The 'Rules of the Game' in Public Sector Collaboration

By

Ben Pollard

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in the School of Public Administration

I acknowledge and respect the lək̓ʷəŋən peoples on whose traditional territory the university stands and the Songhees, Esquimalt and W̱SÁNEĆ peoples whose historical relationships with the land continue to this day.

The 'Rules of the Game' in Public Sector Collaboration

By

Ben Pollard

Supervisory Committee:

Dr. Evert Lindquist, Supervisor
School of Public Administration

Dr. James McDavid, Departmental Member
School of Public Administration

Dr. Rob Gillezeau, Outside Member
Department of Economics

Abstract

This dissertation explores the role of institutions (as 'the rules of the game') in attempts to foster public sector collaboration to address cross-cutting policy issues in agencified jurisdictions. The dissertation develops an analytical framework that builds from the Institutional Analysis and Design Framework's rules rubric with an expanded approach to scope rules that incorporates concepts of importance, interdependence and framing of the policy issue. The analytical framework is multi-level, analyzing the policy, transmission and implementation areas to identify what may influence the formation of collaborative approaches. This analytical framework was applied to a study of WelcomeBC, which was British Columbia's approach to the settlement and integration of newcomers from 2006-2014. WelcomeBC had a strong focus on collaboration to achieve their goals, and made several attempts across three policy realms (English Language, Labour Market, and Family and Community Settlement) to foster collaboration. The dissertation found that the analytical framework was useful in analyzing the role of rules in collaborative efforts and had explanatory power that would be useful for both advancing the literature to support cross-case learning and aggregation of knowledge, and for policymakers in attempts to foster collaboration. The analysis also identified some challenges and opportunities in fostering collaboration within New Public Management-informed jurisdictions.

Table of Contents

Dedication

To my Dad, who taught me how complex and connected the world is,
and my Mom, who taught me how to explore and persevere.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

> "The research challenges involved in studying cross-sector collaborations and providing practical, research based guidance to policy makers regarding the design and implementation of cross-sector collaborations are clearly substantial. But the challenges must be met or else effectively addressing the major public problems that confront us will be unlikely, and some of the most important opportunities for creating public value will be missed." (Bryson et al. 2006, p.52)

This dissertation analyzes the efforts of one public organization (WelcomeBC, the branch responsible for immigrant settlement and integration in British Columbia) to develop collaborative cross-sector approaches to address cross-cutting social policy issues at the policy and implementation levels. Between 2006 and 2014, WelcomeBC pursued a broad range of collaborations across multiple policy areas to achieve its strategic goal of "BC's immigrants contribute fully to the social and economic prosperity of the province," a goal that they could not achieve on their own[1]. This study examines these efforts, and the factors affecting its successes and failures, in order to inform both the public administration literature and practitioners regarding the development of collaborative approaches to cross-cutting policy issues.

The challenge of building collaborative cross-sector government responses to policy issues is not new (Peters 2015; Hood 2005; OECD 2013; Australia 2004). However, in recent decades the issue of collaboration across government departments and their agents has been recognized as increasingly important to address cross-cutting policy issues, with collaborative and coordinated government being promoted by some as core to a modern or future government (OECD 2013; OECD 2013i; OECD 2013ii; 6, 1997; Sproule-Jones 2000; Bryson et al. 2015; Peters 2015; Peters 1998; Peters 2018; Bakvis & Juillet 2004; Laegreid et al. 2014). As O'Flynn and her colleagues observe, "crossing boundaries [through

[1] 'WelcomeBC' still exists as a brand for the BC government. However, since 2014, WelcomeBC is no longer responsible for federally-funded settlement and integration programs, and has a much smaller mandate.

collaboration] in public management and policy practice is not a 'trend', but rather a critical capability for government to develop" (O'Flynn et al. 2013, p.303).

The increased focus on collaborative government approaches to cross-cutting social policy has come about for several reasons. The first is the recognition that traditional siloed approaches are insufficient to address cross-cutting problems, which have "increasingly colonized" policy agendas (Governments for the Future, 2013 p. 16). These problems – such as homelessness, climate change, immigrant integration, aging populations and drug dependency issues – tend to be multi-faceted and interconnected; they "go beyond the capacity of any one organization to understand and respond to" (OECD 2013ii, p.3) and require multiple actors to address.

The challenge of addressing cross cutting-issues has been exacerbated by the rise of New Public Management (NPM) approaches, which "enhance disaggregation and fragmentation of public services at the expense of integrated and holistic responses" (Laegreid et al. 2014, p.3) and have "adverse indirect effects on citizens' capacities for solving social problems because NPM has radically increased institutional and policy complexity" (Dunleavy et al. 2006, p. 467). A key component of NPM is the fragmentation of the public service under the banner of agencification, where responsibilities for individual tasks or mandates were given to third-party organizations (Pollitt et al, 2004; OECD 2013ii; Laegreid et al. 2014). In some cases, this has resulted in the introduction of distinct, but linked agencies with tight policy mandates (e.g. Quangos in the United Kingdom; special operating agencies in Canada); in cases where responsibility for policy areas are split into multiple agencies, creating policy alignment on cross-cutting issues would be more challenging due to the increase in the number of actors, the narrowness of some of their individual mandates, and the incentives and accountabilities associated with those mandates. The need for collaborative solutions generally increases with the number of actors involved, and so jurisdictions which embraced agencification or contracted service delivery face additional pressures to develop collaborative coordinated approaches (Herranz 2007; Isett 2011;

Bogdanor 2005; Perri 6 2005; Goldsmith and Eggers 2004; Pollitt et. al. 2001; Hajer and Wagenaar. 2003; de Bruijn and ten Heuvelhof 2008). As a result, "the issue of policy fragmentation and the effects of silos in the public sector represents one of the greatest hurdles to policy design and implementation in the public sector" (OECD 2013i, p. 6), where "the existing specialization in the public sector apparatus is not fit to handle complex social challenges" (Laegreid et al. 2014, p.2). In many cases, NPM has also led to the outsourcing of service delivery to external agencies or community organizations, with two potentially significant impacts for collaboration. First, it introduces a more pronounced split between the policy and implementation levels, whereby the range, mandate and actions of the implementing agencies need to be considered by government in creating a holistic approach to a policy problem. Second, NPM also had a focus on increasing competition, and since implementing agencies were often selected by competitive procurement processes, this potentially created challenges for collaborative approaches at the implementation level.

In this context, cross-organizational collaborative networks have been identified as a promising approach for developing comprehensive solutions to cross-cutting societal problems (Bogdanor 2005; Whelan 2011, McQuaid 2010; Sorensen and Torfing 2017; O'Flynn 2011): it has been argued that collaborative networks can achieve things that organizations on their own cannot (Provan and Kenis 2007, Provan and Lemaire 2012), and in doing so, potentially address cross-cutting policy problems (Ferlie 2011; Klijn 2007). In particular, "goal-directed networks have become extremely important as formal mechanisms for achieving multi-organizational outcomes, especially in the public and nonprofit sectors where collective action is often required for problem solving" (Provan and Kenis 2007), through sharing of resources, leveraging capacities and expertise of other organizations, and building more comprehensive and holistic approaches (McQuaid 2010; Sorensen and Torfing 2017; Kapucu and Hu, 2020). Developing, managing and supporting such networks, as mentioned above, is considered a critical role for government, with some positing that it creates a new role for government: 'metagovernance',

where the state works through a variety of means to develop and support network approaches of state and non-state actors to achieve public goals (La Cour and Anderson 2016; Osborne 2010).

Efforts to increase collaboration to address cross-cutting policy issues (i.e. policy issues that cross the boundaries of multiple government departments) have been attempted in many countries, including Canada, Australia, and many European countries (Laegreid et al. 2014; Peters 1998; Sproule-Jones 2000; 6 2005). The UK government undertook significant efforts by introducing the Joined-Up Government approach, which addressed a broad range of issues (Bogdanor 2005; Wilkinson and Appelbee 1999), seen by some as "perhaps the central theme of [the government's] reform program for central and local governance (6, 2005, p.45). Australia had the *Connecting Government* initiative to build 'whole of government' approaches to address complex policy issues:

> "There are many imperatives which make being successful at whole of government work increasingly important. These include pressures on the Australian Public Service to offer sophisticated whole of government policy advice which comprehends a range of stakeholders' views, and to respond to complex policy challenges such as environmental or rural issues. There are pressures to join up program management, including security threats and intractable social issues such as drug dependence. There are rising community expectations for easier access to government by integrating service delivery" (Australia 2004, p.1)

While many approaches have been attempted across many jurisdictions, the perceived challenge of collaboration remains very real: "while many countries have launched initiatives to join-up government, improve horizontal coordination and strengthen strategic steering, data suggests that policy coherence and collaboration across sectors remains a challenge for many countries" (Laegreid et al. 2013); or as another author put it "collaboration may be necessary and desirable, but the research evidence indicates that it is hardly easy" (Bryson, 2006, p.44).

This area has not wanted for academic investigation. There have been hundreds of articles and books in public administration, public policy, and political science written on the subject of collaboration, coordination, horizontality, joined-up, and other collaborative efforts in government (O'Leary and Vij 2012; Morcol et al 2021; Meek 2021; Bryson et al. 2006; Bryson et al. 2015; Kapucu and

Hu 2020). However, to date, progress has been slow at unpacking the issue of collaboration (Bryson et al. 2015; Sarapuu 2014). To some extent, this should be expected based on the challenge of learning across settings: there are significant differences in culture, setting, policy issues, etc., all of which can play a significant role in the prognosis for any given collaborative effort (OECD 2013, Laegreid 2014, etc.). As well, attempts at collaboration tend to be linked to the specific dynamics of a particular jurisdiction and/or policy area: "They are not intended to be adapted to other purposes or contexts. They are seldom developed or linked to a systematic analysis of existing administrative arrangements and their strengths, weaknesses and interaction" (Sarapuu 2014, 265).

The study of public sector collaboration has also been stymied by some methodological and theoretical challenges. Studies of efforts at collaboration have tended to rely on individual case studies (Faling 2019), with limited attempts at cross-setting learning or even analytical theoretical frameworks that would allow for cross-setting learning: "frameworks lack generalizability across different settings, sectors, geographic scales and policy arenas" (Rouzbehani 2020, p. 660). There have been some post-hoc attempts at meta-analyses (e.g., Faling et al 2019; Bryson et al. 2006; O'Toole 2005; Bryson et al. 2015; Thomson and Perry 2006; O'Leary and Vij 2012). More recent efforts at developing a Collaborative Governance Case Databank to support learning across cases can support the development of insights regarding collaborative governance (Douglas et. al. 2020), but this project is still in its early days.

A core challenge of this area of study is the broad range of theoretical frameworks that inform the work. Bryson et al.'s (2015) work on the state of the field identified seven different major theoretical frameworks for analysing collaboration (Bryson et al. 2006; Thompson and Perry 2006; Ansell and Gash 2008; Agranoff 2007,2012; Provan and Kenis 2008; Emerson et al. 2011, Koschmann et al. 2012). When looking at these frameworks, what is striking is the diversity of theoretical bases and emphases (more on this in the literature review chapter). These approaches identify many different factors that can affect the development of collaborative approaches to cross-cutting issues, such as leadership styles,

collaborative processes, questions of legitimacy, trust and commitment, technology, collaborative capacity, etc. (Bryson et al. 2015), each of which can be operationalized in different ways with different methodologies and terminologies. As O'Leary and Vij succinctly put it: "From a research perspective, it is a low-paradigm field. Some of the specific reasons behind this slow knowledge development include the lack of agreed-upon definitions of commonly used terms and variables, little consensus on significant research topics, a piece-meal approach to theory building, reliance on anecdotal description, differing and incomplete units of analysis, and a failure to keep up with global and IT developments" (O'Leary and Vij, 2012).

While institutional analysis is one of many different potential theoretical approaches and overlaps conceptually with other policy process frameworks (Lindquist and Wellstead 2019), it has been identified as a potential way forward in studying collaboration from the management literature and from various academics (e.g. OECD and Government for the Future) Laegreid et al. 2014; Sarapuu et al. 2014; Bryson et al. 2006; O'Toole 2004). However, institutional analysis itself can suffer from the same issues as the broader literature on collaboration, and without rigour can still result in a 'babbling equilibrium' (Ostrom 2005) of studies that do not permit cross-case learning in any meaningful way. This dissertation pursues an analysis of the impact of the 'rules of the game' that draws on lessons from the Institutional Analysis and Design Framework for developing consistent classifications of rules, and applies them in a comparative case study methodology to attempt to draw out some cross-case lessons. This will help both inform the literature on collaboration and provide design considerations for the metagovernance literature and practitioners who want to develop collaborative approaches. More on this can be found in Chapter 4 on the analytical framework developed for the dissertation.

That analytical framework will guide the comparative analysis of cases under the aegis of WelcomeBC, the Province of British Columbia's approach to the settlement and integration of immigrants. During 2006-2014, WelcomeBC pursued collaborative approaches as a fundamental

component of its strategic framework, with efforts to build collaboration with non-settlement policy actors (e.g. labour market ministries) and non-traditional settlement implementation actors (e.g. school districts) in support the overarching goal of "BC's immigrants contribute fully to the social and economic prosperity of the province." (WelcomeBC, 2009). WelcomeBC offers several advantages as a comparative case study to examine factors affecting the development of collaborative network responses to cross-cutting policy issues in areas of third-party delivery. First, immigrant settlement is a cross-cutting issue, crossing into the mandates of multiple other Ministries including language and literacy, labour market, community cohesion, and support for vulnerable children, families and individuals (see Table 1 for the policy leads in BC during this period). For WelcomeBC to be successful in achieving its mandate regarding immigrant settlement, it needed to work across these different policy areas. From a research perspective, this provides for internal variation within the overall WelcomeBC case, with sub-cases devoted to each of the policy areas. Second, WelcomeBC viewed the development of these collaborative networks as integral to the success of WelcomeBC's strategic approach, with considerable effort and resources behind them. As such, WelcomeBC provides a case study of a proactive metagovernance approach that may have useful lessons for other governments that may want to proactively approach collaboration to address complex social policy issues.

Table 1 Other Policy Leads by WelcomeBC Line of Business

English Language Development	Labour Market Integration	Community Settlement
• Ministry of Advanced Education • Ministry of Education	• Ministry of Jobs Tourism and Innovation • Ministry of Social Development (Employment Program)	• Ministry of Education • Ministry of Children and Family Development

Third, similar to many jurisdictions around the world, in all cases within the study, there was a break between the central government policy actors and the implementation actors. There was also a broad variety of 'transmission' pathways for policy direction to implementers, ranging from funding

letters to competitive procurements to consortium models to direct awards. This allows the study to examine the challenges and opportunities that come from this type of policy/implementation split, and how that may affect the development of collaborative service delivery networks. Finally, WelcomeBC had a variety of outcomes in its attempts to develop collaborative networks. WelcomeBC was not a story of across-the-board success: some efforts worked, some did not, and some arrived in interesting places (but not necessarily the intended outcome). This variation provides some counter-examples to inform a more robust analysis.

By comparing and analyzing the three cases of interventions under WelcomeBC, this dissertation provides insight into whether and how the 'rules of the game' affected the success and failure of purposeful attempts to develop collaborative network approaches to a range of cross-cutting policy issues in areas with third-party service delivery; tests the usefulness of this type of analysis in both understanding and developing metagovernance approaches to collaborative network development; and provides insight into a critically important policy and service delivery domain (immigrant settlement) which jurisdictions around the world are struggling to address effectively. In doing so, the dissertation both moves the literature forward on the role of rules in the development of collaborative cross-sector service delivery networks in agencified jurisdictions, and provides insights to practitioners who may be grappling with developing their own collaborative approaches.

The dissertation will first provide an overview of immigrant settlement as a cross-cutting issue and WelcomeBC's approach in Chapter 2, before turning to a review of the literature in Chapter 3. This is followed by the introduction of the analytical framework (Chapter 4) and methodology (Chapter 5) that underpins the three case studies (Chapters 6, 7, and 8). The dissertation then turns to a discussion of the findings (Chapter 9) and the implications of the dissertation for the literature and public servants (Chapter 10).

CHAPTER 2

IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT AS A CROSS-CUTTING POLICY CHALLENGE, AND THE WELCOMEBC APPROACH

The settlement and integration of immigrants is seen as a cross-cutting issue by many governments which have adopted, promoted, or (at least on the surface) have recognized the need for collaborative or whole-of government approaches to immigrant integration. There are examples at all levels of government, from national governments such as Australia, Ireland, New Zealand and Canada, to subnational governments such as Ontario, BC and even down to counties and municipalities (e.g. South Dublin County; Vancouver), albeit with varying levels of success.[2] Both the OECD and the European Union, as well as international organizations such as the International Organization on Migration, Migration Policy Institute and the Institute for Strategic Dialogue, have promoted the development of collaborative, whole-of-government, or whole-of-society approaches to addressing settlement and integration issues. According to the Migration Policy Institute, it is the cross-cutting nature of immigrant integration that requires these whole of government/network approaches:

> "This reason is simple. Single-purpose policies, just as single-cause explanations, are poor guides in developing successful responses to intricate and politically sensitive issues. Decisions that relate to immigration cut across policy domains and administrative responsibilities and thus require extraordinary amounts and forms of coordination in both planning and execution" (Papademetriou 2006).

This chapter provides an overview of the key components of the settlement process, the associated policy challenges, and how these generally cross multiple policy areas and multiple government actors, before turning to the specifics of the issue of immigration in BC, and the evolution of WelcomeBC towards a focus on collaborative approaches.

[2] See, for example, the Office of the Auditor General's Report on New Zealand's Settlement Strategy (New Zealand OAG:2013).

