost of their education. “The opposition parties made it a political issue that you are taking places [and funds] away from our students” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 8) and argued that Ontario should invest in its own students, leading to the creation of the *Ontario first* storyline. The Opposition parties mobilized the *Ontario first* storyline and positioned McGuinty, and the supporters of the scholarship, as “out of touch” with recession-weary Ontario families (Tim Hudak, Ontario PC leader at the time as quoted in Bradshaw, 2010b). They argued that the Ontario government

⁹¹ Professor of political science at University of Toronto

should invest in its own students, who suffer from “high tuition fees and not being able to afford the cost of their education” (Bradshaw, 2010b; see also Benzie, 2010b; Brown, 2011; Sheehan, 2010). Opponents also expressed concern about foreigners who “limit[...] Ontarians’ job prospects” (Interview, Politician, 15). They questioned the reasonability of funding IS “[w]hen families in Ontario today can’t afford [to pay for] their kids to go to college or university without piling up huge debts, to give \$40,000 a year to foreign students? That’s just wrong” (Hudak as quoted in Benzie, 2010b). Opposition parties promised that they “would cancel the program right away” if they were elected (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). This construction appealed to “a segment of our population that believes it is wasted money and they use foreigners as a derogatory term that the money shouldn’t be [invested] there” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). A journalist argued that Hudak was using the “foreign card” against the Liberals to gain better acceptability rates with Ontarians by arguing that Ontarians should come first (Cohn, 2011). To access the public, the *Ontario first* coalition “went [to]... just every call-in radio show” (Interview, Politician, 6). The *Ontario first* coalition members positioned themselves as sympathetic to the needs of Ontarians by arguing that the government should focus on making PSE education more affordable to domestic students. “Foreign-student recruitment is not what Ontario’s postsecondary education system needs right now. While the government focuses on attracting students from abroad, students from Ontario are paying the highest tuition fees in the country and still receive less funding per student than in any other province” (Horwath, Ontario NDP leader, as quoted in Church, 2010b). The *Ontario first* coalition members argued that the “best and brightest [are] on our own soil,” so invest in them (PC education critic as quoted in Bradshaw, 2010a). The *Ontario first* storyline “enlisted” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 188) the President of the National Aboriginal Achievement Foundation who argued that Ontario should invest in

native youth who are “a story of tragic missed opportunity”... “While many, including Ontario Premier Dalton McGuinty, are sweetening the financial pot for foreign students, native youth here still lack the funding to help fight poverty and bullying, gangs and drugs, lack of confidence and a lack of motivation and the gap is getting worse” (Jamieson as quoted in Brown, 2011).

On the other hand, the newly formed *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* positioned the *Ontario first* coalition members as short-sighted and insular in their opposition of an “outward-looking innovation agenda” (Bradshaw, 2010b; Coyle, 2010). They described them as “huddled inwards, rather than with eyes and arms out,” perceiving Ontario as “isolated from the rest of the globe” at a time when countries were more dependent on and invested in building global ties to secure their future prosperity (Coyle, 2010). Even domestic students, the College Student Alliance, expressed their concern “about opposing political parties’ short-sightedness and divisiveness surrounding the issue” (as quoted in Coyle, 2010). Supporters of the scholarship attempted to undermine Hudak’s credibility by pinpointing that, while he challenged the worthiness of the IS Trillium Scholarship, he himself studied in the US on a full academic scholarship (Benzie, 2010b; Coyle, 2010). A participant noted that the Conservative party, which was a strong opponent of this scholarship, ironically neglected the fact “that the [Conservative] federal government with Stephen Harper had this similar scholarship” offered to IS (Interview, Politician, 6).

The *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* coalition members attempted to discredit the *Ontario first* coalition members by disputing their arguments. They referred to Ontario’s investments in domestic students, going back to the Reaching Higher Plan in 2005, which created new spaces and scholarships for domestic students in PSEIs (Benzie, 2010b). They argued that “there is more than enough capacity in postgraduate programs to supply the

demand from Canadian students, with room to spare” (Mason, 2010). To respond to the argument that the best and brightest are on Canada’s soil, members of the *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* argued that “of course we should be supporting students in Ontario, but we need to look further afield if we want to get the best and brightest” ... “Talent is very mobile. If we don’t capture these folks for our jurisdiction, they’re going to go anywhere else in the world” (PSE senior administrator as quoted in Bradshaw, 2010b). Members of the *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* discourse coalition quantified the federal, provincial, and institutional scholarships and financial incentives available for domestic students. They argued that this Scholarship will help Ontario “compete with Harvard and Oxford and Cambridge, and all the big players” (MTCU Minister as cited in Bradshaw, 2010b). However, they did not address concerns voiced regarding lack of investment in native youth.

University senior administrators and faculty members, who can be perceived as trustworthy authority figures in the field of PSE, voiced their support of the scholarship and contributed op-eds to newspapers, e.g., “Why international student scholarships are good for Canada” (Chakma⁹², 2010b); “Our choice: Spend the money or lose the brightest” (Orwin⁹³, 2010);” Ontario wins by attracting the best international students” (Hamdullahpur⁹⁴, 2010). The President of the University of Waterloo, positioning himself not only as a university president but also as a tax payer who supports this long term investment, stated:

Investing in IS scholarship is an investment in our future. Too expensive, some say. We are all taxpayers, and nobody wants to see our money spent irresponsibly. But there is nothing irresponsible about supporting this investment in our future. All of us, and our children and grandchildren, will reap the benefits.

(Hamdullahpur, 2010).

⁹² Amit Chakma: President and vice-chancellor, University of Western Ontario at the time

⁹³ Clifford Orwin: Professor of political science, University of Toronto, distinguished visiting fellow at Stanford University's Hoover Institution at the time

⁹⁴ Feridun Hamdullahpur, President and Vice-Chancellor at the time, University of Waterloo.

A participant noted that “during the Trillium scholarship debacle, ... we were all running around trying to find examples of students who ... had come here and who had decided to stay and who were employers. So that we could say that they stayed and they created a company” (Interview, Politician, 6). Graduate international students studying and conducting top notch research in Canada joined the *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* discourse coalition and shared their stories through the media. An IS, on a Connaught scholarship, argued that scholarships were “not paying us to enjoy Canadian life; we’re working here on research that is cancer-related, ... If we make more discoveries, how many cancer patients could benefit in future? How can you put a price on that? Maybe a \$40,000 scholarship is not so simple to criticize” (IS as quoted in Brown, 2010). The IS further pointed out that “my scholarship money stays in Ontario” as it paid tuition fees, rent, and food, all contributing to the Canadian economy (IS as quoted in Brown, 2010).

This storyline appealed to universities as the scholarship was perceived as an opportunity to enhance universities’ research agendas and attract the best minds to Ontario. The *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* storyline struck a chord with Ontario employers, activating them to become political in supporting this storyline. For example, a Waterloo-based, industry-led innovation center weighed in on the welcoming of this scholarship as it enhanced innovation by “help[ing] universities do for Ontario what institutions like Stanford University have done for Silicon Valley” (Bradshaw, 2010b). The CEO of Communitech argued that “It’s a war for talent, ... We need to always be aware that we’re one or two per cent of the world population and there’s lots of people out there that we would love to join us in Canada” (as quoted in Bradshaw, 2010b).

The *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* storyline appealed to national and global actors, who joined this discourse coalition. Nationally, CIC officials supported the scholarship, arguing that “It’s not just about the dollars; they [IS] help internationalize Canadian campuses and they’re an increasingly important source of labour” (CIC official as quoted in Brown, 2010). The University of Alberta provost weighed in, arguing that Canada “has to look abroad” because it is not “produc[ing] enough elite Masters and PhD students” (as quoted in Bradshaw, 2010b). MITACS also joined the coalition. These “smart kids we are recruiting ...are going to start successful companies, many of them here. Even if they leave after they’ve finished school, we have a connection with someone who is going to be doing amazing things in the future. We should be building a network of the smartest people in the world who have a connection to Canada and leveraging that network” (MITACS Director as quoted in Mason, 2010). Internationally, the director of the World Education Services⁹⁵ joined the coalition, warning that Canada lagged behind in its race for globally mobile talent as it attracted only about 5.5 percent, noting that this scholarship would help Ontario (and Canada) compete for the best talent (Brown, 2010).

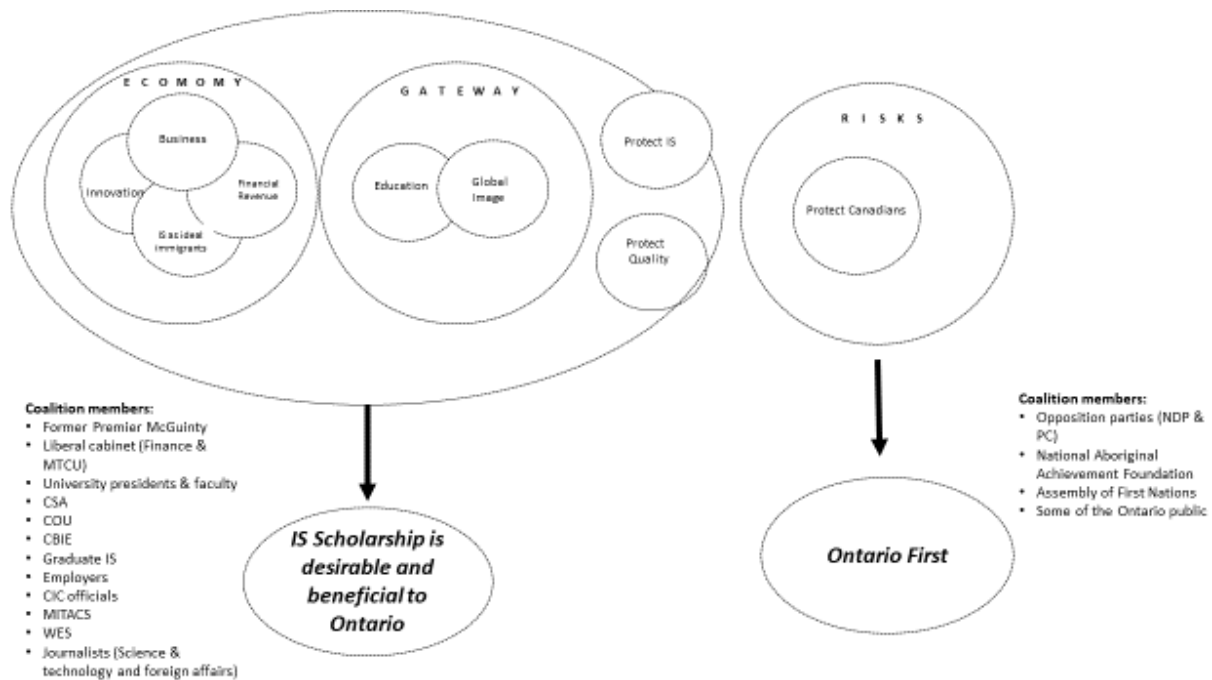
The *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* storyline attracted and merged two coalitions; *Economy* and *Gateway* and actors from diverse spaces and spaces (including the provincial government – premier and cabinet ministers, universities’ senior administration, faculty members from diverse disciplines, student groups, COU, employers, universities outside of Ontario, MITACS, WES Director, IS, and science and technology and foreign affairs journalists). This storyline also managed to attract some actors who diverged from the *Risks* storyline, particularly PSE faculty and student groups who were against increasing the

⁹⁵ a non-profit organization that reviews international credentials and studies global education

recruitment of fee-paying IS due to concerns that they, if not qualified, might negatively influence the quality of the Ontario PSE sector and/or that PSEIs would treat them as cash cows and not provide proper and adequate support services. For those actors, this scholarship actually helped enhance the quality of the educational sector as it attracted the best and the brightest IS and provided financial support to those who need it (Figure 7). On the other hand, the *Ontario first* coalition was mobilized mainly by the government's opposition parties – PC and NDP, some members of the public (as reported by opposition parties), some aboriginal special interest groups, and some journalists).

Figure 7

IS Scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario versus Ontario first Storylines



The newly formed storyline, *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario*, achieved *discourse closure* as it became more coherent and multi-interpretive. It carried different meanings for diverse people and was understood as a tool to build knowledge economy, a means to raise the profile and ranking of the PSE sector, a pull to attract more fee paying IS, an

incentive for international scholars to join Ontario universities, a way to enhance and enrich the teaching and learning experience, a chance to further enhance Ontario's global image, a boost to Ontario's hunt for the world's top young minds, and an instrument to contribute to global social justice. This new coalition attracted actors from a wider variety of disciplines, each bringing their distinct knowledge, beliefs, expertise, and discipline-specific language. This gave coalition members access to diverse discipline-specific languages and discourses for use in constructing IE and appealing to a wider base of audience. This is an example of a storyline becoming highly interpretive hence facilitating discussion and action where agreement might not otherwise take place. The *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* storyline achieved discourse *structuration* as it achieved credibility and rhetorical power, forcing actors to conceptualize the world accordingly. This storyline drew on the support of influential actors such as politicians, civil servants, university presidents, employers, domestic and international students, and national and international professionals. It also achieved *institutionalization* as it was translated into institutional practice for the MTCU as well as Ontario universities who paid 10 per cent of the cost. This Scholarship is still present in 2018. As both *structuration* and *institutionalization* are fulfilled, DCF contends that the *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* storyline is dominant. The Trillium Scholarship marks an important discursive shift in the IE policy landscape in Ontario. As discussed in Chapter 3, IS tuition fees had been deregulated since early 1990s. This Scholarship institutionalized a shift in the way the province perceived IS. No longer mere revenue-generators, they also came to be viewed as an investment of taxpayers' money in Ontario's research, innovation, immigration, and foreign affairs. The *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* storyline was mobilized again in 2015, prior to the institutionalization

of changes to the PhD funding model for IS (as discussed in Chapter 8). Hence this storyline expanded beyond the Trillium Scholarship to include any funding initiatives for IS.

However, is this the end of the argumentative struggle? Despite this win for the *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* storyline, the Trillium Scholarship which “still exists today ... doesn’t get promoted the same because there is a tenuous perception about it” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). The decisive argumentation over this scholarship had a huge impact on the way IE policy-making is approached in Ontario. Although the *IS scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* coalition managed to assume hegemony, the *Ontario first* coalition also succeeded in striking a chord on a controversial issue and sensitizing some members of the public, as many participants noted. The *Ontario first* storyline appealed to “the fear and resentment in Ontarians, not to their confidence, goodwill and awareness of global reality” (Coyle, 20110). This is consistent with DCF’s belief that the art of policy-making involves, in significant part “giving voice to these half-articulated fears and hopes and embodying them in convincing stories about their sources and the choices they represent” (Fischer, 2003, p. 103). The *Ontario first* storyline succeeded in bringing this fear to the forefront, influencing the government’s future engagement with IE. A participant noted “you cannot over estimate how scarring an experience that was on this government politically. That made them ... risk-averse in this area” (Interview, National SIG, 18). Ever since this debate, the Ontario government’s investments in IS funding became a sensitive issue. A few years after, universities lobbied for further flexibility in funding IS graduate students; however, a concern over a backlash from the opposition and some members of the public delayed it (Chiose, 2015a). Any investment in IS was “perceived to be difficult politically for the Liberals because one of their last attempts to deal with it lead to accusations from the opposition that the then Premier

McGuinty was ‘out of touch’ with voters” (Chiose, 2014b). A participant observed that following this firestorm, “everybody got kind of cold foot... they want to be careful ...with other kinds of funding for international students” (Interview, National SIG, 16). The *institutionalization* of this scholarship is further discussed in Chapter 8.

7.3. Emblematic Site 3: *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens*

Some of the recent Ontario actions for internationalization appear to have been more about risk mitigation and about seeing growth of international students as a threat as opposed to something to be welcomed. I think that is regrettable.

(Interview, National SIG, 23)

This site concerns the most recent *International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens*. Using Hajer's Discourse Coalition Framework, I attempt to reconstruct the argumentative struggle to redefine IE and the province's approach to it.

Before examining this emblematic site, it is important to acknowledge that the strategy was released in May 2018 which falls outside the timeframe of the data collection which concluded in 2017⁹⁶. Nonetheless, I argue that this research, which aims to better understand the IE policy landscape in Ontario, cannot neglect this strategy as it represents a major signpost. First, this research originally stemmed from a simple question of why Ontario, unlike other provinces, did not have an IE strategy. Now that a strategy is released, it is important to examine and analyze this emblematic site to better understand the Ontario IE policy landscape. Second, while the media data collection concluded in mid- 2017 (approximately a year prior to the release of the strategy), the release of the strategy did not attract the media's attention (i.e., was not covered in any of the newspapers examined). Similarly, no major policy documents were released in early 2018 other than the IE Strategy. Despite the fact that interviews concluded 6 months prior to the release of the policy, interviewees shared their perspectives on the province's attempts to develop an IE strategy, the most recent consultation process, their perception of an

⁹⁶ Media data collection concluded in mid-2017; interviews concluded in October 2017; policy documents data collection concluded at the end of 2017, with the exception of the IE policy strategy which was released in May 2018.

ideal IE strategy for Ontario, and their predictions of what the upcoming IE strategy would focus on. Data analysis took place prior to the release of the strategy and it predicted a strategy very similar to the one released. This gives credence to Hajer's theoretical framework, particularly the power of storylines in influencing policy-making. Finally, it is important to note that many aspects of the strategy, as will be discussed later in this section, were institutionalized through different practices prior to the release of the strategy document and within the timeframe of the data collection (for example, the funding of the international PhD students, Strategic Mandate Agreements' template updates, and reinforcement of Section 28 of the Financial Administration Act, all of which will be discussed in detail in this section). Nonetheless, it is important to acknowledge possible implications and limitations. First, this time gap between data collection and the release of the strategy could have resulted in the exclusion of some events, discourses, discursive practices, and coalition members that may have emerged between the end of the data collection phase and the release of the Strategy. Second, interviewees might have mobilized the different storylines differently and/or positioned coalition members differently following the release of the Strategy, especially since many of them wondered whether "anything is ever going to come out of that" consultation phase (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17). In particular, there were instances, albeit very few, where civil servants declined to answer questions citing that the fact that the IE policy file was an active one at the time.

In what follows, I argue that this emblematic site marked a changing terrain in IE discourses and coalition memberships in Ontario. First, I argue that IE in Ontario was not constructed as a problem in/for education but as a solution to other policy problems in non-education fields such as immigration, innovation and economy. Second, this site disrupted and reframed the *Economy*, *Risks* and *Gateway* storylines into two new storylines: *Regulate IE* and

Regulation hinders progress, marking a shift in the conceptual framing of IE. The *Regulate IE* storyline witnessed a conversion of the *Risks*, *Economy* and *Gateway* storylines. The *Risks* storyline broadened to include new risks and managed to add new dimensions to the *Economy* storyline. While the *Risks* storyline gained dominance, it still operated within a more dominant *Economy* storyline (that is, the *Risks* storyline was invested in protecting the *Economy*). Hence, the lines between the *Risks*, *Economy*, and *Gateway* storylines became increasingly blurry, paving the way to a new *Regulate IE* storyline that perceived regulations as necessary in order to enhance and/or protect the *Economy* (e.g., innovation, business, financial incentives, labour and immigration), Ontario's image abroad, the quality of the PSE sector, and both domestic and international students. On the other hand, other members of the *Economy* and *Gateway* storylines joined a newly formed *Regulation hinders progress* storyline that constructed any attempt to regulate the IE sector as counterproductive to the efforts of the province and its PSE sector to enhance the economy and leverage IE as a gateway to the world through the global image of Ontario's education system. This storyline was supported by a strong culture of autonomy in the PSE sector, particularly in universities, which resisted the government's interference, regulations and accountability measures. Third, the emergence of IE accountability and regulation discourses (for the public sector), I argue, will possibly influence the future of the IE policy landscape in Ontario for years to come as the *Regulate IE* storyline is increasingly being institutionalized through the IE Strategy as well as other institutional practices.

In what follows, I first provide a brief recap of the province's previous attempts to develop an IE strategy, illustrate the emergence of the *Regulate IE* and *Regulation hinders progress* storylines, and reflect on the newly released *International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens* in light of the two storylines identified.

7.3.1. History of Ontario's attempts to institutionalize an IE strategy

I will say that you know there has always been a strategy but its profile has ebbed and flowed for a variety of reasons.

(Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5)

I think [IE] comes and goes on the government's agenda.

(Interview, Journalist, 4)

Ontario's interest in developing a provincial IE strategy can be traced back to the McGuinty government. In 2004, a few months following assuming office, McGuinty appointed the former Ontario Premier Bob Rae to advise on strategies to improve Ontario's higher education. Rae's report, *Ontario: A Leader in Learning* (2005), provided many recommendations, two of which were concerned with IE: "do[ing] a better job of marketing the opportunities provided in our colleges and universities to students from other countries" and "increas[ing] the opportunities for Ontario students to study abroad" (Rae, 2005, p. 11). A participant argued that "that the international strategy... was born of that report and those two recommendations" (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Following on those two recommendations, the MTCU held meetings with different stakeholders to identify "challenges of international education" and discuss "if the government was to have a leadership role on this then what would it be." (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Based on the consultations, the McGuinty government allocated funds to support Ontario students in study abroad (e.g., Ontario International Education Opportunity Scholarships⁹⁷, 2009), created scholarships to support international students (e.g., Trillium Scholarship, 2010), and revived and created student exchange programs⁹⁸. A participant

⁹⁷ In 2009, the Ontario government invested \$3.5 million in Ontario International Education Opportunity Scholarships to support almost 1,400 students as they completed a portion of their studies abroad (MTCU, 2009b).

⁹⁸ Refer to Chapter 3 for further details.

described this strategy, which was not released to the public⁹⁹, as adopting a “balanced approach” towards IE (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). For many, international education from 2005 to 2010 had “a bit of a flagship status” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5), it was championed by Premier McGuinty, money was allocated to it, and PSEIs started to join the province’s trade missions to promote the PSE sector abroad. However, this “flagship then became a submarine” as a result of the “fiscal downturn in 2009... [whose] effects weren’t felt in budgets for another year or two,” resulting in cuts of government support to PSE institutions (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Furthermore, the approaching 2011 provincial election and the Liberal party’s struggle with the backlash of the Trillium Scholarship announcement led “the McGuinty government [to] just shut down any kind of discussion about international strategy” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17).

Although the Liberals won the election¹⁰⁰, the IE file lingered in the “submarine status” during the period of 2011-2015 (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). In 2016, the IE file re-emerged when Reza Moridi, Minister of MTCU at the time, announced that “in winter 2016, the ministry will be consulting with colleges, universities and other stakeholders on developing a comprehensive postsecondary international education strategy. The Parliamentary Assistant [Han Dong] will also lead some focused discussions with stakeholders” (Moridi, 2016). Deborah Matthews, who succeeded Moridi in 2016, was mandated by Ontario’s premier at the time, Kathleen Wynne, to “continue to engage with students, the postsecondary sector, and Ontario’s trading partners to develop a Postsecondary International Education Strategy” (Wynne, 2016).

⁹⁹ This researcher was not able to gain access to this strategy as the international education file was an active one at the time the research was conducted. However, the researcher was able to locate a presentation entitled *Ontario’s Postsecondary Education Internationalization Strategy* presented by the MTCU at the Transatlantic Degree Program Workshop (Sept. 30, 2007) which outlined the strategy and its goals.

¹⁰⁰ McGuinty won the elections of that year, yet he stepped down in 2012 and Kathleen Wynne assumed the Premiership Office.

While Premier McGuinty was described as a leader of IE, study participants argued that Premier Wynne’s level of interest in international education “hasn’t reached the same level of priority” (Interview, National SIG, 23). Nonetheless, it is under the premiership of Wynne that Ontario’s first international education strategy, *Ontario’s International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens* saw the light. The question remains as to why the idea of developing an international education strategy for Ontario was “picked up again in 2016” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 19)?

7.3.2. Emergence of two storylines

In this section, I argue that, while the McGuinty government shied away from developing and announcing an IE strategy following the Trillium Scholarship debacle, a shift in IE storylines and discourse coalition membership and a reframing of IE facilitated the development and release of Ontario’s IE strategy. IE policy was constructed by the *Regulate IE* coalition members as a solution to policy problems outside IE and even, in some cases, the education policy. IE offered solutions to economy, immigration, innovation problems as well as education. This increased attention to the possibilities IE offered in different policy arenas helped IE re-emerge as a policy priority. Within this context, two storylines emerged, *Regulate IE* and *Regulation hinders progress*. Description of both storylines are presented below.

Regulate IE

There are nearly hundred thousand international students in Ontario colleges and universities and there are tremendous benefits attached to that and we should ensure that we protect the brand and the reputation that Ontario has.

(Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5)

The amount of economic activity that is being generated by international students that are here. ... which ranks that in the top 10 of like activities for the province as a whole ... [it] is starting to impress on our consciousness about what that means to our economy and to the communities that those students exist... there is a range of other issues around part of what the strategy is looking at. So, what does this mean to the research partnerships and the research enterprise ... [yet, there are] some elements of risk out there that people were concerned about, ... is there a level of [IS] proportionality that makes sense or there not? and how do we feel about that? ... what do we think about that? International fees compared to domestic fees are quite high in some places. ... and [what is] the support [for IS]?

(Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11)

In addition to the *Risks* coalition members, the *Regulate IE* attracted members from the *Economy* and *Gateway* storylines, who agreed that regulation was necessary to protect and enhance the economic, educational, intercultural, and foreign affairs benefits of IE. The buildup of this storyline was gradual and fragmented over many policy landscapes, reflecting Hajer's argument that "policies are not only devised to solve problems, problems also have to be devised to be able to create policies" (1995, p. 9). This storyline constructed IE as a response to multiple policy 'problems:' uneven student distribution among Ontario's PSEIs, (over) dependence on international tuition fees, the need to regulate branch campuses, the need for STEM and francophone graduates and immigrants, and public-private partnerships.

1. Uneven student distribution among Ontario's PSEIs

While some PSE institutions in Ontario were described as "sort of full or near capacity," others were described as facing the challenge of "empty classrooms" (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). The *Regulate IE* coalition members constructed IE, particularly IS recruitment, as a

solution to an “unused capacity problem” in the Ontario PSE sector which was not just economic but also “political” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Economically, the decline in domestic student enrollment would jeopardize the huge investments that had gone into the PSE infrastructure and hiring of full-time faculty¹⁰¹. Politically, the government could not close the many colleges and universities missing their enrolment targets, particularly if the PSEI is the only one serving a community. Institutions which needed IS the most tended to face difficulties recruiting them whereas those more successful in IS recruitment, generally located in the GTA and a little bit of pockets here and there,” were not necessarily facing a decline in enrolments. Hence PSEIs’ “ability to participate [in IS recruitment] is not really even” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). Whereas IS proportion in some PSEIs was as little as 1.9% (college sector) and 0.9% (university sector), it went up to 36.7% (college sector) and 29.85 (university sector) at other institutions (MTCU, 2017c).

This uneven distribution of IS in Ontario’s PSEIs attracted coalition members with different interpretations of the problem. For some, the problem resided in whether the “institution[s were] supporting the international students appropriately” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Others looked at the numbers of IS in some PSEIs and asked “what the hell is going on there? I don’t know the answer, but are we really displacing domestic students?” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12). This concern had a political dimension as the last thing the government, and

¹⁰¹ Following the 2010 Open Ontario initiative, it was anticipated that growth would increase at a 7:2 ratio (for every 7 domestic student spots added, 2 international students would be added) (MTCU, 2017c). Due to this prediction, the government and different PSEIs invested heavily in infrastructure and program expansions as well as faculty hiring and tenures. A participant noted that the MTCU “was mostly around supporting expansion of spaces for domestic students” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). However, as another participant noted, what the Ontario government and the Rae report “actually failed to predict [was] the drop in domestic enrollment, or at least the drop to the extent that happened” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). In fact, MTCU reports that in 2015-2016, there was a near 1:1 ratio of domestic students (56,000 domestic to 49,000 international) and that the overall percentage of domestic students was lower than was anticipated, while the overall percentage of international students was higher than anticipated (MTCU, 2017c). To add to this, the current demographic projections predict that there will not be much of an uptake in domestic enrollment until 2032 (Ontario Ministry of Finance, 2018).

PSEIs, wanted was to be perceived as prioritizing international students over Canadian taxpayers. Regardless of their interpretation of the problem, coalition members asked “[Is] there an ideal amount of international students at any particular campus? Is there a concern that international students could displace domestic students?” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5) and are institutions supporting IS appropriately?

However, there were disagreements between the coalition members on the urgency of attending to this “problem.” Some argued that this question should be answered now and before an “emergency arises” when and/or if “the *Toronto Star* runs an article about some [international] student who displaced a domestic student” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12). Others argued that it is difficult to “measure” if a domestic student “didn’t get into this university of ...choice because they have too many international students” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 8). Despite this “disagreement on important facts,” the elasticity and multi-interpretability of this storyline allowed both groups of actors to disagree “without switching over to a[nother] coalition” (Fischer, 2005, p. 169). All *Regulate IE* coalition members shared a “discomfort with” IS distribution which prompted them to find ways to “manage that?” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). This question and the proposed “risk mitigation” tools were linked to the second concern.

2. *Over dependence on IS tuition fees*

Members of the *Regulate IE* coalition argued that some PSEIs became too dependent on the revenue generated by IS tuition fees to supplement their government grants,¹⁰² noting that IS tuition contributed more than 15% of the operating grants of 71.5 % of Ontario universities and

¹⁰² Of the 21 Ontario universities, IS fees constituted more than 15% of the operating grants of fifteen universities (i.e., IS tuition contributes more than 15% of the operating grants of 71.5 % of Ontario universities). As for the 24 Ontario colleges, IS fees constituted more than 15% of the operating grants of fifteen colleges (i.e. IS tuition contributes more than 15% of the operating grants of 62.5 % of Ontario colleges) (MTCU, 2017c).

62.5 % of Ontario colleges (MTCU, 2017c). While the coalition members agreed that the Ontario government “encouraged growth for so long¹⁰³” (which some coalition members commended the government for), they questioned “at what point has the balance tipped?... And are they [some PSEIs] becoming overly reliant on revenue attached to those international students? And there is the risk management piece at that point” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). Some PSEIs “cannot survive without international students because of the simple demographic fact,” yet they are unable to attract IS (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Others, on the other hand, were so dependent on IS enrolment that any setback in the IE market could have grave repercussions on their operations. This construction of the problem prompted the *Regulate IE* coalition members to argue for regulating these trends through understanding where pressures are being created within the system and how to shift supply and demand.