OVERVIEW OF IMMIGRATION AS A CROSS-CUTTING ISSUE

This section provides an overview of why immigration is generally considered a cross-cutting issue. While much of the discussion draws on Canadian findings, the issues are similar to ones in other jurisdictions. This dissertation will use as a point of departure the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework categories of English language development, labour market integration and settlement and community connections (WelcomeBC, 2009), which are similar to the terminology used for settlement and integration programming at the Canadian federal government level and internationally.

English Language Development

Immigrant language ability in the official and used languages of the new country is perhaps the most important issue in the settlement and integration process. Immigrants in Canada have identified that lack of English language ability is one of their top two challenges to succeeding in Canada (WelcomeBC, 2009-10 Annual Report), and is an enabler of their broader social and economic integration(e.g. Derwing and Waugh 2012; Yates 2012). Social integration is a critical component of the immigrant settlement and integration process, and strongly affected by the ability of individuals to communicate in the language of their new country (BC Stats 2010). Literacy among immigrants and non-immigrants has been shown to have significant effects on civic engagement (OECD 2000), and on a self-reported index measure of their settlement in Canada – measured as satisfaction with their experience in Canada and expectations of Canada – a study found that "Higher levels of English proficiency were associated with higher levels of satisfaction" (Sapeha, 2014). This is consistent with findings from a Canadian study of social integration by official language ability: both established and recent immigrants reported much lower levels of life satisfaction than those with official language ability (Ravanera and Esses 2014). Language also affects

other common government social policy goals, such as post-secondary participation (Adamuti-Trache et al., 2011) and healthy population (Pottie et al 2008, Ng et al 2011).

The ability to communicate in an official language also has significant implications for economic integration and labour market success. Literacy has been shown, in general, to have significant effects on labour market success (Green and Riddell 2007, Bonikowska et al. 2008). Immigrants with low language ability tend to have lower labour market participation rates (Boyd and Cao 2009, Ravanera and Esses 2014), and less success finding employment if in the labour market than non-immigrants (Ravenera 2014). Immigrants with low language ability are also less likely to be in management positions (Ravenera 2014) and are more likely to be in lower skilled occupations (Boyd and Cao 2009). They tend to make less than those with high levels of language ability, and a greater proportion of them tend to be below the Low-Income Cut-off (Boyd and Cao 2009; Ravanera and Esses 2014). This has detrimental effects for the immigrant, but also for the broader labour market and economy, with a significant link between language ability and labour productivity (StatsCan 2004).

In many jurisdictions the responsibility for immigrant English language development overlaps with the responsibilities of ministries involved in elementary, secondary and tertiary education, or those more generally responsible for literacy programming. To a lesser extent, language development can also overlap with labour market ministries as well as broader social welfare and health ministries, given the impact that low language ability would have in those policy realms.

Labour Market Integration

Achieving success in the labour market is a significant issue for immigrants, named as the second main challenge by immigrants (WelcomeBC Annual Report 2009/10). While there are important differences both by immigration category (e.g. highly-skilled immigrants on the Provincial Nominee Program compared to lower skilled refugees) and within category, immigrants overall tend to fare worse in the labour market than Canadian-born individuals and this is especially true of very recent immigrants.

According to the Labour Force Survey 2009, 71% of very recent immigrants (<5 years in Canada) in the "core working age" range of 25-54 participated in the Labour Market, compared to 87% of Canadian-born (WelcomeBC, 2010), with even worse outcomes in female participation (Fuller and Martin 2012), There also tended to be a higher rate of unemployment for very recent immigrants in the labour market; in BC, "core working age" (25-54) recent immigrants in the labour market had an unemployment rate 5 percentage points higher than those of the Canadian-born in British Columbia (WelcomeBC, 2010). In 2009, very recent immigrant wages (age 25-54) were more than 30% lower than those of the Canadian-born in British Columbia (Yssaad 2012; WelcomeBC 2010). That gap closed somewhat with greater time in Canada, but not entirely: immigrants who had been in Canada for more than ten years still had an 8-14% wage gap (Yssaad2012). The differences were not due to a lack of education. Very recent (<5 years) and recent immigrants (5-10 years) were much more likely to have a university degree than the Canadian-born population (53% of very recent immigrants to BC compared to 23% of Canadian-born (WelcomeBC 2010). However, the unemployment rate for very recent immigrants with a university degree was four times higher than that of Canadian-born with a university degree on average across Canada (WelcomeBC 2010). There was also the challenge of relative underemployment for immigrants with degrees (e.g. Creese and Wiebe 2012).

The challenges of immigrant unemployment and underemployment have drawn considerable interest from policymakers, researchers, expert panels, and government agencies in the immigration and labour market policy fields, including the Federal Government, (e.g. Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians, 2015), and the Forum of Labour Market Ministers (2009). Often drawing the greatest media coverage is the challenge experienced by immigrants with professional credentials in regulated professions (e.g. doctors, nurses, etc.) which are not easily recognized by Canadian regulators, leading to unemployment or underemployment (e.g. the doctors driving taxi cabs trope). This is a highly complex environment, with multiple players at both the provincial and federal level, where "immigrants must

navigate challenging territory" (Panel, 2015: p.6), in an area that may not be resourced and ready to address the complexity (FLMM 2009). Beyond these regulated professions cases, there are broader challenges with recognizing the value of degrees, credentials or experience earned overseas. From a human capital perspective, if education was valued equitably, immigrants should have a considerable edge in the labour market given their levels of post-secondary education and experience, as many arrive mid-career; however, "pre-immigration education and experience do not generate the same economic returns as equivalent human capital acquired in Canada" (Bonikowska, Green and Riddell, 2008). This may be in part due to lack of understanding by Canadian employers or recognition of their skills, degrees or overseas experience (Fuller and Martin, 2012; Bucklaschuk and Wilkinson 2011; Creese and Wiebe 2012). In addition to these challenges are notions that immigrants will not 'fit in' to Canada's workplace culture or have the appropriate 'soft skills' (Panel, 2015; Huot et al. 2015; Fuller and Martin 2012; Lai et al. 2017), as well as challenges with "lack of understanding of the job search and interview processes" (Huot, 2016 p. 710).

Overall, immigrant labour market integration is a significant, multi-faceted challenge, and tends to overlap with the policy areas of ministries or agencies responsible for labour market, economic development, and training.

Settlement and Community Integration

While other public sector bodies may offer Language or Labour Market services, settlement programming (such as orientation, information and community connections) was traditionally seen as the domain of settlement agencies alone. However, over time this perception has evolved due to the growth of the concept of 'the two-way street of integration' which recognizes that "integration is a two-way process, which involves commitments on the part of immigrants and refugees to adapt to life in Canada and on the part of Canadians to welcome and adapt to new people and cultures" (CBCIA 2010, 2.a) and, more broadly, that some components of the settlement process would benefit strongly from

engagement with the broader public sector and fit with the mandates of other government actors. This study looks at two of those areas where there was greater overlap with responsibilities from other Ministries: (1) children and family settlement and integration; and (2) integration of vulnerable immigrant populations.

Children and Family Settlement and Integration

Immigrants arrive with a variety of family types, and across a wide spectrum of ages. Often, immigrant parents face challenges in trying to adapt to their new country: "immigrant parents face the challenge of directing their children's development in a new, unfamiliar context and deciding how to bridge the two cultures" (Nesteruk and Marks, 2011). The lack of familiarity with the context can show up as barriers in understanding the systems and processes in place to support parents in their new country, and accessing them across language and cultural differences. Equally important is the bridging of cultures: parenting as an immigrant includes navigating differences in cultural norms around parenting. Meeting these challenges is not just important for the success of the children in the new country, but also for the successful settlement and integration of the parents, given the potentially longer settlement timelines for immigrant caregivers (Browne et. al 2017).

For families with school aged children, the challenges can be significant, ranging from language barriers and unfamiliarity with the Canadian school system to stresses associated with resettlement, isolation and loneliness, cultural shock, bullying and peer exclusion, and limited participation in school activities (Selimos and Daniel, 2017; Ngo and Schleifer 2005), which can all have negative effects on their wellbeing and integration. The success of immigrants in the school system is also vital to their success longer term in both post-secondary achievement (Anisef et al. 2010) and employment. Immigrant youth aged 15-24 have significantly higher unemployment rates than the national rate, and "those with sporadic education, poor literacy skills and limited English often struggle to make a smooth transition

into the labour market" (Ngo and Schleifer 2005). Given the issues at play, in most jurisdictions the work of settlement for immigrant families and children tends to overlap with the mandates of ministries responsibility for primary and secondary education, and children and family development.

Vulnerable Populations

In addition to the challenges facing the general immigration population, several conflating factors affect family settlement and integration for vulnerable immigrant populations such as refugees. In some cases, refugees face significant life challenges including trauma and mental health issues related to their refugee experience (O'Donnell and O'Donnell 2020; Chan et al. 2016). Non-refugee immigrants may arrive with issues, or develop issues during their settlement, which make them vulnerable – such as disabilities, mental health or health issues, lack of literacy in their first language, or lack of employment experience that makes it challenging to find gainful employment – with certain population groups at elevated risk such as seniors (Mandell et al 2018) and youth (Hamilton et al. 2009, Lauer et al. 2012). In most jurisdictions, the responsibility for meeting the needs of these vulnerable populations would overlap with a broad array of ministries or government agencies involved in social welfare, employment, housing, disabilities, mental health, education and health.

IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT: A CROSS-CUTTING ISSUE IN BC

While these issues are common across many jurisdictions, immigrants play a significant role in BC's communities, labour market and public services due to the scale and scope of immigration, and due to the nature of the policy landscape in BC, immigrant integration is very much a cross-cutting issue. This section provides a brief overview of the scale of the issue in BC, and the main policy actors during the study period, while the next section will set out the rationale behind WelcomeBC's decision to pursue

collaborative approaches for addressing the full range of settlement and integration needs of immigrants to BC.

Scale and Scope of Immigration to BC

During the study period, BC received approximately 40,000 new permanent immigrants annually. While the majority were economic and family class immigrants, BC also welcomed between 1500-2000 refugees every year. The rate of permanent immigration has significant impacts on BC's communities, labour markets and public services: over a 10-year span, BC welcomed 350,000 new immigrants, the equivalent of 8% of BC's entire population. This ratio is only expected to increase: permanent immigrants already account for the majority of the total population growth of BC and by 2028/29, BC Stats has projected that immigration will account for all net population growth in BC (BC Stats 2013).[3] Moreover, the landing of new immigrants is not equally distributed: during the study period, approximately 12-14% of the population of the Lower Mainland was recently arrived immigrants (in Canada less than 5 years), with ~40% of the population having immigrated to Canada at some point. In addition to the demographic scale of the issue, and its impact on multiple social policy issues and policy actors, immigration had visibility on the government agenda. In BC, immigration was recognized as important to the labour market and economy at the macro and micro levels in core corporate policy documents such as the *BC Jobs Plan*, the *BC Skills for Jobs* Blueprint and the *Skills for Growth* plan. The issue of immigration also showed up in major government documents in related to literacy and community integration in different ways, as will be discussed in Chapters 6, 7, and 8. This dissertation will now look at how this issue of scale plays out in specific dimensions of the settlement process, and the overlaps with other BC Ministries.

[3] In addition to these permanent residents, BC also has a significant temporary foreign worker population: almost 70,000 temporary foreign workers were in BC in 2012.

BC Immigrant English Literacy

BC's immigrant population tend not to arrive with high levels of English language ability, with only 10-15% of immigrants having English as a mother tongue (WelcomeBC.ca). This is borne out in broader studies of literacy: in the 2003 International Adult Literacy and Skills Survey (IALSS),[4] immigrants played a significant role in the overall literacy rates for BC: "Significantly higher proportion of immigrants age 16-65 had low literacy [in English]"(Select Standing Committee 2006, p.8).[5] 31% of working age immigrants scored at the lowest level (Poor - Level 1) in prose literacy compared to only 7% of Canadian-born respondents (Select Standing committee 2006). Level 1 is *very* low levels of literacy – individuals at this level are expected to have significant issues, as this level's benchmark is reading relatively short texts to find a single piece of information or following simple written directions (Relating Canadian Language Benchmarks to Essential Skills, p.27). These rates, combined with the scale of the immigrant population and demographic change, and the critical importance of language ability, meant that immigrant literacy was a significant challenge for BC during the period of study.

The issue of immigrant literacy in BC was also a cross-cutting issue. Other Ministries had mandates which included components of adult literacy, notably the Ministry of Advanced Education and the Ministry of Education. Table 2 below highlights the relevant components of the other Ministries' mandates and the areas of potential overlap with WelcomeBC.

Table 2 BC Ministries with overlap with WelcomeBC – English Language

Ministry	Mandate
Ministry of Advanced Education	Post-secondary education and training in British Columbia. As part of that mandate, the Ministry had responsibility for college-based adult basic education and English as a Second Language programming, with an emphasis on skill development but also supporting access to post-secondary education. In addition, the Ministry funded targeted programs to support adult literacy through community-based organizations.

[4] The 2003 IALS was the last iteration with reporting prior to the study period, and the data then informing policy.
[5] This was driven in large part because the IALSS is not a test of literacy in general - it is a test of literacy in the official language or languages of the country in which it is administered. This is an important proviso, as many immigrants have very high levels of literacy in their first language, but due to relatively low English proficiency, would turn up in the results of the IALSS as having low levels of literacy.

Ministry of Education	The lead Ministry for literacy in the province during the study period, with continuing education and literacy programs in school districts and libraries, as well as support for literacy coordination and community-based literacy projects.

BC Labour Market

Given the scale of immigration to BC, immigrants also played a critical role in the labour market, and it is expected that they will play an even more critical role in the future: at the macro-level, during the period of study, BC's labour market model predicted that immigrants would be required to fill about 300,000 job openings over the next 10 years (or about 1/3rd of all job openings over the period), and would play a critical role in many sectors of BC (WelcomeBC 2009[6]). This posed a significant policy challenge given the dynamics in the labour market identified above, with lower rates of participation, employment and the mismatch between the experiences and education of immigrants and their involvement in the labour market.

Two other Ministries had responsibility for labour market services during the study period, primarily using funding that had been devolved from the federal government to BC through two federal-provincial agreements: the Labour Market Agreement and the Labour Market Development Agreement. Both of these Ministries would have had significant numbers of potential immigrant clients given the scale of immigration and the challenges identified above. Table 3 below identifies those Ministries, their mandates, and how they connect to the work of immigrant settlement.

Table 3 - BC Ministries with overlap with WelcomeBC - Labour Market

Ministry	Mandate
Ministry of Social Development	Responsibility for programs to address unemployment, which in its current incarnation is the Employment Program of BC

[6] This figure is based on the BC Labour Market Model. Its outcomes are published in the BC Labour Market Outlook. For more information, see: http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs2010_2/465583/index.htm

Ministry of Jobs Tourism and Skills Training	Responsibility for labour market training and ensuring that BC's labour market is skilled and meets labour market demands. This includes Labour Market Agreement and Labour Market Development Agreement programs.

BC Community and Family Settlement and Integration

While primary immigrant applicants are adults, a large proportion of the total immigrant population is under the age of 15. According to the 2016 Canadian Census, 14% of recent immigrants (those who arrived between 2011-2016) were under the age of 15, for a total of 24,575; a further 12.6% (22,035) were between 15-24. (StatsCan, 2016). A significant number of new immigrant children need to be integrated into the school system and community, and parents need support to integrate into their roles as parents in Canada. It is also a significant addition to the child and youth population of BC – every year, approximately 5000 new immigrants under the age of 15 arrived in BC alongside their parent or guardian. In any given year, about 3% of the total BC under 15 cohort was recently arrived immigrants. While this seems a relatively small number, the level of support these children may need – given differences in language, culture and educational systems – can be significant. This is especially true given the distribution of immigration: there is a much higher concentration in the Lower Mainland, resulting in much higher percentages of the pre-school and school age populations being recently arrived immigrant children and youth.

Under the heading of community and family integration is also the issue of vulnerable immigrant populations, who have specific needs. As identified above, BC admitted between 1500-2000 refugees per year; in addition, it was expected that a percentage of new immigrants from other immigration classes would have different forms of vulnerability or arrive at a particularly challenging time which may result in new vulnerabilities (e.g. out of school youth, seniors). Many needed support from a variety of government services and programs. These individuals also tended to be concentrated in the Lower Mainland, creating additional pressure on the social support Ministries in these areas. Given the scale and scope of immigration and immigrants' needs as identified above, the work of WelcomeBC

overlapped with other social policy ministries. Table 4 below outlines the other Ministries involved and what component of their policy area overlapped with WelcomeBC's efforts in community and family integration and supports for vulnerable populations.[7]

Table 4 BC Ministries with overlap with WelcomeBC - Family and Community Integration

Ministry	Mandate
Ministry of Education	Responsible for education and success of K-12 students, including the integration of new immigrant students into the school system.
Ministry of Children and Family Development	Responsibility for parenting, childcare and early childhood development

Conclusion

This section has shown that immigrant settlement and integration is not a simple issue. Immigrants' settlement and integration processes engage with the mandates of multiple ministries or departments such as education, labour market or social policy areas. In BC, the issue took on extra significance due to the scale of immigration in BC's communities, labour markets and public services, and, due to the division of responsibilities between Ministries, was very much a cross-cutting issue. WelcomeBC, in response to these issues, evolved its work to include partnership and collaboration as a foundational element to its strategic approach, which will be discussed in further detail in the next section.

WELCOMEBC – EVOLUTION FROM STANDALONE PROGRAMS TO COLLABORATION

The scale of immigration to BC, the range of immigrant needs, and the division of policy responsibilities generally made immigrant settlement and integration a cross-cutting issue in BC. However, what makes WelcomeBC an interesting study was the purposeful fostering of collaboration to address these issues,

[7] There are additional policy level actors in BC whose mandates overlap with that of the settlement and integration, but to a much lesser scale (e.g. Housing. Health). These are not included in the table as they are not areas that WelcomeBC spent significant time addressing.

and how it was embedded into its work. What follows provides a brief history of WelcomeBC and then consider why and how it evolved to incorporate a strong focus on collaboration.

Background – Devolution from the Federal Government

Prior to 1998, immigrant settlement in BC was a federal responsibility. Under federal jurisdiction, settlement programming was considerably removed from social policy and labour market programs in the provinces: it was primarily a grant program for settlement agencies, with limited remit that would not require collaboration. In 1998, BC chose to take up the federal offer of devolution of responsibility for settlement programming and funding. Under the terms of the devolution agreement, responsibility for settlement programming (as well as other roles and responsibilities) came to BC, along with a base level of funding for settlement programming and administration. At its core, the 1998 agreement for settlement and integration programming operated on several key principles, which would remain relatively stable over the subsequent Canada-BC agreements in 2004 and 2009:

- Immigrants should develop an ability to communicate in one of Canada's official languages.
- Newcomers should have opportunities for economic and social participation with the goal of becoming economically self-sufficient and socially engaged.
- Newcomers should be made aware of Canadian values and traditions.
- Settlement and immigrations services should focus on self-sufficiency, but priority should be given to those with the highest barriers.
- Services should be flexible, responsive, and reasonably comparable
- Integration of newcomers involves responsibility on the part of the newcomers and on the part of Canadians (governments, communities, and workplaces) to, respectively, adapt and welcome.

The first four principles were aligned with how the programs were administered federally, and reflected the types of programming that would be supported by the funding (language, labour market, social integration, and programs for those with the highest barriers). The last two bullets created some opportunities for BC to differentiate from the federal approach. The fifth bullet was interpreted to permit and promote a made-in-BC approach to be responsive to the needs of BC, which provided some

leeway for WelcomeBC to innovate in how they approached the work. Even more crucial to the issue of collaboration development was the way that BC interpreted the last bullet, which was an articulation of the 'two-way street of integration'. Under the federal model, this principle supported the creation of welcoming and inclusive communities and workplaces programming; WelcomeBC also supported this type of programming, but interpreted the principle much more broadly as a rationale to focus on influencing other government bodies, and importantly for this study, to work to build collaborative approaches with other ministries and their agents on issues of settlement and integration.

Overview of WelcomeBC

WelcomeBC was the name of BC's approach to settlement programming, as well as a shorthand for the branch (or occasionally connected branches in the same division) that oversaw the development and implementation of that approach. While WelcomeBC as an organization was always included as a branch or branches within a Ministry rather than an agency, it had some interesting characteristics. WelcomeBC as an organization was fairly self-contained, and included everything from policy and intergovernmental relations through program design, management and evaluation, and procurement and contract management; at its largest, it had approximately 60 staff. Second, it was primarily federally funded through the Canada BC Immigration Agreement, both for program costs and for administration, with a relatively small provincial contribution, . It also moved around Ministries fairly frequently during the study period, including: Attorney General and Multiculturalism; Advanced Education; Regional Economic and Skills Development; Jobs, Tourism and Innovation, and more.

The Early Years of WelcomeBC

BC's approach to settlement services evolved dramatically in terms of its own programming and its focus on collaboration. From 1998-2006, there was limited base funding from the federal government (around $40m), of which the BC government chose to allocate roughly $17m to the general coffers, leaving $23m

available for the delivery of settlement services. Due to this funding limitation, the early programming in BC tended to look similar to that offered under the federal model of direct grants to settlement agencies and other community agencies to offer a very limited range of standalone programs (see Table 5).

Table 5 WelcomeBC programs 1998-2006

Program line	Program Name	Overview
Language	English Language Services for Adults Literacy – CLB 3	Class-based instruction for very low levels of literacy (considered too low to function effectively in Canadian communities or the labour market)
Labour market	Included in Stream 1 settlement programming	Very limited labour market information and orientation programming
Community Settlement	'Stream 1' Settlement Program	Orientation and information programming with limited additional services or programs
	Stream 1/3	Blended language and community settlement, limited in scope and funding

The first major shift in the WelcomeBC approach after devolution was due to the implementation of a new procurement model, under the auspices of the BC Core Services Review in 2001. This formalized the use of open and competitive procurement processes, which for WelcomeBC meant an increase in the range of actors who were able to access settlement funding. While there are many interesting dynamics around the shift to a formal procurement model, for the purposes of this study, the most important dynamic was the shift in how programs were implemented in communities, and the difference in the tools available to WelcomeBC to influence the patterns of actors and collaborations at the implementation phase. This new procurement model also changed how some of the other BC Ministries, with potentially overlapping mandates, procured for their programming. Not only did this open up new opportunities for WelcomeBC to influence other ministries, it also enabled settlement agencies to compete for other sources of funding. While the procurement model shifted, the core underlying

WelcomeBC programming and approach remained very similar to that under the federal model due to limited funding, and efforts to build collaboration were limited.

2004 – New Agreement, and New Funding Levels

The strong similarities to the federal model continued until after the re-signing of the Agreement in 2004. However, starting in 2006, the funding under the Agreement increased gradually from around $40m to more than $120m annually by 2014. The additional funding allowed WelcomeBC to pursue many of the initiatives and approaches that staff had envisioned, based on issues and gaps that they and the sector had identified about immigrant needs (Lindquist et al., 2013). This resulted in an expansion of programming and the implementation of many new pilots and initiatives, including some initial efforts at collaboration. Across the three main lines of business, programs either extended their ranges (e.g. language classes that were basic levels of literacy to specialized programs for labour market language and higher levels of English) or added more targeted programs (e.g. new pilots specifically for vulnerable populations). For the purposes of this study, importantly, this period also allowed WelcomeBC to begin to pursue collaboration to address the issues identified above, an approach subsequently embedded in the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework developed in the next period.

2009 CBCIA Signing – the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework and the Push for Collaboration

With the signing of the CBCIA in 2009, WelcomeBC developed a new Strategic Framework, which was approved by Cabinet in order to sign the CBCIA. This framework maintained the same key lines of business: English Language Development, Settlement and Inclusive Communities, and Labour Market Participation. However, the framework included two critical components that reflected the direction towards collaboration started in 2006: the stated Goal (and the associated 'Defining Positions' for each of the Strategic Lines of Business), and the formalization of the Partnership and Sector Development approach that had started to be considered with the increase in funding as of 2006.

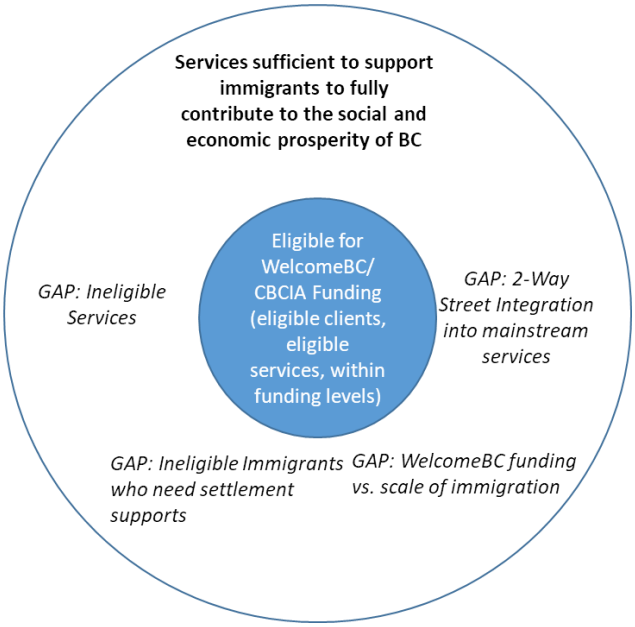
The selection of the Goal statement formalized the aspirations of WelcomeBC to support immigrants to fully integrate into BC's society and economy. WelcomeBC also included Partnerships and Sector Development as a foundational element of the Framework, recognizing that "the engagement of multiple sectors and a network of partners and service providers is critical to achieve success throughout the immigration pathway from pre-arrival to longer-term integration." The inclusion of the Partnerships and Sector Development was driven by two main factors: the recognition of the importance of the 'two-way street of integration,' and that their goal statement was not something that they could achieve on their own, due to limitations in the CBCIA and its funding.

There were important scope limitations on the CBCIA federal funding that made it impossible for WelcomeBC to achieve the Strategic Framework goal. On the client side, the funding was only eligible for certain classes of immigrants – permanent residents, refugees – and not for others (e.g. temporary foreign workers). Most importantly, once an immigrant had achieved citizenship, they were no longer eligible for WelcomeBC programming, regardless of whether they could still benefit from to meet the goal statement of 'fully contribut[ing] to social and economic prosperity of the Province," and so would require services from other Ministries to achieve that goal. The second major scope limitation was on the types of programming and services that could be provided using the CBCIA funding, which included

no labour market skills training, general family supports, mental health/health services or education services. This significantly limited the types of programming that WelcomeBC could deliver on its own, but that WelcomeBC considered important for immigrants to 'fully contribute,' and so was another key driver of WelcomeBC's attempts to build collaborative approaches.

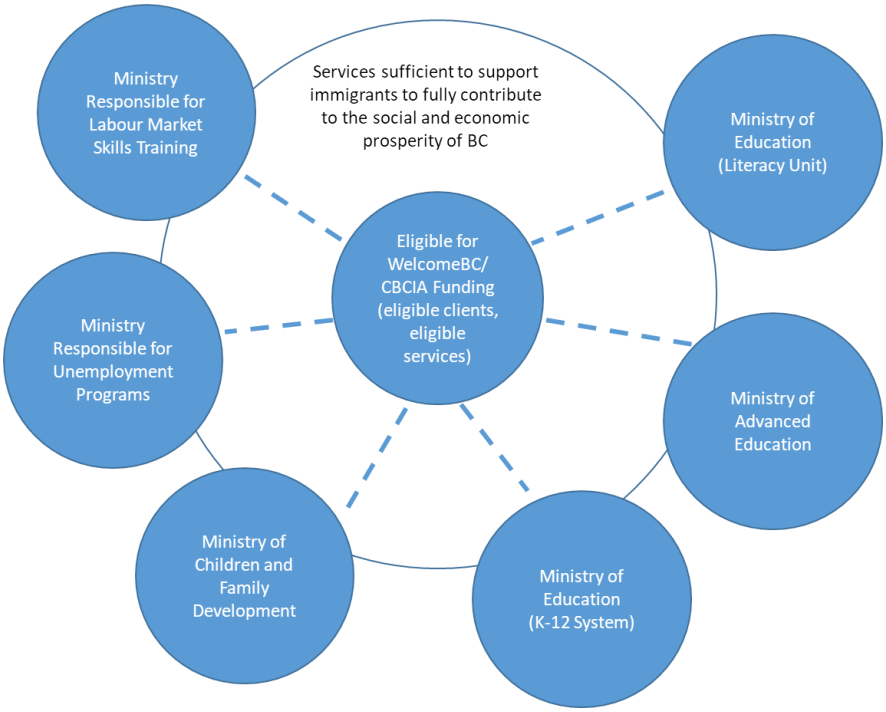
Even without those scope limitations, the scale of the issues would have been too much for WelcomeBC to address on its own. While WelcomeBC's funding grew significantly, the scale of immigration in BC, combined with the level and range of programming needed to meet the WelcomeBC strategic goal, meant that WelcomeBC would not have had sufficient funding to address the broad range of settlement needs of immigrants. Figure 1 outlines the effect that these limitations had on WelcomeBC. The outside circle represents the full range of immigrant settlement and integration needs to meet the goal of "BC's immigrants contribute fully to the social and economic prosperity of the Province." The inner circle represents what WelcomeBC was able to do with the CBCIA funding, given the limitations on eligible clients and eligible services, as well as the scale of the funding available compared to the full range of immigrant settlement and integration needs.

Figure 1 Gap between WelcomeBC's Eligible Services and the Services needed to achieve its goal[8]



[8] All images were created by the author of this dissertation.

To address the gaps between WelcomeBC's capabilities and the achievement of its goal, WelcomeBC's approach was to attempt to increase collaboration with other Ministries and their service providers. Figure 2 shows this approach, with the other key Ministries that could address gaps in



WelcomeBC's eligibility scope or scale, or where there was a desire to support the two-way street of integration (e.g. supporting immigrant children to be welcomed effectively into the K-12 school system).

Figure 2 - WelcomeBC Approach to Address the Gaps

The need to partner to meet the goal of the strategic framework was also reinforced by a corporate direction to partner from the BC government within its Cabinet-approved Framework. The settlement funding grew quickly at a time when the BC government's budget was constrained by the economic downturn of 2008. This created additional corporate pressure to partner across Ministries, as a way of supporting new initiatives or supplementing programs in other Ministries. As well, there was federal pressure to spend down a growing surplus created by the rapid increase in federal settlement.

The combination of provincial corporate direction and federal concern provided additional pressure on WelcomeBC to move quickly and try new things that would allow the funds to be spent quickly.

CONCLUSION

Immigrant integration is a cross-cutting issue in BC and generally around the world. From 2006-2014, WelcomeBC – due to the desire to support full integration of immigrants into BC's society and economy, the limitations on WelcomeBC's funding compared to the scope and scale of the challenge, and corporate direction – pursued a series of collaborative approaches to the three cross-cutting areas. As will be discussed later, these initiatives had widely varying degrees of success. Before turning to the analytical framework and methodology for examining the role of 'the rules of the game' on the success and failure of WelcomeBC's attempts to foster collaboration, the next chapter reviews the literature that informs this study.

CHAPTER 3
LITERATURE REVIEW

"There is a general lack of aggregation of knowledge on collaborative public management"
(O'Leary and Vij, 2012, p. 518)

Collaboration for addressing cross-cutting policy issues has been an expanding field in the public administration and public policy literature, with academics and practitioners writing reams of articles and books related to horizontal government, collaboration, joined-up government, network formation and network management for policy-making and implementation (Morcol 2021; Rouzbehani 2020; Kapucu and Hu, 2020). However, there are ongoing gaps especially in terms of empirically-based learning that can be applied across settings and policy areas (Rouzbehani 2020; Bryson et al. 2006; O'Leary and Vij 2012). This challenge in developing generalizable or broadly applicable research-based learnings is the result of a broad range of issues:

> From a research perspective, [collaboration] is a low-paradigm field. Some of the specific reasons behind this slow knowledge development include the lack of agreed-upon definitions of commonly used terms and variables, little consensus on significant research topics, a piece-meal approach to theory building, reliance on anecdotal description, differing and incomplete units of analysis, and a failure to keep up with global and IT developments (O'Leary and Vij, 2012).

Studying and providing practical research-based guidance is challenging in part due to the diversity of initiatives that could be classified as collaboration, partnership, coordination or cross-cutting approaches, and the diversity of ways that range of approaches have been developed or attempted in different jurisdictions, at different levels, and in different policy areas (Rouzhebani 2020). The challenge has to do with the diversity of methodologies and frameworks underpinning these studies, which limit how one can analyze and draw lessons from the diversity of cases in a consistent and comparative fashion. So, while studies of inter-organizational collaboration have proliferated, the admonition identified by Bryson in 2006 remains:

> "the research challenges involved in studying cross-sector collaborations and providing practical, research based guidance to policy makers regarding the design and implementation of cross-sector collaborations are clearly substantial. But the challenges must be met or else effectively addressing the major public problems that confront us will be unlikely, and some of the most important opportunities for creating public value will be missed (Bryson et al. 2006, p.52).

The four major streams of literature informing this study focus on: metagovernance and network structuring; public sector collaboration; implementation; and institutional analysis. What follows reviews each stream; Chapter 4 later sets out the analytical framework which draws on these literatures.

METAGOVERNANCE AND NETWORK STRUCTURING

The first major body of literature of interest is the metagovernance and network structuring literature, a relatively recent stream of the literature which provides a "conceptual framework through which we think about the variety of ways in which specific types of institutionalized governance networks are created, managed and steered by government officials" (Doberstein 2013). Metagovernance explicitly recognizes that traditional forms of government intervention may not be appropriate in some cases – the focus is on how "public authorities and other central capable and legitimate actors can govern governance networks without reverting too much to traditional forms of command and control… a specific kind of second- and third-order governance that aims to improve the functioning and capacity of relatively self-governing networks to produce governance solutions that enhance the production of public value" (Sorenson and Torfing 2016, p.829).

In this framing, there is a different form of "steering" than that seen in the New Public Management – in this case the "steering function captures how the state sets the ground rules for network activity, organizes and coordinates the interactions" (Doberstein 2013, 588). This metagovernance function is undertaken by a 'metagovernor' who aims to "initiate, support, and guide collaboration in governance networks to ensure that they contribute to the production of public value" (Sorenson and Torfing 2016, p. 830), using tools such as network design, network framing, network

management and network participation (Sorensen and Torfing 2009). This includes the steps to set up an effective network, including who to engage, the definition of the scope of the network, and

> ”shaping the arena for network interaction through…. Formation of overall goals, the specification of the fiscal and legal conditions, and discursive storytelling that defines the joint mission of the network. Effective governance can be enhanced by framing the policy objectives in ways that help align the goals of the network actors and convince them that there is an urgent need for coordination” (Sorenson and Torfing 2009).