The *Regulate IE* storyline was influenced by the global context (particularly noting the cases in Britain, Australia, and China). A participant argued that “what happened in Australia ... or what happened in Great Britain where ... large institutions relying on international enrollment” were hit by fluctuations in the IE market necessitates the introduction of a “risk management component” in Ontario to avoid similar challenges (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). Coalition members warned that, while Ontario was attracting an increasing number of IS, “swings in the international marketplace could move differently” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). They challenged the assumption that there was an “endless number of students... coming from China [or other source countries]” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11) and that

¹⁰³ From 2009 to 2015, IS enrolment in Ontario’s PSE sector was increasing steadily. During this period, IS enrolment increased from 7.4% of the total population of the university sector in 2009 to 12.1% in 2015 (MTCU, 2017c). Similarly, the college sector experienced significant growth which even outpaced universities’ growth during the last 4 years where IS college enrolment increased from 9.7% of the total population in 2012 to 15% in 2015 (MTCU, 2017c).

“this international applicant pool is going to hold up” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Another global influence pertained to the perception that IS sending countries’ governments (e.g. Chinese) were “investing in postsecondary education,” giving their students “more options ... to stay in ... [their own countries] to get a high-quality education” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). This global context made coalition members argue that Ontario “got so many of [its] ... financial eggs in one basket... [which] is too risky, particularly [since the PSE sector invested in] tenures and appointments [and infrastructure expansions]” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). If “the international market dries up... [Ontario will be] sitting there with a big area of cost that... [it] can’t do anything about it” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). The over dependence on IS tuition fees had a different dimension for other members who argued that these financial risks, particularly in the college sector, could influence not only the PSEIs but also the province’s financial standing and bond rating. Other coalition members (e.g., faculty, and students) attached a different meaning to this problem. They argued for regulations in order to protect IS from high unpredictable tuition fees, ensure the availability of support services for international students, and maintain a reasonable student-faculty ratio in the PSE classroom. Regardless of the rationales and approaches, all members agreed that some kind of regulation of IS tuition fees was needed.

Whereas coalition members agreed on the need to address the unutilized capacity of some PSEIs, the uneven distribution of IS among the PSEIs in Ontario, and over dependence on international tuition fees, they did not agree on the intervention methods. This intervention could be through “supporting the PSEIs that haven’t been successful to actually start to think through what that looks like” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11); learning from “models that ... actually work” to support PSEIs in their attempts to attract IS (Interview, Provincial Civil

Servant, 11); creating “incentives or tools ... to influence international students to consider beyond the GTA” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5); regulating IS fee-structure; and/or regulating the IS enrollment targets in each institution. Some argued for re-enacting the “visa pool¹⁰⁴” to ensure that “additional revenue is [distributed equally across] all of the colleges” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Others called for regulating the percentage of IS in each institution. Even student groups had different arguments amongst them. Some advocated for “a progressive reduction and eventual elimination of tuition fees for all [international] students.” Others advocated for “a freezing of the [IS] tuition ... [ensuring] predictability and [ensuring that IS] tuition rate can grow at the same rate as [that of] a domestic student” (Interviews, Provincial SIG: Students, 13 and 14). This illustrates that, while there is a general agreement among coalition members on the nature of the problem, approaches to solving it were different and, in many cases, contradictory.

3. *Branch campuses*

As discussed in Chapter 6, postsecondary institutions initiated the discussion of branch campuses in response to tightening budgets. For members of the *Economy* storyline, branch campuses presented an opportunity to generate revenue and enhance business relationships with emerging economies. Members of the *Risks* coalition, however, consistently warned that these campuses were risky on financial and reputational fronts, describing them as a “high risk venture” (CBIE president as quoted in Alphonso, 2012). This was a particular concern for the Ontario government in relation to the college sector, since colleges are “crown agents and are

¹⁰⁴ The visa pool was practiced up until mid-1990s. The “difference between the domestic fee and the international fee” was captured and “went into a pool which was then distributed according to the operating grant formula. In other words, a university that had no international students would still get a portion of the international fee” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). In this case, revenue generated from IS tuition fees went into the whole system rather than individual institutions’ budgets. This “was seen as unfair and inequitable” particularly by PSEIs that are able to attract more IS (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2).

consolidated... into the provinces book financially” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 9). Hence, concerns about branch campuses were not just about “reputational damage,” but also about “lost money” (Interview, National SIG, 23).

Hence, in this emblematic site, the *Risks* coalition members joined the *Regulate IE* coalition members in relation to PSEIs branch campuses, particularly in 2016, in relation to two Ontario public colleges (Niagara College and Algonquin College) which operated men-only campuses in Saudi Arabia. Premier Wynne and the Minister of MTCU initially defended the two colleges, arguing that colleges had the right to determine the student makeup of their campuses, hence refusing government interference through regulation. However, as will be discussed later in this section, they soon shifted their coalition membership to join the *Regulate IE* storyline, describing the men-only campuses as “unacceptable” and noting that the government will work on rectifying this issue (Wynne calls, 2016).

The argumentation over the branch campuses in Saudi Arabia attracted actors from non-education policy fields and disciplines (e.g., human rights and foreign policy) and diverse political spectrums (e.g., PC and NDP parties). These actors contributed their field-specific language and knowledge to the *Regulate IE* storyline, arguing that the two campuses were inconsistent with Canadian values as they were “condoning the segregation of women” (Laverdiere, federal NDP foreign affairs critic, as quoted in Chase, 2016). Others condemned the operation of these colleges in a country with a “terrible” human rights records (Ontario Public Service Employees Union as quoted in Leslie, 2016), arguing that “Canada stands for human rights and gender equality [and] Canadian colleges should do the same at home and abroad” (Laverdiere, federal NDP foreign affairs critic, as quoted in Chase, 2016). Even Ontario’s Chief Commissioner and Amnesty International Canada weighed in. For example, the Ontario’s Chief

Commissioner argued that “my sense is that these internationalization initiatives...are a mechanism for universities and colleges to supplement their operating budget” and stressed the importance of ensuring that branch campuses “are consistent with Canadian values” (as quoted in Csanady, 2016). The *Regulate IE* storyline attracted actors from the foreign policy and trade discursive space who questioned Canada’s and Ontario’s foreign policy, trade deals, and commercial ties with Saudi Arabia, including the selling of weapons to Saudi Arabia (e.g., Chase, 2016).

This argumentation over branch campuses was picked up by opposition parties who leveraged this incident to attack the Liberal government’s “poor... job of managing taxpayers’ money,” its “oversight” and lack of “accountability” and insufficient regulation over overseas campuses (Laurie Scott, PC women’s issues critic as quoted in Leslie, 2016; see also Chase, 2016). Responding to Wynne’s denial of any prior knowledge regarding the operations of these two campuses, members of opposition parties argued that it would be a “stretch” for Wynne not to have known about the men-only campuses (Progressive Conservative critic John Yakabuski, as quoted in Wynne calls, 2016). Peggy Sattler, NDP PSE critic, noted that if she really did not know, despite the fact that she “was part of the cabinet all these years and premier for three years, ... [then this] is really quite disconcerting” (as quoted in Leslie, 2016).

In addition to the diversity of the old and new actors and the discursive practices of opposition parties, the media played a big role in sensitizing the public. Actually, some argued that Wynne and her government’s shift in coalition membership occurred only after “the media picked up the story” (John Yakabuski, PC critic, as quoted in Wynne calls, 2016). As a response, the Ontario Liberal government initiated an enquiry on PSEIs’ “international activities” to ensure

that “our internationalization policy will be based on the norms and the culture which we follow” (Moridi as quoted in Csanady, 2016).

4. *Public-private partnerships*

As discussed in emblematic site 1, the private sector was constructed as a risky actor in the IE policy landscape in Ontario from around 2005 onward¹⁰⁵. Hence, it was not difficult for the members of the *Regulate IE* storyline to construct the partnerships of six Ontario colleges with private colleges as raising “accountability and liability and credential integrity” concerns (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). MTCU was critiqued for not “having the tools to monitor the quality of the student experience at the private-branch campuses, including whether they are meeting academic standards, providing support services, and whether students are satisfied with the program” (Chiose, 2018). A participant noted that “the government is very worried about ... some [public] colleges ... outsourcing to PPS’s [private proprietary school]” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). The *Regulate IE* storyline was mobilized in relation to the college sector since universities were already regulated in this area. A participant noted that, whereas universities’ ability to relocate their programs (e.g., to offer them at a private institute) is governed through the Quality Assurance Framework¹⁰⁶, there has never been a similar provision on the colleges’ side. Hence, the *Regulate IE* coalition members called for a similar guidelines and restrictions on the public colleges’ in order to regulate their ability to partner with the private sector.

¹⁰⁵ Refer to emblematic site 1 in this Chapter.

¹⁰⁶ If a university decides to relocate a program to a different campus, it has to gain approval from the Quality Assurance Council. Even if it is the same credential, it is treated as a different program.

5. *Need to increase STEM and Francophone enrolments (and retention of IS)*

Francophone immigration as well as meeting the target of increasing the number of STEM graduates were two problems of innovation and immigration policy facing Ontario. Connecting these two seemingly disparate issues was that IE policy, particularly IS recruitment, was constructed as a solution for both of them. Addressing the need for more STEM graduates and Francophone immigrants are policy areas that both the federal and provincial governments work collaboratively on. IS were positioned as a solution to a concern that “even though we [Ontario’s PSE sector] have unused capacity, we are still not producing enough graduates in STEM disciplines” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Perpetuating global discourse around competition for talent (Becker & Kolster, 2012; Gribble & Blackmore, 2012; Hawthorne, 2008; 2012; Morris-Lange & Brands, 2015; Sá & Sabzalieva, 2016), coalition members argued that “bigger universities need more international graduate students” in order “to run their research enterprises” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17). This is particularly evident at the graduate level “where ... there are not enough domestic students to fill those spaces especially in STEM disciplines” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). Hence, recruiting the best and most talented IS was constructed as a necessity in order to be able to meet Ontario’s innovation agenda and for the province’s ability to compete internationally. Similarly, IS recruitment is perceived as a tool for meeting the federal and provincial governments’ “target to expand the number of people from Francophone countries coming in¹⁰⁷” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). In August 2017, the Ontario government announced plans to establish a Francophone university where Francophone IS enrolment is constructed as paramount to ensure

¹⁰⁷ The provincial government aims at increasing Francophone immigration by 5% (MTCU, 2018a)

the sustainability of this campus as well as meeting the provinces' Francophone immigration targets. Hence, members of the *Regulate IE* coalition called for prioritizing the recruitment and retention of IS who meet the aforementioned immigration and innovation policy agendas.

To conclude, the power of the *Regulate IE* storyline gradually increased as it attracted diverse old and new actors. For some, regulations were paramount in order to protect and enhance Ontario's economy. Those regulations had four aims: ensuring a steady flow of fee-paying IS through diversifying markets, protecting PSEI fiscal stability by ensuring that they are not too dependent on the volatile IE market, ensuring equal distribution of economic benefits of international tuition fees across the province, and protecting the government's fiscal standing and bond rating from risky IE ventures (particularly by colleges). For others, regulations were necessary to protect IS from risks that had come to be associated with being IS, namely, malpractices and lack of IS support services in some PSEIs and/or unpredictability of tuition fees increases. These risks had been thought to create "ghettos" of IS, which is against the principles of internationalization (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). A concern from another angle involved protecting domestic students from being displaced by IS. For other members, regulations were viewed as important in ensuring that PSEIs do not breach Canadian values at home and abroad as well as protecting the quality of the PSE sector educational experience for domestic and international students. Others saw the need to ensure that the province and its PSEIs leverage IE to meet other economic, immigration, and innovation agendas. Therefore, it is clear that the interpretation of the nature of risks and the approaches to mitigate them differed between the *Regulate IE* coalition members, yet they agreed on the need to introduce a framework for regulation and accountability. While this storyline highlighted the risks

associated with IE that need to be mitigated, it still operated within the *Economy* storyline. After all, these regulations aimed to protect the economy.

Despite their different perceptions of the nature of risks and how to mitigate them, members of this coalition agreed on the need for intervention through imposing and reinforcing different regulations. Hence, the *Regulate IE* storyline succeeded not only in constructing a problem, but also influencing the creation of a social and moral order in the IE domain. This storyline positioned the Ontario government, particularly MTCU, as, what Hajer (1995, p. 65) would call, a “problem solver” being “responsible for” protecting Ontario’s best interests, while it assigned “blame” to other actors whose practices risk not only the wellbeing of their own institutions or the PSE sector but also the economic status of the whole province. Hence, these actors should be regulated if we are to maintain a “healthy postsecondary system” where “institutions ... continue to develop and grow” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). Coalition members argued that “there is a role for government to respond to those [risks] and [the government] is considering a series of initiatives” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). For members of this coalition, the above policy concerns were “irritants” that need to be addressed in order to protect our reputation as providers of quality education and our “promise [to provide]...a solid and high quality education is received by both international and domestic students” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5).

However, this storyline was challenged by the *Regulation hinders progress* storyline.

Regulation Hinders Progress

Unfortunately the Ontario government ... are dying to kind of regulate and make ...[the PSE sector] more accountable.

(Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17)

Members of this coalition, mainly PSEIs, faculty members, and some education SIGs, argued that the Ontario government had a “hands-off approach” or a “kind of a non-policy policy” towards IS recruitment and deregulation of IS fees (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). This resulted in an organic increase of IS and helped address two policy concerns: replacing the loss of domestic students, and the shortage of STEM students. Ontario “has been successful despite itself. Those are the successes that have fallen into our lap ... we have lots of international students and they have been growing at a very quick pace so ... well, why does it [Ontario] need to do more?” (Interview, National SIG, 18). For these coalition members, regulation was not only unnecessary, but it would also hinder this growth and pose a threat to the sector’s autonomy. Hence, many members of this coalition did not challenge the construction of IE as a tool to address other policy problems like innovation, immigration, and economy, but challenged the need to *Regulate IE*.

Coalition members argued that the MTCU’s approach to IE had recently been focused on risk mitigation, regulation, and accountability. *Regulation hinders progress* coalition members lamented the governments’ increased interest in regulation, which was perceived as preventing innovation and hindering economic advancement. A coalition member argued that “the responsibility of bureaucrats, historically, has been to protect us from risk, to protect us from embarrassment, and to keep us out of the news. What that has done is it has thwarted innovation.” (Interview, Politician, 22). Members of this coalition argued that “internationalization [should be]...seen as a force for economic and social good and not

something to be afraid of” (Interview, National SIG, 23). For members of this coalition, such interference is “never good” as PSEIs “start losing their luster and they start losing their quality once there is too much government meddling” (Interview, National SIG, 16). A participant noted that “I think ... for the most part, the Canadian government and the Ontario government has not meddled in the way that we have seen in some other jurisdictions and this is probably a smart thing that they should continue” (Interview, National SIG, 16).

While many *Regulation hinders progress* coalition members argued that it is important for Ontario to have an IE strategy, they saw it as one that “encourages internationalization” and envisions IE as part and parcel of the PSE educational experience (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 19; Interview, National SIG, 18). Coalition members rejected any “interventionist” or “prescriptive” strategies that say “here is where you should go; this is what you should do; ... this is how many [IS] you should have; and this is how much you should charge them” (Interview, National SIG, 18). Instead, the strategy should be “loosely instructive;” always securing institutional “autonomy” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 19) and enabling PSEIs “to execute their own strategies based on their own particular needs” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17). The Ontario government, according to this coalition, should adopt a more entrepreneurial spirit and accept risk as part of it. A participant noted

Governments [struggle] to keep up with change, even modest change, but, in an era of breathtaking change, we are falling farther and farther behind. And, the economy has changed, and become much more globalized, and technology has become absolutely pervasive. Everything from the taxi business, to the hotel business, to how you watch movies, has been disrupted, and governments are still, by and large, focused on their traditional responsibility, which is predictability, stability, and certainty, and we have to find a way to move faster, we have to find a way to adapt to a fast-changing world.

(Interview, Politician, 22)

While members of the *Regulate IE* coalition called for the “need to manage risks,” *Regulation hinders progress* coalition members invited them to learn from the private sector and acknowledged that if “we are not taking calculated risks on an ongoing basis, somebody else will and they’re going to get stronger than us” (Interview, Politician, 22) and that increased regulations and accountability measures would only hinder PSE institutions’ ability to compete.

While the *Regulation hinders progress* storyline was also influenced by the global context, the coalition members constructed the problem differently. A participant argued that “you can see governments in other countries that are putting roadblocks in the way, the UK being a very good example” (Interview, National SIG, 18). Another coalition member concurred, noting that increased regulations have “never worked well anywhere around the world that has tried it” (Interview, National SIG, 16). Hence, the Ontario government should learn from those examples and “stay ... out of their [PSEIs’] way” (Interview, National SIG, 18). While the *Regulation hinders progress* coalition members were “not calling on the province to get more involved” (Interview, National SIG, 18), they saw a different role for the government. It was “recognizing the benefits [of IE],” providing “some type of political heft or visibility ... [for example,] on a tour of India and they [i.e. PSEIs] will want the premier to come along to make it look good,” lobbying the federal government to address any “blockage in the immigration pipeline” (Interview, National SIG, 18); and ensuring that IS had a positive experience in Ontario beyond their “educational experience” by acknowledging the “obligation of society to those individuals,” (Interview, National SIG, 16). Otherwise, the Ontario government should “provid[e] the institutions with the freedom to act,” (Interview, National SIG, 18), and not “interfer[e] in the autonomy of education” (Interview, National SIG, 16).

Members of the *Regulation hinders progress* coalition perceived any attempt to regulate IS fees as “quite controversial” (Interview, National SIG, 23). They argued that “if somebody is willing to pay this much money ... [to] com[e] here, and you are not bumping domestic students out of the seat then fine. Do it... [governments and PSEIs are]...getting the result that ... [they] want, without regulation” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Others argued that regulating IS fees would devalue the Ontarian PSE brand, noting, “I think Canadians generally undervalue the quality of a Canadian university experience ... what we need to recognize is that Canada has international calibre and international quality educational experience and that the cost of delivery of that is significant” (Interview, National SIG, 23). Other coalition members mobilized the Protect Canadians discourse, arguing that “I don’t personally believe that Ontario tax payers should be paying the cost of educating international students and so a tuition regime that recognizes the full cost of delivering an international education experience and, frankly, includes some recognition that we are in a competitive environment and that our system is seen with such high regard that our tuition fees can be paid” (Interview, National SIG, 23). However, the participant noted that the province should still provide some scholarships “to attract the best and brightest, regardless of their economic needs” (Interview, National SIG, 23). Others argued that each institution should base its tuition-fees structure on its institutional goals and priorities and should not be restricted by any governmental regulations. Therefore, while coalition members had different rationales, whether it was maintaining PSEIs autonomy, enhancing economy, preserving PSEIs’ competitive edge, or protecting Canadians, they all perceived any attempt for regulation as a barrier.

The *Regulation hinders progress* coalition argued against perceptions that IS might/would displace domestic students with members arguing that “our system is big and

elastic enough,” so if a student is not accepted at the PSEI in their region, they still can go to another one that is a bit outside their region (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12). However, neither the *Regulation hinders progress* coalition members nor *Regulate IE* coalition members were able to answer whether IS were actually displacing domestic students. It is a question that has “never [been] answered” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5) and neither coalition was invested in a study that examines application and admission trends. Both coalitions argued for their position without conducting or citing any research to validate their arguments. This is consistent with Hajer’s perspective that coalition members’ positions are based on “facts” that “hav[e] never [been] carefully examined” (Fischer, 2003, p. 102). Hence, “it is not the validity of the facts per se that motivates a person to reconsider his/her views,” instead, it is the perceived plausibility and multi-interpretability of the storyline they ascribe to (Fischer, 2003, p. 103).

It is important to note that the *Regulation hinders progress* storyline attracted a few actors who resisted what they perceive as the government’s, and some PSEIs’, neoliberal approach to IE. These actors expressed concern that if the government interfered and regulated IE, it would further prioritize and institutionalize its neoliberal agenda while sidetracking other cultural, social, and educational objectives. A coalition member argued that, while “the weight of the international trade side is predominant” in Ontario’s approach to IE, there is more of a potential ... to connect international education with a real geopolitical concerns...where... Canada [can] make a contribution in the world” (Interview, National SIG, 18). The current government approach to IE tended to focus on emerging economies such as India, China, and Brazil while neglecting any investments in international areas “where the potentials for destabilization are and where ... a Canadian presence [can] make a difference ... [and] be part of the real transformation” (Interview, National SIG, 18). Another coalition member used “the

metaphor of all boats rising” noting that “it is a huge win for us if other places have a stronger education system. Imagine, there would be fewer wars and better health and more healthy populations” (Interview, National SIG, 16). These coalition members expressed concern that an Ontario IE strategy would further institutionalize the connection between IE and “trade policy” rather than “geopolitics” (Interview, National SIG, 18). Hence, they argued against any regulation of the IE policy, instead seeing the need to allow for approaches to IE that do not align with the government’s perceived neoliberal approach. Interestingly, and in an attempt to justify their interest in non-conventional IE partners, these coalition members still mobilized the *Economy* storyline noting “and sure [these IE initiatives] eventually... can lead to trade advantages,” which speaks to the dominance of the *Economy* storyline.

Regulation hinders progress coalition members, particularly universities, argued that, instead of regulating the whole sector, regulations should be imposed on actors and practices that pose threats and/or risks, namely colleges¹⁰⁸. First, some universities have “big international enrollments [for example] the U of T or York, but [this is] still small on a proportional basis;” in contrast to colleges where IS enrolment for a few reached a whopping 40% of their enrollment and revenue (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Second, whereas universities can spread their international enrollment out, since their degrees are portable outside of Ontario, colleges do not have as much flexibility as their degrees are tightly linked to Ontario- specific professional licensing regulations which might not be relevant or needed outside of Ontario. Therefore, IS are not necessarily drawn to many of the college’s programs, since their “credentials don’t mean

¹⁰⁸ This tension may explain that, whereas the university and college sectors worked together on a joint submission to the MTCU in relation to the IE strategy back in 2010, they did not do the same during the 2016 consultation process. A participant recalled “I think we have started the process of putting in a joint submission to government but then it never went in as a joint submission” because each had “slightly different perspectives” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 9).

anything outside of Ontario or Canada. They are not portable... this is why the colleges are more sensitive [to fluctuations of IE enrolments], I guess” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2).

Third, as stated by a civil servant, “colleges are a creature of the government and, if they have deficits, then that shows up [in the government’s books], and that is not true of universities” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). The Ministry is under no obligations to bail out any university, unlike colleges. Hence, for some members of the *Regulation hinders progress* coalition, MTCU’s “risk-management problems” and “drive for accountability” concerns should, if need be, target colleges and not universities. MTCU should “manage the colleges better, they [colleges] are on your books, we [i.e., universities] are not. So leave us alone and, until you want to fund us, then get your fingers out of the policy [and] the strategic planning because it’s not your [i.e. MTCU] business” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17). This argument suggests the *structuration* of the *Regulate IE* storyline. The *Regulation hinders progress* coalition members’ argument is situated within the rhetoric of regulation and accountability. They argue that only actors who are perceived to be facing challenges should be regulated. Colleges, on the other hand, resisted this increased regulation. While they acknowledged that they are on the government’s books, they saw increased regulations as “an impediment,” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 9). However, colleges are not endowed with the same powers as universities, due to the strong accountability and governance relationship between colleges and the provincial government. This has roots in the historical fact that colleges, unlike universities, were created in large by the provincial government to address the perception of societal needs (Skolnik, 2004).

The *Regulation hinders progress* storyline is supported by a strong culture of autonomy, particularly in the university sector. Whereas both colleges and universities are public institutions, universities have historically been autonomous, while colleges are more susceptible

to government regulations (Axelrod, 2008; Cameron, 1991; Shanahan & Jones, 2007; Skolnik, 1997). This study agrees with other scholars who observed an increased “tension between provincial accountability and institutional autonomy,” particularly in the university sector, as the amount of legislation, regulation, and request for reporting has increased over the years (Skolnik, 1997, p. 335 see also Austin & Jones, 2016; Eastman et al., 2017; Fisher et al., 2009; Shanahan, 2009; Shanahan et al., 2005). Ontario’s universities are the strongest mobilizers of the *Regulation hinders progress* storyline. Despite this strong sense of autonomy in the PSE sector, universities seemed to be more willing to accept the government’s “interference” in IE activities, programs, and approaches if this translated into more funding. A participant questioned the Ontario’s government “nerve ... to give ... [universities] all kinds of aggravation¹⁰⁹ around international [students] and they continue to try ... to make [universities] more accountable to them, but they are not funding it. They are not contributing to it in any way” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17). This participant went on to argue that, if the ministry is not going to fund IE, it should at least not “make trouble” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17). This view is consistent with that of another participant, who noted that “when the government doesn’t have money, it doesn’t necessarily have the influence” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5).

Members of the *Regulation hinders Progress* coalition rejected the Ministry’s first draft of Ontario’s IE strategy (which was shared with select stakeholders). A participant described the first draft as “all-about management control...how... [to] control and how ... [to] make sure that there are no risks and what are the approval mechanisms through board structures? It was all about the fiduciary controls on a business model of colleges and universities” (Interview,

¹⁰⁹ This participant referred to different funding cuts such as the cuts to international marketing fairs and the international student recovery fees (refer to Chapter 3 for more details)

Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 8). According to some participants, this draft lacked any discussion of the IE “societal benefits;” “economic opportunities” and “pedagogical advantages” for our PSE institutions and for our communities (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 8). The draft was more focussed on the “accountability side as opposed to the funding side” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 17).

To conclude, *Regulation hinders progress* coalition members resisted regulation for different reasons, mobilizing the *Economy* and *Gateway* storylines. Their rationales varied. Some were worried about the province’s, and its PSEIs, ability to compete for their IE global market share, whether financial, economic (i.e., business relationships and attraction of talent), or academic (partnerships). They argued that the province’s ability to compete in the current, fierce global knowledge economy would be stalled by the parochial practices and vision of the *Regulate IE* coalition members. Others were concerned about the influence of such regulations on the autonomy of the PSE sector in Ontario. Others were concerned about the effect such regulations would have on reinforcing a neoliberal agenda on the postsecondary education sector in general and IE in specific. The *Regulation hinders progress* storyline was further supported by a culture in the Canadian PSE sector, particularly universities, that celebrated autonomy and resisted any government interference and attempts for regulation.

7.3.3. A shifting terrain in IE discourses

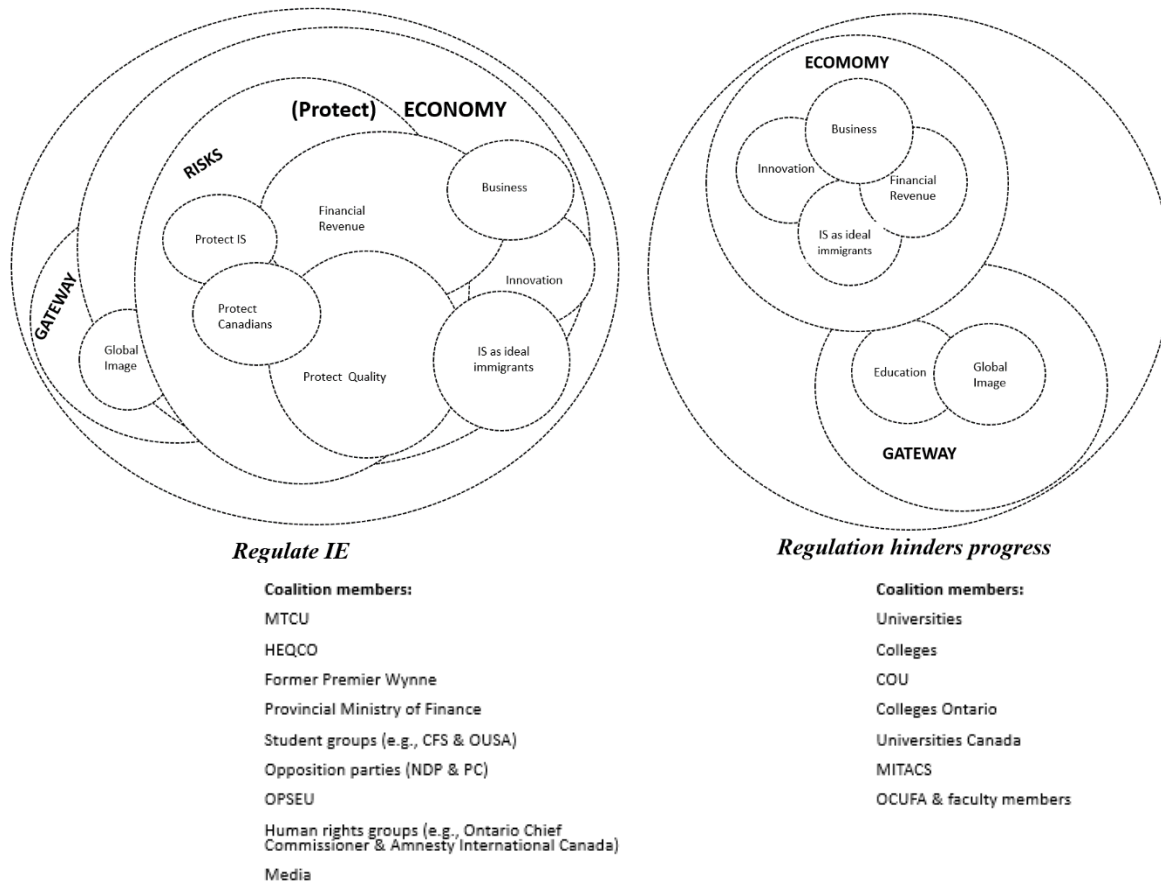
Supporters of both the *Regulate IE* and *Regulation hinders progress* storylines agreed that internationalization is “a good thing for institutions”, “an important part of the campus experience”, “an important part of the financial model for institutions,” and integral to Ontario’s role as “a global participant in the global knowledge society” (Interview, National SIG, 18). However, their perceptions of how to achieve these goals differed. The emergence of these two

storylines disrupted the membership of the *Economy*, *Risks*, and *Gateway* storylines. Whereas both new storylines mobilized the *Economy* and *Gateway* storylines, the *Regulate IE* storyline attracted the *Risks* coalition members. Both coalitions mobilized the *Economy* and *Gateway* storylines, yet differently; hence disrupting the memberships of these storylines. Some members of the *Economy* and *Gateway* coalitions joined the *Regulate IE* coalition; these included MTCU, HEQCO, student bodies (particularly in relation to tuition fees), and opposition parties. Meanwhile, others joined the *Regulation hinders progress* storyline, including PSEIs (particularly universities), COU, Universities Canada, OCUFA, and faculty members. Whereas members of both the *Regulate IE* and *Regulation hinders progress* coalitions used the *Economy* and *Gateway* storylines to support their respective visions of reality, they mobilized them differently. For members of the *Regulate IE* coalition, regulation is perceived as necessary in ensuring the stability of the PSE sector, protecting government and public investments, protecting Ontario's PSE sector's reputation abroad, and addressing immigration and innovation goals. For the *Regulation hinders progress* coalition, such a "ring fenced" approach to IE (Interview, National SIG, 16) was perceived to cause Ontario to lag behind its competitors, whether provincial or global, jeopardizing the economic prosperity of the province. To some, increased regulations hindered PSEIs from pursuing innovative and entrepreneurial initiatives and partnerships. For others, it further pushed a neoliberal approach to IE and/or interfered with the autonomy of PSEIs.