The framing of metagovernance aligns very well with the approach taken by WelcomeBC: while WelcomeBC was a network participant and policy lead for its directly funded programming and services, it also attempted to act as a metagovernor, putting considerable effort towards developing and supporting the formation of collaborative network approaches to better address the needs of immigrants that could not be accomplished through its own programming and achieve its overarching goal. WelcomeBC worked through a variety of approaches (e.g. working to influence policy actors towards shared goals; setting or influencing rules for the selection and direction of implementation actors) to achieve the end of collaborative, goal-directed service delivery networks.

PUBLIC SECTOR COLLABORATION AND NETWORKS

The literature on collaboration, networks and network management has proliferated over the past few decades (Kapucu and Hu, 2020; Bryson et al. 2006; Bryson et al. 2015; Meier and O’Toole 2005; Borgatti 2003; Berry 2004; Robinson 2006; Klijn 2007; Robinson 2006; Provan and Lemaire 2012). Much has changed in the literature since O'Toole's call to "treat networks seriously" in 1997 (O'Toole 1997), and initial work by Rhodes (1997), Powell (1990), and Agranoff and McGuire (2001). This section provides a brief overview of key issues in the literature related to collaboration and networks in the public sector, which can be broadly categorized as: classifying collaboration, assessing collaboration, and identifying factors affecting collaboration.

Classifying Collaboration

One of the core challenges of this field is the multitude of terms used to describe collaboration in the public sector: "While collaborative governance is an important theme in the public administration literature, its treatment remains idiosyncratic due to the multiplication of terms and concepts used to describe the same phenomenon" (Rouzbehani, 2020). In part, this is because of the breadth of cross-organizational collaborations that have proliferated across different jurisdictions, policy fields and approaches over the past few decades. There have been full government approaches (e.g. the UK's Joined-Up Government initiatives; Australia's Connecting Government initiative), as well as more focused approaches or one-off collaborations. There have been approaches that focus on issues of governance and democratic engagement, and other approaches that focus more on effective and efficient public services, and those that attempt to bridge the two (Sorenson and Torfing 2016). There are models of collaboration that explicitly include non-governmental actors, models that focus on collaborations within either a single government or between multiple levels of government, and those that combine a bit of all of the above. There are framings of collaboration that take different approaches to address different types of issues – for example, Snape and Stewart's breakout on approaches to social inclusion issues between "facilitating partnerships, which manage longstanding strategic policy issues; coordinating partnerships, which are concerned with the management and implementation of policy based on broadly agreed priorities, and implementing partnerships, which are pragmatic and concerned with specific mutually beneficial projects" (McQuaid, 2010, p.129).

One way through this is to look at the *purpose* and *function* of the collaboration as a way of developing a classification. At a very high level the literature suggests that actors would engage in collaboration to gain what is sometimes referred to as "the collaborative advantage" – the synergy that can be created through joint working (Vangen and Huxham, 2010). However, there are many different purposes and rationales for collaboration and network approaches under that broad umbrella. The

metagovernance literature identifies d*emocratic legitimacy* and *increasing efficiency and effectiveness* as the two major rationales (Sorenson and Torfing 2017); others frame the issues through the lens of resource dependency, reducing uncertainty (Klijn et al. 2007) or reducing transaction costs (Jobin 2008; Williamson 1985).

Recently, Kapucu and Hu (2020) developed a multilevel classification of networks that can help to clarify the particular form of collaboration of interest in this dissertation. The first major distinction is between the different high-level purposes of three types of networks: Policy Networks, Governance Networks and Collaborative Networks. In this rubric, *policy networks* are concerned with informing policy, while *governance networks* have 'the essential aim… to let the actors coordinate and work for a common mission.' (Kapucu and Hu 2020, p. 45) While the work of WelcomeBC included both to some extent, the focus of this study is primarily on WelcomeBC's attempts to develop the third type: *collaborative network*s, which have the goal to "strengthen connections among service providers, improve service quality, and integrate service to better serve the public" (Kapucu and Hu 2020, p.44). This was the primary focus of WelcomeBC's efforts to achieve the collaborative advantage necessary to achieve its overall goal.

Assessing collaboration

While there are many reasons for pursuing collaboration as identified above, whether those benefits have been achieved is another focus of the literature. Several different models have been advanced to assess network or collaboration effectiveness (Provan 2004; Herranz 2010a; Sydow and Windeler 1998; Sandstrom and Carlsson 2008). Effectiveness has been difficult to define and claims of effectiveness are difficult to make (Sydow 1998; Jobin 2008). However, Thompson and Perry (2006) provided a simple (if sometimes difficult to operationalize) list of outcomes in their Antecedent-Process-Outcome Framework, which include: the achievement of the goals of the collaboration; process measures about the nature of interactions between the collaborators; and the capacity of the collaboration to leverage resources

effectively (Thomson and Perry 2006). Building on this and Thompson, Perry and Miller (2008), Kupacu and Hu (2020) summarized the following collaborative outcomes for collaborative networks:

- perceived increase in partner interactions
- perceived effectiveness
- increase in quality of partners working relationship
- perceived broadening of partners views
- perceived increases in equitable power/influence. (Kupacu and Hu, 2020: p. 15).

This list of outcomes aligns well with what WelcomeBC was attempting to accomplish with its efforts at building collaborative networks, and will be included in the analytical framework.

Factors Affecting Collaboration

However, while collaboration is seen as key to addressing critical issues for governments, achieving collaboration can be challenging: "the collaborative advantage is rarely evidenced in practice given the difficulties of managing the complexity of the institutions [read organizations], actors and their competing interests" (Doberstein 2016). The literature raises many different challenges when trying to form and maintain collaborations, including issues of accountability, conflicts over goals and objectives, transaction or resource costs for the work on building or maintaining the collaboration, and competing interests (Doberstein 2016; McQuaid 2010). This has led to significant efforts to understand the development of networks and to provide guidance on appropriate management techniques to both foster and sustain them (e.g. Agranoff 2007; Kickert, Klijn and Koppenjan 1997; Koppenjan and Klijn 2004; Stacey and Griffin (2006); Goldsmith and Eggers 2004, Klijn 1997; Klijn 2004; Bardach 1998; Herranz 2010b; de Bruijn and Heuvelhof 2008; Provan and Kenis 2007; Meier and O'Toole 2001; Klijn, Steijn and Edelenbos 2010). This literature identifies a broad range of topics that can affect the creation, maintenance and success of partnerships, networks and other forms of collaboration. This includes, but

is not limited to: building trust between actors; leadership styles; framing of the issue; complementarity of organizations; the creating of shared visions; clear benefits to partners of participating in the partnership; clarity on roles and accountabilities; and the structuring of the partnerships, including institutional framings.

Capturing this diversity of issues in a single conceptual framework with explanatory power is challenging, and can be approached from a variety of ways. Bryson et al (2015) identified seven different major theoretical frameworks for analysing collaboration, including Bryson et al. 2006; Thompson and Perry 2006; Ansell and Gash 2008; Agranoff 2007,2012; Provan and Kenis 2008; Emerson et al. 2012, Koschmann et all 2012). When looking at these frameworks, what is striking is the diversity:

- the range of theory bases goes from organization theory to network theory to environmental management to communication theory;
- five of the seven draw on many different theoretical bases (e.g. a combination of leadership theory; organization theory, conflict management); and
- all have slightly different emphases from governance structures to trust building to initial conditions and antecedents to authoritative texts.

This diversity, the various ways associated issues can be interpreted and applied across settings, and the methodological challenges identified earlier, mean that it remains challenging to develop cross-case learning in support of the literature and for providing practical guidance.

Gaps that this study addresses

While the literature has paid increasing attention to collaboration and networks, it is still coming to terms with how to build generalizable and evidence-based practical guidance given the diversity of settings, actors, policy areas, terms and theoretical framings. There are some promising approaches to framing and understanding collaborative approaches and the factors that influence their success (metagovernance, network management). However, these frameworks draw on a broad variety of

underpinning theoretical bases (Bryson et al. 2015); “although the literature of collaborative public management is rich in insights from numerous disciplines, there is a need for a consistent overarching theory. Instead, what we have is a piece-meal approach” (O’Leary and Vij, 2012). The second issue concerns the nature of the studies: much of the work on collaboration and networks has been descriptive, with an emphasis on case studies, and is challenged in informing governments on how to develop effective goal-directed networks (Morcol 2021; Provan and Kenis 2007; O’Leary and Vij 2012; Bryson et al. 2015; Bryson et al. 2006; Robinson 2006; Meier and O’Toole 2005). These theoretical and methodological challenges also hinder efforts to inform practice: to date, “empirically tested knowledge that can be generalized more broadly is in short supply” (Raab 2013), especially when looking at the purposeful development of collaboration or networked approaches. Hovik and Hanssen (2015) observe:

> “So far, however, the literature on network management has mainly been concerned with identifying and classifying various strategies or tools; few have studied how the strategies affect the outcomes of networks (Ansell and Gash 2008), or how the success of different types of network management strategies is influenced by different conditions (Klijn et al. 2010).”

For this dissertation, there are gaps in the literature of studies of networks and collaboration as dependent variables, and the antecedent factors that help to define the parameters of the collaboration or network (Faling 2019). In a meta-analysis of the issue, Bryson noted that few research studies had gathered data in a way that could easily guide research or help policy makers in governments, business, non-profits, the media or communities understand when cross-sector collaborations make sense, let alone how to design and implement them (Bryson, Crosby and Bloomberg 2014; Bryson, 2006, p.52). Empirically studied, broadly generalizable models of collaboration formation are notably absent from the literature, and, according to other observers, “there is still much to gain from future research that scrutinises the relationship between conditions, strategies and implications [affecting cross boundary collaboration]” (Faling et al. 2019). For governments to be able to build effective goal-directed collaborative approaches to addressing complex policy issues, the literature needs to better address the underlying factors that inform or drive the development of collaborative approaches in a way that

supports cross-case learning and create better understanding of which strategies will be the most effective in which situations. This dissertation addresses this gap by looking at the underlying factors that inform or drive the development of collaboration, based on a new analytical framework and associated empirical methodology that can support cross-case learning.

IMPLEMENTATION LITERATURE

In many jurisdictions there has been a split of policy/program design and implementation and an increase in the use of third-party agents for service delivery implementation. WelcomeBC services were delivered by third parties, as was the case for most partner BC ministries. In these jurisdictions, there is another range of issues that policymakers and potential collaborators need to consider in developing collaborative service delivery networks: the role of the transmission of directives from the policy actors to external implementing agencies, and the role of the diverse implementing agencies themselves in collaboration at the local level.

This dissertation, therefore, also draws on the implementation literature. There are multiple threads to the implementation literature, with bottom-up, top down, and hybrid models (bottom-up *and* top-down models). Much of the early implementation literature focused on the topic of 'implementation failure', drawing on evaluative studies of implementation (Barrett 2004), where the underlying conceptual model was largely a top-down theory of implementation – that policies failed because of 'incongruent implementation' (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984). This failure was seen stemming from a broad variety of factors identified through these studies, including but not limited to:

1. That the implementing agency will have its own values and own priorities in how it implements the direction provided from the policy level (Provan and Milward, 1991; May and Winter 2007)
2. That the more closely linked they are to the policy direction (i.e. fewer intermediaries), the more congruent the implementation will be (Pressman and Wildavsky 1984; O'Toole 1986)
3. That the clarity of the direction from policy actors to implementers matter (Hupe 2010, Barrett 2004)

4. That the form of the contract or transmission of the policy to the implementing agency matters (Bertelli and Smith, 2009).

This is in no way an exhaustive list – one meta-analysis identified at least 23 contextual factors in the literature as potentially affecting how a program or policy is implemented (Durlak and DuPre, 2008).

However, there are equally robust threads of the implementation literature that conceptualize implementation as bottom-up (e.g Sabatier 1986; Ramesh 2008), with an emphasis on the actions and reactions of implementing organizations and 'street-level' bureaucrats (e.g. Lipsky 1980; Hjern and Porter 1981; Van Meter and Van Horn 1975) on striking policy balances. This bottom-up approach, which recognizes the implementation sphere as a place of action and 'negotiated order' (Barrett and Hill 1984) has implications for the study of collaboration formation across the policy-implementation divide. The implementation level is a separate arena, and implementers are not automatons; understanding the values, interests and institutional frames of the actors in that arena is critical to understanding how they may react to the direction provided through the transmission of policy. It is important to keep in mind the role of local actors in implementing social policy directives when studying collaboration formation and looking at how services are aligned in regionalized approaches (e.g. Whitford, 2007; Bae and Feiock 2012).

While the bottom-up and top-down approaches continue as strong traditions in the implementation literature, a third strand has attempted to bridge the two through 'hybrid' approaches (Lindquist and Wanna 2015). These approaches have tended to be more complex, due to the array of issues that can influence implementation from both a top-down and bottom-up perspective, such as interdependence (e.g. Thompson 1967). This strand also includes work by Goggin (1990), which introduces multi-level institutions, including considerations like incentives, constraints, feedback loops, resources, outcomes and authorities. For some authors, the divergent nature of implementation (to paraphrase the IT world) is not a bug, but a feature: one that, with appropriate guidance, would allow for

adaptive and emergent responses through 'self-organizing systems' in complex policy areas (Jones, 2011, Butler and Allen 2008, Ramesh 2008).

This leads to the more recent developments in the implementation literature. In an overview article providing advice to public sector leaders, Lindquist and Wanna (2015) outline the recent developments in the implementation literature that align well with the study at hand. Of the nine recent developments identified in that chapter, five are explicitly about collaboration:

- increased awareness of whole-of-government, cross-government, horizontal and multi-level governance environments of implementation
- fostering inter-organisational collaboration
- anticipation and collaboration as a strategy for adapting to multilevel, dynamic implementation environments
- increasing interest in the merits and implications of choosing a mix of policy instruments in order to navigate networks and challenging implementation environments
- increasing use of more sophisticated concepts and methodologies for better recognizing and analysing the broader organizational networks that emerge or are encountered as governments seek to deliver policy and services.

In addition to this increased focus on collaboration, coordination, networks and multi-level governance, and the use of more sophisticated concepts and methodologies to understand them, there has also been a "greater use of principal-agent, public choice, and game theory perspectives to sharpen insights, testable propositions and empirical studies on policy implementation" (Lindquist and Wanna, 2015). These last few developments will help in part to address the "too few cases, too many variables" issue in early implementation research that relied significantly on independent case studies (Goggin, 1986). It points to developing ways to synthesize data and improve the identification of instances for "systematic inspection and possible emulation" (O'Toole 2004). This is also aligned with the institutional analysis literature which looks at the 'rules of the game' as a way of understanding the choices that policy and implementation actors make. As suggested by O'Toole (2004), institutional analysis can be seen as an 'allied line of work' (p. 316) that can address the range of variables and motivations underpinning implementation issues, especially in "settings of multi-actor implementation: action for

implementation involving two or more interdependent actors […] where the full set of actors are not linked by an authoritative position, and where coercion is impractical or unacceptable as a way of congealing coordinated effort (O'Toole 2004, pp. 323-324). This is material for this study: WelcomeBC was attempting to develop collaborative networks in areas of multi-actor implementation, and did not have authority over actors it was not funding. The next section outlines the institutional analysis literature and how it informs this study.

INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS

Institutions and institutional analysis has come in and out of fashion (Remmer 1997). In recent years, while still not as dominant in the public administration literature as Multiple Streams Approach, Advocacy Coalition Framework and Punctuated Equilibrium, institutional analysis has been recognized as an important addition to the public administration and policy analysis literature (Wilder 2017; Hollingsworth 2000; Petridou 2014; Heijden et al. 2019; McGinnis 2011; DeLeon and Blomquist 2011; Scott 2008; Powell and Dimaggio 1991).

The concept of institutions has been used in very different ways in sociological, organizational and comparative political science studies (Campbell 1998, Ostrom 2005a; Ostrom 2005b, Olson 1965, North 1990, Downs 1957, Greenwood 2008, Wooten and Hoffman 2017; Abrutyn 2014; Lecours 2005). Across these variants, the common thread is that there are structures or spheres external to actors that affect their actions and attitudes, and this literature asks questions about how "choices are shaped, mediated and channeled by the institutional environment" (Wooten and Hoffman, 2017). The concept of institutions "are so important to sociology that Durnkeim once declared that 'sociology can be defined as a science of institutions, their genesis and functioning'" (Abrutyn, 2014 p. 1); there is a long tradition of sociological institutions as the social structures that "coordinate and control the actions and attitudes of members of a population", covering such broad categories as law, religion, political

structures, etc., although some more modern versions address more meso-level institutions, norms and values (Abrutyn 2014, p.2). In organizational theory, the framing of institutions is similar, where 'the behavior of organizations within fields was said to be guided by institutions: the cultural-cognitive, normative and regulative structures that provided stability and collective meaning to social behavior. In the 'old institutionalism' the institution referred primarily to the material structures, such as the state; some forms of the 'new institutionalism' has an emphasis more on the rules of the game or on the norms and values that affect choices, while others remain materialist (Lecours 2005).

What is striking in these literatures is the significant concern regarding methodology, epistemology and definition. In organizational theory, "institutionalism purportedly represents a distinctive approach to the study of social, economic and political phenomena; yet it is often easier to gain agreement about what it is *not* than what it is" (DiMaggio and Powell, 1991 p. 1). In sociology, "I cannot, however, think of a concept so central to the sociological endeavor more poorly defined, ambiguously used, and colloquially understood in contemporary sociology" (Abfutyn, 2014) and there remain significant debates in political science new institutionalism such as "what are institutions? What is their impact on action" How are institutions formed and transformed? What methodological and epistemological positions best suit institutional analysis?" (Lecours 2005, p. 5).

While these are valid concerns, the concept of institutions is still seen as an important avenue of investigation in both the network management and metagovernance literature (e.g. Laegreid et al. 2014; Bryson et al. 2006; Bryson et al. 2015; O'Leary and Vij 2012; OECD 2013; Diaz-Kope et al 2015; Sorensen and Torfing 2017; Sorensen and Torfing 2009; Doberstein 2013; Doberstein 2016; la Cour and Andersen 2016), and this dissertation focuses on improving understanding of how institutions influence the formation of collaborations. To avoid some of the concerns raised in the literature, this dissertation employs the definition of institutions as "the rules of the game" (Scharpf 1997) or "working rules that individuals use in making decisions" (Ostrom 2005a:19). Early models of institutional analysis that used

the ‘rules of the game’ approach were challenged by theory and by real-world applications. The simplicity of these early models was challenged on a theoretical level by the limits on, or bounded nature of, the rationality of the actors (Simon 1996), as well as the structuring of the models - the fact that these were not "games real actors play" (Scharpf 1997), and changing the parameters even slightly would result in fundamentally different outcomes (Axelrod 1984, Axelrod 1997). In the real world, counter-examples of collective action introduced the need for greater complexity in analysis, interpretation and modelling (Ostrom 1990; Ostrom 2005a; Ostrom 2005b; Dolsak and Ostrom 2003).

Even within this narrower definition of institutions as ‘the rules of the game’, there can still be challenges in the lack of a consistent framework for institutional analysis: many studies created 'thick' data on individual cases, but these studies were all operationalized in their own manner and using such a variety of terms that it led to a "babbling equilibrium" (Ostrom 2005a: 179) which did not support the development of comparable or generalizable data (Woldendorp 2010). To address this, Ostrom developed the Institutional Analysis and Design (IAD) Framework to create "universal building blocks" (Ostrom 2005a:5), which provide ‘common linguistic components necessary to facilitate communication across diverse disciplines’ (Petridou 2014, S15). These universal building blocks provide a common framework for understanding and classifying formal and informal institutions in collective action situations (Ostrom 2005; Ostrom 2011, McGinnis 2011). The next section will outline how the ‘rules of the game’ are framed in this form of institutional analysis.

Framing of Institutions or the ‘rules of the game’.

The framing for this study will draw on the work of Ostrom, where the ‘rules of the game’ are comprised of formal and informal rules (Ostrom 2005: 166), or the working rules as understood by the actors. Formal institutions include documented rules and regulations; informal institutions include norms, unwritten working rules and strategies (Basurto et. al.2010; McGinnis 2011; Ostrom 2005; Ostrom 2011; Klijn and Edelenbos 2008). The differentiation between the two is important: in some situations, there

can be external rules that are explicit and set out hard lines about what is allowable, what must be done, etc.; however, in many cases the picture is not as clear:

- the rules may be both explicit and implicit
- the internal and external institutions may not be easily recognizable from an outside observer (Ostrom 2011)
- actors involved in a particular action situation may interpret rules differently;
- there may be institutions at different levels (e.g. constitutional rules, collective choice rules, operational rules etc.) which may have differential effects on different actors, and would be analytically challenging to understand the net effect.
- actors may have their own institutions which interact with external institutions leading to conflicts or differential interpretations (Provan 1991; Ostrom 2005; Ostrom 2011; McGinnis 2011).

For this reason, the dissertation addresses both the rules in form, and the perceived 'rules in use' by decision-makers in the identification and analysis of institutions (Ostrom 2011) (see Ch. 5 on Methodology). Crucially for addressing the 'babbling equilibrium' issue, the IAD Framework provides a framework for the classification, understanding and analysis of the rules that can affect collective action, which has many parallels with cross-sector collaboration (O'Toole 2004). The IAD Framework identifies several types of rules that can affect the actions available within a collective action situation:

- *Position rules:* identify the type and number of positions in the action situation
- *Boundary rules:* who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit those positions
- *Choice rules*: specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not in terms of decision-making in light of specific conditions
- *Aggregation rules*: specify who needs to be involved in a given decision-making process
- *Payoff rules*: assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions
- *Information rules:* the types of information or information channels available to participants in their respective positions
- *Scope rules*: Any criteria or requirements that exist for the final outcomes from the action situation (Ostrom 2005a; Ostrom 2005b)

This rubric of rules allows for a more systematic classification of institutions from a broad variety of settings into a common frame, in turn supporting better learning across settings and studies, and more

generalizable findings, which is a critical need in the study of collaboration. The analytical framework set out in Chapter 4 will show how these rules can be adapted for use in this dissertation.

CONCLUSION: ADDRESSING GAPS IN THE LITERATURE

In reviewing the literature, what is most striking is the disconnect between the perceived importance of public sector collaboration to address cross-cutting issues, and the challenges with the current literature in providing practical, empirically-based, and generalizable guidance to researchers and practitioners on the antecedent factors that affect the development of collaborative approaches. This is largely due to inconsistent definitions of potential drivers and of collaboration itself, multiple competing theoretical framings, methodological challenges, and the nature of the studies to date. Moreover, given the insights of the implementation literature, unpacking the factors that affect collaboration becomes even more complex in areas where service provision has been agencified.

However, the literature also provides guidance about how some of these issues may be successfully addressed. The metagovernance literature provides a framing for the role and function of an organization interested in fostering collaborative network approaches. The work of Kapucu and Hu (2020) provide some clarifying classifications to help reduce the confusion regarding different forms of networks and what is meant by collaboration in that context, bolstered by work from others regarding how to assess the outcomes of a network. The literature has pointed to analysis of the 'rules of the game' as a promising way forward in understanding collaboration (or lack thereof), with the caveat of the potential challenge of a 'babbling equilibrium' without common definitions and methodology that would support cross-case analysis and learning. The next chapter builds on this guidance to develop an analytical framework aimed at addressing the challenges of the existing literature.

CHAPTER 4
Analytical Framework

This dissertation is intended to increase understanding of the role of the 'rules of the game' in the purposeful development of collaborative networks to address cross-cutting policy issues in areas with agencified service delivery. This chapter outlines the analytical framework for the study which will advance these goals, drawing on the literature discussed in Chapter 3.

WELCOMEBC AS METAGOVERNOR

The recent work on metagovernance and network structuring is an obvious starting point for the analytical framework, as metagovernance is a "conceptual framework through which we think about the variety of ways in which specific types of institutionalized governance networks are created, managed and steered by government officials" (Doberstein 2016), with a particular focus on collaboration and the creation of collaborative value. This description is very much in line with the approach taken by WelcomeBC, and so in this dissertation, WelcomeBC is framed as playing the role of 'metagovernor,' attempting to "initiate, support and guide collaboration in governance networks to ensure that they contribute to the production of public value" (Sorenson and Torfing 2016, p. 830), with the public value being the successful settlement and integration of immigrants to meet the overarching WelcomeBC goal of "BC's immigrants contribute fully to the social and economic prosperity of the province."

The framing of WelcomeBC as a metagovernor has a few implications for the study. First, it focuses the discussion onto the purposeful development and nurturing of collaborative networks to create public value as a public service function, while still allowing for emergent networks which may arise within a given rule set. Second, framing WelcomeBC in the role of metagovernor helps to focus the study on WelcomeBC as the attempted driver of these networks and to limit the scope of collaborative

networks studied to those created between WelcomeBC actors and non-WelcomeBC actors, rather than attempting to look at all collaborations in the area (i.e. between non-WelcomeBC actors).

COLLABORATIVE NETWORKS AS THE DESIRED OUTCOME

Within the metagovernance framing, it is also important to identify what types of networks the metagovernor is attempting to develop and nurture, as there are many different forms and types of networks (Kapucu and Hu 2020). In WelcomeBC's Strategic Framework, collaborations were seen as instrumental at a program and services level to meeting the settlement and integration of immigrants: "The engagement of multiple sectors and a network of partners and service providers is critical to achieve success throughout the immigration pathway (from pre-arrival to longer-term integration) (WelcomeBC 2009, p.6). This framing emphasizes the service and programming needs, and aligns with the goals of Kapucu and Hu's Collaborative Network: to build or strengthen connections among service providers, improve service quality, and integrate service to better serve the public (Kapucu and Hu, 2020, p. 44). While WelcomeBC's work included instances that could be analyzed within the broader network literature, notably the close engagement of the settlement sector actors (Lindquist et al. 2013), the focus of this study is on developing these collaborative networks, with an emphasis on service delivery to meet the WelcomeBC's overarching goal of the full integration and contribution of immigrants to BC.

Narrowing the study to focus on collaborative networks also prompts consideration of whether WelcomeBC was successful in achieving its goals as metagovernor in developing collaborative networks. Kupacu and Hu, drawing on Thompson, Perry and Miller (2008), identify the following collaborative outcomes for collaborative networks:

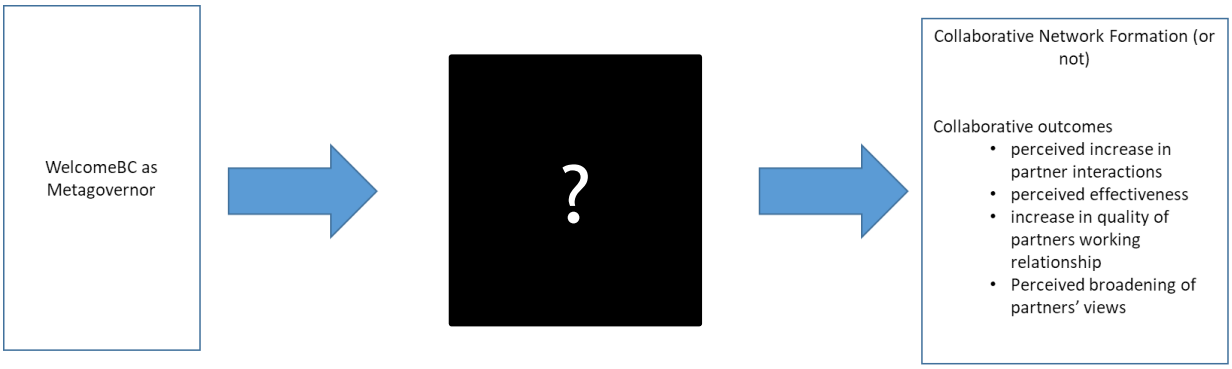
- perceived increase in partner interactions
- perceived effectiveness
- increase in quality of partners working relationship

- perceived broadening of partners views
- perceived increases in equitable power/influence. (Kupacu and Hu, 2020: p. 15).

This study takes a holistic approach, drawing on these categories, to align with what WelcomeBC, as metagovernor, was intending with its approach, with a focus on the perceived effectiveness of the collaborations in achieving the government's overarching goals. However, the work of WelcomeBC did not include a strong emphasis on increased equity as an outcome, and so that is not included in the collaborative outcomes in this study. More on how these concepts were operationalized is addressed in Chapter 5 on methodology.

These first two components of the analytical framework (WelcomeBC as metagovernor, aiming to create collaborative public management networks; the formation of collaborative networks, and collaborative outcomes) provides an initial skeleton of the analytical framework depicted in Figure 3. However, the analytical framework so far still suffers from the "black box" (Thompson and Perry 2006) between the metagovernor and the formation of collaborative networks.

Figure 3 Analytical Framework, Step 1



The next section will look at how the dissertation analyzes the 'rules of the game' as a way of unpacking the contents of that black box.

THE RULES OF THE GAME – UNPACKING THE 'BLACK BOX'

In line with guidance from the literature, the dissertation focuses on improving understanding of how the 'rules of the game' influence the formation of collaborative networks. Specifically, the intention is to look at the rules primarily as the conditions under which the process of potential collaboration formation occurs (or not), leading to the collaboration and perceived outcomes. In this framing, the rules provide the context for potential collaboration that WelcomeBC was working in, and in some cases were a place of intervention where WelcomeBC as metagovernor attempted to shift the rules to better support network formation.

The starting place for this analysis of the rules is the rubric from the IAD framework, which was developed to provide some common terms for the study of institutions in collective action situations, which has some similarities to cross-sector collaboration (O'Toole 2004). The original IAD framework included the following rules rubric for collective action situations:

- *Position rules:* identify the type and number of positions in the action situation
- *Boundary rules:* who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit those positions
- *Choice rules*: specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not in terms of decision-making in light of specific conditions
- *Aggregation rules*: specify who needs to be involved in a given process
- *Payoff rules*: assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions
- *Information rules:* the types of information or information channels available to participants in their respective positions
- *Scope rules*: Any criteria or requirements that exist for the final outcomes from the action situation (Ostrom 2005a; Ostrom 2005b)

However, the analysis is not a straight adoption of the IAD rules rubric. The first critical difference is that the analytical framework is informed by the discussion of substantive framing identified in the public sector network management and metagovernance literature. Substantive framings can have significant effects on networks (Klijn et al. 2007; Sorensen and Torfing 2009; Sorensen and Torfing 2017), and are a

core concern when dealing with social policy issues in public administration, as differing framings can have a significant role in the ways that public sector actors come to the table (Logsdon 1991; Sabatier 1998; Leach and Sabatier 2005, Bryson et al. 2006, Provan and Milward 1991, Klijn et. Al 2007; Vangen and Huxham 2012; Weber and Khademian 2008; Dawes et al. 2009; Page 2005 in Bogdanor 2005; Weible 2005).

In the original version of the IAD rules rubric, the closest set of rules to this concept are the scope rules, which address the intended outcomes of the action situation[9] and are different from the other rules in that they do not directly address the actions available within the action arena. Given the importance and complexity of this issue, the approach taken to the scope rules in this dissertation draws on some of the learnings from the broader collaboration/horizontal management/network literature, including Provan and Milward's (1991) hypotheses on service implementation network formation; the metagovernance literature (Sorensen and Torfing 2009); Advocacy Coalition Framework (Sabatier 1988; Leach and Sabatier 2005); and the interest and interdependence framing from Logsdon (1991).

The basic categorization of scope rules/substantive framing in this dissertation's approach is informed by Logsdon's interest and interdependence model:

> "the first essential factor for cross-sectoral collaboration involves the interests of individual organizations in solving a social problem relative to their overall interests" (Logsdon 1991 p. 25)
>
> "The second essential factor necessary for an organization to consider cross-sectoral collaboration is the organization's perceived interdependence with other groups as necessary for the social problem to be addressed effectively (Logsdon 1991, p. 26).

The importance/interest component from Logsdon is consistent with several streams of the literature, for example: Provan and Milward's 'Service Emphasis' (2007), which focuses on how important the issue is for the actor; Frohlich and Oppenheimer's 'salience' (issue is linked to possible changes in the

[9] Ostrom (2011) later referred to the scope rules as more about the limits of what is intended more practical sense (e.g. outlining which geographic areas are in scope or not in scope in a common pool resource issue). This study will start with the original as dealing with the broader definition as setting the scope of the intended outcomes.

welfare of the decisionmaker); 'vividness' or how much the issue is front and centre in the minds of decisionmakers (Ostrom 2005); how aligned the issue is with the Deep Core and Policy Core beliefs of each actor/potential partner in Sabatier's Advocacy Coalition Framework (Leach and Sabatier 2005). In Logsdon's framing, the second key issue is interdependence: even if an organization has an interest in the policy area, they may not consider there to be a need for collaboration if they do not perceive interdependence with other organizations – e.g. they can achieve the desired goal without engaging other actors, or that the other actor may be a competitor. This framing is in line with guidance from other key authors in the collaboration, network management and metagovernance literature (e.g. McQuaid 2010; Sorensen and Torfing 2017; Provan and Milward 1995).

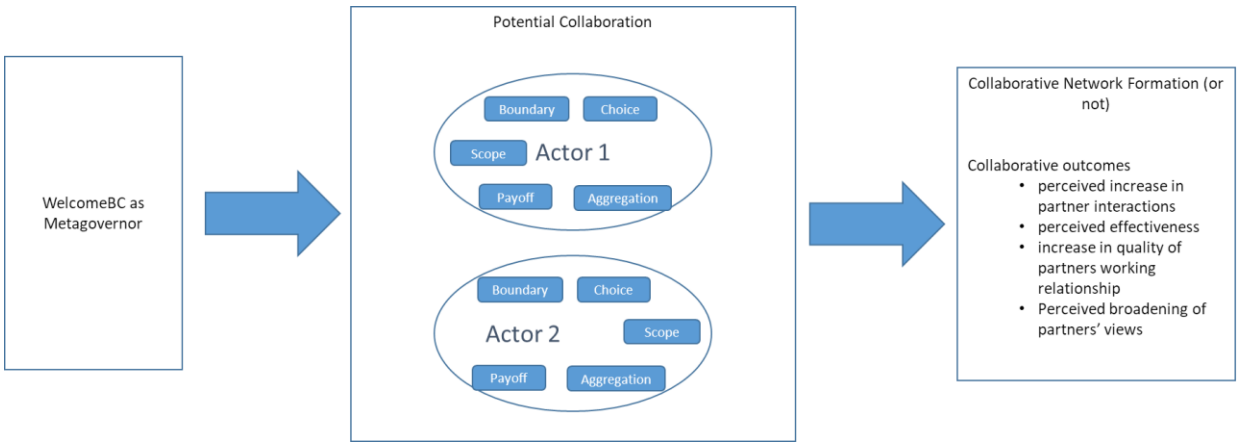
In addition to these components of scope, the analytic framework adds another dimension: *scope framing*, or how an actor understands the issue, and what the desired outcomes are for that issue. There may be significant differences between potential collaborators in terms of how they frame the issue, which can impact on the likelihood of collaboration. For example, how an actor addresses the issue of immigrant labour market success will greatly depend on how they frame the issue, and what their definition of success is. In this example, WelcomeBC framed immigrant labour market success as supporting immigrants to find employment that best utilizes their skills, credentials and experience, with an emphasis on reducing underemployment. One of its potential collaborators recognized addressing immigrant labour market needs as important, but framed success as rapid reemployment that reduces dependency on the employment insurance system. While both actors see immigrant labour market success as important, the significant difference in framing of the desired outcome may affect their ability to collaborate. The dissertation uses this three three-pronged approach to the scope analysis (scope importance, scope interdependence and scope framing) to improve our understanding of how scope rules may affect collaboration.