Figure 8 provides a visual conceptualization of the changing terrain of IS storylines in Ontario.

Figure 8

Ontario IE Strategy emblematic site



- The *Economy* and *Gateway* (global image only) coalition members diverged between those who mobilized the *Regulate IE* storyline and others who mobilized the *Regulation hinders progress* storyline, while the *Risks* coalition members joined the *Regulate IE* storyline. The *Education* discourse within the *Gateway* storyline (mobilized strongly by PSEIs and faculty members), did not mobilize the *Regulate IE* storyline.
- The *Economy* storyline in the *Regulate IE* storyline witnessed a shift as it became partially engulfed by the *Risks* storyline which aims at protecting the economy.
- The *Risks* and *(Protect) Economy* storylines became more dominant and many discourses within them merged and became more dominant (financial revenue and protect quality).
- The *Gateway* storyline also partially engulfed by the *Risks* storyline which focused on protecting the Ontario's education and image nationally and abroad. All of these engulfed by a more encompassing *Regulate IE* storyline
- The *Regulation hinders progress* storyline also attracted some members of the *Economy* and *Gateway* storylines who refused added regulations as they saw them as an impediment to an already successful system. This storyline was supported by a strong culture of autonomy particularly in the university sector.
- The dotted lines that surround the storylines, and the discourses they assemble, are meant to reflect the fact that membership of these storylines is fluid. Actors move in and out of these storylines depending on the context and the policy site.

7.3.4. Ontario IE strategy: Which storyline has achieved hegemony?

The MTCU released *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens* following a consultation phase¹¹⁰ that took place in 2016. This consultation involved focus groups with students, businesses, and other stakeholders; roundtables with college and university leadership, faculty, student organizations, and French language institutions; and 32 written submissions from diverse stakeholders. Various stakeholders were “included in the debate on policy formulation, not only to draw on their local knowledge, but also to build active forms of trust in institutions [i.e. MTCU] in an age in which trust can no longer be assumed” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 187).

Right at the very beginning, the *Strategy* sets the terms of the IE debate within the *Economy* storyline, noting that as “international students account for over 15 per cent of all students enrolled in public postsecondary institutions in the province,” there is a “need for a renewed international postsecondary education strategy for Ontario: one mindful of the vital linkages between education, innovation, and the economy, and [that] puts students at the centre” (MTCU, 2018a, p. 2). The *Strategy* notes that international enrolment is expected to account for 20% of all PSE enrolments by 2022. These IS “contribute to Ontario’s talent pipeline and form vital connections between Ontario and the world,” “often choose STEM postsecondary programs,” and have “contributed \$7.8 billion to the Ontario economy in 2016, supporting thousands of jobs across the province” (MTCU, 2018a, p.5). This *Economy* storyline is

¹¹⁰ MTCU’s consultations included 32 written submissions in response to the discussion paper, *Developing Global Opportunities: Creating a Postsecondary International Education Strategy for Ontario* (2016); focus groups with students, businesses and other stakeholders, led by the Parliamentary Assistant and held in Toronto, Ottawa, Kitchener/Waterloo, and Windsor, with 72 participants; and six roundtables held by the Ministry with college and university leadership, faculty, student organizations, and French language institutions. Whereas a few of the written submissions are publically available and/or obtained through the interviewees, most of the submissions, minutes of meetings, and focus groups are not accessible as this was an active file during data collection which limited my access to the MTCU archives. Hence, I am not able to generate a comprehensive list of people consulted and voices heard.

supplemented by mobilizing the *Gateway* storyline, noting that “this strategy, however, is about more than Ontario’s economic competitiveness. It’s about connection, and the ties we form as people. ... creat[ing] bonds with different cultures, communities, and ways of thought” and bringing “cultural diversity to college and university campuses and enrich[ing] local communities (MTCU, 2018a, pp. 3, 5).

In examining the goals of the *Strategy*, one notes the prevalence of the *Regulate IE* storyline in order to protect the economic benefits of IE and the reputation of the PSE sector as a quality education provider. The *Strategy* has three main principles (Table 9): create global citizens by improving the domestic and international student experience, contribute to Ontario’s communities and economy by achieving a balanced IS growth across the province and supporting the retention of international talent, and strive for sustainability by ensuring prudent high-quality growth (MTCU, 2018a).

Table 9
Summary of Principles, goals and actions of *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens*

Principle 1: Create Global Citizens	
Actions	Goal A: Improve Ontario’s domestic student Experience
	Enhance cultural perspectives on Ontario’s campuses by
	1. creating an internationalization fund for programming
	Create opportunities for Ontario students to study abroad by
	2. investing in international experiential learning
	3. establishing scholarships to financially support domestic students to study abroad
	4. setting international study abroad targets for university and college students
Actions	Goal B: Improve IS experience in Ontario
	Provide full program tuition transparency from the start of a program to the end
	5. including complete program tuition structure as part of the PSEI letter of offer to IS
	Create more support services for IS by
	6. encouraging institutions to enhance international support services on their campuses
	7. identifying health care issues faced by IS
	Collect Data to measure IS experience and share information <i>across</i> the sector
	8. regularly surveying IS on their experience in Ontario to share data between the government and the sector to better inform programs and planning improvements
Principle 2: Contribute to Ontario’s Communities and Economy	
Actions	Goal A: Achieve a balanced international growth
	Promote balanced IS growth across Ontario by
	9. working with PSEIs to define a sustainable and thriving range of growth on IS provincially

	10. developing and adopting a recruitment strategy that encourages IS to study <i>across</i> Ontario
	11. developing a three-year marketing plan to recruit IS to Ontario
	Increase PhD funding for IS
	12. allowing universities to allocate up to 10 percent of funding-eligible PhD spaces to IS to meet growing research demands ¹¹¹
	Support Ontario’s 5% francophone immigration target by
	13. promoting Ontario’s French-language education system in key French speaking international market to increase enrolment in French-language and bilingual institutions
	14. promoting Ontario as a destination for French-speaking study, work and immigration
Actions	Goal B: Support the retention of IS
	Facilitate the retention of IS after graduation by
	15. addressing issues related to IS entry into Ontario and transitions to post-graduation employment and permanent residency
	Enhance Ontario’s settlement services by
	16. expanding the International Student Connect program pilot (which connects IS to settlement services) <i>across</i> more campuses and municipalities
	Integrate students into the province’s labour market by
17. exploring opportunities to connect students with enterprises that would value students’ international expertise and global job experience	
Principle 3: Strive for Sustainability	
Action	Goal A: Ensure prudent, high-quality growth
	Encourage a healthy viable system
	18. identifying and sharing best practices of the various initiatives benefiting IS <i>across</i> the sector

Source: this table is constructed based on MTCU, 2018a

The three principles and their goals construct IE as a solution to different policy problems, most of which are beyond the education policy landscape. The *Strategy* sets goals of increasing outbound students’ mobility (1- 4), facilitating IS recruitment (9-14), and retention (13-17), enhancing support services for IS (5-8), and distributing IS across the province (9, 10, 18). The *Strategy* perceives IS as a solution to enhancing the province’s research agenda (12); meeting labour market needs, and achieving immigration targets (15-17); particularly French speaking immigration targets (13, 14). Hence, the *Strategy* institutionalizes the previously discussed discourses that see IE as a solution to non-education-related policy problems.

¹¹¹ This change in PhD funding for international students was announced in the media in July 2015. Unlike the Trillium Scholarship, which introduced new funds for IS, “no new money is attached to the [new PhD funding] ... Instead, starting this fall, up to a quarter of new graduate spots will be funded by the province. Province-wide, that means up to 130 spots can be reallocated for international graduate students under the new policy, but discussions will begin on how the program may expand in the future” (Chiose, 2015a). Hence, the PhD funding policy change took place prior to the release of this strategy and it was institutionalized during the minister-ship of Reza Moridi, a point that will be discussed further in 8.2.3.

Having outlined the (potential) benefits of IE to the education, labour, economy and immigration sectors, the strategy highlights the need to protect, maintain, enhance and distribute these valuable benefits equally across Ontario. The *Strategy* highlights the need to collect data to measure IS experience, achieve a balanced IS growth, attract IS to PSEIs in regions across all of Ontario such as Northern Ontario, provide IS with a transparent and predictable tuition structure, and increase consistency in IS support services across PSEIs in Ontario (MTCU, 2018a). All of the above give clear indications of regulation intentions institutionalizing the *Regulate IE* storyline. Three issues are evident:

1. Regulation of IS fees and enrolment proportion in PSEIs:

While the *Strategy* imposes a requirement that PSEIs have to provide IS with a predictable and transparent tuition fee schedule (Table 9, point 5), it does not regulate IS tuition fees nor IS enrolment proportions per institution. This could be attributed to two points. The first is the influence of the *Regulation hinders progress* storyline, supported by a strong institutional autonomy, which rejects government's interference in regulating IS fees. Hence, PSEIs, universities and colleges, "develop[ed] ...a system-wide position" to reject such a regulation (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Second, and most importantly, is the perception that introducing regulations can be financially and economically hazardous. Some *Regulate IE* coalition members argue that PSEIs "would be in terrible financial shape if the Ministry somehow intervenes and either regulated the international fees or controlled the enrollment" (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). Therefore, the Ontario government "is electing not to have a policy [regarding regulation of IS tuition fees]... It's not that they can't. They just are saying we are better off not to right now" (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2). In the disagreement over IS tuition fees, some aspects of the *Regulate IE* storyline have been

institutionalized (e.g., regulations of transparency and predictability of IS fees). However, regulating IS tuition fees has not achieved *institutionalization* yet. The *Regulate IE* coalition members seem to argue that introducing regulations, at this stage, is more economically risky than not. That is, is overpowered by the *Economy* storyline. This raises a second point.

2. Data collection, reporting, and accountability

The *Strategy* outlines plans to collect (and share) data on IS experience (8) and identify best practices of the various initiatives benefiting IS across the sector (18). A question that is yet to be answered is how this data will be used. Is it just to share best practices or are there any further accountability measures and/or future funding (or lack of it) attached to them? A participant observed recent changes to the Strategic Mandate Agreement (SMA) template for both colleges and universities. MTCU introduced a new section in the SMA templates (2017-2020) where PSEIs are to report on institutional current and projected IS enrolment, international collaboration activities, international goals, how international partnerships, activities, and enrolment fit within the overall strategic plan, risk factors considered in managing international enrolment, and international strategy approval process with the PSEI (MTCU, 2017 a; b). Given that these SMAs are “accountability agreements,” these newly introduced questions have caused “a lot of nervousness out there with the institutions ... [since] historically¹¹² when the Ministry asked them [PSEIs] about something, it means that ... [MTCU] wanted to regulate it” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). This raises questions on whether MTCU is “going to regulate tuition fees... [and] regulate the proportion of students that are there,” (Interview, Provincial

¹¹² The participant was referring here to the ISR tax. This participant noted that “institutions are understandably nervous because the last time that [MTCU]... talked to them about international, ... [it] ended up with the international student recovery.[MTCU]sent out a survey asking them all sorts of information about their international students and then in the budget like three months later ...[it] said oh ya okay we are going to charge back \$750 per student, right” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11).

Civil Servant, 11). I would argue that, although changes to the SMA agreements might not have led to changes in regulations (yet), they contribute to the *institutionalization* of the *Regulate IE* storyline as they introduce new “institutional practices” (Hajer, 1993). This is consistent with one participant’s observation that the IE consultation “was not meant to create policy, but [it is] ...the SMA exercise that is going on right now” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 2).

3. Partnerships: public-private and offshore campuses

Whereas these partnerships are implied in the *Strategy* through references to protecting the viability of the PSE sector (Principle 3) and ensuring a quality educational experience for IS (Principle 1, goal 3); *Institutionalization* of elements of the *Regulate IE* storyline is evident through a change in institutional practices. First is MTCU “clamp[ing] down” on Section 28 of the Financial Administration Act¹¹³ (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 9). Through reinforcing this section, colleges are expected to meet MTCU “accountability and rules” and pursue MTCU’s “approval for just about anything that could impact the bottom line of the province,” including operating off-shore campuses (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 9). Second is MTCU announcing a “moratorium” on all public-private college partnerships in 2018. Whereas the *Regulate IE* storyline, through the moratorium, was successful at regulating colleges, this was not the case for universities. A participant recalled that MTCU wanted to have universities “report on every single international partnership that each university had to the government on a regular basis, like, twice a year, something like this, and we said no and ...fought and fought and in the end, they [i.e. MTCU] didn’t. They didn’t succeed” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs,

¹¹³ Section 28 of Ontario’s Financial Administration Act states that a ministry or public entity shall not enter into any financial arrangement, commitment, guarantee, indemnity, or similar transaction that would increase, directly or indirectly, the indebtedness or contingent liabilities of the Province of Ontario unless written approval is obtained from the Minister of Finance.

17). This could be attributed to the strong autonomy at the university level and/or to universities' deficits being private ones that do not influence the government.

This emblematic site reveals a shift in the IE policy landscape where the *Regulate IE* storyline gained dominance, achieving partial *institutionalization*. While it is more successful in regulating the college sector through reinforcing Section 28 of Ontario's Financial Administration Act and cancelling public-private partnerships, the new SMA agreements have the potential to initiate new policy changes, implicating both colleges and universities in the future. Whereas interventions to regulate international education are relatively new, it is in alignment with the Ontario government's efforts to steer and shape the PSE sector through increased accountability, funding, performance data, and other intervention measures. As documented by many scholars, these agreements aim to align PSE institutions with the regional/national economic needs and where IE, and education in general, is constructed as a commodity (Fisher & Rubenson, 1998; Fisher et al., 2009; Shanahan, 2009; Trotter & Mitchell, 2018).

7.4. Summary

Through constructing these emblematic sites, I illustrated how storylines emerge, diverge, and converge in the discursive struggle to influence policy-making. Each emblem has contributed to a conceptual and institutional change in the Ontario IE policy landscape. The Private Career Colleges Act (2005) marks the prevalence of the *Risks* storyline in relation to the private sector. Trillium scholarship (2010) marks the emergence of the *Ontario first* storyline which puts IE (and IS) in competition with domestic priorities and needs. Although the *Ontario first* storyline has not succeeded in institutionalizing policy change, it has influenced the construction of IE and the way the government has approached it from then on. The third emblem, Ontario's PSE *International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens* (2018a), marks a shift in the terrain of IE storylines introducing the *Regulate IE* storyline into a policy space that has not, historically, been regulated. The dominance of the *Economy* storyline is evident throughout the three emblems. Even when the *Risks* storyline manages to initiate policy change (e.g. emblematic sites 1 and 3), its success is contingent upon aligning its discourse with the more hegemonic *Economy* storyline. As illustrated in the third emblematic site, the *Risk* storyline has succeeded in adding a new dimension and nuance (i.e., regulation and accountability discourses) and reframing the dominant *Economy* storyline.

Chapter 8: Discursive Hegemony and Voices

The previous chapters attempted to build an understanding of how international education (IE) is defined and constructed as a policy problem in the postsecondary education sector in Ontario (the first research question of this study) and identifying the policy actors (i.e., discourse coalition members) who are contributing to the postsecondary international education (IE) policy-making process in Ontario (the second research question). This chapter, along with the previous chapter, aims to answer the third research question of this study: How do international education storylines reinforce power dynamics by empowering and/or silencing different discourses? I start by examining the discursive hegemony (or lack of it) of the different IE storylines and how those storylines have framed and shifted the IE policy landscape in Ontario. I follow this with a discussion of the role of some agents of change, unsettling the notion of collective versus individual discursive agency.

8.1. Discursive Hegemony

Discursive hegemony is “an essentially socio-cognitive product, whereby the social and the cognitive are seen as essentially intertwined” (Hajer, 1995, p. 60). A discourse can be said to be hegemonic in a given domain if two conditions are satisfied: *discourse structuration* (i.e., when a storyline achieves enough coherence and credibility to set the terms for debate) and *discourse institutionalization* (i.e. when a given discourse is translated into institutional arrangements, policies, and practices) (Hajer, 1993, 1995). In examining the ways in which cognitive and social commitments are routinely reproduced and the way in which discursive “interpellations¹¹⁴” take place (Hajer, 1995, p. 60), the findings of this study suggest that the

¹¹⁴ Those interpellations are understood as the moments where routinized proceedings are interrupted.

Economy storyline was the most hegemonic storyline in Ontario's IE policy landscape, achieving *structuration* and *institutionalization*. It also reveals that the *Economy* storyline witnessed shifts in its construction due to the influence of an emerging *Regulate IE* storyline (an offset of the *Risks* storyline). The *Regulate IE* storyline gradually gained dominance, however, only in the sense of protecting the *Economy* storyline (i.e., regulations needed to protect the economic investments and goals of the province). This led to the emergence of accountability and regulation discourses surrounding the IE field. The *Regulate IE* storyline was opposed by the *Regulation hinders progress* storyline, supported by a strong culture of autonomy at the PSE sector. At the same time, The *Ontario first* storyline, an offset of the *Risks* storyline, also emerged as an influential storyline. While *Ontario first*, similar to other storylines, was in favour of internationalization in general, it highlighted the need to ensure that Ontarians were not crowded out from PSEIs, the job market, and/or the housing market because of competition with foreigners. Therefore, while it shared discursive space with the *Economy* storyline, it diverted from it whenever there was a perception of prioritizing foreigners over Ontarians. Finally, the *Gateway* storyline was more frequently mobilized to support other storylines, particularly the more dominant *Economy* storyline, and was rarely present on its own. In the following sections, I discuss the shifting terrain of the *Economy*, *Risks* and *Gateway* storylines and the convergences and/or divergences they witnessed, resulting in the emergence of the *Regulate IE*, *Regulation hinders progress* and *Ontario first* storylines.

8.1.1. *Internationalize, it's good for the economy*: The hegemonic storyline

As discussed in the second chapter, the *Economy* storyline is situated in global discourses that perpetuate competition between countries to secure their market shares in IS recruitment, race for talent, university rankings, export of education, business and innovation hubs, and

international partnerships. The *Economy* storyline has dominated the discursive space in Ontario. The hegemony of the *Economy* storyline was facilitated by its multi-interpretability, drawing on resources such as diversity of actors, knowledge, legitimacy, power, and demonstration of material benefits. As discussed below, the *Economy* storyline achieved *discourse closure*, paving the way to its *hegemony* (*structuration* and *institutionalization*).

The *Economy* storyline was able to reach *discourse closure* as it reduced the IE construction to an economic argument with ‘*Internationalize, it is good for the economy*,’ which is an example of what DCF would refer to as a “catchy one-liner” (Hajer, 1995, p. 62). The *Economy* storyline increasingly became multi-interpretive, allowing for the inclusion of discourses related to business, innovation, financial revenue, and labour/immigration. International education became associated with a prosperous business sector, enhanced business and trade relationships with international markets, and globally-minded and skilled graduates. It was also perceived to be part and parcel of the province’s innovation agenda through partnerships with international research communities and recruitment of foreign scholars and talented students (particularly in STEM fields). IE helped generate revenue not only to the PSEIs, but also to the Ontarian communities through job creation and contributions to the tourism and housing markets. IE also helped address the problem of declining demographic and its subsequent impact on the labour market by providing a pool of skilled workers and well-acclimated potential immigrants. This loss of meaning, multi-interpretability of the storyline, and elimination of the uncertainty and conditionality of the original knowledge led to *discursive closure* which assigned meaning to the IE policy, hence facilitating policy-making. Despite their different rationales and approaches, *Economy* coalition members agreed that IE was good for the Ontarian economy. The *Economy* storyline is an example of a storyline that succeeded in

“building up both shared ways of orienting knowledge as well as the trust and credibility of the actors involved” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 187).

The strength of the *Economy* storyline also stemmed from its ability to attract, what Fischer (2003, p. 109) would call, “reliable and trusted members” who contributed to the stability of the coalition. After all, the stability of a coalition is “*more than just a question of what is said, it is also a matter of who said it*. The right thing said by the wrong person can, and often does, have no cognitive impact whatsoever” (Fischer, 2003, pp. 109-110, emphasis added). The *Economy* storyline succeeded in attracting these “trusted and reliable” actors, such as employers and economy, research and industry-focused think tanks, and SIGs whose discourse added value and cognitive impact to the *Economy* storyline. This storyline also attracted diverse actors who came from equally diverse policy spaces and knowledge disciplines. Each actor contributed knowledge and discipline-specific language to the overarching *Economy* storyline. Drawing on the ideas, concepts, and discourses of other disciplines such as immigration, business, trade, and innovation, the *Economy* storyline became more credible.

The federal and provincial governments (e.g., GAC, CIC, MTCU, MCI, Finance, Innovation, and Industry) and different economic advisory councils and arms-length organizations (ESDC, ISED, ACEG, and HEQCO) were key mobilizers of this storyline. The *Economy* storyline managed to create an alignment between the federal and provincial governments in a policy arena where there was always “tension between Ottawa and Ontario and jurisdictional responsibilities and who gets credit for doing what, [which historically made...] the international issue especially a complex one” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 1). Both levels of government “have never been especially well aligned [until they both had] a little bit more clarity about the economic motive” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 1). The federal and

provincial immigration ministries (CIC and MCI) also mobilized the *Economy* storyline in relation to their immigration policies on the entry of international students, faculty, and scholars; their work in Canada; and transition to citizenship. This alignment between the federal and provincial governments' discourses speaks to Hajer and Wagenaar's (2003) point that storylines allow "disparate actors ... [to] find nascent points of solidarity in the joint realization that they need one another to craft effective political agreements (p. 7). These federal and provincial government actors were in positions of power and authority and had easier access to the public through the media.

However, the power of the *Economy* storyline also stemmed from its ability to attract other diverse and influential actors such as PSEIs (universities and colleges) and education-focused national and provincial SIGs (e.g., CBIE, Universities Canada, Mitacs, COU, and Colleges Ontario). National SIGs; particularly CBIE, Mitacs, and Universities Canada, strongly mobilized the *Economy* storyline (along with the *Gateway* storyline) and were frequently referenced by the media, interviewees, and policy documents. CBIE stood out as playing "a critical role" on the federal level (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 3). These national SIGs lobbied the federal government for additional funding for study abroad for domestic students, friendly immigration regulations for international students and faculty, and research funding for PSEIs.

Global actors, such as those from competitor countries (e.g., Australia, the United Kingdom, and Germany) and emerging economies (e.g., China, Brazil) contributed to the *Economy* storyline. Transnational organizations such as OECD and ranking organizations (e.g., THE and QS) also contributed to this storyline. A participant noted that "all governments are reading the OECD reports and the rankings [e.g., THE and QS] and the education surveys of the

OECD with sort of greater attention than they did in the past,” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 11). These global actors further empowered the *Economy* storyline in Ontario. For example, a participant noted that international ranking organizations’ discourses “appl[ied] pressure on the institutions to apply pressure on the government” to fund research in order to secure a better global ranking for Ontario’s PSEIs (Interview, Journalist, 4) which would lead to better economic outcomes in terms of enhancing the innovation agenda, recruitment of fee-paying international students, and attraction and retention of foreign talent.

A wide scope of non-education actors and SIGs actively contributed to *Economy* storyline. They came from the fields of economy, trade, and industry (e.g., Canadian Chamber of Commerce, Ontario Chamber of Commerce, Toronto Board of Trade, Conference Board of Canada, and Asia Pacific Foundation); immigration (e.g. immigration lawyers); private sector (e.g.; private talent acquisition consultancies and employers). This study concurs with Barbaric’s (2017) findings that the benefits of IE to the domestic economy are easily communicated. This made the *Economy* storyline more appealing to those non-education actors and allowed them to contribute to the storyline’s construction.

The *Economy* storyline achieved *coherence* as coalition members increasingly mobilized the four discourses simultaneously (business, innovation, financial incentives, and immigration). For example, when asked about what IE meant, a participant’s response summed up this storyline, noting,

Well, I think it is ...that we have an open and welcoming postsecondary education system. We will *attract top quality minds* to the province and that, in turn, is good for our future *economic development, particularly in society where there is a declining birthrate*. ...and I believe our education system should include people from outside of the country in the hopes that not only will *they come here and be educated but they will stay and apply their research here and contribute to our long-term economic and social well-*

being ...[IE also provides] new sources of revenue and helps attract global business

(Interview, Politician, 20, emphasis added)

Another participant argued that the Ontario's PSE sector was

“an under-leveraged asset to promote Ontario's place in the world by attracting international students and by *attracting international research* and by *attracting international investment and international research* and by sending students abroad. I think we need to make sure that university *internationalization is seen as a force for economic and social good and not something to be afraid of*”

(Interview, National SIG, 23, emphasis added)

Different journalists and policy documents started mobilizing the four discourses simultaneously.

While there were a few instances where the four discourses were mobilized simultaneously prior to 2011, the storyline achieved *discursive closure* (as well as *structuration* and

institutionalization) that year, as the four storylines were mobilized in federal documents (e.g.,

GAC's Advisory Panel report, 2012; Department of Finance Canada, 2013); provincial

government (MTCU, 2016b; 2018a; MoE, 2015); Federal SIGs (CoBC, 2016; CBIE: Embleton et al., 2011; CBIE, 2012; 2013; 2015; CMEC, 2011; UniCan, 2014a); and provincial SIGs

(COU, 2010; 2016; 2017b; OUSA: Fernlund et al., 2014; OUSA, 2017 and Clubine et al., 2017).

The *Economy* storyline's coherence and routinization led to *discourse structuration* where central actors were persuaded by, or forced to accept, the rhetorical power of a new discourse, henceforth using it to conceptualize the world. Attesting to its *structuration*, there were multiple instances where opposing coalitions reiterated some aspects of the *Economy* storyline, thus, unintentionally contributing to its power, dominance and *reification*. The *Economy* storyline was mobilized by faculty groups (e.g., OCUFA) and student groups (CFS, OUSA, and CSA) who were typically members of the *Gateway* storyline, and sometimes perpetuated the *Risks* storyline in relation to protecting IS and quality of the PSE sector. The

power of the *Economy* storyline forced these groups to use its logic and argumentative structures to ensure that their arguments gained acceptability and credibility. For example, despite their calls against unregulated IS fees that saw IS as cash-cows, student groups reiterated the financial contributions of IS to the Ontarian economy, citing the federal-government-commissioned RKA report titled *Economic Impact of International Education in Canada*. Another example is that, in critiquing the government's approach to IS recruitment and describing it as "a peculiar form of gold rush fever," Crowley (2014) reiterated the numbers generated by GAC's study on IS economic contributions. Similarly, in their argumentative struggle to fight for the inclusion of IS in the Ontario Health Insurance Plan (OHIP), CFS- ON, which historically fought for the elimination of IS differential tuition fees, noted that "In 2010, international students in Ontario contributed almost \$3 billion to the Ontario economy, of which \$1.8 billion was contributed to the GDP, creating over 29,000 jobs and over \$200 million in government revenue" (CFS-ON, 2015, p.1). These are examples of actors reproducing a rival storyline, hence not only "acknowledge[ing] the existence of alternative perspectives," but also "facilitate[ing] their reproduction," and contributing to the opposing storyline's credibility, coherence, and cognitive routinization and hegemony (Hajer, 1995 p. 70). The *Economy* storyline succeeded in framing the IE debate in Ontario according to its vision, forcing other actors to oblige to its argumentation logic.

The *Economy* storyline achieved *discourse institutionalization* as it was reflected into institutional and organizational policies. The *Economy* storyline was mobilized (partially or fully) in the majority of the policy documents analysed (for a complete list, refer to Appendix H). Two examples of policies that *institutionalized* the *Economy* storyline on the federal government level are the Advisory Panel's *International Education: A Key Driver of Canada's Future*

Prosperity (2012) and the 2014 *Canada's International Education Strategy*. Examples on the provincial level are *Open Ontario Plan* (2010) and the *International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens*. The Advisory Panel report was described by participants as the “the most comprehensive report that the Feds have ever done on international education” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12). While it highlighted the educational and cultural benefits of IE, the report situated these benefits within an economic argument. It focused on IS recruitment and retention, reiterating the business, innovation, financial incentives and immigration discourses of the *Economy* storyline. The federal *Canada's International Education Strategy* “play[ed] a big role ... politically speaking” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 3) as it articulated and aligned the IE discourses of the federal and provincial governments by focusing on leveraging the economic benefits of IE. It linked the “educational brand with trade diplomacy” by “promot[ing] education and trade together to foreign partners,” particularly those identified by GAC’s 2013 Global Markets Action Plan (Bradshaw, 2014). Provincially, former Premier McGuinty perpetuated this storyline in his *Open Ontario Plan* arguing that “growing our economy, growing stronger, requires that Ontario be open to change, open to opportunities, open to our new world,” and international education is part of this change (as quoted in Benzie, 2010a). *The Ontario's Strategy for K-12 International Education* (2015); the 2016 *Developing Global Opportunities: Creating a Postsecondary International Education Strategy for Ontario*; and the newly released *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018* perpetuated this storyline and all its discourses.

Attesting to Hajer’s argument that *structuration* occurs prior to *institutionalization*, participants agreed that these documents did not “shape ... [but] probably summarized” ... [and] describe[d] what was going on already” (Interview, National SIG, 18). A participant argued, “I

don't think they were leading. I would say ... those reports were following.... capturing the feeling of the time rather than being prescriptive reports that were really pushing” to a new direction in the field of IE (Interview, National SIG, 18). Another participant agreed that these policies “articulate[d] what people are already thinking as opposed to necessarily leading where people’s thinking winds up” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 9). Whereas participants argued that none of these documents provided “any breakthrough or insight ... [or] changed how people look at things” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 3), the power of these documents stemmed from the fact that they succeeded in *institutionalizing* the *Economy* storyline and further established structured ways of seeing IE within an economic argument while avoiding confrontation. These documents are examples of what Hajer would describe as moments of “positioning” and “reification” (Hajer, 1995, p. 57). In addition to the above government policy documents, this storyline was also institutionalized in different position papers and reports by education-focused SIGs (e.g., CBIE, Universities Canada, and MITACS at the federal level and: Council of Ontario Universities and Colleges Ontario at provincial); faculty groups (e.g., OCUFA and OPSEU) and student groups (e.g., OUSA, CFS, and CSA); and position papers by business and trade SIGs (e.g., Conference Board of Canada, Asia Pacific Foundation, Canadian Chamber of Commerce, and Ontario Chamber of Commerce).