Beyond this broader reading of the scope rules, this study also takes a slightly different

approach to how rules are presented and analyzed for purely practical reasons. First, there is a combining of two rules from the original IAD rules regime: Position rules (number and type of positions available) and Boundary rules (characteristics of who is in a given position) are very closely linked conceptually, and throughout the study the Boundary rules played a much more significant role than Position rules (although contingent on the positions being available). For this reason, this study reports the Boundary and Position rules analysis together, under the Boundary rule nomenclature. Second, throughout the study, the issue of information rules did not come up as meaningful in this context as a factor in collaboration, and so the report does not report out on these rules. Chapter 5 on methodology provides more information on how this rules analysis was operationalized for this study.

Figure 4 updates the analytical framework to include the rules of the game that affect potential collaborators as a key factor in the black box. WelcomeBC, as metagovernor, acts on a moment of potential collaboration, where the potential collaborators are affected by 'rules of the game.' By analyzing the rules of the game (Thompson and Perry's 'antecedents') and the efforts that WelcomeBC took within the context of those rules (Thompson and Perry's 'process'), the study hopes to better understand which potential collaboration moments are more likely to result in collaborative network formation with the desired outcomes.

Figure 4 Analytical Framework Step 2



COLLABORATION IN AN AGENCIFIED WORLD: WORKING ACROSS POLICY/IMPLEMENTATION DIVIDES

The intent of WelcomeBC was to increase collaboration to support the successful settlement and integration of immigrants through programs and serices. In BC, the majority of the service delivery during 1998-2014 was done through a diverse range of implementing agencies, including non-profits, colleges, school districts, or regional implementing groups of larger Ministries. These actors worked within a broader framework set by their respective policy level actors (Ministries) as conveyed through a variety of transmission approaches. Drawing on the implementation literature, there are some implications for how the analysis should be undertaken, as implementing agencies may have significant discretion in terms of whether and how they choose to participate, and may have their own organizational priorities, which may have a significant impact on how policy or programming gets implemented, which can have significant effects on the effectiveness of metagovernance approaches to collaboration at the local service level. In this context, how can WelcomeBC, in their role as metagovernor, affect the development of coordinated and cohesive services across the policy/implementation divide? In order to address this, the analytical framework looks at three linked and embedded levels of potential collaboration moments:

- *Policy level:* the Ministries or departments responsible, where decisions are made about program approach and design and potential cross-ministry collaboration, and how those decisions are formulated into transmission documents.
- *Transmission level:* Where the Ministries, within the framework provided by the Policy level, select implementing providers for the programming, and provide direction to the implementing agencies. This is also the level where, for some program areas, implementing agencies choose whether, and how, to participate in different transmission processes.

- *Implementation level:* where the implementing agencies, within the rules provided through the transmission process, deliver services and programming, and either collaborate or not on an ongoing basis.

By making them discrete but linked moments, the analysis can reflect that an organization may take different approaches at different stages of the policy-implementation process depending on the rules in use at each level – e.g. partnering in order to win a competitive procurement process, but not actually acting as a partner during implementation. This distinction also allows for a finer grain discussion of the attempts that WelcomeBC made as metagovernor to build collaborative approaches, including interventions at the transmission and implementation levels, as well as more traditional policy level horizontal government approaches. It also recognizes the nested nature of the rule-sets - that implementers work within a broader context set by the policy actors, and different rule sets may permit or increase the chances of collaboration; however, although the flow reads as policy to transmission to implementation, differing rule-sets can incentivize or create opportunities for more bottom-up implementation approaches (e.g. rule-sets that brought implementation actors together to design a collaborative program or service).

BRINGING IT ALL TOGETHER: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK SUMMARY

Figure 5 provides the overall analytical framework applied to each of the cases, with WelcomeBC as a metagovernor, working at multiple, nested areas with different rule sets, to develop collaborative networks. The analysis starts with a discussion of the policy level, with an analysis of the key rules for the policy actors (WelcomeBC and other Ministries or departments) (for more on methodology for that rule analysis, please see the Methodology chapter). For each potential collaboration between WelcomeBC and other policy actors, the key informant interviews and any evaluative reporting will provide an assessment of the level of collaboration against WelcomeBC's goals and commentary on the

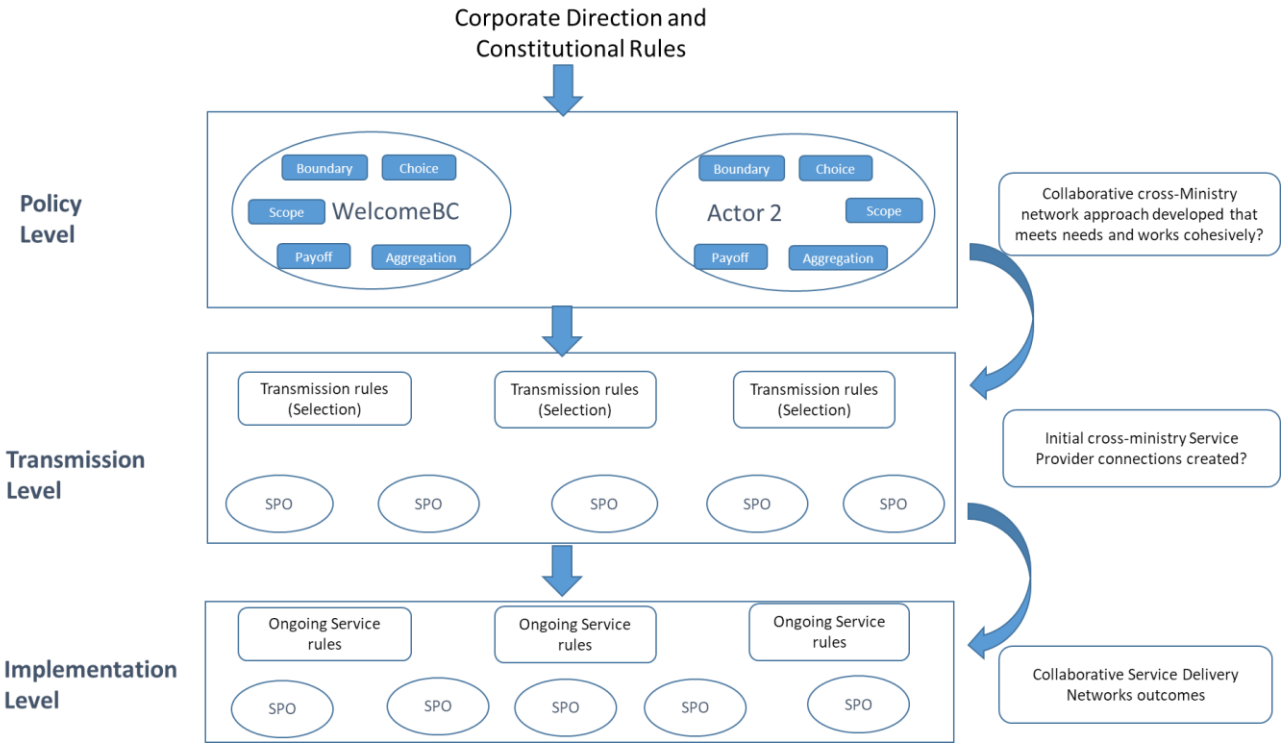
achievement of the collaborative network outcomes rubric for that level. As this is an 8 year window under study, in some cases, even with the same policy actors, there were different outcomes with different approaches, so the analytical framework should not be read as a static approach – the analysis will look at different potential collaboration attempts by WelcomeBC during the time period, but using the same general analytical model for each one.

The study then looks at how direction from the policy actors is articulated in the transmission documents, the rules that are embedded in those documents, and how those rules influence the formation of initial collaboration at the implementation level through the transmission process. Finally, the analysis looks at the implementation level. Although the transmission documents would also include the rule-sets for implementation, this last analysis would look at, to the extent possible, what level of ongoing collaboration there was at the community level in line with what WelcomeBC was aiming for, and whether there were factors influencing the success of those collaborations on an ongoing basis.

Overall, the general model reads as a top-down implementation, but the analytical framework is intended to look at the nesting of rule sets, rather than being the only way that policy or program decisions were made. Throughout the study period, WelcomeBC also entertained and even pushed for bottom-up implementation in some cases as a way of creating collaboration at the local level; however, those attempts were still made within the overall rule sets guiding WelcomeBC, the other policy actors and the implementation actors. In other cases, given the effect of rule sets at the policy level, WelcomeBC worked at the transmission or implementation level to affect the rules to influence collaboration at the local levels. Finally, there were notable cases where the implementation actors themselves, working within the rule sets of the policy actors and their own rules, developed collaborative and cross-cutting approaches at the local level without being directed to by the policy actors. It is also important to note that over the study period, the nature of the collaboration may have

evolved, and so while difficult to capture in this graphic, there is also potential for changes to happen over time. This occurred a few times throughout the case studies, and it will be noted there.

Figure 5 - Analytical Framework



The next chapter will outline the methodology that will be used to populate this analytical framework.

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY AND METHODS

As identified in the introduction and the literature review, there are challenges with the current literature regarding public sector collaboration in the face of cross-cutting complex policy issues. First, the studies are often based on single case study methodologies, which focus on the particulars of each case, but the findings are difficult to generalize. Second, the approaches to analyze the cases are very diverse, making learning across cases difficult. In order to attempt to build practical, research-based guidance, and to inform the public sector collaboration literature, the methodology for this dissertation uses two major tactics to increase cross-case learning: the use of a comparative case study methodology and a consistent analytical framework. This chapter focuses first on the value of a comparative case study methodology, and why WelcomeBC's efforts would support a robust comparative case study, before turning to the data collection and analysis methodologies that will be used.

COMPARATIVE CASE STUDY METHODOLOGY

The case study methodology is one of the oldest approaches in social science (Jocher 1928), although it has many permutations (Kaarbo and Beasley 1999). At its most basic definition, a case study provides an intensive study of a subject, and should result in 'thick' data that can be used for in-depth analysis of the particulars of an event or issue (Jocher 1928; Donmoyer 1987; Kennedy and Luzar 1999). Case studies permit the grounding of concepts about social action and social structures by means of close observation (Kennedy and Luzar 1999); in its most profound variation, it is an attempt to "picture concretely and as fully as possible the total person in his total social world" (Whitley 1932). It is a highly descriptive methodology used to explore the different contexts, understandings and frames that

participants work within. It can be exploratory (Donmoyer 1987), used to generate hypotheses (Stouffer 1941; Donmoyer 1987) or to develop or enhance theory (Kennedy and Luzar 1999; Firestone 1993).

The case study approach, though, is frequently criticized because it lacks representativeness as it is a small sample and focuses on the specific context of a case (Kennedy and Luzar 1999, Goggin 1986). Various approaches can be taken to improve generalizability of case studies, ranging from finding similar cases (Firestone 1993) to meta-analysis (Larsson 1993; Bryson et al. 2006) to increasing the structure of the cases. Firestone (1993) argues that while case-to-case generalizability is still the strongest mode of generalization, it is also possible that a well designed study can lead to analytic generalizations, which means the generalization to a theory as a middle step:

> "Analytic generalization has more promise, partly because there are more ways to make links between cases and theories. One can look for threats to generalizability within cases. Critical and deviant cases can be used to explore or extend existing theories. Multi-case studies can use the logic of replication and comparison to strengthen conclusions drawn in single sites and provide evidence for both their broader utility and the conditions under which they hold" (Firestone 1993: 22)

This dissertation attempts to increase generalizability through a comparative case methodology and the use of a structured and consistent analytical framework designed to facilitate comparisons across cases in a more systematic manner. Comparative case studies involve multiple cases, with comparisons between the cases to increase the descriptive power and generalizability of the data by looking for similarities and differences (Herriott and Firestone 1983; Kaarbo and Beasley 1999). However, for the comparative case study to achieve these goals, several issues must be addressed. First, the comparative case study relies strongly on proper case selection. Case studies should be chosen that allow for comparison on the variables of interest. Some have argued that it is most appropriate to ensure that the dependent variable is the same, and to look at the variables influencing the dependent variable (Kaarbo and Beasley, 1999). In this study, the dependent variable – whether or not collaboration formed that met the needs of immigrants in support of the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework goal of 'Immigrants contribute fully to the community and economic prosperity of the Province' – is consistent across the

cases, while each case provides variation in the actors, rules, policy areas etc. (see below for why WelcomeBC's sub-cases lend themselves well to this methodology).

Second, the comparative case study needs greater structure than a simple case study, in order to ensure comparability of methods and data collection tools between cases. There is a trade-off between description and comparison – in general, the more structured a researcher's tools, the greater the generalizability and comparative power of the data, but the weaker the descriptive power (Herriott and Firestone 1983). Structure can range from minimal, such as an exploratory, inductive or 'grounded theory' model (e.g. Turner 1983), to a semi-structured methodology to a fully structured methodology (likely using close-ended questionnaires). The approach to be taken for this study is fairly structured – it includes a structured document review of the documents, and a semi-structured elite interview process to collect data on the institutional factors affecting the formation of collaboration, and the nature/success of those attempts to develop collaborations that met WelcomeBC's goals.

WelcomeBC as a comparative case study

WelcomeBC provides an excellent opportunity for comparative case analysis when looking at the factors affecting the success of attempts at developing collaborations to address cross-cutting policy issues. Through the period of devolution, but especially in the 2006-2014 time period (when more resources were made available through federal funding), the WelcomeBC branch actively worked to develop collaborative approaches to address immigrant settlement and integration in pursuit of the overall goal of the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework: "Immigrants fully contribute to the social and economic prosperity of the Province." This included a variety of interventions at the policy, transmission and implementation levels, with multiple potential collaborators and in different policy realms. At a high level, WelcomeBC makes an excellent case study for a systematic comparative case study analysis, with significant commonalities across all cases, meaningful variation between cases, and different outcomes

in terms of the level of collaboration towards meeting the full settlement and integration needs of immigrants, as discussed below.

Commonalities. There are significant commonalities across cases, including: a common policy actor promoting collaboration; the underlying policy issue of immigration, which manifests itself in different policy realms; jurisdictional framework; demographics; and a split between policy, transmittal and implementation layers

- *Common policy actor*. Across all cases, WelcomeBC played the role of metagovernor attempting to developing collaborative approaches to address the full range of settlement and integration needs of immigrants
- *Common Overarching Goal for WelcomeBC*: While the specifics of the approaches may have varied, there was a common goal to all of WelcomeBC's efforts to collaborate: to expand beyond what could be offered through WelcomeBC programming to address the full range of settlement and integration needs of immigrants to meet the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework goal of immigrants fully contributing to the social and economic prosperity of the Province.
- *Common underlying policy issues*. While immigrant integration crosses many different social policy issues, at its core there are two underlying commonalities in how immigrant integration intersects with broader social policy issues - it is about providing targeted and comprehensive services to new immigrants (e.g. to assist them in gaining the skills, knowledge and competencies to effectively integrate, whether that be into the labour market, their communities, the education system, or social services); and ensuring that policies and programs are responsive to changing community and client demographics as immigration occurs.
- *Common jurisdictional framework*. Settlement and integration of immigrants to BC also occurred within a broadly similar jurisdictional framework, which will help to reduce the impact of different macro-jurisdictional models. While there have been some changes in the particular

configurations of responsibilities and organizational structures, throughout the study period, BC had a common Westminster model, with divided responsibilities for different policy areas under different Ministers, but all under one level of government.

- *Common demographics.* Working within a single jurisdiction helps to reduce the potential impacts of macro-demographics and immigration levels on the level of visibility and policy importance of the issue, as well as the types of needs that immigrants at a macro-level would tend to have. While there were some minor shifts over the study period, BC had high and relatively consistent levels of immigration during the study period, with broadly similar types of immigrants.
- *Common split between policy, transmittal and implementation layers*. All of WelcomeBC programming was done through third parties, such that there is the policy-transmittal-implementation distinction. All the other social policy areas under the case were also managed in similar fashion, where general policy and planning occurred within the central government, but then those decisions were transmitted and implemented through agencies outside the central government, or by delegated or distributed authorities (e.g. service delivery areas with significant autonomy).

This latter aspect of the BC settlement case allows for more fulsome analysis of how the policy-transmittal-implementation layers affect the development of collaborative service delivery networks. This is valuable for advancing the literature, and for informing governments who have a similar structure of external implementing agencies, and are interested in supporting local collaborative networks. As well, having both the policy and implementation layers helps to test the generalizability of any model of collaboration formation (i.e. that a general model of the rules affecting collaboration may apply at both the policy level and the implementation level).

Variations in factors across different sub-cases. There is also significant variation that allows for the identification of meaningful sub-case studies within the general common framework; this combination of variation within a common general framework allows for a comparative analysis of difference in proximal factors, while 'controlling' for common factors as identified above. The study of WelcomeBC allows for differentiation across the following major dimensions: policy area and policy actors; transmittal methods; implementation actors; and type of intervention by WelcomeBC.

Variation in policy area and policy actors. Within the overall issue of the settlement and integration of newcomers, WelcomeBC's programming had three main policy areas: English Language Development, Labour Market, and Community Settlement. The variation in policy area has potential impacts in terms of who the other actors are, and the frame that they bring to the policy area. While WelcomeBC had these issues all framed as addressing the integration of newcomers, the broader policy area may affect how the issue is understood by other actors. For instance, the labour market integration of immigrants is within the broader policy area of labour market and economic policy; community settlement is within the broader social policy area of education, health, multiculturalism, etc.; English language proficiency overlaps primarily with education, literacy, and post-secondary education, but also labour market success and community settlement.