Discourse institutionalization was also reflected in institutional practices. For example, PSEIs were involved in the province’s trade missions to promote education as an export industry. This institutional practice was initiated during the time of Premier McGuinty, when “the first one [i.e., trade mission], and from my point of view the best one, partly because it broke ground, but partly because I think it was more successful, was McGuinty’s first trip to India ...[in] 2006” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 7). Since then, universities and colleges have been

participating in many trade missions to countries around the world, such as India, China, and Turkey. Another example is the fact that many PSEIs instituted changes to their service delivery in reaction to government policies as reported by Trilokekar and El Masri (2016b). These changes included introducing new positions and trainings to enable PSEIs to provide immigration and career advice to IS to facilitate their recruitment and retention (Trilokerkar & El Masri, 2016b; Trilokekar, Thomson & El Masri, 2016).

8.1.2. *Internationalize, yet manage its risks* storyline: Reframing the *Economy* storyline

I will just venture an opinion here that some of the recent Ontario actions for internationalization appear to have been more about risk-mitigation.

(Interview, National SIG, 23)

The *Risks* storyline did not achieve *discursive closure* as the discourses it assembled can be contradictory at times. Some of the *Risks* discourse coalition members were invested in the Protect IS discourse, such as IS, their lawyers, families, and foreign media and governments. Others, such as some Aboriginal SIGs, Canadian medical SIGs, CMHC, and opposition parties, were invested in the Protect Canadians discourse. Faculty and student groups mobilized the Protect IS and Protect quality discourses. The *Risks* storyline succeeded, at times, in attracting some of the *Economy* coalition members (e.g., CIC, MTCU) who were invested in protecting IS, the quality of the PSEI, and/or Canadians in an attempt to protect and enhance the economic benefits of IE, as discussed in emblematic sites one (private sector) and three (Ontario's IE Strategy).

The *Risks* storyline's ability to initiate policy-change was contingent on its ability to align its discourses with the *Economy* storyline. This gives credence to the *structuration* of the *Economy* storyline as it set the terms of the IE discussions. The *Risks* storyline coalition-members were successful in imposing their interpretation of the risks associated with IE, leading,

in some cases, to policy-change through situating their argument within what DCF would refer to as the “historically specific ways of arguing a case,” (Hajer, 1995, p. 273). They mobilized the *Economy* storyline’s logic and followed the formats that can count on a certain respectability and add credibility to their arguments. They ensured that the *Risks* storyline operated within (rather than in opposition to) the *Economy* storyline. For example, in discussing the different illegal and unethical issues pertaining to the practices of some private institutions, members of the *Risks* coalition highlighted the potential damage these practices could cause to the reputation Ontario’s PSE sector as a whole. A tarnished reputation influenced the sector’s ability to attract foreign talent and revenue. This alignment between the *Risks* and *Economy* storylines led to the *institutionalization* of the Ontario’s *Private Career Colleges Act*. These are examples of coalition members succeeding in “position[ing] their contribution in terms of known categories” while “establish[ing] new combinations within seemingly traditional discursive structures” by actively exploiting the tactical polyvalence of discourse (Hajer, 1995, p. 57). However, when the *Risks* storyline ran in opposition to the *Economy* storyline and outside the *Economy* storyline’s traditional discursive structures, the *Risks* storyline was overpowered by *Economy*. For example, the Express Entry program is an instance where the *Economy* and *Risks* storylines struggled for discursive dominance. Whereas the *Risks* storyline achieved hegemony when the government withdrew privileges for IS when applying for citizenship through the first iteration of Express Entry, it was soon overpowered by the *Economy* storyline when the second iteration of this program reinstated those privileges and reiterated the value of IS to the Canadian economy.

Whereas some actors succeeded in latching to the *Economy* storyline and exploiting its discursive structures to achieve some policy goals, others struggled. For example, whereas student groups fought for the rights of IS, participants of this study (e.g., civil servants and

provincial and national PSEI special interest groups) noted that OUSA was more readily heard by the government than by CFS. This may be attributed to the fact that OUSA acknowledged the financial contributions of IS to Ontario's PSE sector and communities. CFS, on one hand, called for the elimination of differential IS tuition fees in order for Ontario to fulfill its humanitarian role in the international community and to avoid the financial exploitation of IS and their countries; an argument that went against the discursive logic of the *Economy* storyline. On the other hand, instead of calling for the elimination of IS tuition fees, OUSA called for transparency, predictability, and regulation of IS tuition fees to ensure a consistent flow of IS to Ontario. They argued that the reputation of Ontario's PSE sector would benefit from protecting IS from sudden and unreasonable increases of tuition fees. This regulation and transparency of IS tuition fees would help attract more fee-paying IS. Hence, OUSA succeeded in reframing its Protect IS discourse within the argumentative logic of the *Economy* storyline. This speaks to Hajer's argument that, when actors are not able to "introduce new problems" (i.e. storylines), they may initially "follow the formats that can count on a certain respectability," and "add credibility to the case that is being argued," (Hajer, 1995, p. 273). Hence, finding the appropriate storyline becomes "an important form of agency" for policy actors (Hajer, 1995, p. 56).

The *Risks* storyline, most recently, managed to shift the *Economy* storyline by introducing discourses of regulation and accountability to protect the economic returns of international education, as evident in the Ontario's 2018 IE strategy, and as discussed in emblematic site 3. The convergence of the *Economy* and *Risks* storylines paved the way for the emergence of a powerful *Regulate IE* storyline. While the *Regulate IE* storyline operated within a more dominant *Economy* storyline (i.e., invested in protecting the *Economy*), it succeeded in introducing and institutionalizing regulation discourses to the IE policy field. This illustrates a

case where political change took place “through the emergence of new storylines [in this case, conversion of storylines] that re-order understandings,” (Hajer, 1995, p. 56).

8.1.3. *Internationalize, it’s Canada’s gateway to the world: A weak but supporting storyline*

This storyline was described as representing the “genuine interest in internationalism,” and as “sort of uplifting altruistic” IE discourse (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 1), yet it was rarely present in the IE discursive landscape in isolation. While this storyline was mobilized by the *Economy* coalition members, *Gateway* coalition members questioned their intentions. A participant said, “you could decide whether it is [their] primary or secondary (argument)” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12). However, *Gateway* coalition members argued that, until true investment is put into IE (e.g., funding), “we could [not] take the[ir] internationalism ... rhetoric ... seriously” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 1). Unlike the *Risks* storyline, this storyline did not witness fragmentation. Despite being weaker, the *Gateway* storyline maintained its presence in this policy landscape. After all, educational, cultural, and social discourses should be part of any educational policy. The *Gateway* coalition members frequently emerged to support and/or oppose different IE policy initiatives. For example, this storyline was mobilized heavily in 2010 in support of the McGuinty’s *Open Ontario Plan* and the Trillium Scholarship. This year witnessed the highest number of op-ed article contributions from PSEI administrators and faculty (a total of 7 articles) in support of these initiatives. This storyline was also employed in 2015 to oppose changes to the Temporary Foreign Worker program which posed restrictions on hiring of international faculty. In rejecting the changes, a *Gateway* coalition member asked “Why shouldn’t they [PSEIs] hire internationally? They have trained internationally, they collaborate internationally, they publish internationally,” (PSE faculty as quoted in Chiose, 2015b).

With the exception of media articles and policy documents that focused on the value of study-abroad experiences, this storyline was rarely present in the media in isolation. However, the *Gateway* storyline was strongly present in interviews, especially with faculty members and some education-focused SIGs, particularly student and faculty groups. Members of the *Gateway* coalition tended to have limited presence in the media. This meant that, while the public was exposed to the *Economy* and *Risks* storylines frequently, they did not have the same exposure to the *Gateway* storyline. It could be said that the *Gateway* storyline did not present enough controversy to be interesting to the media. A journalist noted that expectations to meet “editorial priorities” led to interest in IE stories that presented a “national *problem*” and in stories on the “government messing up” (Interview, Journalist, 4, emphasis added). A student-group-participant noted that, “in the midst of everything else that the media is competing for ... it is difficult [to gain presence in the media in issues pertaining to IE] ... it is a struggle for sure.” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 14). Within this competition for media coverage, faculty and student groups’ presence in the media seemed to be limited to when and if the media “come to us and will say, ‘Can we get a quote from your president or a quote from your executive director?’” in response to global, national, and provincial events, (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 13).

Whereas scholars and PSE faculty from the education discipline in general or postsecondary education and/or internationalization in particular tended to strongly mobilize the *Gateway* storyline during the interviews (and in their scholarly work), these actors were almost non-existent in the media. On the other hand, faculty from disciplines such as economy, political sciences, and immigration who mobilized the *Economy* storyline were more visible in the media. No op-ed articles in any of the three newspapers during the period examined were written by

education faculty and only a handful were cited briefly to comment on certain policies and events such as *Open Ontario Plan*, international ranking standing, and relationships with Asia. Whether it was the newspapers' editors' decision not to publish such submissions or if education faculty just never submitted any is unknown. However, either way, this may have contributed to the limited presence of the *Gateway* storyline in the media. When asked about the limited presence of education faculty in the media, a journalist noted, "I find very few useful contacts among my international faculty members. They are so deep in their research that most of them have problems talking about things broadly and aren't able to talk about things broadly, ... probably [because] they only feel comfortable in their area of expertise and research. So I don't [approach them for interviews]" (Interview, Journalist, 4). This may also explain why, throughout the period examined, only 4 studies and/or reports by PSEIs succeeded in attracting the media's attention. Two focused on the benefits of study abroad for Canadian students (mobilizing the *Gateway* and *Economy* storylines), one focused on IS recruitment as a way to help universities address accumulated debts (mobilizing the *Economy* storyline), and one focused on IS challenges with academic integrity (mobilizing the *Risks* storyline).

This limited exposure to the discourses of PSE scholars was also evident during interviews. Whereas study participants frequently referenced reports (commissioned) by the federal and provincial governments (strong mobilizers of the *Economy* storyline), national and provincial SIGs (the majority of which mobilized the *Economy* and *Gateway* storylines), their ability to pinpoint scholars who have contributed to IE in Ontario and Canada varied widely. Some participants, particularly faculty members, student groups, and a handful of special interest groups, were able to name research done by different scholars on issues pertaining to IE, both in Canada and globally. However, the majority of the participants, particularly senior civil servants

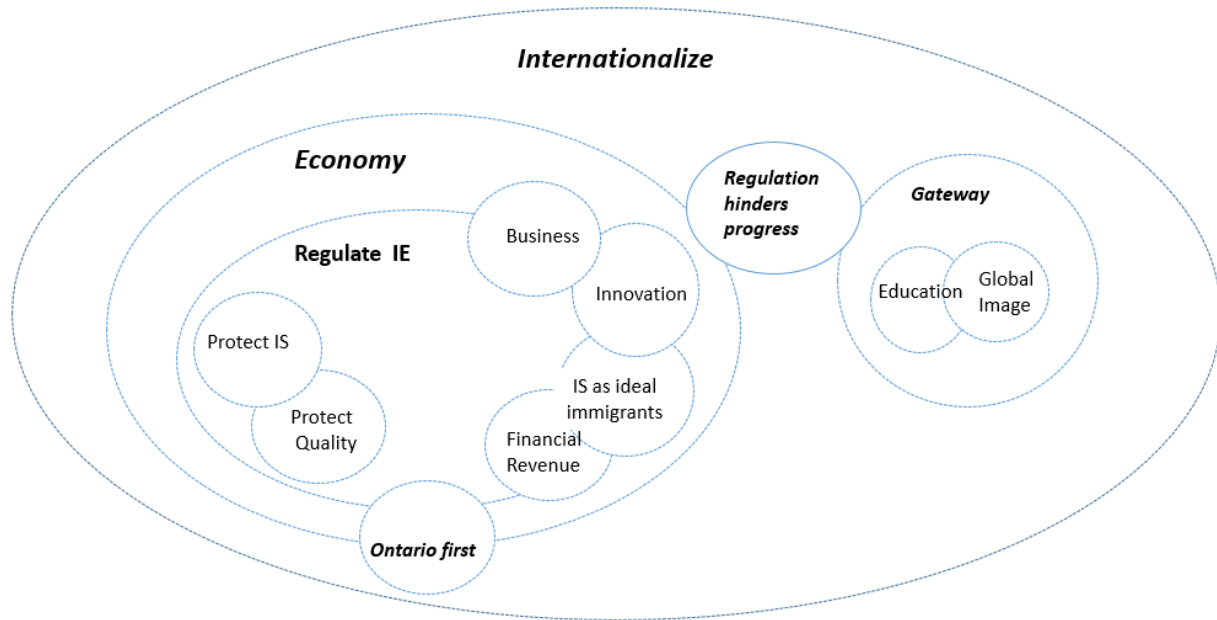
and politicians, found this task challenging. A participant justified personal lack of knowledge of scholarly research noting “I mean, you have to put this in context. You realize that I’m, as a Minister, I’m dealing with five thousand things, I mean international education was actually a very small part,” (Interview, Politician¹¹⁵). This speaks to DCF’s premise that “science [i.e. research] alone is not the answer. In matters of policy, professional experts, like policymakers generally, need external social influences [i.e. storylines, argumentative interaction, and socio-political contexts] to come to closure,” (Fischer, 2003, p. 110).

Figure 9 summarizes the current IE policy landscape. It illustrates that, while the *Economy* storyline was still dominant, it witnessed convergence with some of the *Risks* storyline discourses (protect quality and protect IS). This convergence allowed for the emergence of the *Regulate IE* storyline, highlighting regulation as a necessary tool to protect the economy. The *Regulate IE* storyline was opposed to the newly formed *Regulation hinders progress* storyline. While the *Regulation hinders progress* storyline shared some of the *Economy* discourses (along with the *Gateway* storyline), it perceived regulation as an obstacle to economy as it prevented and/or slowed down entrepreneurship and creativity as well as interfering with institutional autonomy. Another emerging storyline was *Ontario first* (as illustrated in the second emblematic site). While embracing the economic benefits of IE, *Ontario first* saw internationalization as a tool to benefit Ontarians and not the other way around (Ontarians benefiting from the international community and not the international community benefiting from Ontarians). For the *Ontario first* coalition members, no IE activity should put Ontarians in competition with foreigners. Finally, the *Gateway* storyline while weaker, was still evident and persistent in this policy landscape.

¹¹⁵ Reference to interview number is withheld to maintain the participant’s anonymity.

Figure 9

Storylines: Current IE policy landscape



8.2. Agents of Change

Policy is much more shaped by life experience and personal passions... that are camouflage[d] inside your policy proposal... than it is by academic treaties.

Leaders and politicians come to the table with their lives lived and their personal experiences, their passions and their determination to make a difference.

(Interview, Politician, 22)

This study agrees with Hajer's proposition on the instrumental role of storylines in influencing policy-making and initiating policy change, yet it also highlights the critical role of the discursive agency of key actors who, due to their positions of power, were able to shift storylines, reframe the IE debate, and institutionalize policies. I argue that, although these actors acted within the confines of the dominant *Economy* storyline, their individual discursive agency played an integral role in shaping the policies they championed and institutionalized. The influence of these actors on the IE policy landscape raises questions surrounding the power of the discursive agency of these actors. Why did they relate to some storylines over others? Why and how did they succeed in shifting these storylines? What made these actors act upon (institutionalize) some discourses over others? I will start by providing a brief account of key actors: former Premier McGuinty, former Premier Bob Rae, and former MTCU Minister Reza Moridi, and describe each individual's personal experiences and role in the Ontario IE policy landscape as illustrated by the research data. I then unsettle the concept of the collective versus the individual discursive agency in Hajer's theory.

Former Premier Bob Rae was the leader of the Ontario New Democratic Party and Ontario's 21st premier (1990–1995). He is described as an “internationalist” who “believe[d] in [the] importance of ... international experience” (Trilokekar & El Masri, in press). He is the son of a diplomat and he studied and worked internationally. Rae himself spoke to his background

and how it influenced his commitment towards IE, saying, “We’re all the products of our upbringing. I went to an international school ... I was in the first class that wrote the IB history¹¹⁶...When I came back to Canada, I went to U of T, then went back to Oxford and came back to Canada again. So, for me, international education is a yes,” (as quoted in Trilokekar & El Masri, in press). Rae’s belief in the value of IE was reflected in his report to Premier McGuinty on the province’s postsecondary education sector in 2005. In this report, Rae noted that “Ontario must face up to the many and different challenges of globalization” and recommended “increas[ing] the opportunities for Ontario students to complete a portion of their studies abroad” and “pursu[ing] marketing efforts... to ensure that Ontario remains an important ‘educational destination’ for international students” (Rae, 2005, p. 30). While this study did not examine the Ontario IE discourse prior to 2005 to understand what IE storylines were evident at the time, Rae’s recommendations were synchronous with global IE mobility discourses (e.g., Bologna process¹¹⁷). Rae introduced a new framing (*discourse structuration*) for the IE discussions in the province in terms of students’ inbound (recruitment of IS) and outbound mobility (study abroad for domestic students). This discourse was later *institutionalized* through the Ontario International Education Opportunity Program and the *Open Ontario Plan*. Rae’s recommendations drew the province’s attention to the field of IE and its potential benefits to Ontario. For many participants, the province’s “international strategy, to a certain degree, was born of” the Rae report (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). It was “sort of the impetus that

¹¹⁶ The International Baccalaureate, formerly known as the International Baccalaureate Organization, is an educational foundation headquartered in Geneva, Switzerland and founded in 1968. The program objective was to support the growing mobile population of students whose parents were part of the world of diplomacy and/or international and multinational organizations.

¹¹⁷ The Bologna Process is a series of ministerial meetings and agreements between European countries to ensure comparability in standards and quality of higher-education qualifications. The aim is to enhance student mobility in two directions. The first is to increase the attractiveness for students from other parts of the world to study in European countries and the second is to facilitate intra-European mobility (Teichler, 2012).

got everything started” (Provincial Civil Servant, 5); “our guidebook” (Interview, Politician, 6); and “actually did start us on a better road,” (Interview, National SIG, 10). Since the Rae report, many discussions around IE evolved.

Former Premier Dalton McGuinty was the leader of the Liberal party and Ontario’s 24th premier (2003–2013). He is the son of an Anglophone father and a Francophone mother who got “introduced from an early age to the notion of international education” when his family hosted three Chinese students in 1973 (Interview, Politician, 22). His daughter’s rich experience studying abroad was said to also have framed his belief in the benefits and importance of institutionalizing study-abroad programs for domestic students. McGuinty believed in international education as “the world will continue to shrink and the potential for friction will only grow and one of the things that we could do to combat that is to promote understanding” through education (Interview, Politician, 22). McGuinty was described as having “belief in,” “vision” and being a “champion” of international education (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5; Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 8; Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 7). Hence, Rae’s recommendations to increase inward and outward mobility were met favourably by McGuinty. The Ontario government, led by McGuinty, responded to the Rae Review (Rae, 2005) by creating its Reaching Higher plan with \$6.2 billion investment over five years in postsecondary education, institutionalizing the Ontario International Education Opportunities Scholarship (outbound student mobility) and the Open Ontario Plan (inbound student mobility). McGuinty spearheaded the *institutionalization* of the Trillium Scholarship (prior to the *structuration* of the *IS scholarship is beneficial and desirable* storyline as illustrated in Chapter Seven). McGuinty did not withdraw this scholarship, despite the fact that it became an election issue in 2011. A participant noted that it was during the McGuinty premiership that IE gained a “flagship status”

(Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). McGuinty consistently mobilized the *Economy* and *Gateway* storylines, as discussed in emblematic site 2 in Chapter Seven. For example, he was quoted saying “Ontario has some of the best universities in the world. Opening our doors to more international students is good for our students, *good for our intellectual and cultural life and good for our economy*” (Office of the Premier, 2010, emphasis added).

Former MTCU Minister Reza Moridi is a former liberal member of the Legislative Assembly of Ontario from 2007 to 2018. Under the premiership of McGuinty, he served as the Parliamentary Assistant to the Ministers of Training, Colleges and Universities; Research and Innovation; and Energy. In 2013, under the premiership of Kathleen Wynne, he was appointed as the Minister of Research and Innovation and, in 2014, he was assigned an additional role of Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities. Participants described him as someone who “believes strongly in it [innovation] and international [education]” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12). He had a personal connection as he “himself was an immigrant and who himself ... studied in Iran... so his personal connection with international students is tremendous,” (Interview, Journalist, 4).

Moridi was credited by many participants for institutionalizing a new IS graduate funding policy¹¹⁸ in 2015, at a time when the Ontario government shied away from the IE strategy file and any funding to IS “to avoid the firestorm it faced four years ago when McGuinty announced the Trillium scholarship” (Chiose, 2014b). A participant described the context at that time as the “official government policy was not to promote more international students because we were worried about access for domestic students..., [and] in spite of what governments would say,

¹¹⁸ In 2015, the Ontario government agreed to extend funding for graduate studies to international students. Whereas no new money was attached to the change, it allowed universities to use up to 25% of allocated public funding to support international graduate students, giving institutions more freedom to give graduate placements to foreign students.

they created incentives and policies to discourage international recruitment” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12). However, and despite the fact that the government was avoiding any investments in IS, the changes in the PhD funding model were *institutionalized* because “we had Minister Reza Moridi who has really believed in international students. That is the answer [to how this policy got *institutionalized*]. So, he thought it was important. No one else did. In fact, quite to the contrary, most [did not], but he thought it was” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12). In debating the importance of recruiting international graduate students, Moridi revived *The IS Scholarship is desirable and beneficial to Ontario* storyline (which emerged during the Trillium Scholarship debate a few years prior to this). He argued that “we’re always thinking about *bringing foreign investments* to Canada. Well, this is *bringing in foreign talents*,” and that “global classmates *broaden Ontario students’ view of the world*” (Brown, 2014a, emphasis added). The fact that Moridi was also the Minister of Innovation at that time may have helped him institutionalize this funding policy change, as he could argue for the connection between IE and the province’s innovation agenda. Therefore, the *institutionalization* of this funding change “depend[ed] on the minister... because when that happened, the Minister of Higher Education was Reza Moridi” (Interview, Journalist, 4).

It was also under Moridi that the IE strategy file re-emerged with MTCU’s release of the 2016 IE discussion paper and the initiation of a consultation phase. Moridi was quoted as saying “Ontario needs to develop a more comprehensive postsecondary international strategy in the long term, to pull ahead of competing markets and take full advantage of the substantial benefits this opportunity presents” (as quoted in Chiose, 2015a). However, Moridi’s ministership ended before the IE strategy consultation concluded and he was succeeded by Deb Mathews. Some participants compared between Moridi’s supportive role to IE as an innovation propeller versus

that of his successor (Deb Mathews) who, according to some participants, was not as invested in IE. A participant described Deb Matthews' involvement in IE as "... much more political calculus... [that is] what are the benefits for us as a party in terms of votes and so on... rather than ... [being] values driven." Moridi's engagement with IE, according to this participant "was value driven and [stemmed from his strong belief that] we have to do this. He was lobbying the premier that he wanted to do this," and he succeeded (Interview, Journalist, 4).

These actors' ability to institutionalize policy change is strongly associated with their positions of power, where the premier and his/her advisors and cabinet members emerge as powerful actors. A participant observed that "a lot of the [IE] education initiatives were driven *not* by MTCU and *not* by the ministers ... a lot were actually driven from [by] ... the premier's office" (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 19). Another participant concurred, noting that, usually, MTCU's interest in international education was "because the premier was interested in it," (Interview, Politician, 6). This concurs with scholarship that recognizes the influential role that premiers play in shaping policies (Rexe, 2014; Trilokekar et al., 2013). Whereas the role of the premier was fundamental, the role of those who were close to the premier was also critical. A participant noted that "everything is about relationships; the relationships you have with the people who hold power" (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 12). Therefore, the role of the premier's advisors and cabinet members also stood out (e.g., former Premier Bob Rae, former MTCU Minister Reza Moridi). While these individual actors did not act outside the dominant *Economy* storyline, they offered new ways of thinking about IE, redefined the *Economy* storyline, and ensured that certain policies were institutionalized. However, the question remains as to why these actors actively used their discursive agency to reframe the IE debate, maneuver the polyvalence of the IE discourses, and refocus the IE *Economy* storyline.

These actors were entrenched in a socially-constructed world, based on their personal experiences, which attached educational, cultural and social meanings to international education. This is why the *Gateway* storyline appealed to them. However, they were also entangled in a world of social discourse where the *Economy* storyline dominated. While they could not escape the dominance of the *Economy* storyline, these actors actively worked on reframing the IE debate in Ontario. They succeeded in shifting the *Economy* storyline and adding new nuance to it. For example, Rae championed the inbound and outbound mobility discourses and introduced them to the Ontario PSE discursive policy landscape; McGuinty shifted the construction of IS from revenue generators to brain-gain that Ontario is to invest in (which initiated the *IS scholarship is beneficial to Ontario* storyline); and Moridi resurrected McGuinty's discourse of investing in graduate IS, challenging the *Ontario first* storyline. While these actors' storylines were part of global, national, and provincial IE discourses, they were described by the study participants as the "real actors" who had vision and were open to new ideas that "could've been dead except that those people took them on" (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 7). Thus, this research concurs with Barbaric's findings that many of the IE initiatives in Ontario have been institutionalized as a result of "political will" (2017, p. 6). Rae, McGuinty, and Moridi were credited for introducing and institutionalizing different policies and practices such as the *Open Ontario Plan*, the Trillium Scholarship, PSEIs' engagement in trade missions, and the introduction of a new model for PhD funding for IS. For example, whereas the *institutionalization* of the *Private Career Colleges Act* (emblematic site 1) and the *Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018* (emblematic site 3) cannot be credited to a particular individual, this is not the case with the Trillium Scholarship (emblematic site 2) or the changes to the PhD funding model. Study participants credited the last two policy changes to

McGuinty and Moridi. Despite the fact that these individuals were acting within the hegemonic *Economy* storyline, they managed to (re)frame the IE debate in Ontario and assume leadership in institutionalizing these policies.

The role of individual agents of change also emerged on the institutional level. One participant suggested that individual actors also matter within institutions, noting that, for a “true” internationalization initiative to succeed in a given Ontario PSE campus, “the people who are making the decisions have to be with international backgrounds, right? So ... [we need to have] university administrators [with international experiences/backgrounds]” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 14). This finding is consistent with Larsen and Al Haque (2016) who report that PSEIs leaders believe that there is a relationship between their own international backgrounds and their commitments to internationalization. Student groups in this study argued that if we have “MPPs who had international backgrounds, then ... [IE would be] an agenda that [Ontario] would be pushing forward. If we continue to see the same kinds of politicians or administrators who are primarily Eurocentric or Canadian [focused] then it is going to be hard for us to see any change” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 14). This reveals that individual actors’ discursive agency, influenced by values, interests, and experiences, matters. Once these individual actors are in positions of power, they may successfully influence the collective IE discursive space by (re)framing IE storylines and (re)shaping IE policy-making.

The findings of this study suggest that there are two levels of discursive agency. The first is the collective discursive level where the concepts of storylines, coalition membership, and discursive hegemony are beneficial. The second is the individual discursive agency, which DCF and its ADA analytical tool do not explicitly address. Although DCF acknowledges that individual actors are agents (as well as subjects) of a discursive interaction, it perceives them as

part of a collective discursive coalition. This study agrees with DCF's argument that policy actors "are not totally free," instead they are "entangled in webs of meaning," where a policy actor's ability to contribute to the discursive space of a given policy domain is limited to ability to "actively exploit the tactical polyvalence of discourse" (Hajer, 1995, pp. 56-57). However, the findings of this study prompt the question of the relationships between the collective and individual discursive agency. Why is it that some actors who, while confined within the collective hegemonic discursive practices (e.g., the *Economy* storyline in this study), maneuver the discursive space and engage in argumentation to (re)shape the IE debate in Ontario? To take this even further, what makes those actors engage in the IE discursive space in the first place? Why do they opt to engage in this argumentative interaction? Why do some actors take leadership roles in (re)shaping the IE storylines? What prompts actors to be "active, selecting and adapting thoughts, mutating and creating them, in the continued struggle for argumentative victory against rival thinkers" (Hajer, 1995, p. 54)? "The fact that storylines reduce the discursive complexity," Hajer (1995) acknowledges, "does not explain why actors from various backgrounds adhere to them" (p. 66). While Hajer (1995) notes that "empirical research will have to illustrate the specific strategic reasons why actors introduce or support specific metaphorical understandings," he argues that this approach would present "too individualist an explanation" (1995, p. 66). However, the fact that some individual actors in this study stood out from the collective indicates a need to examine the discursive agency of these actors and why they introduce and/or support specific metaphorical understandings rather than others. Chapter Nine will further examine this limitation of DCF.

8.3. Summary

Internationalize, it is Good for the Economy was the most hegemonic storyline. Due to its multi-interpretability, it succeeded in attracting diverse and influential actors who contributed to its credibility, trust, and acceptability. It allowed “disparate actors ... [to] find nascent points of solidarity” (Hajer, 2003, p.3). The *Economy* storyline managed to be more coherent and “routinized,” leading to *discourse structuration*, where central actors were persuaded by, or forced to accept, the rhetorical power of a new discourse and then used it to conceptualize the world (Hajer, 1995, p. 56). However, the emergence of the *Regulate IE* storyline, as an offset of the *Internationalize, yet manage its risks* storyline, succeeded in reframing the *Economy* storyline by introducing regulation and accountability discourses. In opposition to the *Regulate IE* storyline was *Regulation hinders progress*, supported by a strong culture of autonomy at the PSE sector. The IE policy landscape also witnessed the emergence of the *Ontario first* storyline, which, while in favour of internationalization, refused any initiatives that were perceived to favour foreigners over domestic students. The *Internationalize, it is Canada’s Gateway to the World* storyline did not witness any fragmentation throughout the period examined, yet was it rarely present absent of a more dominant storyline. Findings also revealed that, while the concept of storylines was powerful in understanding the collective discursive agency in constructing and shaping IE policies, it did not account for the individual discursive agency of key actors who stood out in the IE discursive space as agents of change.

Chapter 9: Discussion and Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, I begin by describing the international education policy landscape based on the findings of this research. I reflect on the Discourse Coalition Framework in terms of its strengths and limitations. Finally, I discuss the implication of this research on understanding the IE policy context in Ontario and pose some questions for future research.

9.1. The International Education Policy Landscape in Ontario

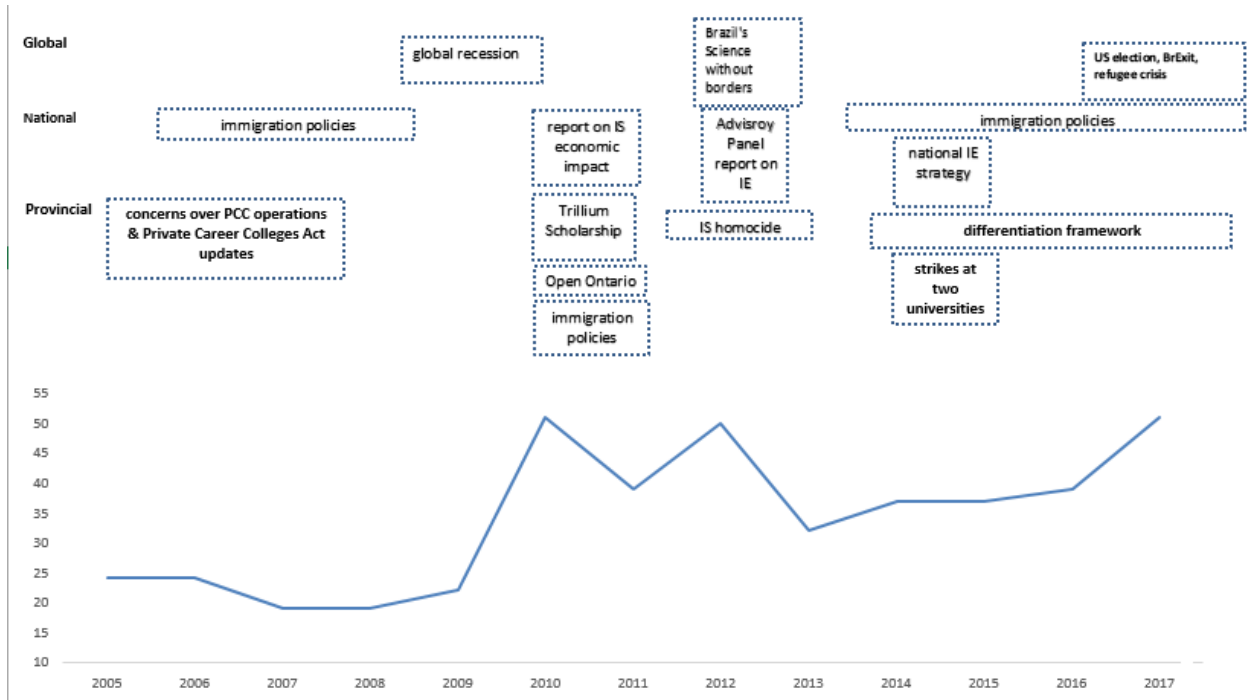
9.1.1. How is IE understood as policy in Ontario?

9.1.1.1. Fragmented landscape

As policy-making is “the creation of problems” that “institutions can handle and for which solutions can be found” (Hajer, 1995, p. 15), the first research question of this study aimed to explore the construction of IE as a policy problem in the postsecondary sector in Ontario. The findings of this study reveal that IE is not a policy problem per se but rather is constructed as a policy solution to problems beyond the PSE and the education sector. Reflecting on the research questions, a participant wondered, “So in respect to your first question about how international education [is] defined or constructed as policy problem, I am honing on the word ‘problem’ for a moment because I don’t know that it is a problem and I would like to think that it is an opportunity, but with that, at times, there may be challenges” (Interview, Provincial Civil Servant, 5). In Ontario, the discursive practices of policy-making succeed in framing IE as a solution or an opportunity to address challenges that Ontario faces in keeping up with the current global knowledge economy. A quick look at the media’s coverage of IE illustrates this point (Figure 10).

Figure 10

Media coverage of international education and corresponding major global, national, and provincial events¹¹⁹



Media stories strongly linked IE to global, national, and provincial events and policies and suggested how to leverage these events, through IE, to Canada's and Ontario's benefit. The media coverage of IE increased with global political and economic turbulences (e.g., US election, Brexit, global recession); changes in national immigration policies (e.g., Temporary Foreign Worker Program; Express Entry); budgets (e.g. *Open Ontario Plan*); and other federal and provincial (commissioned) policies and reports (e.g., RKA report, Advisory Panel report, Federal IE strategy). The media coverage of IE is a reflection of the fact that IE in Ontario, and

¹¹⁹ Data captured for 2017 was for the period of Jan to 15May2017 with a total of 21 IE related media entries from 1Jan2017 to 15 May 2017. The 2017 figure is an estimate extrapolated based on the last 4 years intra-annual trends: average occurrences between 16 May and 31 December for the years 2013 to 2016 was 59%. The same average was applied to extrapolate number of occurrence for the balance of 2017.

Canada, is not merely an educational issue, a finding also reported by Cover (2016). As this study illustrates, IE is constructed as a policy solution to other policy problems such as immigration, innovation, economy, foreign affairs, and trade. Actually, it is more about these agendas than it is about education as there is limited, if any, discussion of IE in the media in the sense of curricula, teaching and learning, pedagogy, and intercultural engagement.

The increased link between IE and these other policy areas may explain the fact that, while Whyte et al. (2016) report a downward trend in the Canadian print media coverage of PSE since mid-2000s¹²⁰, this study reveals an upward trend in coverage of IE. Ontario's, and Canada's, IE policy landscape speaks to Hajer's argument that "policymaking moves away from purely 'sectoral' orientation towards an integrated or 'area-oriented' approach, allowing for other concerns to be taken into account as well" (2003, p. 94). This makes IE in Ontario a fragmented policy landscape that cannot be understood as one coherent whole as it involves discourses, actors, and knowledge from many different fields. The dominant perception of IE is, in fact, the product of the argumentative interaction that often lies well beyond the traditional PSE sector. A participant noted that Ontario's approach to IE "is not that strategic. It is fairly reactive" to political and economic contexts at the global and national levels (Interview, National SIG, 18). This illuminates the fact that "political decision-making takes place in this context of, and through, essentially, fragmented and contradictory discourses within and outside," in this case, the international education domain (Hajer, 1995, p. 15). It is also a reflection of how education is becoming more of an instrumental commodity. International education policy is a fragmented, incoherent, and sporadic process rather than an amalgamated and planned course of actions.

¹²⁰ That is after the huge coverage of the double cohort in Ontario.

9.1.1.2. Hegemony of the *Economy* storyline

It is within this fragmented context that the *Internationalize, it's good for the economy* storyline achieved hegemony. The *Economy* coalition members win the “discursive struggle” by defining IE according to their vision while “suppress[ing] alternative conceptions” (Fischer, 2003, p. 87). This is not surprising given the scholarship that highlights the dominance of neoliberal approaches to IE (Beck, 2009; 2012; 2016; Becker & Kolster, 2012; Foskett, 2010; Stensaker et al., 2008; Stromquist, 2007; Tamtik, 2017). However, the hegemonic power of this storyline stems, I argue, from the fact that it goes beyond the discourses of neo-liberalism that many scholars have examined. In this instance, *Economy* is about more than just financial revenue. Here, it is about forming business relations with the international community, developing global skill-sets needed for the local and global job markets, forming partnerships in international research, building hubs of innovation, developing systems of international ranking and recognition, circulation of knowledge and intelligence, recruitment and retention of talent, creation of jobs, addressing of demographic challenges, attraction of skilled labour, and building of human capital. Whereas these discourses are part and parcel of the neoliberal agenda, not all of the *Economy* storyline coalition members perpetuate a coherent and uncontested neoliberal agenda (e.g., student groups, faculty members, and PSEIs – most of which actually oppose/critique this agenda or at least elements of it). However, they all agree that IE contributes to the Ontarian, Canadian, and global communities. The *Internationalize, it's good for the economy* storyline's multi-interpretability and ability to reduce the discursive complexity has helped “enlist” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 188) diverse social actors from within and outside the PSE policy landscape, who may or may not acknowledge and/or approve of the neoliberal framework. This is an example of a storyline that has “succeed[s] in building up ...shared ways of orienting

knowledge” and discursive practices of this storyline’s coalition members that have contributed to “the trust and credibility of the actors involved” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 187). The *Economy* storyline has managed to impose their own logic and ways of deliberation and discussion on other actors and coalition members. As illustrated earlier, the success of different actors in “introduc[ing] new problems” has stemmed from their respective abilities to align their arguments to a “set of historically specific ways of arguing a case” (Hajer, 1995, p. 273), that is, mobilizing the discursive formats of the *Economy* storyline to add credibility, trust, and acceptance to the case that is being argued. Diverse actors mobilize the *Economy* storyline to support their interests and goals. Examples of this are student groups arguing for IS health insurance, immigration lawyers arguing against the first iteration of the Express Entry program, research-intensive universities calling for more research funds, PSEIs supporting the Trillium Scholarship, and *Risks* coalition members arguing for private sector regulation. Even though this study illustrates a shifting terrain in IE storylines where regulation discourses emerge in a policy area that has not been regulated, these discourses operate within the more hegemonic *Economy* storyline. Therefore, to address the first research question, while *Internationalize, it’s good for the Economy* is the most dominant storyline, it has recently been reframed as the emergence of the *Regulate IE* storyline has introduced discourses of accountability and regulation that are gradually engulfing the *Economy* storyline. The *Regulate IE* storyline still operates within the *Economy* storyline, perceiving regulations as a must to protect the economic benefits of IE and to maintain and enhance Ontario’s national and global standing.

9.1.2. Policy actors

9.1.2.1. Multiplicity and diversity of policy actors

Within this fragmented landscape, it is challenging to identify the actors who are contributing to the policy-making process in Ontario postsecondary international education. This fragmentation is further complicated by the fact that IE presents what Hajer (2003) identifies as a “policy without polity” landscape (p. 175). Since IE is a component of the work of many organizations, it is not the focus or responsibility of any one. This paves the way to an “institutional void” where “there are no generally accepted rules and norms according to which politics is to be conducted and policy measures are to be agreed upon” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 175). A participant observed

“It [i.e. IE] is nobody’s ... it’s not anyone's responsibility. It is not because nobody wants to talk about it. It is [because no one is sure where]...this discussion [is to] happen. Should it happen at the federal level? Should [it] happen at the provincial level? Should it happen at the university level? But, since an individual university can’t do anything [alone], it is hard for the university to do it. But then, the province [i.e., the government] as well,...wouldn’t have this discussion because that would impinge on the autonomy of the university. And then, the Feds say, well that is a provincial responsibility. So, you see, there is nobody. *There is no actual actor in the system that is given this responsibility.*”

(Interview, National SIG, 16, emphasis added)

Another participant agreed, noting that “I don’t think that any individual has embraced this [IE] as a champion of it, nor [are] there any policy divisions in government that have been mandated to take the lead on it in any significant way” (Interview, Provincial SIG: PSEIs, 8). Hence, IE presents a case where “decision making is dispersed” and the “locus of power has become unclear” (Hajer, 2003a, pp. 178-179). The IE policy-making context has become so expansive as a result of political power being dispersed between many actors. These are: the state (federal and

provincial governments with all the different ministries involved); PSEIs (administration, faculty, and students); media (national and foreign); national and provincial special interests groups, some of which are education focused (e.g., Universities Canada, CBIE, COU, Colleges Ontario) whereas other have economic (e.g., Conference Board of Canada), innovation (Mitacs), trade and foreign affairs interests (e.g., Asia Pacific Foundation); labour unions (e.g. OPSEU and PAFSO); private sector (lawyers, consultancies, and investment companies); the housing sector (CMHC); the public (parents and taxpayers); international actors (e.g., governments of sending countries, parents of IS, foreign media) and transnational organizations (e.g., OECD and ranking organizations). Hence, boundaries between the national and provincial, provincial and institutional, institutional and social, and national and international are “redrawn,” if not dissolving (Hajer, 2003a, p. 180). This study contends that IE attracts actors from many diverse scales, levels, disciplines, and contexts; all of whom contribute to the construction of IE and its related policies.

9.1.2.2. Institutional void

While fragmentation, multiplicity of actors, and institutional void all challenge the effectiveness and legitimacy of the state, this does not imply that the state is “rendered irrelevant” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 184). Instead, as this research illustrates, federal and provincial governments have strongly contributed to the construction of IE discourses, giving credence to Hajer’s argument that the state is “still endowed with substantial powers” (2003, p. 184). However, the government agencies have *not* been controlling this policy. Rather than acting as the sole interveners in policy making, governments have been participants in the policy deliberation process which involves other actors as well. The Ontario IE policy context presented a case where policy-making was “extended beyond the sphere of mere rule-creation” to become

a “matter of defining an agreed upon package of actions to be taken by a variety of stakeholders” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 187). As illustrated earlier, when the Advisory Panel report and the federal IE strategy were both released, there was a general feeling that these reports did not contribute any new ‘knowledge.’ However, what these reports contributed to the IE policy landscape was the capturing or ‘packaging’ of IE into a format of agreed upon goals and objectives. Similarly, the Ontario government’s PSE IE Strategy (2018a) succeeded in “packaging” IE as a policy solution to other problems and policy agendas. This packaging received little or no resistance (e.g., Barbaric, 2018; Simpson, 2018). The loss of meaning, multi-interpretability of these texts, and elimination of all the uncertainty and conditionality of the original knowledge have led to *discourse closure*, paving the way to the *structuration* and *institutionalization* of the *Economy* storyline.

9.1.2.3. Influential actors versus less powerful ones

Despite the fact that education is under provincial jurisdiction, participants argued that the Ontario government assumed a “reactive” role in the IE policy landscape. Other than a few political champions, participants were not able to name the actors that have shaped Ontario’s IE space. International education tends to be discussed more often as a national issue than as a provincial one. This is attributed to the fact IE is linked to economy, trade, foreign affairs, innovation, and immigration; all of which are more closely associated with federal jurisdictions than provincial ones. Federal actors, whether they are members of government or special interest groups, have tended to have a greater presence in the media and are more frequently cited during interviews than their provincial counterparts. These actors are strong mobilizers of the *Economy* storyline. This research agrees with scholars who identify GAC (Trilokekar 2009, 2010), ministries of Finance (Axelrod et al., 2011), Ministry of Innovation and related research bodies

(Viczeko, in press); and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (Trilokekar & El Masri, 2016 a; b) as important actors in influencing of policy-making in the PSE sector in general and IE specifically. These actors have been frequently referenced in the media, policy documents, and interviews. However, this research also illuminates the critical role other government entities play, with particular note of ministries of Industry and Economic Development, of Employment, and of Infrastructure. This study also concurs with scholars who highlight the central role that some national special interest groups play such as CBIE, Universities Canada, and MITACS (Viczeko, 2013; Viczeko, in press), while also drawing attention to other economy, foreign affairs, and trade-focused special interest groups. Unsurprisingly, these actors have mobilized the *Economy* storyline.

On a provincial level, while MTCU and MCI have emerged as strong actors, they are not the only ones. It is worthwhile to take note of politicians, particularly premiers and opposition party leaders, in this instance. Many scholars examine how politicians employ IE discourse to achieve political ends (Cover, 2016; Knight, 2004; Matthews & Sidhu, 2005) which is also evident in this study. For example, the Trillium Scholarship and the branch campuses are sites where opposition (NDP and PC) parties and the Ontario Liberal government engaged in heated debates that contributed heavily to the framing of IE in Ontario and also attracted heavy media coverage.

Though all PSEIs have been powerful actors, big urban PSEIs, along with research-intensive universities, have tended to overshadow their smaller counterparts, leading to differences in their respective abilities to contribute to this policy landscape. Within the PSEIs' administration, upper administrators (chancellors and VPs) were more present, whereas the discourses of frontline staff were practically non-existent in all three data sources. Provincial

special-interest groups were also present in this discursive landscape although their levels of power differed. Groups that represented PSEIs such as COU and Colleges Ontario, tended to attract more attention. Over a decade ago, Trick (2005) and Jones (1995) argued that faculty and student groups have limited influence on policy-making. This study illustrates that student and faculty groups, who typically champion the *Gateway* storyline, have become part of the consultation process pertaining to PSE/IE, with their reactions being pursued by the media whenever a new policy issue emerged. However, according to study participants, their ability to influence policy-making has remained limited. They have been constrained by the discursive practices of the dominant *Economy* storyline and obliged to operate within them if their arguments were to be heard, trusted, or perceived as credible. This attests to the *structuration* of the *Economy* storyline. If these actors attempted to introduce new policy problems or reframe IE, their “discursive defiances come at a cost” of a possibility of not being heard (Hajer, 1995, p. 273). This study reveals that these groups became increasingly savvy in their discursive practices as a result. They have honed the ability to identify the more dominant storyline and to align their discursive practices and framing of the problems accordingly. Whatever point they put forth, they frame it within the specific ways that the *Economy* storyline has historically used to gain the respectability, trust, and acceptability of dominant coalition members.

The media as a combined entity can be seen as one of the actors who has influenced the construction of IE in Ontario considerably. This entity has emerged as a powerful window through which the public is introduced to and engaged with different global, national, and provincial events, policies, and actors. It also offered a platform for different players to express opinions and engage in argumentation in attempts to influence public opinion and policy-making. This study concurs with the PSE policy-making scholarship which emphasizes the

critical role media play in framing policy issues and influencing policy-making (Trilokekar et al., 2013; Weingarten, 2013). This study reaffirms the role media play in creating new political stages and providing access to (new) actors to (re)generate certain discourses, making claims and counter claims (Hajer, 2009). Participants acknowledged the power of media in giving an example of the abrupt announcement of the Trillium scholarship whereby “the government just hadn’t thought through their communication strategy on Trillium” (Interview, National SIG, 16). This proved to be detrimental in a (digital) communication and media context that is fast and is open to virtually anyone. A participant noted that “we work in a very hostile communication environment which has become even more challenging given the advent of social media, so introducing an idea is difficult at the best of times” (Interview, Politician, 22). The media, according to a participant, were “looking for the big stories that sell” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 14). Therefore, for IE policy actors to be heard, they need to secure access and strong presence in the media through speaking to the “medialogic” of making news, i.e., “pitting protagonists against antagonists... [and] seeing exposing alleged conflicts as a journalistic success” (Hajer & Strengers 2012, p, 298). The issues of the practices of private career colleges, the Trillium Scholarship, the men-only branch campuses, and different immigration policy changes provided rich stories for the media. It was through these “exciting” stories which had the potential to “get good readership” that the media sought the input of some actors, such as student and faculty groups, who did not always have media presence (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 13). A participant acknowledged this, noting that the media “tend to seek us out when there has been some sort of big announcement or reveal or something like that” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Students, 13).

As illustrated earlier, the presence of faculty members, particularly PSE and IE scholars, is very limited. Whereas research conducted by CBIE, HEQCO, GAC, and Statistic Canada has tended to attract attention, research conducted by scholars (outside these professional and/or governmental organizations) has rarely been cited. This gives credence to Hajer's argument that the "authority of classical (scientific) expertise has been undermined" and "is no longer a guarantee of trust," (Hajer, 2003a, p.180). While some politicians and senior civil servants claimed that they do their best to ensure that "our policy be grounded as much in science as possible. By that I mean as much research as was possible" (Interview, Politician, 22), others stated that "you might be shocked, but government, a lot of it, is just based on kind of what is perceived [to be right]" (Interview, Politician, 6). Regardless of their arguments, they were rarely able to identify any IE scholars or research papers that informed their policies. This finding challenges rationalist policy ideas such as the Advocacy Coalition Framework's claim that scientists and researchers play an important role in policy-making (Burton, 2006; Weible, Sabatier & McQueen, 2009; Weible et al. 2011). Instead, this study attests to Hajer's argument that "the 'first get the facts right' is no longer a credible policy-making strategy" (Hajer, 2003a, p. 185). Scholars' inability to attract attention might also have stemmed from the fact that they tend to "stick to the slightly boring neutral and contextual way of arguing" (Hajer & Strengers, 2012, p. 299). Scholars were perceived by the media to be entrenched in their specific area of research, deeming their arguments irrelevant and/or uninteresting to the public.

There were two groups of actors who had a presence in the data, however vague. The first are members of the private education sector, including, but not limited to the PCCs, whose presence in the media was limited to addressing different scandals. In policy documents, they emerged as an actor that needed to be regulated. In interviews, they were seen as outsiders to the

Ontario PSE sector. These actors shied away from being interviewed as part of this study. The second collection of actors were individuals who articulated anti-colonization and anti-neoliberalism discourses and who saw IE as a philanthropic endeavour. While their arguments were present, they were limited in the media, tending to be more evident during the interviews. These individuals who articulated “altruistic rhetoric,” as described by a participant, tended to be unheard unless they managed to attach economic and foreign affairs benefits to their discourse.

While there were no anti-internationalization discourses emerging in this study, one may wonder whether the *Ontario first* storyline (that emerged in the Trillium Scholarship emblematic site) and the Protect Canadians discourse (part of the *Risks* storyline) represent an (emerging) undercurrent of nationalism. This discourse emerged in different international jurisdictions, such as the United States and some European nations, with different anti-immigration and nationalistic discourse and resultant policies. It is important to note that the *Risks* coalition members interviewed who perpetuated the *Ontario first* storyline were not against internationalization as long as it served and benefited Ontarians, and was not just Ontarians serving the international community. The question here is whether this is an undercurrent for a more nationalistic parochial discourse that may develop into a stronger storyline in the future¹²¹. This question is particularly relevant in light of the rise of media as a source of “credible” and accessible information, being taken as seriously as scholarly work. Whether or not this discourse signals the rise of populism in Ontario, following suit of other global jurisdictions, is a question that will be answered in the near future.

¹²¹ A study that examines the IE discourses in digital media and social media platforms may shed another interesting light on the understanding of IE in Ontario and may also help further investigate this question.

9.1.3. Who is benefiting, after all?

From a critical policy perspective, this study is invested in unravelling power relations and examining their influence on issues of social justice. I argue that the three IE storylines reinforce global power and economic inequalities. I will begin this discussion by going back to Knight's (2004) definition of internationalization as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural, or global dimension into the purpose, functions, or delivery of post-secondary education" (p. 11). This definition emphasizes the relationship between nations and cultures as an integral component of internationalization. The question is: how does Ontario engage with the rest of the world?

Ontario's engagement with the rest of the world, according to the findings of this study, can be classified into three categories. First, as evident in the *Economy* storyline, is Ontario and Canada's relationship with other OECD countries. This has been constructed as a competitive relationship over IE market shares, whether it was recruitment of fee-paying students, recruitment and retention of international talent, export of international education to 'developing countries,' profiling as innovation and business hubs and so forth. Second was Ontario's relationship with emerging economies such as China, India, and Brazil. The *Economy* storyline constructed IE as an important way to build business relationships with these emerging super-powers and to expose Ontarian students to the culture, language, business, and social norms of these countries. The ultimate aim was to leverage these relationships to the benefit of Ontario's trade and business. While these countries, particularly China and India, are currently the source of most IS in Ontario, there was a growing concern that this would not last for long due to their investments in their PSE sectors. Third is Ontario's engagement with the "developing world" which was constructed, in both the *Economy* and the *Gateway* storylines, as the beneficiary of

Ontario's quality postsecondary educational system and/or a recipient of Ontario's philanthropic efforts.

This discursive constructions of Ontario's engagement with the world can be troubling. On one hand, the *Economy* storyline constructed the benefits of IE as brain and financial gain for Ontario without considering their possible repercussions on sending countries (brain and financial drain). Hence, it reproduced "uneven global power relations and resource flows" between countries (Stein et al, 2016, p. 4). The *Economy* storyline and some discourses within the *Gateway* storyline also reproduced colonial power discourse in constructing the relations between the developed and educated global north and the underdeveloped and less-educated south (Beck, 2009). Some of the *Gateway* coalition members argued that, through IE, Ontario could initiate "discussions around democratization and values" in developing countries, participate in the "stabilization of... [troubled] regions," and "bring all of their students here and have them learn a liberal democratic way of life" (Interview, National SIG, 18). As well-intentioned as this argument might be, it positioned Ontario, and the West in general, as "benevolently imparting ... knowledge and expertise, so that the students [from developing countries] might lead their home countries on the path toward modernization" and democratization (Stein et al, 2016, p. 7). This discursive framing not only perpetuated a Western notion of knowledge production and democracy, but also reaffirmed the West's ongoing responsibility and patronage of the global South. This discursive construction of Ontario's relationship with the global South raises questions on what Stein et al. (2016) call the "unacknowledged global imaginary, which presumes a colonial hierarchy of humanity" (p. 1).

Similarly, the discursive construction of IS can also sometimes be problematic. Whereas there was discourse that perceived IS on equal grounds with domestic students where both bodies

of students could exchange experiences, knowledge, and culture, other discourses constructed IS as “the other” whom Ontarians should be wary of, should benefit from, and/or should sympathize with. The *Risks* storyline constructs IS as ‘the other’ who Ontarians should be wary of. IS are seen as having potential to negatively influence the postsecondary education experience of domestic students, take advantage of the immigration system, and compete for resources with Ontarians who are constructed as inherently more worthy. The *Economy* storyline constructed IS as “the other” who Canada, like other OECD countries, wants to ensure has their share of wealth and/or talent. Some discourses within the *Gateway* storyline constructed IS as “the other” who was in need for Ontario’s and Canada’s support. Some examples of this are when the media has referred to cases of IS who were persecuted in their countries for their political, religious, or sexual orientations and found refuge in Canada.

Hence, Ontario’s engagement with the world is “operat[ing] from within a dominant global imaginary that tends to naturalize existing racial hierarchies and economic inequities in the realm of education and beyond” (Stein et al., 2016, p. 2). The IE storylines *structured* the IE discussions in Ontario, reaffirming these global hierarchies and economic inequalities, therefore, “contribut[ing] to the reproduction of harmful historical and ongoing global patterns of educational engagement” (Stein et al., 2016, p. 1). So, “if internationalization is seen as a means to decrease global disparity, prevent exploitation, ‘brain drain,’ and cultural imperialism, and work to resolve social and global problems” (Stie 2004, p. 95), IE storylines in Ontario have contributed to the opposite discursive framework. This overall concern is not limited to Ontario. Many scholars warn about similar trends worldwide (e.g., Beck, 2009; de Wit, 2013; Johnstone & Lee, 2014; Suspitsyna, 2015; Stein, 2017). This global phenomenon has led Stein et al. (2016) to call on the international education community to face “the harmful systems that reproduce a

severely uneven distribution of resources and labour, valuation of life, and politics of knowledge production, and that circumscribe available possibilities for relationships and structures of being” (p.15).

9.2. Discourse Coalition Framework as a theoretical framework

In examining the different theoretical frameworks used by discourse scholars, Bacchi (2000) detects theoretical lacunae in critical policy discourse frameworks which relate to differing understandings of discourse. The tension is between an emphasis on the *uses* of discourse (which emphasizes “the agentic marshalling of discourses” for political purposes) and the *effects* of discourse (which emphasizes the discursive location and constraints this imposes on political analyses) (p. 51). This is similar to Ball’s (1993) differentiation between “policy as discourse” which emphasizes the constraints imposed by discourse and “policy as text” which places more control on the hands of the reader. However, Bacchi (2000) argues that there is value in combining the two approaches to clarify the relationships between discourse and subjectivity. Bacchi (2000) argues that this relation between the conditions of discourse production and the manner of their deployment has received little attention. I believe that DCF attempts to fill this gap. Not only does it look at the production and evolution of storylines, but it also examines how they influence and are influenced by the discursive interaction of different actors. Here, language becomes both the agent and the tool; actors engage collaboratively, yet not necessarily in coordination, to construct storylines and to participate in argumentation that enables or hinders them.

DCF provides a valuable lens to examine IE policy-making. Unlike Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier, 1988; 1998) which argues that the actors’ coalitions are grounded in shared beliefs, Hajer’s discourse coalition members gather around a storyline (i.e., a general

and/or vague way of defining a policy problem) which is particularly relevant to IE as it cuts across multiple policy landscapes, knowledges and disciplines. This allows diverse players to agree on a storyline, despite their different interests, beliefs, and goals. Hence, DCF and its analytical tool (ADA) prove to be useful in accounting for the different discourses that are produced by diverse players, disciplines, and fields such as immigration, economy, and foreign affairs. In the following sections, I outline the strengths of the DCF framework and then highlight some limitations as identified in this research.

9.2.1. Strengths

DCF has proven to be a valuable tool in examining Ontario's fragmented IE policy space. It has allowed the policy analyst to examine Ontario's policy landscape while accounting for the influence of global, national, and provincial political, economic, and social contexts. These contexts influence the IE discursive landscape and help to provide some nuanced understanding of how certain storylines emerge, gain or lose momentum, and/or align with other storyline(s). For example, the prevalence of global knowledge economy discourses and the global recession (globally) as well as declining demographics, tightening economy, and aspirations to be a global business and innovation hub (locally) have all contributed to the emergence and dominance of the *Economy* storyline.

The concept of storylines is a powerful metaphorical tool that reduces the complexity of the discursive map surrounding international education (IE) and overcomes the fragmentation of this policy landscape. This "catchy one-liner [i.e. storyline]" (Hajer, 1995, p. 62) has the ability to capture discourses dispersed among so many different landscapes such as education, immigration, economy and trade, foreign policy, and innovation. Storylines have proven to be a powerful tool to bring together and/or conceal disagreements on IE rationales, goals, and

approaches, hence facilitating agreement on policy construction. Storylines have helped account for the incoherent and dispersed IE discourses and political actions. While these discourses and political actions might seem scattered and trivial on the micro level and in individual policy landscapes, the concept of storyline has helped provide a macro level lens, illustrating the effects they can produce when combined (Hajer, 2003b). In a fragmented discursive space like IE, storylines provide diverse actors with “a basic tool to cooperate, to compete, and to come to political decision, even though they will never be able to fully understand each other” (Leipold & Winkel, 2013, p. 4). Storylines have helped create an assumption of mutual understanding even while disguising that it is a false one. The multi-interpretability and vagueness of storylines have enabled actors to “think along, insert own interpretations and to ignore incomplete knowledge because they can stick to arguments that simply ‘sound right’” (Leipold & Winkel, 2013, p. 4). For example, while different political parties in Ontario had different belief systems where with the “Liberals you will see more discussion of the social, the cultural and the educational benefits and ... with the Tories you will see more discussion on the finance and the economical in terms of business linkages,” the *Economy* storyline brought them together (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 19). A participant noted liberal, NDP and PC’s way of seeing IE “may come down to the same thing, there will be [economic] elements, certainly, that will be the same” (Interview, Provincial SIG: Faculty, 19). Through this simplification of complex debates and the disguising of contradictory objectives and interests, a storyline is able to attract actors from diverse belief and interest groups and across the political spectrum who, despite their differences, perpetuate the same storyline as it “sounds right” (Hajer, 2003b, p. 69). These actors, consciously or not, become members of the same discourse coalition who, despite divergences and debates between them, tend to agree on and mobilize the overarching storyline.