This difference by topic also means that different actors were involved at both the policy and implementation levels for each of WelcomeBC's three lines of business. At the policy level, settlement actors would interact with different policy actors, each with their own mandates:

- English Language Development: Ministry of Advanced Education Colleges and Institutes Branch (who have responsibility for oversight and funding of Colleges and Institutes); Ministry of Advanced Education Learning Programs Branch (oversight of post-secondary Adult Education); Ministry of Education Literacy Branch.

- Labour Market Integration: ministries and units responsible for employment, skills development, labour market and economic development (e.g. Ministry of Social Development; Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Innovation; Ministry of Advanced Education)
- Community Settlement: Ministry of Education; Ministry of Children and Family Development;

This differentiation is not just by overall mandate – each of these actors was working within a set of different rules, either set by legislation, corporate direction, legislation, agreements, or their own internal frames. This variation in policy subject, with associated different policy actors and rules makes the sub-cases sufficiently different for meaningful comparison.

Variation in transmittal methods. The differentiation among policy and implementation actors allows for analysis of the development of collaborative approaches in the community as a result of the approaches taken to transmit policy to implementation. The method and content of transmittal between policy actors and implementation actors can have significant effects on the level of collaboration at the implementation level; policy actors create the institutional framework for the implementation actors, and this can influence how and whether collaboration will occur. Some policy actors were consistent in their implementation actors due to regulation or legislation (e.g. Ministry of Advanced Education and post-secondary institutions; Ministry of Education and school boards/libraries). However, for many of the other policy actors involved, there were procurements, either through grant or competitive processes such as Requests for Proposal, which can lead to various different configurations of implementation actors. There were also differences between policy actors and over time on how policy was transmitted to implementation actors: for example, over time, WelcomeBC used a variety of different procurement methods, ranging from grants to competitive procurement to guided development of consortia for special projects. This differentiation allows for a comparison of the impact of the rules embedded in the transmittal mechanisms.

Variation in implementation actors. This differentiation by policy actors is mirrored in the implementation arena. There is a significant range in the types of actors involved at the local level (community and non-profit agencies; settlement agencies; post-secondary institutions; health authorities; school boards and schools; for-profit agencies), as well as differentiation between the actors in different implementation areas. Each of these implementing agencies, while working within the direction from the transmittal level, may have its own organizational understanding and priorities which may influence whether and how it collaborates. This study does not go down into the individual implementing agency level, instead drawing on aggregate reporting and key informant perceptions.

Different approaches by WelcomeBC. WelcomeBC also tried many different approaches to develop collaborative approaches during the study period across the policy and implementation levels, ranging from minimal efforts to significant efforts and resource investment. This allows for comparative analysis among approaches in the same policy areas with the same policy and implementation actors, as well as same levels of intervention across different policy areas with different policy and implementation actors.

Variation in Outcomes in Collaboration Formation. Most importantly for the purposes of the study, there was there was also significant variation in the dependent variable: how successful WelcomeBC was in developing collaborative approaches that supported its overall Strategic Framework goal. In some areas, WelcomeBC was quite successful and there have been strong collaborative approaches developed at the policy and/or implementation level, while in other cases, there was minimal or no collaboration formation. Collaborative approaches formed (or not) differentially:

1. Across policy areas (e.g. efforts to build collaboration at the policy level in Immigrant English Language Proficiency had relatively little success at the policy level, compared to Community Settlement)

2. Within policy areas, between the policy level and the implementation level (e.g. limited success at collaboration at the policy level, but significant collaboration at the implementation level)
3. At the implementation level - differing collaboration levels have formed at the local implementation level, even within the same policy and program framework.

This level of differentiation in collaboration within a common framework suggests that there are more direct factors that would affect the development of collaborative approaches, allowing for a fruitful analysis of mid-level factors and their impact on collaborative approaches. By consistently applying the rules regime as identified in the Analytical Framework chapter to the comparative case study as identified in this chapter, the study hopes to illuminate whether a 'rules of the game' lens can effectively unpack these factors in a way that:

- Supports learning on the institutional factors that influenced collaboration with WelcomeBC towards the achievement of WelcomeBC's overarching strategic goal;
- Supports generalizability to other similar cases;
- Supports aggregation with other cases using a similar methodology to allow for greater meta-analysis to be done;
- Supports the development of theories of institutional approaches to collaboration formation.

The dissertation now turns to the data collection and analysis methodology that will be used.

METHODOLOGY FOR ASSESSING RULES OF THE GAME AND COLLABORATION

There are two more major components of the methodology beyond the case selection: the methodology used to identify, categorize and analyze the 'rules of the game,' and the assessment of the collaboration that occurred.

Methodology to identify and categorize rules

The analytical framework guides the case studies, using the rules regime to analyze the factors affecting

the formation of collaborative approaches at the policy, transmission and implementation levels. This section outlines how those rules will be identified and classified in the study.

As identified in the literature and analytical framework, rules can have formal and informal dimensions, and involve external rules and framings, internal rules and framings, and the interpretation of these by the actors involved. To address this, the dissertation takes a mixed methods approach to the identification and categorization of the rules:

- Document review identifying rules at each of the levels of the process (policy, transmission, and implementation)
- Evaluative and other reporting
- Interviews with key actors on their perceptions of the internal and external, formal and informal rules (Ostrom 2005; Provan and Milward 1991; McGinnis 2011).

Document analysis

At each stage, key documents were reviewed using the rules regime as identified in the Analytical Framework. These documents include both publically available documents and key documents provided to the author by WelcomeBC that would otherwise have been available under Freedom of Information legislation. For the policy level, the key documents reviewed were:

- *Overarching corporate documents that address the broader substantive policy issue (e.g. Labour Market).* This includes government direction and corporate documents as relevant to the policy issue at hand. Examples include: the *ReadNowBC* strategy to address literacy, including adult immigrant language; various government strategies related to the labour market; *Family First* strategy. While these documents and associated initiatives usually have a lead ministry, they are framed as government wide approaches, and so would be presumed to have an impact on the framing of a policy issue for all policy actors, as well as potentially provide direction regarding collaboration. 18 documents of this type were analyzed.

- *Service plans and reports for each Ministry*. In BC, each Ministry is required to publish an annual Service Plan and/or Service Plan report, which provides an overview of the Ministry's mandate, mission and vision, as well as the core metrics that they hold themselves publicly accountable for, the key activities and outcomes that they would like to report on an annual basis, and the Minister's message which provides an overall frame of what is most important for the organization. 45 of this type of document were analyzed.
- *Any other core strategic documents of Ministries or Branche*s. In some cases, Ministries or Branches also produce their own strategic documents related to the substantive policy issue at hand. Examples of this would include the WelcomeBC strategic framework and associated annual reporting, or the Labour Market Development Agreement annual plan and report. 15 of this type of document were analyzed
- *Other key documents that may have an impa*ct. The study also looks at, where applicable, the institutions embedded in legislation, regulation and agreements that affect the respective Ministries or Branches. Examples include the *Canada-BC Immigration Agreement*, the Education Act, and the Colleges and Institutes Act. Similarly, other documents such as Auditor General's reports relevant to the area are included as appropriate. In total, six such of documents were analyzed.

At the Transmission level, the document analysis focuses on the ways in which direction is given to the implementing agencies, including potential implementing agencies in the case of open or competitive processes. This includes analyses of any relevant legislation/regulation about how implementing agencies were chosen, procurement documents (where applicable), and budget/funding letters. 15 documents of this type were analyzed. For the implementation level, the focus for the document review was primarily on any reporting that occurred regarding the implementation in that area, including evaluation reports, and other relevant corporate reporting. Nine documents of this type were analyzed.

Key Informant Interviews

In addition to the document analysis, the study's method included key informant interviews with senior staff and others with expert or privileged information about the topic at hand. The emphasis on key informant methodologies is because rules can have different interpretations by different actors, and the effect of those interpreted rules on their actions matter (Granovetter 1992, Saleth 2009). There are three methodological concerns with key informant interviews: knowing who the right informants are (Aberbach and Rockman 2002; Goldstein 2002); getting access to those respondents who typically have substantial claims on their time (Phillips 1998; Burnham 2004; Peabody et al. 1990), and addressing concerns regarding bias in response by the key informants (Berry 2002).

Unlike population surveys or methods that would allow for random sampling, key informant interviews require a solid knowledge of who the key respondents are, including their roles and responsibilities (Aberbach and Rockman 2002), or identifying "which doors do you need to get in and why" (Goldstein 2002: 670). This is a requirement because elites are typically non-substitutable: each has their own area of expertise. Identification of key respondents was done through the knowledge of the author, who was a Director in the Branch responsible for WelcomeBC during the study period. For the purposes of this study, there were no significant challenges getting time with the elites within WelcomeBC, and included all relevant members of the senior leadership team who were engaged in collaborative efforts including two directors and the executive director, as well as a program director for one of the collaborative programs developed.

Getting access to elites from other Ministries was not as simple, due to retirements or lack of response, even after multiple attempts and different approaches to contacting. While there were two respondents from non-WelcomeBC Ministries or departments in the English Language Development case, respondents from other Ministries were not available for the other cases. This issue was addressed in four ways. First, the project is primarily from the viewpoint of WelcomeBC as the metagovernor for

the attempts at developing collaborative networks, and as such the perception of WelcomeBC elites will be able to identify the key issues that came up in their attempts to build collaborative approaches and infer the rules from others driving those issues (e.g. what topics arose in their discussions with other Ministries). Second, document analysis provides significant insight into the underpinning rules of the organizations in question. Third, the use of evaluations, other reporting from the WelcomeBC, and other studies of WelcomeBC (e.g. Lindquist et al. 2013) included perspectives from other partner Ministries or their respective implementing agencies. Finally, a representative from the settlement agency sector, with significant interactions with WelcomeBC and other Ministries, was able to provide some triangulation.

The author was also considered a respondent for the purposes of the study, having served as Director of Program Management and Evaluation for WelcomeBC during -2012. However, the quotes provided in this study are not attributable to the author, and the analysis relies almost entirely on the findings from the other Ministry respondents, document analysis, third-party sector respondents and evaluations/reporting. Triangulating the key informant interviews with the third party responses, document analysis, other evaluations/studies, and the experiences of the author provides a check on bias within the responses of the other key informants, which can be a concern in elite interviews. In addition, a factor that may mitigate against respondent bias is the fact that the interviews were conducted when none of the WelcomeBC staff were still employed as WelcomeBC staff and none of the other Ministry or sector respondents were still employed in their old roles (having either retired or moved to a different sector). The key informants were asked about a series of topics, to better understand from their perspective the context and constraints they were working within, the key issues in working with other branches or ministries, the effectiveness of collaboration efforts, and the overall collaboration that occurred.

Classifying Rules in the Data

The analytical classification scheme underpinning the rules analysis will be the rules regime as identified in the Analytical Framework section above. Table 6 (see pp. 69-70) provides an overview of the analytical guidance used in assessing and classifying the rules.

Table 6 Guidance for Classifying Rules

Institution	Definition	How implemented in this study
Boundary rules	Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit those positions	Boundary rules include any language that identifies actors and the positions that they can or do hold. For Service Plans, corporate documents and strategic plans, this would include any discussion of actors and their positions, and their relevance for the associated policy actor. For transmission documents such as Requests for Proposals or other competitive procurement documents, boundary rules would include all criteria that identify who is eligible to apply, the number of implementing positions available, as well as the selection criteria used to identify the successful proponent or proponents (which also have a payoff rule for being successful in achieving the boundary rule). For transmission documents such as mandate letters/budget letters where there are dedicated implementing agencies (e.g. School Districts for Ministry of Education), the boundary rules would be implicit in the list of recipients For key informant information at all levels, boundary rules would include any commentary regarding who the key actors are, as well as the key informants' views on the factors affecting who gets selected or included and the roles that those actors play.
Choice rules	Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making in light of specific conditions	Choice rules at the policy level include any limits, requirements or direction given to the policy actors in terms of the actions that they are able to take. This would include any legislative or regulatory requirements, requirements that stem from external agreements (e.g. the Canada-BC Immigration Agreement or the Labour Market Agreement) as well as financial limitations on what their funding can be used for or the ways in which that funding is disbursed. Within the transmission documents, choice rules would include any language regarding required actions either during the transmission process or in the implementation arena in terms of what the implementing agencies must or must not do, and how. This would include direction on specific actions that are eligible or ineligible under a particular program line. At the implementation level, the document review would include any discussion of requirements, limitations, or directives in either evaluation or required reporting. Key informants were asked about choice rules (framed as limitations, requirements or direction) that they felt were important, as well as the impact that those may have had on the development of collaborative approaches.
Aggregation rules	Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	Aggregation rules at the policy level will include any discussion of partnerships, systems, collaboration, consultation, or similar themes, or of specific processes where there is required or promoted participation of multiple actors. This includes both direct discussion of required collaborations, as well as inferred aggregation norms based on how the policy actor discussed collaboration, including which actors

		were identified as potential or actual collaborators. At the transmission level, aggregation rules will look for any requirements to collaborate, any other expectations or norms regarding collaboration among implementing agencies, or any language that incentivized or promoted collaboration. At the implementation level, the research will look for any discussion in reporting regarding collaboration. The key informant interviews will also include discussion of the perceived aggregation rules at policy, transmission and implementation levels, as well as the key informants' understanding of the documented aggregation rules and their impact on collaboration. Key informants were asked about their perception of any informal aggregation rules or norms that may exist within the policy actors or implementation actors, and the perceived impact on collaboration.
Payoff rules	Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	For policy actors, payoff rules can be inferred from the statements of targets, goals and objectives within corporate documents and Service Plans/Reports. Those are included because there would likely be reputational or career rewards for the achievement of those goals, and sanctions for failure to achieve them. At the transmission level, if it was a competitive process, there are two general sets of payoffs that would apply. First, there may be a payoff associated with being the successful proponent and winning the contract to deliver the services. Second, many contracts will specify the actions that would result in payment either, typically services provided or clients served or client outcomes, but also including ways of delivery (e.g. in collaboration). For non-competitive transmission processes such as mandate letters or budget letters provided to implementing agencies, the payoff rule analysis would look at what is being required of the implementing agencies in terms of service delivery, as well as the targets and measures of success embedded in the transmission document. At the implementation level, any documentation will look for the any language related to payoff rules in evaluation reports or other reporting. Key informants were asked about the incentives and payoff rules that they feel were in play for the actors at the policy, transmission and implementation levels, and the perceived effect of these on collaboration.
Scope rules	The scope of the work for each actor and its relative importance, how it is defined or framed, and whether it is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration	At the policy level, Service Plans, corporate documents, legislation and regulation, and associated documents are analyzed to identify what the scope of work of the respective policy actors are. This includes looking at mandate and mission statements, the framing of the key goals and objectives of the organization, as well as any other language throughout the documents about the role and the purpose of the organization. In parallel with this is an analysis of how often immigrants, immigrant integration or associated issues are mentioned in the document, as a way of determining the relative importance of those issues for the organization. These documents were also reviewed, in line with the aggregation rules analysis, to see if there is any discussion of collaboration in addressing these issues to get at the question of perceived interdependence and need for collaboration. In the transmission documents, there is again be an analysis of the framing of the substantive issue being addressed, as well as the framing of the purpose of the work that is being transmitted to the implementation actors. In these documents, there is also an analysis of the extent to which the scope of work includes a focus on immigrants, immigrant integration or associated issues, and the extent to which there is a framing of the issue as requiring collaboration to address. At the implementation level, document analysis of evaluation or associated reporting looks at the way that the issue is framed, as well as the level of focus on immigrants,

		immigrant integration and associated issues. Key informants were asked to identify their perception of the framing of the scope of the respective organizations and the relative importance of immigrants, immigrant integration and associated issues, as well as the perception of whether or not it was considered an issue that required collaboration to address. As well, key informants were asked to identify their perceptions of how these scope framings may have influenced the development of collaboration at the policy, transmission and implementation levels.

Assessment of Collaboration

While the rules regime above helps to classify the rules of the different potential collaboration formation moments (policy, transmission, implementation), the assessment of collaboration relies on two main sources: document reviews and key informant interviews. In terms of documents, the main sources at the policy level were evaluative and other corporate reports. For the transmission level, the main documents reviewed were reporting regarding the successful proponents in any competitive processes as well as the organizations that were funded through direct mandate or budget letters. At the implementation level, the primary documents reviewed were evaluative or other reporting that discussed collaboration at the implementation level. This document review was complemented and strengthened considerably by means of key informant interviews, which included the leadership of WelcomeBC, leaders from other Ministries or units as available, and a representative from one of the major umbrella organizations for settlement and community agencies who was deeply involved throughout the study period.

Key informants were asked questions about their perception of the collaborative networks created, the strength of those collaborative networks, and whether WelcomeBC respondents felt that the collaborations were successful in supporting the overall goal of the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework. Respondents were also asked about how the rules may have influenced the development of collaboration (with the rules classified as above in the rules analysis). This information helps to bridge between the identified rules as above as the independent variables, and collaborations as the dependent variable.