The fragmentation of the IE policy landscape requires a framework that is not bound to look only at certain institutions or actors, but is able of capturing all who contribute to the IE conversation. DCF has proven to be a useful tool in accounting for the different discourses that are produced by diverse players, disciplines, and fields. DCF has allowed this study to broaden the scope of participating actors that can be located, hence identifying some actors that have not been identified by other policy studies. DCF has helped to reveal unconventional actors who are members of the public as well as politicians who are not necessarily engaged in discussions pertaining to postsecondary education and/or international education, yet become politically active and contribute to the discourse to support “their own particular interests” and perspectives (Hajer, 1995, p.14). These diverse actors reproduce certain storylines and fight for or against a certain construction of international education without necessarily orchestrating their actions or sharing deep values (Hajer, 1993; 1995). This supports DCF’s perception of citizens “as political activists on “stand by” who often need to be ignited in order to become politically involved” (Hajer, 2003b, p. 88). Furthermore, DCF has provided a framework to explain the fluidity in coalition membership that accounts for the contradictions that policy actors could show. It acknowledges that the same actors can mobilize different storylines in different contexts or even unintentionally contribute to the dominance of an opposing storyline. However, as these statements become part of the discursive space, they can have their (un)intended political effects in the argumentative struggle to impose a certain way of (re)defining international education. DCF’s proposition to examine the media’s role in “reorder[ing] the political landscape,” “*framing* policies in terms of conflict”, and influencing “how politics is conducted” has also been valuable (Hajer 2009, p. 5, original emphasis).

Another concept that has proven to be valuable is that of emblematic issues. An emblem, as illustrated earlier, has a central role of “facilitating much more than a ‘mere’ change in policy;” it brings about “a larger conceptual shift” (Hajer, 2006, pp. 68–69). Theoretically, this underlines the importance of spotting such emblematic issues in understand in what the IE problems are about and how these emblematic issues shift IE policy discourses. Through examining emblematic issues, a policy analyst observes the social world through zooming onto specific sites of “argumentation” (Hajer, 1995). Hajer’s premise is that emblematic sites and storylines reduce complexity, conceal disagreements, and shift policy discourse. These emblematic issues are sites of argumentation where “a larger conceptual shift” takes place (Hajer, 2003b, p. 69).

An important strength of DCF is its perception of the role of the policy analyst as a contributor to the democratic approach to policy-making. In identifying the different storylines and their discursive formats in the IE policy landscape, this research empowers policy actors in their struggle to be heard as “finding the appropriate story-line becomes an important form of agency” (Hajer, 1995, p. 56). Policy analysts assume a “political role” (Burton, 2006, p. 183) and become “deliberative practitioners operating within a clear value framework that promotes greater social and political equity” (Burton, 2006, p. 186). In this framework, “policy researchers are no longer outside experts granting access to a store of objective knowledge, but instead are insider facilitators of participatory or emancipatory research: they are guardian of a process as much as of any distinctive content” (Burton, 2006, p.186). Actually, Hajer argues that “if policy making increasingly becomes a prime site of politics, then policy analysts must develop the sensitivity that allows them to facilitate processes of collective-will formation oriented towards a notion of public quality of life” (Hajer, 2003b, p. 191).

9.2.2. Limitations of DCF based on its application in this study

Two limitations of the Discourse Coalition Framework emerge in this study. The first limitation relates to the level of analysis that the concept of the storylines involves. Focusing on the macro level led to the identification of only one storyline, namely, *Internationalize*. The international education policy space in Ontario emerged as an uncontested space where all discourses and the actors who mobilized them agreed on the need to internationalize the Ontario PSE sector, yet, for different reasons and through different approaches and activities, no discourses opposed IE. However, the Discourse Coalition Framework is built on the assumption that a policy landscape would attract opponents and proponents who would engage in argumentation. DCF originates from Hajer's work on climate change, a policy-scape that is inherently different from international education. Unlike the environment policy-scape which tends to be oppositional, no one challenged the need and value of internationalization. One might question the use of an argumentative framework in a policy space that is uncontested in the first place. However, given the fact that this study is an exploratory one, the researcher saw value in being prepared for different levels of argumentation. While the identification of the *Internationalize* storyline (with no oppositional storylines) is a finding in itself, this storyline alone was not enough to explain the different policy changes and the nuances of the IE policy landscape in Ontario. Within this storyline, argumentations, which shape Ontario's engagement with IE, emerged. Therefore, in my application of DCF, I took the level of analysis a notch deeper and examined the second level of storylines (*Economy*, *Risks* and *Gateway*) and the argumentative struggles between them. Therefore, had this study stopped at the macro level with the *Internationalize* storyline as DCF would typically recommend, the findings would not have revealed the level of complexity of IE debates and their influence on shaping Ontario's approach

to IE that were evident in this study. Hence, while I was able to address this limitation by taking my analysis to the next layer of storylines, applying DCF to policy landscapes that are uncontested (where there are no binaries of proponents and opponents) is a limitation of DCF that needs to be addressed.

The second limitation pertains to DCF's conceptualization of discursive agency. Discursive theories share the conceptualization of a "*dialectically constituted agency*" (Leopold & Winkel, 2013, p. 7, original emphasis). That is, actors (and discourses) are both subjects and agents. While actors produce discourses (agents), they are confined within established discursive structures (subjects). This study questions DCF's conceptualization of the relationship between the collective discursive agency and the individual one.

Going back to the roots of DCF, as discussed in Chapter Four, Hajer's critique of Foucault's emphasis on the constraining power of language (where humans are perceived as subjects) prompted the inclusion of the social interactive discourse theory's conceptualization of the argumentative interactions between actors. Hence, Hajer (1995) introduced the "middle-range concepts" of storylines, discourse coalitions, and discursive practices through which "interaction between discourses can be related to the role of individual strategic action in a non-reductionist way [i.e. beyond the focus on actors' institutional backgrounds or vested interests]" (1995, p. 52). While Hajer's concepts of storylines, discourse coalitions, and discursive practices are important contributions to our understanding of collective agency, they are vague in conceptualizing and analyzing the role of individual discursive agency. These concepts explain how diverse actors collectively, with or without coordination, mobilize and contribute to the construction of a storyline that leads to policy change. These actors, who might have different interests, beliefs, and goals, become members of the same discourse coalition and share the same

discursive practices. However, while these concepts provide theoretical tools to engage with and analyse the role of collective actors in policy-making, they do not clearly address the role of individual discursive agency, as this section will discuss.

Whereas this study gives credence to Hajer's argument for the value of storylines in forming coalitions of diverse actors and the role storylines and discursive practices play in policy change, it also illustrates that policy-making can be influenced by powerful individual actors who are able to shift discursive space. While these agents of change have functioned within the hegemonic storyline, they have also been able to shift the discussion, (re)introduce new dimensions and nuances to the IE debate, and assume leadership in institutionalizing certain policies, as discussed in Chapter Eight. Hence, the findings of this study concur with Leopold and Winkel's (2013) findings that the conception of individual and collective actors is blurry within DCF. As Leopold and Winkel (2013) correctly note, it is individual actors who insert their own interpretation of these storylines, ignore incomplete and/or contradictory knowledge, attempt to impose their perception of reality on others, and are constantly engaged in acts of positioning of self and others. What makes actors invested in engaging in this argumentation in the first place? While DCF proposes that actors are attracted to storylines that resonate with their experiences and interests (Hajer, 1995), it does not provide tools to understand the role of these individual factors in influencing the individual and collective argumentation. These individual factors include their personal experiences, which influence their individual discursive agency, and their positions of power, which facilitate their ability to access a wider audience and to institutionalize policies. DCF does not provide conceptual and analytical tools to account for individual discursive agency.

This critique is not limited to DCF but, according to Leipold and Winkel (2013), extends to all post-structuralist discourse approaches that “are typically known for their emphasis on (discursive) structures and a certain neglect of actors and agency” (p. 2). In their examination of the conceptualization of agency in five discursive approaches¹²², Leipold and Winkel (2013) note that, while Hajer’s argumentative approach “partly discloses his conception of agency” (p. 3) through the concepts of storylines, coalition membership, and discursive practices, he is ambivalent regarding the relationship between the individual and collective agency. While this study agrees with Hajer’s concept of the value of the politics of discourse in the “actual creation of structures and fields of action by means of story-lines, positioning, and the selective employment of comprehensive discursive systems” (1995, p. 275), it proposes that individual discursive agency, particularly of some actors in certain power positions, matters. This limitation may explain why some scholars critiqued DCF’s perception that discourse is “everything” where “not only words are deeds but that they are sufficient to change society” (Burton, 2006, p. 187) and that, while DCF offers “useful explanation of the processes of coalition formation, interaction and policy learning”, it could not alone “explain the outcomes of the policy process” (Bulkeley, 2000, p. 727). While Hajer (1995) argues that storylines are the ““glue” of coalition membership (p. 66) and are “the prime vehicle of change” (p. 63), there is a need to further investigate the role of the individual discursive agency in policy change.

¹²² Foucault’s approach, Hajer’s Argumentative Approach, Schmidt’s Discursive Institutionalism- combines discourse analysis with institutionalist approaches (Schmidt, 2011), Critical Discourse Analysis and Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse- a framework used among social scientists in discourse research that examines the performative nature of discourses and their power effects (2011).

9.3. Research implications

This research contributes to our understanding of the international education policy landscape in Ontario. IE scholarship has attempted to differentiate between “traditional internationalization” which focuses on the socio-cultural and educational benefits of international education (Altbach & Knight, 2007; Stromquist, 2007) and economic internationalization that focuses on revenue generation and talent acquisition (Matthews & Sidhu, 2005). This research argues against such binary categorizations. The proposition that IE is either economic or socio-cultural and educational is overly simplistic. The findings of this study provide a more nuanced understanding of the different levels of economy, namely business, innovation, financial incentives, and immigration. I argue that the economic aspect of internationalization, which goes beyond the argument simply of financial gains and losses, cannot be dismissed any more than the cultural, social, or educational aspects. Once this realization is achieved, there would be common ground between different policy actors to facilitate a re-creation or a reframing of international education. Concurring with Garson (2016), this study highlights the need to reframe international education in Ontario and Canada in a way that acknowledges economic discourse, yet balances it with that which is social, academic, and cultural. This is not an easy path, but this common ground is a starting point. It will facilitate “building up both shared ways of orienting knowledge as well as... trust and credibility of the actors involved” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 187).

The relationship between Ontario and the rest of the world as constructed by the three IE storylines is problematic. The IE storylines, particularly the most hegemonic one (i.e., *Economy*), contribute to the highly-stratified global division of developed versus developing countries and uneven distribution of resources. In this global knowledge economy, the *Economy* storyline perceives Ontario as in competition with other OECD countries in attracting human and financial

resources from other, mostly developing, countries. This competition takes place with little or no consideration of the effect this may have on the present and future wellbeing of these countries. The IE storylines, with the exception of some discourses in the *Gateway* storyline, neglect the fact that IE is not one-directional. These storylines tend to be Ontario-focused, rather than internationally focused. They tend to be focused on leveraging IE for the benefit of Ontario and Ontarians and protecting them from the possible risks of IE. When IE discourses are engaged with the benefits of IE to the global community, this engagement tends to position Ontarian, and Western knowledge, values and ways of living over others. The IE storylines incorporate discourses that perpetuate what Stein (2017) describes as “the colonial politics of Western knowledge production, which not only devalues non-Western knowledges but also produces colonial representations of the non-West that rationalize Western exceptionalisms and justify Western political and economic [and I would add social, cultural, and educational] interventions abroad” (p. 15). The IE storylines seem to hierarchically rank Ontario’s engagement with the rest of the world. Developed countries are perceived to be Ontario’s competitor while emerging economies are perceived to be current beneficiaries and future competitors. The rest of the world (particularly developing countries) are Ontario’s beneficiary; they are the recipient of Ontario’s quality education and philanthropic initiatives, as well as being the source of financial gains and much-needed (young) human talent. However, even this talent is not welcome in Ontario unconditionally as there are some discourses of fear and unease associated with them. The IE storylines in Ontario emulate global imbalances furthering social, economic, and cultural disparities between the global North and the global South. There is a need to critically question, challenge, and deconstruct the current IE storylines in Ontario to avoid reproducing the same discourses and the same constructions of IE policy problems and/or solutions. I join Stein et al.

(2016) in their call “to move conversations about internationalization from comfortable spaces that reaffirm benevolence, redemption, and innocence, towards deeper historical and systemic analyses and the development of new vocabularies that would enable us to engage with the complexities, tensions, difficulties, and paradoxes of this field” (p. 14).

This research has also contributed to our understanding of the actors who contribute to the IE policy landscape. By moving away from the state and focusing on storylines, this research revealed a wide range of IE policy actors that previous policy studies did not account for. This study is unique in that it draws attention to the diversity of actors who are engaged in the IE policy landscape. While previous studies focused on the role of the state, PSEIs, and a few national SIGs such as CBIE and Universities Canada, this research highlights the fact that the IE policy landscape is crowded with many other actors who contribute to the construction of IE. Future research needs to further investigate the narratives of these actors (e.g., economy and trade SIGs; immigration professionals; and the Ontario public (e.g. employers, and domestic students and their parents, and members at large of aboriginal communities) and the role they play in influencing the IE policy landscape in Ontario. While this research has revealed the hegemony of the *Economy* storyline as it succeeded in imposing its economic argumentative structure on other actors, it raises questions surrounding the *Gateway* storyline’s role in the educational policy landscape. While the *Gateway* storyline maintains a presence in almost all the IE argumentations, it tended to assume the backseat in the race to define Ontario’s approach to IE. Questions remain: Why did the *Gateway* coalition members struggle with imposing their perceptions of IE on others? Why was the *Gateway* storyline (with its education and global image discourses) unable to dominate the IE discussions, despite the fact that this is an educational policy landscape? Why was this storyline, along with its coalition members, unable

to attract more actors with diverse backgrounds, beliefs, interests, and personal experiences?

Further research is needed to examine the discursive practices and coalition membership of the *Gateway* storyline and its power relationships with other storylines and coalitions.

One of the main findings of this study is the role of the media, which has emerged in entity as a powerful actor in building the IE narrative and in mobilizing storylines. This research contributes to our understanding of the role of media in international education policy-making, beyond just trying to investigate its direct political influence. This research goes further by examining how the media “stitch together” discourses from immigration, innovation, economy, foreign trade, education, and link them to our daily lives (Hajer & Strengers, 2012, p. 299). The media play a big role in building the IE narrative in the context of global, national, and provincial events, hence contributing to the construction of IE as a policy problem and/or solution for issues beyond the education landscape. Policy actors need to acknowledge the authority of the media (Herbst, 2003). It is important to invest academic energy in trying to understand the way in which the media are part of the IE construction and understand the media’s role in advancing some storylines over others. This study agrees with Hajer and Strengers’ (2012) argument that there is an urgent need for collaboration between academics and journalists whereby they would find some common ground. Actors, particularly faculty members, researchers, and international education professionals need to understand the “medialogic” of making news and start experimenting with new ways of arguing. There is a need for “public intellectuals” who can mediate between education, society, politics, and media (Hajer & Strengers, 2012, p. 300). Future research should investigate the role of all forms of media in the construction of the IE narrative in Ontario, the mobilization of storylines, the enlistment of coalition members, and the influencing of IE policy-making.

Through identifying the different international education storylines in Ontario, this research empowers actors who are looking for ways to influence IE policies. DCF argues that “a good policy analysis ... should be able to generate information on the ways in which particular social actors can be enlisted in a particular initiative” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 188) and how actors can navigate storylines to serve their goals. Since “political change... may take place through the emergence of new story-lines that re-order understandings ... finding the appropriate story-line becomes an important form of agency” (Hajer, 1995, p. 56). This research provides an understanding of the different storylines (and the discourses they assemble) and outlines their discursive practices. For actors to influence international education policy-making, they need to initially, “follow the formats that can count on a certain respectability” (Hajer, 1995, p. 273). Using these effective communicative skills and argumentative strategies has the “possibility of making people see things differently, and, in the process, shifting the course of the political struggle” (Fischer, 2003, p. 88). If the *Gateway* storyline is to influence policy-making, its coalition members need to accept the hegemonic power of the *Economy* storyline, adopt its argumentative strategies and work to leverage this to shift the IE policy landscape, as the *Risks* storyline has done. This does not mean that actors cannot introduce new problems and new discourses to frame them, However, they should understand that this comes at a cost (Hajer, 1995). Hajer (1995) argues that “if argumentative discourse analysis teaches us anything, it is that the format in which policy discourses are developed has a [sic] immense influence on the construction of policy problems and the outcome of the political process” (Hajer, 1995, p. 284). Hence, discursive practices have the ability to create dissensus or consensus depending on how they are employed.

On a theoretical level, this research calls for a reconsideration of the analysis of policy-making in general and the international education policy landscape in particular, in light of the changing context of institutional void. The state, as illustrated earlier, has a considerable voice in the international education landscape, yet it is one voice among many others. Therefore, “rather than framing our current experience as simply one of the demise of the state, we should recognize the considerable evidence [of] ... new emergent practices of governance” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 189). IE is an example of a “policy without polity” landscape (Hajer, 2003a, p. 175) which requires a realization that “there is no single sovereign authority to address... [the IE policy] problem” (Hajer, 2003a, p. 181). Finally, this study proposes that DCF would benefit from further examination of the relationship between collective and individual discursive agency. While this study reaffirms Hajer’s argument that storylines (collective discursive agency) influence policy-making and introduce policy changes, it also reveals that individual actors, while perpetuating the dominant storyline, are able to shift discussions and reframe policy problems and/or solutions. There is a need to further examine the role of individual discursive agency of key actors (particularly those in power) in influencing policy-making. Future research may examine why actors choose to engage with and mobilize some storylines yet not others? And, why do some actors assume leadership roles in shifting discussions and reframing debates?

In terms of methodology, this study used three data sources, namely, media, policy documents and interviews. Each of them has provided a valuable lens with which to view the construction of IE storylines and policy-making. While the analysis of policy documents and interviews did not yield the identification of storylines, other than those identified by the media analysis, interviews helped understand actors’ perceptions and interpretations of different events, fill in gaps in the media’s construction of IE, and compensate for the media’s bias towards some

storylines and their coalition members (i.e., *Economy and Risks*). While policy documents helped trace the *structuration* and *institutionalization* of IE storylines in institutional practices, unlike the other two data sources, they did not provide an animated argumentative space. This is not surprising given the fact that written statements tend to be more carefully crafted than spoken ones. Out of the three data sources, the media was the most valuable one. First, it provided rich contextualization of the IE discourses at the time and place that they were mobilized. Second, it has provided a rich and lively space for the argumentative exchange between actors, revealing different discursive practices as well as contradictory statements uttered by different actors in difference spaces and at different times. Third, it was through the media that many unconventional IE policy actors emerged, contributing to the IE argumentative discursive space. Whereas policy documents tended to be well planned and calculated, exchanges through the media were not necessarily so. Actors do not always have enough time and space to think through their arguments which may lead to unintentional repercussions, such as in the case of the Trillium scholarship. Therefore, there is adequate evidence of the value of media as a data source in future policy research adopting DCF. Parliamentary debates and minutes of meetings, which were not used in this study, may also be rich data sources as they, too, provide a glimpse of actors' animated argumentative exchange. However, more research is needed to examine this.

While this study answers some questions in the IE policy landscape in Ontario, it also unravels other questions that future inquiry could examine further. First, the role of media in framing IE policy, or in framing policy in general, needs to be further probed, particularly the role of social media, audio-visual platforms and city-specific media outlets, which are beyond the scope of the current study. Second, an examination of the emerging *Regulate IE* storyline influence on how different stakeholders engage with international education is needed. Third,

tracing the evolution of the different IE storylines in the different Canadian provinces and territories in relation to the global, national, and local contexts would provide a rich comparative policy study. Fourth, this study focuses on a time when Ontario was governed by a Liberal government. It would be interesting to conduct a similar study now that the Conservative party has assumed office, given that the outcomes of this study suggest that the ideological orientation of political leadership influences the province's approach to IE. On a theoretical level, future research may look at the conceptualization of agency of discourse coalition frameworks. The relationship between the collective and individual discursive agency and the discursive agency of individual actors in positions of power and their role in influencing policy-making, I believe, is worthy of further study.

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Appendices

Appendix A: IE Policies across Canadian Provinces

Different Canadian provinces were highly involved and invested in different IE activities and programs as early as the 1970s (Picard & Mills, 2009; Savage, 2009; Jones, 2009). Many provinces have already developed their IE strategies independently, some even prior to that of the federal government. Quebec launched its four-pronged strategy for internationalization in 2002 entitled *To Succeed in Internationalizing Quebec Education* (Government of Quebec, 2002). The four components of the strategy are (a) education and training of Quebec's citizens, (b) mobility of knowledge and people, (c) exportation of Quebec educational expertise, and (d) participation in international forums on education and training. The government of the Province of Alberta has developed its 20-year strategic plan *International Education: An action plan for the Future* which includes creating a vibrant cultural mosaic through international education (Government of Alberta, 2006). Alberta's *International Education Framework* was released in 2009 (Government of Alberta, 2009) and *Alberta's International Strategy 2013: Building Markets* highlights the importance of international partnership in research, innovation and education, student inward and outward mobility, and attracting IS to Alberta's labour market (Government of Alberta, 2013). In the Province of Manitoba, the strategic plan *Reaching Beyond our Borders* outlines a vision to guide the province's international activities (Manitoba Intergovernmental Affairs and Trade, 2005) which was followed by Manitoba's *International Education Strategy of the Province of Manitoba 2009–2013* (Government of Manitoba, 2009). The strategy's main goals are recruitment of IS, engaging in international education-related projects, enhancing Manitoba's students and faculty through international exposure, offering offshore programs and services, and internationalizing teaching and learning. *British Columbia's*

International Education Strategy was released in 2012 as part of *Canada Starts Here: The BC Job Plan* outlining three main goals: creating a globally-oriented education system; ensuring quality learning and life experiences for students, and maximizing benefits for BC communities, families and businesses (Government of British Columbia; 2012). Most recently, Saskatchewan developed its *Post-Secondary International Education Strategy* in 2014, focusing on three main goals: increasing the number of domestic students studying abroad, increasing the number of IS studying in Saskatchewan, and increasing the number and value of international research partnerships (Government of Saskatchewan, 2014). Ontario is one of the very last provinces to release an IE strategy in 2018. The only two provinces that do not have an official IE strategy yet are New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, in addition to the three territories: Yukon Territory, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut.

Appendix B: Immigration Policies Pertaining to IE/IS

Federal Level:

Table 10

Immigration policy changes: Federal level (2005–2018)

Year	Policy/ Program	Description of Changes
2002	<i>International Student Program (ISP)</i>	<i>Introduced IS as a new category of temporary residents to the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)</i>
2005	Study Permit (SP)	Streamlined the SP application process enabling IS to obtain an SP valid for the full length of their intended period of study Enabled IS in PSEIs to transfer between programs of study and institutions (public and private) without first making an application to CIC
2005	Post-Graduation Work Permit Program (PGWP)	Enabled IS graduates from recognized Canadian educational institutions outside Montreal, Toronto, and Vancouver to work after graduation in Canada for an additional year (up to a total of two years).
2006	Off-Campus Work Permit Program (OCWP)	Enabled full-time IS at participating educational institutions to work off campus during their studies for up to 20 hours per week.
2008	PGWP	Allowed IS to obtain an open work permit (for up to three years), with no restrictions on the type of employment and no requirement of a job offer.
	OCWP	Enabled IS in Canada to apply online for an off-campus work permit.
	Canadian Experience Class (CEC)	Introduced a new immigration stream that allows IS graduates with professional, managerial, and skilled work experience to immigrate, recognizing their education and work experience in Canada as key selection criteria for permanent residence (Evaluation Division, 2010)
2009	Student Partners Program (SPP)	Streamlined admission and visa process for Indian IS in Canadian community colleges (International Education Specialists, 2018)
2011	Student Partners Program	Extended SPP to IS from China (International Education Specialists, 2018)
2013	ISP (amendments)	Enabled IS to stay in Canada for up to three years following graduation Reduced Canadian work experience requirement for residency from 24 to 12 months.
	Temporary Foreign Workers Program (amendments)	Employers are required to obtain an LMIA to hire foreign nationals
2014	ISP	Limited the issuance of study permits to applicants

	(amendments)	<p>who will be studying at a designated learning institution.</p> <p>Required students to enrol and actively pursue their studies while in Canada</p> <p>Allowed full-time IS enrolled at designated institutions in certain programs to work part-time off-campus and full-time during scheduled school breaks without a work permit (CIC, Evaluation Division, 2015)</p> <p>Removed work permit requirement for off-campus work</p> <p>Expanded off-campus work to private career colleges</p>
	Bill C-35	<p>Excluded both IE agents, as well as IS advisors employed by Canadian institutions, from advising students on immigration matters unless they completed training and certification as a Regulated Canadian Immigration Consultant (RCIC) with the Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council (ICCRC).</p>
	Bill C-24 Citizenship Act	<p>Prolonged the period that IS needed to reside in Canada prior to applying for citizenship.</p> <p>Discounted the time IS spent in Canada before becoming a permanent resident from citizenship applications</p>
2015	Express Entry	<p>IS with a job offer are advantaged in their permanent residency application</p> <p>IS do not get extra points in their permanent residency application for their education in Canada</p>
2016	Express Entry (amendments)	<p>IS earn extra points for their education in Canada in their permanent residency application</p>
2017	Bill C-6 Citizenship Act	<p>Repealed changed introduced by Bill C-24.</p> <p>Amendments to Citizenship Act to count a portion of time spent as temporary residents (e.g., international student) in Canada</p>

*some sections of this table adapted from Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010.

Provincial level:

Table 11

Immigration policies: Ontario

Year	Policy/ Program	Description of Changes
2009	Provincial Nominee Program (PNP)	Introduced the International Student Category to facilitate IS conversion under provincial nomination targets
2010	The Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program (OINP) (previously PNP)	<p>In April 2010, an immigration path for IS with a PhD degree obtained from a publically funded university in Ontario to live and work permanently in Ontario was introduced.</p> <p>In June 2010, similar stream is introduced for IS with a MA degrees Unlike most streams in OINP, applicants through the Graduate Stream can apply for residency without a job offer.</p>
2012	A New Direction: Ontario's Immigration Strategy	An immigration strategy that targets IS as a pool of future immigrants is introduced.

Appendix C: Informed Consent Form

Date:

Study Name: International Education Policy-making in the postsecondary education sector: Ontario as a Case Study

Researcher: Amira El Masri, PhD Candidate, Faculty of Education – York University

Purpose of the Research:

International education (IE) has been identified as an area of pronounced importance in recent years with many countries around the world adopting more national strategic approaches to IE. Adopting a social constructivist approach, this qualitative case study seeks to (re)construct the definition of international education as a policy problem in the postsecondary education (PSE) sector in Ontario through examining Ontario's PSE IE policy related documents and interviewing key policy players. It aims to understand perceptions and experiences of different IE stakeholders with regards to the PSE IE education policy-making context in Ontario. It seeks to explore the following:

1. How is international education defined/ constructed as a policy issue in the postsecondary sector in Ontario?
2. Who are the policy actors that are contributing to the postsecondary international education policy-making process in Ontario?
3. What role do they play in influencing IE policy and empowering and silencing different discourses?

What You Will Be Asked to Do in the Research:

Participants will be invited to participate in one-to-one interviews. Interview discussions will be open ended but based on a few key questions related to the objectives of this study. Each participant will participate in one interview (however, some interviewees may be approached for another interview as need arises). Interviews are expected to take about 60-120 minutes and will be taped.

Risks and Discomforts: I do not foresee any risks or discomfort from your participation in the research.

Benefits of the Research and Benefits to You: By providing information on your perceptions and experiences with the IE policy-making in the postsecondary education sector in Ontario, you will

1. support policy makers make informed decisions on the future of IE in Ontario
2. contribute to our understanding of how IE is conceived and understood by different stakeholders
3. contribute to our understanding of how IE policies are made in Ontario and who the dominant and less dominant actors are. This understanding will empower different actors in their attempts to make their voices heard
4. receive a brief on the outcomes of the study once completed

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may choose to stop participating at any time. Your decision not to volunteer will not influence the nature of your relationship with the researcher and/or York University either now, or in the future.

Withdrawal from the Study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Your decision to stop participating, or to refuse to answer particular questions, will not affect your relationship with the researchers, York University, or any other group associated with this project. In the event you withdraw from the study, all associated data collected will be immediately destroyed wherever possible.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence and unless you specifically indicate your consent, your name will not appear in the doctoral dissertation or any publication of the research (unless you give consent). I will be recording and transcribing the discussions from the interviews. Your data will be safely and securely stored. All hard copies of the data will be secured in my office. The electronic copies will be secured on the office computer of the researcher who will be the only person to have access to this information. Hard copies will be stored in a locked cabinet in the researcher's office which the researcher will be the only person to have access to. All data will be stored for three years and then destroyed. Confidentiality will be provided to the fullest extent possible by law.

Questions About the Research? If you have questions about the research in general or about your role in the study, please feel free to contact Amira El Masri either by telephone at _____ or by e-mail (_____) or Prof. Roopa Desai- Trilokekar, dissertation supervisor, on _____. This research has been reviewed and approved by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines. If you have any questions about this process, or about your rights as a participant in the study, please contact the Sr. Manager & Policy Advisor for the Office of Research Ethics, 5th Floor, York Research Tower, York University (telephone 416-736-5914 or e-mail ore@yorku.ca).

Legal Rights and Signatures:

I _____ consent to participate in the study: **International Education Policy-making in the postsecondary education sector: Ontario as a Case Study** conducted by Amira El Masri. I have understood the nature of this project and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form. My signature below indicates my consent.

Signature _____

Participant

Signature _____

Principal Investigator

Date _____

Date _____

Appendix D: Interview Questions

SET 1: Helicopter interviews:

Explain focus and purpose of research

1. Start with introductions and collect demographic information such as position, department, and job responsibilities, previous roles and responsibilities (general but also pertaining to international education), and how/ why they got involved in IE.
2. How would you describe the PSE IE policy context in Ontario? Has it changed during the past 10 year? How? Why?
3. Do you think that IE has become a policy priority in the PSE sector? Why?
4. In your opinion, does Ontario have a PSE IE policy?
 - a. If yes, what is it? In your opinion should there be a separate PSE IE strategy document?
 - b. If not, why not?
5. In your opinion, what are the five policy priorities pertaining to IE in Ontario now?
 - a. Are they shared among the different stakeholders? How?
6. Reflecting on the past 10 years,
 - a. How have these policy priorities changed over time?
 - b. Who are the main champions/ actors in this policy area? Have they changed over time?
7. What are the current rationales/ purposes of IE in PSE sector in Ontario?
8. Reflecting on the past 10 years, what are the main documents that influenced the IE context in Ontario? Why? How?
9. Reflecting on the past 10 years, what are the main events that influenced the IE context in Ontario? Why? How?
10. In your opinion, who are the active IE policy actors now?
 - a. How do they perceive IE, its rationale and purposes?
 - b. Do they coordinate with other policy actors? Who?
 - c. How do they work to influence IE policy-making?
11. In your opinion, who were the main IE policy actors in the past 10 years?
 - a. How did they perceive IE, its rationale and purposes?
 - b. Did they coordinate with other policy actors? Who?
 - c. How did they work to influence IE policy-making?
12. Are there any national / transnational actors/ texts/ policies/ contexts that influence the IE policy context in Ontario?
 - a. Who/what are they?
 - b. How do they influence IE policy context in Ontario?
 - c. Do you see any coordination patterns between them and local players? Who and how?
13. In order to reconstruct the IE narrative in Ontario during the last 10 years, other than the documents you mentioned earlier, what other documents you recommend I should examine?
14. In order to reconstruct the IE narrative in Ontario during the last 10 years, who are the actors that you recommend that I should talk to?
15. Are there any other comments you would like to add?

SET 2: Interviews with policy actors:

Explain focus and purpose of research

Situate the interviewee within the IE policy-making context:

1. Start with introductions and collect demographic information such as position, department, and job responsibilities, previous roles and responsibilities (general but also pertaining to international education).
2. Thinking back, when did you first become involved in IE policy in Ontario? Why?
3. What does internationalizing Ontario's PSE education sector mean to you?
4. When we talk about IE in the PSE sector, what are the main activities that you think of?
5. Reflecting on the past 10 years, have your opinions regarding IE changed?
 - If yes,
 - a. How did they change?
 - b. What caused this change?

Policy actors:

6. Who are the main policy actors you think of in the field of IE in PSE sector in Ontario?
7. In your opinion, does Ontario have an IE policy?
 - a. If yes, what is it? In your opinion should there be a separate PSE IE strategy document?
 - b. If not, why not? In your opinion should there be a separate PSE IE strategy document?
8. To your knowledge, who are the major players in the current MTCU's initiative to develop an IE strategy?
9. What would an ideal Ontario IE strategy look like for you?

Causal Chain:

10. Based on your experience, can you give some insights on one or more Ontario PSE specific internationalization policies?
 - a. Why did they take place?
 - b. Who advocated for/against them?
 - c. What was the outcome?
 - d. Are there any other policies that are relevant to the IE context in Ontario?

Let the interviewee come up with relevant policies; however, if needs any prompts give some examples:

- Deregulation of IS fees in 1992
- Between 2005 - 2008, the McGuinty allocated funds to IE (strategy development, IS recruitment, and study abroad opportunities)
- In 2007, Ontario initiated the International Education Opportunity Scholarship program to help fund domestic students study abroad
- In 2010, a goal to double the number of IS was announced in the *Open Ontario Plan*
- McGuinty's Trillium scholarship to IS in 2010
- Despite the goal to double the number of IS, MTCU made budget cuts in 2012- 2013:
 - decision to recover \$750 per IS (Except for PhD students) in 2013
 - discontinuation of the \$75 funding for IS enrolment (except for PhDs) in 2013
 - elimination of subsidies to PSEIs to assist in IS recruitment activities in 2012), why?

- The 2012 “A New Direction: Ontario’s Immigration Strategy” which targets IS as potential immigrants
 - The 2016 funding model extending funding for graduate studies to international students
 - Frequent updates to the Private Career Colleges’ Act, especially pertaining to IS
 - Opening branch campuses for Ontario colleges abroad (e.g. Niagara college and Algonquin College in Saudi Arabia)
 - Commissioning the Ontario’s Postsecondary International Education Strategy in 2016
 - Differentiation framework
11. Are there any studies/ reports that helped shape the current IE context in Ontario?
12. To your knowledge, has anyone furnished IE policy proposals that were considered (or not) in the past ten years?

Involvement in PSE IE policy-making:

13. How do you try to inform policy-making?
14. Have you been involved in the consultation/ development of any IE related policies or proposals?
- If yes,
- c. How/ why did you get involved?
 - d. What was your role in those discussions?
- If no,
- e. Why not?
15. Have you formed alliances with others or engaged in lobbying activities to achieve common IE policy goals?
- a. Who?
 - b. How?
 - c. How successful is/was it?
16. Of the people you mentioned, who do you feel more closely aligned to in terms of your ideas on how IE should look like in Ontario? Why?
17. Of the people you mentioned, who holds very different views than yours on how IE should look like in Ontario? Why?
18. What have you relied on to inform your perspective on IE in Ontario?
- a. Experts? Who?
 - b. Research? Which research?
 - c. Others? identify
 - d. How did it change/ reinforce your opinion?
19. Have you solicited media in any way to advance/ articulate your views on what IE should be like in Ontario?

Conclusion:

20. Is there anything that you would like to add that would help me understand the different IE policy players and their roles?
21. Are there others that you recommend I should speak to?
22. Are there any documents that you think I should look at?

Appendix E: Ethics Approval



OFFICE OF
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Certificate #: STU 2016 - 115
Approval Period: 08/25/16-08/25/17

ETHICS APPROVAL

To: **Amira El Masri**
Graduate Student - Faculty of Education

From: Alison M. Collins-McCabe, Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor, Research Ethics
(on behalf of Denise Heppner, Chair, Human Participants Review Committee)

Date: Thursday, August 25, 2016

Title: **International Education Policy-making in the Post-secondary Education
sector: Ontario as a Case Study**

Risk Level: Minimal Risk More than Minimal Risk

Level of Review: Delegated Review Full Committee Review

I am writing to inform you that this research project, "International Education Policy-making in the Post-secondary Education sector: Ontario as a Case Study" has received ethics review and approval by the Human Participants Review Sub-Committee, York University's Ethics Review Board and conforms to the standards of the Canadian Tri-Council Research Ethics guidelines.

Note that approval is granted for one year. Ongoing research – research that extends beyond one year – must be renewed prior to the expiry date.

Any changes to the approved protocol must be reviewed and approved through the amendment process by submission of an amendment application to the HPRC prior to its implementation.

Any adverse or unanticipated events in the research should be reported to the Office of Research ethics (ore@yorku.ca) as soon as possible.

For further information on researcher responsibilities as it pertains to this approved research ethics protocol, please refer to the attached document, "RESEARCH ETHICS: PROCEDURES TO ENSURE ONGOING COMPLIANCE".

Should you have any questions, please feel free to contact me at: _____ or via email at: _____

Yours sincerely,

Alison M. Collins-McCabe, M.Sc., LL.M.
Sr. Manager and Policy Advisor,
Office of Research Ethics

Appendix F: List of Media Articles in Chronological Order

2005

1. Dillon, P. (2005, Jan 4). Indonesian victims include scholars with ties to McGill University. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/347489567?accountid=15182>
2. Fraser, J. (2005, Jan 08). Lessons learned out of school, far, far out of school. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/347499165?accountid=15182>
3. Alphonso, C. (2005, Feb 5). Facing US security hurdles, top students flock to Canada. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/facing-us-security-hurdles-top-students-flock-to-canada/article18216593/>
4. Moxley, M. (2005, Mar 17). No borders here business school exchange partnerships]. *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/205867167?accountid=15182>
5. Blatchford, A. (2005, Apr 1). Held back in Israel, prodigy comes to York. *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/docview/330338667?accountid=15182>
6. International award for MBA students behind habitat for humanity project. (2005, Apr 18). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/354982022?accountid=15182>
7. Keung, N. (2005, Apr 19). Foreign students' visas extended; may stay 2 years after graduation must work outside three major cities. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/438804931?accountid=15182>
8. Controneo, C. (2005, May 5). A library begins with a single book; University of Manitoba student is determined to bring a library to his hometown of Shenyang Arthur GuoBin Yin's book drive inspired by allegory in Plato's Republic. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/docview/438832778?accountid=15182>
9. Armstrong, J. (2005, Jun 21). B.C. College abruptly closed. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1411909791?accountid=15182>
10. Naili, H. (2005, Jun 24). Visa students stripped of credits; Student's diploma could be worthless Ministry probes 5 GTA private schools 300 foreign students face uncertainty. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/docview/438835226?accountid=15182>
11. Naili, H. (2005, Jun 28). Tempers rise at defunct school schools might still recruit overseas; scuffle breaks out over tuition refunds 300 visa students lose course credits. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/438830671?accountid=15182>
12. Brown, L. (2005, Jul 06). Top graduates plan to stay in Canada; 80% of PhDs will remain StatsCan but student says tuition a deterrent. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/438851921?accountid=15182>
13. Renzetti, E. (2005, Sept 5). Pepperpot pupil seeks a prestigious degree. Having dabbled in fashion and reality TV, Lewinsky enrolls as a student at LS. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/347555154?accountid=15182>
14. Alphonso, C. (2005, Sept 16). Katrina's students flooding north. Canadian universities are providing refuge for those displaced from Gulf State. *The Globe and Mail*.
15. Belford, T. (2005, Sept. 22). Ryerson boasts hometown advantage; 'City's university' targets GTA needs New MBA degrees work with industry. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from <http://search.proquest.com.ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/docview/438866750?accountid=15182>
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17. Business class. (2005, Sep 27). *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/354907163?accountid=15182>
18. Tam, P. (2005, Oct 5). Universities bracing for drop in enrolment. *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/330280191?accountid=15182>
19. Tam, P. (2005, Oct 5). Universities brace for enrolment drop: Record levels set in 2003 not expected to last. *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/3>

20. Kalinowski, T. (2005, Oct 12). Foreign student numbers grow; enrolment doubles in last decade 70,000 attend Canadian universities. *Toronto Star*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/438883005?accountid=15182>
 21. Wong, J. (2005, Oct 5). Mao's 'hundred schools' in a hurry. Soon China will have as many university students as Canada has people - which has sparked an unprecedented expansion of its education system. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/3>
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 26. Grange, M., (2006, Feb 6). The CIS has a Danish Dilemma. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/347610176?accountid=15182>
 27. Sokoloff, H., (2006, Feb 23). Battling student organizations make agency deal. *National Post*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/330457238?accountid=15182>
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 29. York, G. (2006, Mar 07). Canadian universities failing in china. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://ezproxy.library.yorku.ca/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/1369179003?accountid=15182>
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[Morning%20News%20Update&utm_type=text&utm_content=MorningNewsUpdate&utm_campaign=138469514&service=mobile](http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/world/morning-news-update/?utm_type=text&utm_content=MorningNewsUpdate&utm_campaign=138469514&service=mobile)

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- 414.Chiose, S. (2017, May 14). Canadian universities see surge of international students. *The Globe and Mail*. Retrieved from <http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/national/education/international-admissions-to-canadian-universities-see-significant-increase/article34984977/>
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Appendix G: Request to Participate Email

Dear _____,

I am a doctoral candidate at York University currently working on my PhD dissertation entitled “International education policy-making in the postsecondary education sector: Ontario as a case study.” In this study, I hope to better understand how international education as a policy issue in the postsecondary education sector in Ontario is defined/ understood by the different policy actors.

I am reaching out to you as your expertise, knowledge and insights would be of great help to me.

Would you be available and willing to participate in a one-to-one 60-90 minute interview?

Please note that my research has been approved by the Office of Research Ethics at York University.

I can send you further details on my research if you wish.

Looking forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Amira El Masri
PhD Candidate
Faculty of Education
York University

Appendix H: Policy Documents Corpus and Analysis

■ Main discourse/ storyline

□ Supplementary discourse/ storyline

Government - Federal:

	Org	Document/ Regulation	Reference: Media (M), Interview (I), Researcher (R)	Economy				Risks			Gateway	
				Enhance business	Enhance innovation	Financial rewards	IS as immigrants	Protect IS	Protect Canadians	Protect quality	Enrich educational experiences	Build global image
1.	ACEG	Advisory Council on Economic Growth. (2016, Oct 20). Attracting the talent Canada needs through immigration. Government of Canada. Retrieved from https://www.budget.gc.ca/aceg-ccce/pdf/immigration-eng.pdf	M				■					
2.	CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC). (2007). Facts and figures: Immigration overview Permanent and temporary residents. http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/pub/facts2007.pdf	M			■						
3.	CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (2010). Backgrounder - Canada in India Student Partners Program. https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/archives/backgrounders-2010/canada-india-student-partners-program.html	M	Facilitate IS recruitment through streamlining visa processes								
4.	CIC	Evaluation Division. (July, 2010). Evaluation of the international student program. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Retrieved from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/pdf/research-stats/2010-eval-isp-e.pdf	M	□		■	■		■	□	□	
5.	CIC	Evaluation Division. (2011, Sept). Evaluation of the Provincial Nominee Program. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Retrieved from https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migrati	I				■					

		on/ircc/english/pdf/research-stats/evaluation-pnp2011.pdf											
6.	CIC	Canada Gazette. (2012, Dec. 29). Regulations Amending the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations. Retrieved from http://www.gazette.gc.ca/rp-pr/p1/2012/2012-12-29/html/reg1-eng.html	M					■	■				
7.	CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (2013). <i>Annual Report to Parliament on Immigration, 2013</i> . Retrieved from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/publications/annual-report-2013/index.asp	M				■					□	
8.	CIC	Canada Gazette. (2014, Feb12). Regulations amending the Immigration and Refugee Protection Regulations. Retrieved from http://gazette.gc.ca/rp-pr/p2/2014/2014-02-12/html/sor-dors14-eng.html	M, I					■	■	□			
9.	CIC	Statutes of Canada. (2014). Bill C-24: An act to amend Citizenship Act. Retrieved from http://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/41-2/bill/C-24/royal-assent	M, I	Bill C-24 had the following notable amendments: Increased the residency requirement from three to four years out of six. Removed the provision that allowed half of the time spent in Canada by an applicant on a work or study visa to be credited towards the residency requirement.									
10.	CIC	Evaluation Division. (2015, April). Evaluation of the International Student Program. Citizenship and Immigration Canada. Retrieved from https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/resources/evaluation/isp/2015/e3-2013-isp.pdf	M, I	□		■	■		■			□	
11.	CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (2015). Find out if you need a Labour Market Impact Assessment. Retrieved from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/work/employers/apply-who.asp?_ga=1.242246018.1885608026.1466408866	M				■						
12.	CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (2015). <i>Express entry Year-end report</i> . Retrieved from http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/reports/e-year-end-2015.asp	M				□		■				
13.	CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (2015, June). The post-graduation work permit program: proposed options for program redesign. Secret: Advice to Minister. (provided by a participant)	M, I			□	■		■	■		□	

14.	CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2015). Temporary Foreign Worker Program: 2013-14. http://www.tbs-sct.gc.ca/hidb-bdih/plan-eng.aspx?Org=0&Hi=39&PI=524	M						■				
15.	CIC	Social Research and Demonstration Corporation. (2016, Feb). The path of international students in Francophone minority communities (FMCs). https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/research/path-international-students-francophone-minority-communities-fmcs.html	R				■	□					
16.	CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) (2016). <i>Express entry Year-end report</i> . Retrieved from https://www.canada.ca/content/dam/ircc/migration/ircc/english/pdf/pub/ee-2016-eng.pdf	M	□			■						
17.	CIC	Statutes of Canada. (2017). Bill C-6: An act to amend Citizenship Act. Retrieved from http://www.parl.ca/DocumentViewer/en/42-1/bill/C-6/royal-assent	M, I										
18.	ESDC	Employment and Social Development Canada. (2017) Global Skills Strategy 2016. Government of Canada. Retrieved from https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/campaigns/global-skills-strategy.html	M	■	■					□			
19.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2005). Budget 2005—Delivering on Commitments. Retrieved from https://fin.gc.ca/budget05/pdf/briefe.pdf	R	No mention of IE									
20.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2006). <i>Advantage Canada: Building a strong economy for Canadians</i> . Retrieved from http://www.fin.gc.ca/ec2006/plan/pltoc-eng.asp	M	□	■		■						
21.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2007). <i>The budget plan 2007: Aspire to a stronger, safer, better Canada</i> . Retrieved from www.budget.gc.ca/2007/pdf/bp2007e.pdf	M		■		■						
22.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2008). <i>The budget plan 2008: Responsible leadership</i> . Retrieved from www.budget.gc.ca/2008/pdf/plan-eng.pdf	R	■	■		■						
23.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2009). <i>The budget plan 2009: Canada's Economic Action Plan</i> . Retrieved from https://www.budget.gc.ca/2009/pdf/budget-planbudgetaire-eng.pdf	M	No mention of IE, yet there is an increase in scholarship budget (introduced in 2008)									

24.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada (2010). Leading the Way on Jobs and Growth. Retrieved from https://www.budget.gc.ca/2010/pdf/budget-planbudgetaire-eng.pdf	R		■		□					
25.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2011). <i>The next phase of Canada's economic action plan: A low-tax plan for jobs and growth. June 6, 2011.</i> Retrieved from https://www.budget.gc.ca/2011/plan/Budget2011-eng.pdf	M	■	■		■					
26.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2012). Jobs and growth and long-term prosperity: Economic Action Plan 2012. Retrieved from https://www.budget.gc.ca/2012/plan/pdf/Plan2012-eng.pdf	M	■	■							
27.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2013). <i>Jobs, growth and long-term prosperity: Economic action plan 2013.</i> Retrieved from http://www.budget.gc.ca/2013/doc/plan/budget2013-eng.pdf	M	■	■	■	■	□		□		
28.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2014). The Road To Balance: creating Jobs and Opportunities. Retrieved from https://www.budget.gc.ca/2014/docs/plan/pdf/budget2014-eng.pdf	R		■		■		□			
29.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2015). Strong Leadership a Balanced Budget, Low Tax, Plan for Jobs, Growth, and Security. Retrieved from https://www.budget.gc.ca/2015/docs/plan/budget2015-eng.pdf	R		■		■		□			
30.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2016). Growing the middle class. Retrieved from https://www.budget.gc.ca/2016/docs/plan/budget2016-en.pdf	R		■							
31.	Finance	Department of Finance Canada. (2017). Building a Strong Middle Class. Retrieved from https://www.budget.gc.ca/2017/docs/plan/budget-2017-en.pdf	R	□	■		■					
32.	GAC	Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development. (2008). <i>Seizing global advantage: A global commerce strategy for securing Canada's growth & prosperity.</i> Retrieved from	R	■	■							

		http://www.international.gc.ca/commerce/assets/pdfs/gcs-en.pdf										
33.	GAC	Roslyn Kunin & Associates, Inc. (2009, July). Economic Impact of International Education in Canada Final Report. Retrieved from https://globalhighered.files.wordpress.com/2009/10/rka_inted_report_eng.pdf	M, I	<input type="checkbox"/>		■	<input type="checkbox"/>					
34.	GAC	Guhr, D., Mondino, M., and Lundberg, A. (Nov., 2011). Canada's Capacity for International Student Enrollment. Department of Foreign Affairs and International Trade Canada (DFAIT). The Illuminate Consulting Group (ICG). USA: San Carlos CA	I			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		■	■	■	
35.	GAC	Chappell, K. (2012, March 23). Imagine Education au/in Canada: Executive summary of qualitative research. Ipsos Reid. Retrieved on February 4, 2014 from http://epe.lac-bac.gc.ca/100/200/301/pwgsc-tpsgc/por-ef/foreign_affairs_intl_trade/2012/064-11/summary.pdf	M		<input type="checkbox"/>							
36.	GAC	Edu-Canada. Imagine education au/in Canada. (2012). Retrieved from https://www.extranet-educanada.ca/portals/public-en/#page/home	M, I							■		
37.	GAC	Roslyn Kunin & Associates, Inc. (2012, May). Economic impact of international education in Canada—An update. Retrieved from http://www.international.gc.ca/education/assets/pdfs/economic_impact_en.pdf	M, I			■	<input type="checkbox"/>				<input type="checkbox"/>	
38.	GAC	Advisory Panel on Canada's International Education Strategy. (2012, August). International education: A key driver of Canada's future prosperity. Retrieved from website: http://www.international.gc.ca/education/advisory-consultation.aspx?view=d	M, I	■	■	■	■			■	■	■
39.	GAC	Department of Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada. (2013). Global Markets Action Plan The Blueprint for Creating Jobs and Opportunities for Canadians Through Trade. Retrieved from http://international.gc.ca/global-markets-marches-mondiaux/plan.aspx	M	■			■					
40.	GAC	Global Affairs Canada (GAC). (2014). Canada's International Education Strategy: Harnessing our Knowledge Advantage to Drive Innovation	<input type="checkbox"/>	■			■				<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

		and Prosperity. Retrieved from: http://international.gc.ca/global-markets-marches-mondiaux/assets/pdfs/overview-aperçu-eng.pdf										
41.	GAC	Roslyn Kunin & Associates, Inc. (2016, July). Economic Impact of International Education in Canada-An Update Final Report. Retrieved from http://www.international.gc.ca/education/assets/pdfs/Economic_Impact_International_Education_in_Canada_2016_Update.pdf	□	■			□				□	
42.	Industry	Expert Panel on Commercialization. (2006). People and excellence: The heart of successful commercialization — Volume I: Final report of the Expert Panel on Commercialization. Ministry of Industry. Retrieved from http://publications.gc.ca/collections/Collection/Iu4-78-2006E-I.pdf	R	■	■		□					
43.	Industry	Ministry of Industry. (2007). Mobilizing Science and Technology to Canada's Advantage. Retrieved from https://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/icgc.nsf/vwapj/SandTstrategy.pdf/\$file/SandTstrategy.pdf	R	□	■		□				■	
44.	Industry	Competition Policy Review Panel. (2008). <i>Compete to win: Final report</i> . Ministry of Industry. Government of Canada. Retrieved from https://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/cprp-gepmc.nsf/vwapj/Compete_to_Win.pdf/\$FILE/Compete_to_Win.pdf	M	■	■		■					
45.	ISED	Innovation, Science and Economic Development Canada. (2016). Innovation for a better Canada: What we heard. https://www.ic.gc.ca/eic/site/062.nsf/vwapj/Innovation-for-a-better-Canada.pdf/\$file/Innovation-for-a-better-Canada.pdf	M	■	■							
46.	Government of Canada	Government of Canada. (2017). Canada Research Chairs: About us. Retrieved from http://www.chairs-chaïres.gc.ca/about-us-a-notre-sujet/index-eng.aspx	M		■							
47.	Throne Speech	Government of Canada. (2008, Nov 19). Protecting Canada's Future: Speech from the throne. Retrieved from	M				■					

		http://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2008/gg/SO1-1-2008E.pdf											
48.	StatCan	Gluszynski, T. and Peters, V. (2005). <i>Survey of Earned Doctorates: A Profile of Doctoral Degree Recipients</i> , Cat. No. 81-595-MIE2005032. Culture, Tourism and the Centre for Education Statistics, Statistics Canada. Retrieved from http://publications.gc.ca/Collection/Statcan/81-595-MIE/81-595-MIE2005032.pdf	M		■								
49.	StatCan	Statistics Canada. (2014). Release schedule Information University tuition fees, 2014/2015. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/daily-quotidien/140911/dq140911b-eng.htm	M			■							
50.	StatCan	Lu, Y., and Hou, F. (2015, Dec 10). International students who become permanent residents in Canada. Statistics Canada. Catalogue no. 75-006-X. ISSN 2291-0840. Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/75-006-x/2015001/article/14299-eng.pdf	M				■						
51.	StatCan	Statistics Canada. (2016, Oct 20). International students in Canadian Universities, 2004/2005 to 2013/2014. Catalogue no. 81-599-X – No. 11 ISSN 1709-8653 ISBN 978-0-660-06314-0 Retrieved from http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/81-599-x/81-599-x2016011-eng.htm	R	□		■	■					■	
52.	StatCan	Hou, F., and Lu, Y. (2017, Aug 22). International students, Immigration and Earnings Growth: The effect of a pre-immigration Canadian University Education. Statistics Canada. http://www.statcan.gc.ca/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2017395-eng.htm	M			□	■					□	

Government- Provincial:

	Org	Policy Document	Reference: Media (M), Interview (I), Researcher (R)	Economy				Risks			Gateway	
				Enhance business	Enhance innovation	Financial rewards	IS as immigrants	Protect IS	Protect Canadians	Protect quality	Enrich educational experiences	Build global image
53.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2005). <i>2005 Ontario budget: Investing in People, Strengthening our Economy. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from http://www.ontla.on.ca/library/repository/mon/10000/252125.pdf	R		■							
54.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2006). <i>2006 Ontario budget: Building Opportunity. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from http://govdocs.ourontario.ca/node/24023	I		■							
55.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2008). <i>2008 Ontario budget: Growing a stronger Ontario. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from https://www.poltext.org/sites/poltext.org/files/discours/ON/ON_2008_B_39_01.pdf	R	■	■							
56.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2009). <i>2009 Ontario budget: Confronting the Challenge: Building our Economic Future. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from http://books2.scholarsportal.info/viewdoc.html?id=415755	R	No mention of IE								
57.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2010). <i>2010 Ontario budget: Open Ontario: Ontario's Plan for Jobs and Growth. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from http://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/budget/ontariobudgets/2010/	M and I			■	■					
58.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2011). <i>2011 Ontario budget: Turning the Corner to a Better Tomorrow. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from https://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/budget/ontariobudgets/2011/	R		■	■	■					

59.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2012). <i>2012 Ontario budget: Strong Action for Ontario. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from http://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/budget/ontariobudgets/2012/	R	No mention of IE										
60.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2013). <i>2013 Ontario budget: A Prosperous and Fair Ontario. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from https://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/budget/ontariobudgets/2013/	R	No mention of IE										
61.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2014). <i>2014 Ontario budget: Building Opportunity Securing our Future. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from https://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/budget/ontariobudgets/2014/	R		■									
62.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2015). <i>2015 Ontario budget: Building Ontario Up. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from https://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/budget/ontariobudgets/2015/	R		■									
63.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2016). <i>2016 Ontario budget: Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from http://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/budget/ontariobudgets/2016/papers_all.pdf	R		■									
64.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2017). <i>2017 Ontario budget: A Stronger Healthier Ontario. Budget papers.</i> Retrieved from https://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/budget/ontariobudgets/2017/	R	No mention of IE										
65.	Finance	Ministry of Finance. (2017). Financial Administration Act: Section 28. Retrieved from https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/90f12#BK83	I									■		
66.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities. (2005, Dec 12). Private Career Colleges Act, 2005. Retrieved from https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/05p28	M					■			■			
67.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities. (2006, Sept 18). Private Career Colleges Act, 2005. Retrieved from https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/05p28	M					■			■			

68.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities. (2006, Oct 19). Private Career Colleges Act, 2005. Retrieved from https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/05p28	M					■		■		
69.	MTCU	Manning, J. (2007). <i>Ontario's postsecondary education Internationalization strategy</i> . Ontario Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. Paper presented to the Transatlantic Degree Program Workshop (Sept., 30, 2007)Retrieved from http://www.jfki.fu-berlin.de/v/tdp/media/toronto2007/.../John_Manning.pdf	R	■		■				■	■	
70.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities. (2007, July 25). Private Career Colleges Act, 2005. Retrieved from https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/05p28	M					■		■		
71.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities. (2010, June8). Private Career Colleges Act, 2005. Retrieved from https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/05p28	M					■		■		
72.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2007). McGuinty government enriching the learning experience of Ontario students [Press release]. Retrieved from https://news.ontario.ca/archive/en/2007/05/29/McGuinty-Government-Enriching-The-Learning-Experience-Of-Ontario-Postsecondary-S.html	I	■							■	
73.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges and Universities. (2009). Private Career Colleges Act, 2005. Retrieved from https://www.ontario.ca/laws/statute/05p28	R					■		■		
74.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2009). Enhancing the learning experience of postsecondary students: Ontario International Education Opportunity Scholarships [Press release]. Retrieved from https://news.ontario.ca/tcu/en/2009/11/post.html	I	■		□					■	

75.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2009). Enhancing the learning experience of postsecondary students: Ontario International Education Opportunity Scholarships [Press release]. Retrieved from https://news.ontario.ca/tcu/en/2009/11/post.html	I	■							■	
76.	MTCU	Minister of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2011, May 30). Putting Students First. Canadian Club. Retrieved from https://realacademicplanning.wordpress.com/2011/06/02/hon-john-milloy-notes-on-post-secondary-education-putting-students-first-30-may-2011/	I	No mention of IE								
77.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2012). <i>Strengthening Ontario's centres of creativity, innovation and knowledge</i> . Retrieved from http://www.ontla.on.ca/library/repository/mon/26007/318530.pdf	R		□						□	
78.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2012). Ontario's PSE international education strategy. Presentation to the Ontario Association of International Educators (OAIE) Conference – May 2012. Retrieved on Nov. 30, 2014 from http://quic.queensu.ca/resources/resource/	I							■		■
79.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2012). Memorandum: Multi-year funding outlook. Retrieved from: http://www.brocku.ca/webfm_send/21193	I			■						
80.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2013). MTCU Discussion paper: Proposed approach for designation of Institutions in response to Federal changes to the International Student Program (ISP). Retrieved from http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/pepg/audiences/pcc/details.pdf	I					■	■	■		
81.	MTCU	Ontario. (2013, Nov). Ontario's differentiation policy framework for postsecondary Education. Retrieved from http://tcu.gov.on.ca/pepg/publications/PolicyFramework_PostSec.pdf	M, I		■							

82.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2015). <i>Focus on outcomes, centre on students: Perspectives on evolving Ontario's university funding model. Final consultation report.</i> Retrieved from http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/pepg/audiences/universities/uff/UniversityFundingFormulaConsultationReport_2015.pdf	M		■					■		
83.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2016, Feb. 24). <i>Developing Global Opportunities: Creating a Postsecondary International Education Strategy for Ontario: International Strategy for Postsecondary Education.</i> Press Release. Retrieved on April 15, 2016 From http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/pepg/consultations/international_education_strategy.html	R	■	■	■	■			■	■	
84.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2016). <i>Developing global opportunities: Creating a postsecondary international education strategy for Ontario. Discussion paper.</i> Retrieved from https://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/pepg/consultations/international_education_strategy.html	I	■	■	■	■			■	■	
85.	MTCU	Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities. (2016). <i>Published Plan and Annual Report: Ministry of Training, Colleges, and Universities.</i> Retrieved from https://www.ontario.ca/page/published-plan-and-annual-report-ministry-training-colleges-and-universities#section-7	R	□	■							
86.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges, and Universities. (2017). Strategic Mandate Agreement 'x' College. 2017-20: Draft submission template between the Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development and X College (Template). (Provided by a participant)	I	The 2017-2020 Template included new questions on institutional IE plans/goals								
87.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges, and Universities. (2017). Strategic Mandate Agreement 'x' University. 2017-20: Draft submission template between the Ministry of Advanced Education and Skills Development and X University (Template). (Provided by a participant)	I	The 2017 -2020 Template included new questions on institutional IE plans/goals								

88.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges, and Universities. (2017). International Postsecondary Education Strategy- Enhancing the Quality of the international experience. (provided by a participant)	I	■		■	■	■		■	■	
89.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges, and Universities. (2017). Summary of themes: International postsecondary stakeholder consultations. (provided by a participant)	I	■	■		■	■		■	■	
90.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges, and Universities. (2017). International Income as % of total operating grants. (provided by a participant)	I			■					■	
91.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges, and Universities. (2017). International tuition fees for one year of full time studies. (provided by a participant)	I			■					■	
92.	MTCU	Ministry of Training Colleges, and Universities. (2018). Ontario's International Postsecondary Education Strategy 2018: Educating Global Citizens. http://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/pepg/consultations/maesd-international-pse-strategy-en-13f-spring2018.pdf	R	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	■
93.	MoE	Ontario Ministry of Education. (2015). Ontario's Strategy for K-12 International Education. Retrieved from https://www.edu.gov.on.ca/eng/policyfunding/strategyK12.pdf	I	■	■	■	■	■		■	■	
94.	MCI	Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration. (2009). Opportunities Ontario: Provincial nominee program. Queen's Printer for Ontario ISBN978-1-4249-9514-1	I				■					
95.	MCI	Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration. (2010, June 14). Pilot International Masters Graduate Stream. Retrieved from http://www.ontarioimmigration.ca/en/pnp/OI_PNPNEW_OLDER.html	M		■		■					
96.	MCI	Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (2010, April 26). <i>Ontario Attracting International Students McGuinty Government Acts To Protect And Retain Students</i> . Retrieved from http://news.ontario.ca/mci/en/2010/04/ontario-attracting-international- students.html	R		■		■	□	□	■		

97.	MCI	Ontario's Expert Roundtable on Immigration. (2012, Sept). Expanding our Routes to Success. ON: Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration. Retrieved from http://www.citizenship.gov.on.ca/english/key_initiatives/imm_str/roundtable/index.shtml	R				■					
98.	MCI	Ontario Ministry of Citizenship & Immigration. (2012). A New Direction Ontario's Immigration Strategy Retrieved from http://www.citizenship.gov.on.ca/english/key_initiatives/imm_str/strategy/strategy.pdf	I				■					
99.	MCI	Ontario Ministry of Citizenship & Immigration. (2016). A New Direction Ontario's Immigration Strategy. Retrieved from https://www.ontario.ca/page/new-direction-ontarios-immigration-strategy-2016-progress-report	I				■	□				
100.	MCI	Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration. (2018). Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program (OINP). http://www.ontarioimmigration.ca/en/pnp/OI_PNPABOUT.html	I				■					
101.	OP	Rae, B. (2005, Feb). <i>Ontario: A leader in learning</i> . Toronto, ON: Ministry of Training, Colleges and, Universities. Retrieved from https://www.tcu.gov.on.ca/eng/document/reports/postsec.pdf	I	■	■						■	■
102.	Office of the Premier	Office of the Premier. (2005). Reaching higher: the McGuinty government plan for postsecondary education largest multi-year investment in 40 years. Retrieved from https://news.ontario.ca/opo/en/2005/05/reaching-higher-the-mcguinty-government-plan-for-postsecondary-education.html	I.M		■							■
103.	OP	Task Force on Competitiveness, Productivity and Economic Progress. (2009). Navigating Through the Recovery report. The Institute for Competitiveness & Prosperity. Government of Ontario: Ministry of Economic Development. Retrieved from https://www.competeprosper.ca/uploads/ICP_AR8_final.pdf	M		■							

104.	OP	Office of the Premier. (2010). Ontario To Attract More International Students: McGuinty Government Creates New Scholarship For Doctoral Students. Retrieved on June 5, 2016 from https://news.ontario.ca/opo/en/2010/11/ontario-to-attract-more-international-students.html	M	■	■							
105.	OP	Drummond, D. (2012). <i>Commission on the reform of Ontario's public services. Public services for Ontarians: A path to sustainability and excellence</i> . Retrieved from http://www.fin.gov.on.ca/en/reformcommission/	R		■		■			■	■	
106.	OP	The Premier's Highly Skilled Workforce Expert Panel. (2016, June). Building the workforce of tomorrow: report submitted to the Honorable Kathleen Wynne, Premier of Ontario. Retrieved from https://files.ontario.ca/hsw_rev_engaoda_webfinal_july6.pdf	R				■					
107.	HEQCO	Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario. (2013). <i>Quality: Shifting the Focus. A Report from the Expert Panel to Assess the Strategic Mandate Agreement Submissions</i> . Toronto: Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario. http://www.heqco.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/FINAL%20SMA%20Report.pdf	R		□							
108.	HEQCO	Weingarten, H. P., Hicks, M. & Moran, G. (2016). Understanding the Sustainability of the Ontario Postsecondary System and its Institutions: A Framework. Toronto: Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario. Retrieved from http://www.heqco.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/Report%20-%20Understanding%20the%20Sustainability%20of%20the%20Ontario%20Postsecondary%20System.pdf	R			□			■	□		
109.	HEQCO	Weingarten, H., Kaufman, A., Jonker, L., Hicks, M. (2017, April 18). College Sustainability: Signal Data. Higher Education Quality Council of Ontario. Retrieved from http://www.heqco.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments	R			□			■	□		

		/Formatted%20College%20SustainabilityNE W%282%29.pdf										
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National SIGs:

	Org	Policy Document	Reference: Media (M), Interview (I), Researcher (R)	Economy				Risks			Gateway	
				Enhance business	Enhance innovation	Financial rewards	IS as immigrants	Protect IS	Protect Canadians	Protect quality	Enrich educational experiences	Build global image
110.	ACCC	Association of Canadian Community Colleges. (2010, June 5). Internationalizing Canadian Colleges and Institutes The First National Report on International Education and Mobility. Retrieved from https://www.collegesinstitutes.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/05/201006internationalizationreport.pdf	M	■		■					■	■
111.	APFC	Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. (2013, Nov). Canada's Asia challenge creating competence for the next generation of Canadians: A report of the Asia Competence Task Force. Report of the National Conversation on Asia. Retrieved from http://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/filefield/asia_competence_tf_-_final_revised_report.pdf	M	■							□	
112.	APFC	Carin Holroyd. (2006, Jan). Canada Missing Opportunity in the Booming China Education Market. Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada. Retrieved from http://www.asiapacific.ca/sites/default/files/cac40.pdf	M			■			□			□
113.	CARMS	Sullivan, P. (2007). Estimated 1500 Canadians studying medicine abroad Canadian Residency Matching Service (CARMS). Report to Health Canada. http://www.cmaj.ca/content/176/8/1069	M						■			

114.	CBoC	Martin, E. (2015). <i>International mobility for undergraduate students. Lessons from Australia's New Colombo Plan</i> . Ottawa, Canada: The Conference Board of Canada. Retrieved from http://www.conferenceboard.ca/e-library/abstract.aspx?did=7427	R	■							■	■
115.	CBoC	Martin, E. (2015). <i>Mobilizing college students for learning abroad: SAIT Polytechnic and the Global Education Network</i> . Ottawa, Canada: The Conference Board of Canada. Retrieved from https://www.conferenceboard.ca/temp/6ce8a8dd-c8dc-467f-9e18-18daf5806491/7521_%20MobilizingCollegeStudentsSAIT_BR.pdf	R	■							■	
116.	CBoC	Conference Board of Canada. (2016). <i>Globalization and Canada's PSEs. Opportunities and Challenges</i> https://www.conferenceboard.ca/temp/294f8ed3-8879-4e8c-baf1-7d32cb356e3b/8319_Globalization-and-Canadas-PSE_RPT.pdf	R	■	□	■	■		■	□	□	
117.	CBIE	Bond, S., Areepattamannil, S., Brathwaite-Sturgeon, G., Hayle, E., & Malekan, M. (2007). <i>Northern lights: International graduates of Canadian institutions and the national workforce</i> . Canadian Bureau for International Education. Retrieved from https://eric.ed.gov/?q=source%3a%22Canadian+Bureau+for+International+Education%22&id=ED549793	I, M	□	□	□	■				□	□
118.	CBIE	Canadian Bureau for International Education. (2009). <i>A World of Learning: Canadian post-secondary students and the study abroad experience</i> . Ottawa, ON, Canada	M	■							■	■
119.	CBIE	Embleton, S.; Gold, N.; Lapierre, A.; Stevenson, M. (2011). <i>Canada's international education strategy: Focus on scholarships</i> . Canadian Bureau for International Education. Retrieved from http://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/CBIE-research-cdn-intl-education-strategy-E-WEB.pdf	I	□	■	□	■				■	□

120.	CBIE	Canadian Bureau for International Education. (2012). A World of Learning Canada's Performance and Potential in International Education. Ottawa, ON, Canada. http://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/CBIE-A-World-of-Learning-2012-EN.pdf	M	■	■	□	■			■	■	□
121.	CBIE	Canadian Bureau for International Education. (2013). A World of Learning Canada's Performance and Potential in International Education. Ottawa, ON, Canada. https://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Report_Research_Flagship_2013_EN.pdf	M	□	□	□	□	■	□	■	■	
122.	CBIE	Canadian Bureau for International Education. (2015). <i>A World of Learning: Canada's Performance and Potential in International Education.</i> Ottawa, ON, Canada. http://net.cbie.ca/download/A%20World%20of%20Learning%202015%20-%20high%20res.pdf	M	■	□	□	■				■	□
123.	CBIE	Canadian Bureau for International Education. (2016). <i>A World of Learning: Canada's Performance and Potential in International Education.</i> Ottawa, ON, Canada	M	■	□		■				■	□
124.	CCC	Canadian Chamber of Commerce. (2016). <i>Immigration for a competitive Canada: Why Highly Skilled International Talent Is at Risk.</i> Retrieved from file:///C:/Users/Owner/Downloads/160114_Immigration_for_a_Competitive_Canada.pdf	M		■		■					
125.	CMEC	Council of Ministers of Education, Canada. (2011). <i>Bringing education in Canada to the world, bringing the world to Canada: An international education marketing action plan for provinces and territories. A response to the Council of the Federation from provincial and territorial Ministers of Education and of Immigration.</i> Retrieved from www.cmec.ca/Publications/Lists/Publications/Attachments/264/COF_Bringing_Ed_to_Canada_Eng_final.pdf	I	□	□	□	■			■	■	

126.	EPI	Usher, A., and Dunn, R. (2009). On the Brink: How the Recession of 2009 Will Affect Post-Secondary Education. Toronto, ON: Educational Policy Institute. Retrieved from http://www.educationalpolicy.org/publications/pubpdf/0902_recession.pdf	M				■						
127.	ICCRC	Immigration Consultants of Canada Regulatory Council (ICCRC) (2016). Become A Regulated International Student Immigration Advisor. Retrieved from https://iccrccrcic365.sharepoint.com/ICCRC-WEBSITE/Shared%20Documents/Forms/AllItems.aspx?id=%2FICCRC%2DWEBSITE%2FShared%20Documents%2FPublic%2FEnglish%2FEducation%2Fbecome%2DRISIA%2DEN%2Epdf&parent=%2FICCRC%2DWEBSITE%2FShared%20Documents%2FPublic%2FEnglish%2FEducation&p=true&slid=99228c9e-20f4-7000-4f68-abc1753b2998	M					■	■				
128.	MITACS	Mitacs. (2018). Globalink initiatives for international students to do research at Canadian universities. Retrieved from https://www.mitacs.ca/en/programs/globalink/come-to-canada	M, I				■						
129.	MITACS	Mitacs. (2018). Mitacs Accelerate International. Retrieved from https://www.mitacs.ca/en/programs/globalink/globalink-partnership-award	R	■	■								
130.	UniCan	The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada (AUCC). (2007). Internationalizing Canadian campuses. Report on findings of the 2006 Survey on Internationalization. Ottawa: Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. Retrieved from http://www.univcan.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/05/scotiabank-internationalization-workshop-2007.pdf	R	■	■	□	□	□		□	■	■	
131.	UniCan	The Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. (2011). Trends in Higher Education. Ottawa: Universities Canada.	R				■	□				□	

132.	UniCan	Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. (2011). <i>The Revitalization of Undergraduate Education in Canada. A report on the AUCC workshop on undergraduate education in Halifax, March 6-8, 2011.</i> Retrieved from https://www.univcan.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/revitalization-of-undergraduate-education-in-canada-march-2011.pdf	R									■	
133.	UniCan	Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. (2012). <i>Universities: Putting ideas to work for Canadians. Pre-budget submission to the Honourable James Flaherty, Minister of Finance.</i> Retrieved from http://www.nipissingu.ca/departments/presidents-office/Documents/AUCC%202013%20prebudget%20for%20the%20web.pdf	R	□	■		□					■	
134.	UniCan	Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. (2012). <i>Creative, analytical, innovative, global, collaborative graduates: How universities are producing the workforce Canada needs.</i> Retrieved from https://www.univcan.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/graduates-creative-analytical-innovative-global-collaborative-brochure-jan-2012.pdf	R	□	■		□					■	
135.	UniCan	Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. (2014). <i>Canada's universities in the world. AUCC internationalization survey 2014.</i> Retrieved from https://www.univcan.ca/wpcontent/uploads/2015/07/internationalization-survey-2014.pdf	R	■	■	■	■					■	■
136.	UniCan	Universities Canada. (2014, Dec). <i>Internationalization at Canadian Universities: Quick facts.</i> Retrieved from https://www.univcan.ca/universities/facts-and-stats/internationalization-at-canadian-universities-quick-facts/	R	■	■	■	■					■	■
137.	UniCan	Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. (2014). <i>Brief Submitted to the House Of Commons Standing Committee On Finance on youth employment in Canada.</i> Retrieved from https://www.univcan.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/07/submission-on-youth-employment-april-2014.pdf	R	■								□	

138.	UniCan	Universities Canada. (2014). <i>Know Canada, know the world: Lessons from Universities Canada's workshop on innovation in experiential learning</i> . Retrieved from https://www.univcan.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/08/know-canada-know-the-world-experiential-learning-workshop-december-2014.pdf	R	■							□	■	
139.	UniCan	Association of Universities and Colleges of Canada. (2014). <i>AUCC Submission to the House of Commons Standing Committee on Finance Priorities: 2015 Federal budget</i> . Retrieved from http://www.ourcommons.ca/Content/Committee/412/FINA/WebDoc/WD6615327/412_FINA_PBC2014_Briefs/AssociationOfUniversitiesAndCollegesOfCanada-e.pdf	R	■	■		■					■	
140.	UniCan	Universities Canada. (2015). <i>Crossing borders, opening minds</i> . Retrieved from https://www.univcan.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/issue-crossing-borders-opening-minds-student-mobility-oct-2015.pdf	M	■								■	
141.	UniCan	Universities Canada. (2015). Express Entry immigration application system. Retrieved from https://www.univcan.ca/media-room/media-releases/express-entry-immigration-application-system-2/	M			■	■						
142.	UniCan	Universities Canada. (2017, Jan). Statement in response to U.S. executive order. Retrieved from https://www.univcan.ca/media-room/media-releases/statement-response-u-s-executive-order/	M		■								■
143.	UniCan	Universities Canada. (n.d). Universities Canada key messages for immigration consultation submission. (provided by a participant)	I	□	■		□						

Provincial SIGs:

	Org	Policy Document	Reference: Media (M), Interview (I), Researcher (R)	Economy				Risks			Gateway	
				Enhance business	Enhance innovation	Financial rewards	IS as immigrants	Protect IS	Protect Canadians	Protect quality	Enrich educational experiences	Build global image
144.	CFS-ON	Canadian Federation of Students–Ontario. (2016). Bright horizons: Bringing meaningful change to Ontario's post-secondary sector. Retrieved from http://www.multivu.com/players/English/7777551-canadian-federation-students-mpp/docs/2016-pre-budget-submission-1025696795.pdf	I			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	■			<input type="checkbox"/>	
145.	CFS-ON	Canadian Federation of Students–Ontario. (2016, April). Think Global Act Local. (Provided by a participant).	I					■		■	■	
146.	CFS-ON	Canadian Federation of Students–Ontario. (2017). Investment with Impact Canadian Federation of Students–Ontario Student recommendations for the 2017 Ontario budget. Retrieved from http://cfsontario.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/2017-LobbyDoc.pdf	I			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	■			<input type="checkbox"/>	
147.	CFS-ON	Canadian Federation of Students–Ontario. (2017, May). Fairness for international students: International Students in Ontario. Retrieved from http://cfsontario.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Factsheet-InternationalStudents.pdf	I		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	■			■	
148.	CFS-ON	Canadian Federation of Students. (2017). Extending OHIP to all students. Retrieved from http://cfsontario.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/07/Factsheet-OHIP.pdf	M, I			<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	■			<input type="checkbox"/>	
149.	Colleges Ontario	Colleges Ontario. (2009, Dec.). A New Vision For Higher Education in Ontario Submitted by the presidents of Ontario’s 24 public colleges. Retrieved from www.collegesontario.org/policy-positions/position-papers/new_vision_for_higher_education.pdf	R	■		■	■					

150.	Colleges Ontario	Colleges Ontario. (2013). Investing in a Stronger Workforce. The Ontario colleges' submission for the 2014 budget. Retrieved from http://www.collegesontario.org/policy-positions/budget-submissions/2014-2015 Investing In A Stronger Workforce Final.pdf	I			■	□						
151.	Colleges Ontario	Colleges Ontario. (2014). Creating Greater Opportunities For All. The Ontario colleges' submission for the 2015 Ontario Budget Retrieved from http://www.collegesontario.org/policy-positions/budget-submissions/2015%20budget%20submission.pdf	I	■		■				■	■		
152.	Colleges Ontario	Colleges Ontario. (2015). Building on a 50-Year Legacy of Excellence The Ontario colleges' submission for the 2016 provincial budget. Retrieved from http://www.collegesontario.org/policy-positions/budget-submissions/CO%202016%20Budget%20WEB_2.pdf	I	■		■					■	■	
153.	Colleges Ontario	PricewaterhouseCoopers. (2017, Jan). Fiscal Sustainability of Ontario Colleges. Colleges Ontario. Retrieved from http://www.collegesontario.org/policy-positions/position-papers/Fiscal%20Sustainability%20of%20Ontario%20Colleges%20Final%2004.01.16.pdf	M			■				□			
154.	Colleges Ontario	Deloitte. (2017, Sept). Enabling Sustained Student Success Support for students at risk in Ontario's College. Retrieved from http://collegesontario.org/policy-positions/position-papers/Colleges%20Ontario%20At%20Risk%20Student%20Report%202017_vfinal.pdf	R			■							
155.	COU	Council of Ontario Universities. (2010, Sept 10). The "Open Ontario" strategy for internationalizing postsecondary Education. Toronto: Council of Ontario Universities.	I	■	■	□	□	□			■	□	

156.	COU	Council of Ontario Universities. (2014). <i>Experiential learning report: Bringing life to learning at Ontario universities</i> . Retrieved from http://cou.on.ca/reports/bringing-life-to-learning/	R	<input type="checkbox"/>								■	<input type="checkbox"/>
157.	COU	Council of Ontario Universities. (2015). Ontario Universities: Helping the Government to Build Ontario Up 2015 Provincial Pre-Budget Submission. Retrieved from http://cou.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/2015/01/COU-Pre-Budget-Submission-January-2015.pdf	I		■		■					■	
158.	COU	Council of Ontario Universities. (2016). Crossing New Frontiers for the benefit of students and the provincial economy: A submission to the Ontario government on the development of an internationalization strategy for higher education. Retrieved from http://cou.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/COU-Submission-on-Internationalization-April-2016.pdf	I	■	■	■	<input type="checkbox"/>	■	<input type="checkbox"/>			■	
159.	COU	Council of Ontario Universities. (2016). Universities: Helping Ontarians Prosper 2016 Provincial Pre-Budget Submission. Retrieved from http://cou.on.ca/papers/2016-pre-budget-submission/	I	■	■		■					■	
160.	COU	Council of Ontario Universities. (2017). <i>Study Abroad</i> . Retrieved from http://cou.on.ca/key-issues/international/study-abroad/	R	■								■	■
161.	COU	Council of Ontario Universities. (2017). International. Retrieved from http://cou.on.ca/key-issues/international/	R		■	<input type="checkbox"/>						■	
162.	COU	Council of Ontario Universities. (2017). <i>International Students</i> . Retrieved from http://cou.on.ca/key-issues/international/international-students/	R	<input type="checkbox"/>	■	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>					■	
163.	COU	Council of Ontario Universities. (2017). <i>Why is it important to attract international students to Ontario universities?</i> Retrieved from http://cou.on.ca/faq/important-to-attract-international-students/	R		■	■						■	
164.	COU	Council of Ontario Universities. (2017). Ontario's Universities: Partnering to Ensure all Ontarians Thrive 2017 Pre-Budget Submission. Retrieved from http://cou.on.ca/wp-content/uploads/2017/02/COU-PreBudget-Submission-2017.pdf	I	■	■	■						■	

165.	CSA - ON	Popovic, T. (2013, May). <i>International Education in Ontario Colleges: Policy paper</i> . College Student Alliance. College Student Alliance. Retrieved from https://issuu.com/collegestudentalliance/docs/internationalfinal/3	R	■		□	■	■	□		■	
166.	CSA-ON	College Student Alliance. (2016, April). Creating a strong postsecondary international education strategy for Ontario's college students. Retrieved from https://www.collegestudentalliance.ca/governmentsubmissions?lightbox=dataitem-j22ae6zk1	R			□	■	■			■	
167.	OCC	Ontario Chamber of Commerce, & Mowat Centre for Policy Innovation. (2012). <i>Emerging stronger 2012: A transformative agenda for Ontario</i> . Retrieved from http://sudburychamber.ca/wp-content/uploads/2012/09/Emerging-Stronger.pdf	R			■						
168.	OCC	Ontario Chamber of Commerce, Mowat Centre for Policy Innovation, & Leger Marketing. (2013). <i>Emerging stronger 2013</i> . Retrieved from http://www.occ.ca/Publications/EmergingStronger2013.pdf	R				■					
169.	OCC	Ontario Chamber of Commerce, The Mowat Centre, & Leger Marketing. (2014). <i>Emerging stronger 2014: A transformative agenda for Ontario's economic future</i> . Retrieved from http://www.occ.ca/portfolio/emerging-stronger-2014/?id=26	R				■					
170.	OCC	Ontario Chamber of Commerce. (2016). Passport to prosperity: Ontario's priorities for immigration Reform. Retrieved from http://www.occ.ca/wp-content/uploads/Passport-to-Prosperty-2.pdf	I	□		□	■					
171.	OCC	Sullivan, K. (2017). Talent in Transition: Addressing the skills mismatch in Ontario. Ontario Chamber of Commerce. Retrieved from http://www.occ.ca/wp-content/uploads/Talent-in-Transition.pdf	R				■					
172.	OCC	Ontario Chamber of Commerce. (2017). Ontario Economic Report 2017. https://media.cpaontario.ca/stewardship-of-the-profession/pdfs/22753_Ontario%20Economic%20Report%202017.pdf	R				■					

173.	OCUFA	Ontario Confederation of University Faculty Associations. (2016, April 4). Letter to Deputy Minister of Training Colleges, and Universities in response to the discussion paper on creating an international education strategy for Ontario. Retrieved from https://ocufa.on.ca/assets/Letter-OCUFA-President-Ontario-International-Education-Strategy-April-4-2016-FINAL.pdf	I		<input type="checkbox"/>		■	■		■	■	■
174.	OPSEU	MacKay, K. (2014, April). Report of Education in Ontario Colleges. OPSEU-College Faculty. Retrieved from https://ocufa.on.ca/assets/2014-04-CAAT-A-Report-Education-FULL.pdf	R			<input type="checkbox"/>		■		■	<input type="checkbox"/>	
175.	OUSA	Grewal, D. (2010, Nov). International Students. Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance.	R		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	■	■		■	■	
176.	OUSA	Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance. (2011, March). Going global: Supporting Ontario's international students. Retrieved from http://www.ousa.ca/wordpress/wpcontent/uploads/2011/03/Going-Global.pdf	I		<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	■	■		■	■	
177.	OUSA	Fernlund, C and Abbas, A., Bristow, A, and Sloan, B. (2014, Mar). Policy paper: International students. Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance. Retrieved from: http://www.ousa.ca.wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2014/04/international-students-ga-approved-final2.pdf	M	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	■	■		■	■	
178.	OUSA	Aitchison, C., Brockie, L., Chauhan, B., Lee, D. (2017, Spring). International students and education. Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance. Retrieved from https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/ousa/pages/82/attachments/original/1489757511/International_Students_and_Education_document.pdf?1489757511	I	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	■	■		■	■	
179.	OUSA	Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance. (2017, March). Policy Brief: International students and education. Retrieved from https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/ousa/pages/82/attachments/original/1489757522/International_Students_and_Education_Brief_2017_brief.pdf?1489757522	I	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	■	■	■		■	

180.	OUSA	Clubine, A., Lewarne, V., Narra, V., Pantaleo, B., Zhu, M., Gurrisi, M. (2017). <i>Policy paper: System vision</i> . Retrieved from Ontario Undergraduate Student Alliance website: https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/ousa/pages/84/attachments/original/1511459790/System_Vision_document.pdf?1511459790	R			<input type="checkbox"/>						
181.	Toronto Board of Trade	Toronto Board of Trade. (2011). <i>Shifting Into High Gear JOBS: Promoting Growth In The Toronto Region & The Province</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bot.com/portals/0/unsecure/advocacy/Shifting_Into_High_Gear.pdf	M	Focus on the need to develop business and innovation hubs and competent graduates – yet no international dimension to IE								
182.	Toronto Board of Trade	Toronto Board of Trade. (2011). <i>Framework for a Stronger Toronto Region and a Prosperous Ontario</i> . Retrieved from https://www.bot.com/portals/0/unsecure/advocacy/FrameworkForaStrongerTorontoRegion.pdf	M	Focus on the need to develop business and innovation hubs and competent graduates – yet no international dimension to IE								
183.	U of Windsor	Istl, D. (2011). <i>Comprehensive Student Discipline 7th Annual Report</i> . Academic Policy Committee. University of Windsor. Retrieved from http://www1.uwindsor.ca/academicintegrityoffice/system/files/Student_Discipline%20Report_7th.pdf	M							<input type="checkbox"/>		

Other provinces

	Province	Policy Document	Reference: Media (M), Interview (I), Researcher (R)	Economy				Risks			Gateway	
				Enhance business	Enhance innovation	Financial rewards	IS as immigrants	Protect IS	Protect Canadians	Protect quality	Enrich educational experiences	Build global image
184.	BC	Friesen, N. and Keeney, P. (2013, Aug. 7). <i>Internationalizing the Canadian campus: ESL students and the erosion of higher education</i> . University Affairs. Retrieved from https://www.universityaffairs.ca/opinion/in-my-opinion/internationalizing-the-canadian-campus/	M						<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>		

185.	NS	Williams, J. (2014, Aug 30). International Students and the Future of Nova Scotia's Universities. Students Nova Scotia. Retrieved from http://studentsns.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/09/2013-International-Students-and-the-Future-of-Nova-Scotias-Universities-Amended.pdf .	M			■	■	■			■	
186.	Saskatchewan	CBC News. (2013, May). U of R international students hurt by lack of English skills, prof says: University insists the supports are there. Retrieved from http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/saskatchewan/u-of-r-international-students-hurt-by-lack-of-english-skills-prof-says-1.1411866	M					■		■		

Other: Independent Researchers

		Policy Document	Reference: Media (M), Interview (I), Researcher (R)	<i>Economy</i>				<i>Risks</i>			<i>Gateway</i>	
187.	INDP (independent researcher)	Reitmanova, S. (2008, Mar). Health insurance for international students: taxation without representation. Policy Options. Retrieved from http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/obama-and-clinton/health-insurance-for-international-students-taxation-without-representation/	M					■				
188.	Independent Researcher _U of Guelph	Paras, A. and Mitchell, L. (2016). Reflecting on Intercultural Learning in Study Abroad. E-International Relations. Retrieved from www.e-ir.info/2016/06/06/reflecting-on-intercultural-learning-in-study-abroad/	M	■							■	

Global:

	Country	Policy Document	Reference: Media (M), Interview (I), Researcher (R)	Economy				Risks			Gateway	
				Enhance business	Enhance innovation	Financial rewards	IS as immigrants	Protect IS	Protect Canadians	Protect quality	Enrich educational experiences	Build global image
189.	Australia	Hawthorne, L. (2010, July 1). Two-step migration: Australia's experience. Policy Options. Retrieved from http://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/immigration-jobs-and-canadas-future/two-step-migration-australias-experience/	M	<input type="checkbox"/>		<input type="checkbox"/>	■			■		
190.	Brazil	Science Without Borders scholarship program. http://www.cienciasemfronteiras.gov.br/web/csf-eng/motivation	M		■						<input type="checkbox"/>	
191.	Germany	Morris-Lange, S and Brands, F. (2015). Train and Retain: Career Support for International Students in Canada, Germany, the Netherlands and Sweden. The Expert Council's Research Unit. Berlin, Germany.	M	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>		■					<input type="checkbox"/>
192.	Netherlands	Becker, R. & Kolster, R. (2011, Dec). Competing for the brightest minds: Changing flows in international student mobility. Netherlands Organization for International Co-operation in Higher Education (Nuffic). Retrieved from https://www.nuffic.nl/en/publications/find-a-publication/competing-for-the-brightest-minds.pdf	M	■	■	■	■				■	<input type="checkbox"/>
193.	OECD	OECD. (2014). Education at a Glance 2014: OECD Indicators, OECD Publishing. http://www.oecd.org/education/eag.htm	M	■	■	■	■				■	■
194.	OECD	OECD. (2016) Education at a Glance 2016: OECD Indicators, OECD Publishing, Paris. http://dx.doi.org/10.187/eag-2016-en	M	■	■	■	■				■	■
195.	USA	ManpowerGroup. (2016). Talent Shortage Survey. Retrieved from http://www.manpower.com.cn/upload/2016%20talent%20shortage%20EN%2032_页.pdf	M	No mention of IE. one in three Canadian employers are having difficulty filling these types of positions, and the most in-demand occupations are skilled trades and engineers								