OVERVIEW OF CASE STUDY CHAPTERS

The chapters that follow focus successively on the three Business Lines of the WelcomeBC Framework: English Language Development; Immigrant Labour Market Success; and Community Settlement, with a focus on Children/Families and Vulnerable Populations. The chapters follow the pathway from the policy level, through the transmission level, and to implementation by discussing the rules and the perceived level of collaboration formation and its effectiveness at each level. At the Policy level, each chapter provides: an overview of the issue and its importance to WelcomeBC; an overview of the other key policy level actors, and a review of their service plans and other documents to assess their internal rules; identifies the corporate documents that may have had an influence on the policy actors; reviews the approaches to strengthen collaboration by WelcomeBC; and reports on the perceptions of key informants on the factors affecting the success or failure of collaborative approaches at the policy level. Then, for the Transmission level, each chapter first reviews the transmission processes and documents for each policy actor, and then assesses the effect of these processes on the initial disposition of implementing actors. Finally, at the Implementation level, the chapters provide perceptions of key informants and, where available, the findings from analysis of evaluations to assess the effect of rules on collaboration at the implementation level, and the level of collaboration achieved.

CHAPTER 6
CASE 1: ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

The first case examines WelcomeBC's attempts to foster collaboration in the area of English Language Development, which "is the most important skill for immigrants to advance their social and economic success" (WelcomeBC Annual Report, 2009/10). Under the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework, the 'defining position' for English Language Development was "BC immigrants will have access to English Language training and gain language skills relevant to the labour market and communities they live in," in support of the overarching WelcomeBC goal that "BC's immigrants fully contribute to the social and economic prosperity of the Province (WelcomeBC Framework 2009). The chapter looks at why WelcomeBC would require collaboration in order to achieve that defining position and the overarching goal, before turning to an analysis of the rules at the policy, transmission, and implementation levels, and the perceived impact of those rules on the development of collaborative approaches.

WelcomeBC spent considerable resources to address immigrant English Language Development, but could not achieve the defining position and overarching goal alone due to the magnitude of the issue and the limitations in the Canada-BC Immigration Agreement (CBCIA 2010). While BC receives between 30,000 and 40,000 new immigrants per year, only 10-15% of those immigrants arrive with English as their first language, and data infers that the level of English ability of the remaining immigrant population is not very high at arrival. On the 2003 International Adult Literacy Skills Survey (IALSS) a "significantly higher proportion of immigrants age 16-65 had low literacy [in English]," with 31% of working age immigrants scored at the lowest level (Poor - Level 1) in prose literacy compared to only 7% of Canadian-born respondents (Select Standing Committee 2006, quote from p. 8) [10]. Level 1 is *very* low

[10] This was in large part because the IALSS is not a test of literacy in general - it is a test of literacy in the official language or languages of the country in which it is administered. This is an important proviso, as many immigrants have very high levels of literacy in their first language, but due to relatively low English proficiency, would turn up in the results of the IALSS as having low levels of literacy.

levels of literacy: this level's benchmark is reading relatively short texts to find a single piece of information or following simple written directions (Relating Canadian Language Benchmarks to Essential Skills p.27) and individuals at this level are expected to have significant issues in navigating society and the workforce. Given the significant immigrant population of BC, 31% of immigrants at this lowest level accounted for 250,000 working age immigrants in BC at that time, in addition to the 188,000 working age immigrants at the "weak" level, for a total of 438,000 working age immigrants who would have required additional learning to meet WelcomeBC's goals of immigrants fully contributing to the community and society. At its peak level of investment, WelcomeBC was able to fund around 20,000 English Language classroom seats per year (WelcomeBC Annual Report, 2011), highlighting the need to bring other resources to bear. As one respondent said "WelcomeBC had a target, but that target is a huge population in the province. So, that horizontal policy in principle is, and was, and should be, very, very critical," a sentiment shared by a Statistics Canada presenter to a legislative committee who said that BC would "need to find ways in which the different sectors of society can really work together" to address the magnitude of the issue (Select Standing Committee 2006, p. 10).

The second factor that affected WelcomeBC's need to collaborate was the combination of eligibility requirements of the federal WelcomeBC funding and the language requirements of the Citizenship Act. As the CBCIA funding was intended to support immigrants to settle in Canada and become citizens, it came with eligibility restrictions: funds could not be used to support immigrants once they become Canadian citizens. This became an issue for achieving the overall WelcomeBC goal when combined with the fairly minimal language requirements to achieve citizenship in the *Citizenship Act*. The *Act* says that the Minister "shall grant citizenship to any person who [among other criteria] has an "adequate knowledge of one of the official languages of Canada" if they are between the ages of 18 and 65 (*Citizenship Act* 1985). On the surface, this reads as a reasonable criteria; however, the definition of 'adequate' for citizenship is quite low:

"We define “adequate knowledge” as having the equivalent of Level 4 for speaking and listening in English or French using the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) or Niveaux de competence linguistique Canadien (NCLC). This level means you can, in English or French:

- take part in short, everyday conversations about common topics;
- understand simple instructions, questions and directions;
- use basic grammar, including simple structures and tenses; and
- show that you know enough common words and phrases to answer questions and express yourself."

(CIC Web page, retrieved May 2, 2017).

A CLB level 4 is within the lowest level of proficiency on the IALSS scales (Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks 2005), and far from the level necessary for achieving WelcomeBC’s overarching goal that “BC’s immigrants fully contribute to the social and economic prosperity of the Province.”

Even if WelcomeBC had significantly more funding to address the magnitude of the issue, this limitation on citizens accessing the programming would require them to collaborate, as many immigrants only achieve the minimum requirement for citizenship prior to citizenship due to other time pressures (Seidle, 2010), and would no longer be able to access WelcomeBC programming once they do become citizens in order to achieve the levels necessary to meet WelcomeBC’s overall goal. This issue has been recognized as a key concern, with the settlement sector arguing “for years” for a change in eligibility requirements (Derwing and Waugh 2012), and StatsCan representatives calling it a “failure” of the integration of immigrants (Brink, S. quoted in Steering Committee report). The study now turns to a review and analysis of the policy level for the topic of English Language Development.

POLICY LEVEL

WelcomeBC made various efforts to build collaborative approaches with other Ministries and their implementing agents to meet its defining position and its overarching goal. This section outlines the key policy actors, reviews key documents to identify the internal rules of the policy actors, provides an overview of the context and corporate direction given, provides an assessment of the perceived level of

collaboration between policy level actors, and identifies the perceived factors that affected the development of collaboration at the policy level.

Policy Actors

This section reviews key documents for the policy actors and provides an overview of their purpose, the potentially pertinent rules that can be inferred from the key documents, and a summary of their English Language offerings.

WelcomeBC. English Language Development was one of the three main lines of business of WelcomeBC, a critical success factor for achieving the WelcomeBC overarching goal, and accounted for about 50% of all program expenditures (WelcomeBC Annual Reports). WelcomeBC's framing of English Language Development was broad: "BC immigrants will have access to English Language training and gain language skills relevant to the labour market and communities they live in," with the aim of supporting immigrants full integration and contribution to their communities and the economy of BC.

The majority of WelcomeBC's English Language Development programming was primarily through the English Language Services for Adults (ELSA) program, which provided lower-level settlement-focused language courses to approximately 19,000 recently arrived immigrants.[11] In addition, WelcomeBC funded ELSANet, an organization intended to support capacity development and networking within the ELSA providers. WelcomeBC recognized the need to collaborate as discussed above, and had a clear commitment to working with others as one of the Foundational Elements of its framework:

> "The engagement of multiple sectors and a network of partners and service providers is critical to achieve success throughout the immigration pathway (from pre-arrival to longer-term integration)" (WelcomeBC Framework, 2009).

[11] WelcomeBC had begun to build out some labour market language programming and some conversation class programs, but the main emphasis and vast majority of funding was for the ELSA program.

WelcomeBC also spent considerable effort in working with service providers, through an umbrella support organization (ELSANet) and by providing opportunities for input from the sector through their planning processes. In part, this is because of the language of the CBCIA, which emphasizes working with the settlement sector and broader community, but also reflects the longer-term collaboration that BC had built up with the settlement sector since the original devolution of federal funding in 1998 as identified by respondents and the CBCIA review (Lindquist et al. 2013).

Ministry of Advanced Education (AVED). AVED's role was to provide leadership for BC's public post-secondary system through funding, high level policy, and accountability mechanisms (Service Plan 2009). The AVED Service Plans focus primarily on the post-secondary system, reinforced by a budget model where 95% of the budget was allocated for grants to post-secondary institutions. English language development for immigrants reads as a very minor component of the overall AVED scope. However, in 2007 and 2011/12 adult literacy was listed as a key issue for the Ministry, and in most years, adult literacy was at least referenced either as a labour market issue, or in reference to the provincial government's Great Goal regarding literacy (more on this in the corporate direction section). However, while adult literacy was referenced, it seemed ancillary to the core work of the Ministry, with the vast majority of the AVED Service Plans focusing on other aspects of the post-secondary system. When adult literacy is addressed, it was typically included as a measure of access to post-secondary rather than as a goal in itself, and by the end of the study period, there was no discussion of literacy or immigrants within the AVED Service Plan. Another indicator of the issue's importance comes from a review of AVED's performance measures. There were no distinct performance measures related to immigrant English language development or even adult literacy more generally, beyond 2007's measure of the number of developmental spaces (covering Adult Basic Education, ESL, and Adult Special Education). Given the relative lack of importance for the Ministry, there was no discussion of interdependence for the issue either.

AVED had two main approaches for addressing adult literacy and English language development. First, 17 of the 22 public colleges and institutes[12] offered some form of ESL instruction, to around 9,000 students annually. Second, AVED funded the Community Adult Literacy Program (CALP) to support community-led literacy initiatives around the province to "increase the level of literacy and numeracy proficiencies among adults - 19 years and older (News release, March 13, 2017). This was a small program, accounting for less than 0.1% of the Ministry budget.

AVED documents contained a lot of language regarding 'partnership' and 'collaboration' on a variety of topics, typically about cross-ministry or corporate priorities; however, the core corporate documents for literacy in BC (see next section) were rarely mentioned directly and neither were mentioned after 2010/11. Otherwise, most discussion of collaboration within the Service Plans and Reports concerned collaboration within the post-secondary system itself, or supporting transitions from the K-12 education system.

The Ministry was also subject to choice rules embedded in legislation that limited its ability to direct the post-secondary institutions. The legislation framing the relationship between the Ministry and the colleges was the *Colleges and Institutes Act*. Under the Act, the Minister had a few significant powers, including overall policy (2(1) (a)), funding (3(a)), accreditation (3(g)) and accountability (3(e), 3(f), 3(j)). As well, the majority of Board members were appointed by the Lieutenant Governor in Council, and the Board Chair must be an appointee of the Lieutenant Governor (9(1)(a) and (9.1). However, the *Act* gave significant autonomy in the academic and programming realm to the colleges, through their Boards and education councils. The *Act* identified the objectives of a college at a very high level (6(a-c)): to provide comprehensive courses at the first and second year levels of a baccalaureate program; post-secondary education or training; adult basic education; and continuing education. A

[12] Or what would traditionally be called colleges, as BC has used different names through the years.

Board is charged with achieving those objectives, using a fulsome scope of management and leadership powers (19(1)).

Crucially, the *Act* allocated to the Board the powers to "determine courses or programs to be offered or cancelled at the institution (19(d)) and "manage and promote the educational or training programs offered at the institution" (19e). This means that the Boards were empowered to make decisions about what is offered and how it is offered, and would have significant autonomy when it comes to collaboration at an operational level, making it challenging for the Ministry to direct the colleges to collaborate or to direct the offerings at the colleges. This is especially important in the context of Section 8.2 of the Act: "in carrying out the objectives of an institution, the members of the board of the institution must act in the best interest of the institution;" notably, the benchmark is not the best interest of the post-secondary system or the achievement of government goals. Given the enrolment-based funding mechanisms used by the Ministry, the provision of English language programming could be construed as a zero-sum game (i.e. there are only so many students in a given area; funding is tied to number of students served). In this situation, the 'best interests of the institution' from a financial viewpoint would be to maximize enrolments through recruitment and retention of as many students as possible, and the institution would have the operational autonomy to do so. While not specific to English Language programming, the issue of institutional autonomy in the achievement of government goals was significant enough to be mentioned as a 'key challenge' in the 2007 Service Plan (2007/08 Service Plan). In the context of the *Act, e*ven the Ministry's key policy levers (funding and the associated funding and mandate letters) were limited; given historical practice and the level of autonomy built into the legislation, these documents tend to be fairly high level – e.g. at the level of funding of developmental seats, with institutions still having considerable autonomy in the design and delivery of those seats. This issue will be discussed more in the Transmission and Implementation Level sections.

The table below provides a summary analysis using the rules regime identified in the analytical framework. Overall, the low relative scope-importance of the issue compared to the broader post-secondary system, reinforced by payoff rules related to the achievement of post-secondary targets, would suggest that it may have been challenging for WelcomeBC to get immigrant English language development on the Ministry's radar. AVED's choice rules and resultant inability to direct program offerings by the colleges also would affect its ability to be an effective collaborator towards WelcomeBC's defining position and overall goal.

Table 7 - Summary of AVED Rules at Policy Level

Rule Type	Findings of document review
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant literacy, how it is **framed**, and whether literacy is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Low importance of immigrant literacy relative to other post-secondary issues **Interdependence**: No discussion **Frame:** Part of Adult Basic Education, and access to post-secondary
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	The post-secondary institutions as implementing agencies.
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	Aggregation primarily with post-secondary institutions; only minor mention of cross-ministry
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Primary payoff is based on achievement of targets related to other aspects of the post-secondary system
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Significant limitations on ability to direct the post-secondary system given the legislated autonomy of the post-secondary institutions.

Ministry of Education (EDUC). EDUC provided leadership to BC's K-12 education system and libraries through governance, legislation, policy, and standards. In the early years of the study period, the Ministry had the vision "to make BC the best-educated, most literate jurisdiction on the continent," although this focus on literacy gradually diminished over the years, and disappears from the goals by 2012/13. While the documents do not contain specific language on adult immigrant English language

training, many of BC's School Boards supported adult education with continuing education or lifelong learning departments, including English language programs for adult immigrants, although these were not core Ministry-funded programs.

The primary implementing actors for the Ministry of Education's work were the School Boards, which are responsible for the delivery of the K-12 system, a status reinforced by the budget process which allocates the vast majority of funding for grants to the School Boards. EDUC's Service Plans' discussion of collaboration reflects this, with the primary focus on collaboration within the K-12 system. There is passing reference to cross-ministry collaboration in the documents as well, but these were high-level commitments around the government's goals.

EDUC's level of choice in direction setting for the implementing agencies (school boards) was circumscribed by the *Schools Act* which delineates the roles of the Ministry and the Boards of Education. The Minister of Education had considerable general, high level powers through the *Act* including the ability to make orders governing the provision of educational programs, determining the general requirements for graduation, and the general nature of educational programs [168 (2) (a) (b) (c)]. Under 168(2) (t) the Minister may make orders to carry out any of the Minister's duties or functions under this Act, and without restriction that the Minister otherwise considers advisable to effectively administer this Act or the regulations. As well, the Minister can issue an administrative directive to a Board of Education if the minister believes "the board is failing or has failed to meet its obligations under the Act, or (2) it is in the public interest to do so." [168.03 (a) (b)]; failure to comply with the directive can result in the Board being replaced with an official trustee (168.03(4)]. However, in practice, this level of intervention from the Minister was very rare.

The *Schools Act* provided Boards with considerable autonomy, especially for local policy and programming decisions, including collaboration at the implementation level. The Boards had responsibility for general management of the schools in their district (74(1)), and a long list of powers

including regarding local policy, programs and administration (s.85). The Minister's ability to use purse-strings to affect local policies is hampered by the funding mechanisms in the *School Act*: the main operating grant is based primarily on the number of students and the provincial per student funding amount. Other formulas can be used (106.3)(1)(b), or targeted grants (106.4(1)) for incentivization but most funding comes through the general operating grant, which the Minister "must" pay to the Board each fiscal year (114(1)).

Table 8 below provides a summary, using the rules regime identified in the analytical framework. Overall, literacy, and in particular immigrant literacy had a low relative scope and low importance compared to the broader K-12 system, reinforced by the payoff rules. In addition, as WelcomeBC's goal was related to ensuring the right mix of programs and services for immigrants delivered at the implementation level, the Ministry's inability to direct program offerings by the School Boards was likely a barrier to the Ministry being an effective policy-level collaborator for WelcomeBC.

Table 8 Summary of EDUC Rules at Policy Level

Rule Type	Findings of document review
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant literacy, how it is **framed**, and whether literacy is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Very low relative importance of immigrant literacy compared to other concerns **Interdependence**: No discussion **Frame:** No discussion
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	The Boards of Education as implementing agencies.
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	Aggregation primarily with Boards of Education; only minor mention of cross-ministry
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Primary payoff is based on achievement of targets related to the core K-12 system

Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Significant limitations on ability to direct the Boards of Education given the legislated autonomy for operational matters.

Corporate Direction

In 2004, the Liberal Government took a significant interest in the broader topic of literacy, with the 2004 Throne Speech making literacy a priority: "your government wants British Columbia to become recognized as the most literate location in North America by 2010" (p.19, Throne Speech). The issue of adult literacy, framed by the IALSS results, was front and centre in this discussion, with the rationale that low literacy "place[s] them [adults with low literacy] at severe disadvantage in their everyday lives," and "low literacy is directly tied to low income and unemployment" (p.20 Throne Speech). The Throne Speech also announced the formation of the Premier's Advisory Panel on Literacy to "assess British Columbians' most urgent needs in literacy and recommend actions for improvement“ (Throne Speech 2004). This goal of being the most literate jurisdiction in North America was then embedded in the BC Liberal Platform, which included “Five Great Goals for a Golden Decade” (Liberal Party of BC, 2005).

The first of these Great Goals was to "Make BC the best educated, most literate jurisdiction on the continent" (p.5). The actions related to adult literacy in this document read as a plan to plan, with the identification of the new Premier's Advisory Panel, a relatively small new program (LiteracyNow), and the promise of an increase in ESL funding (p.5. and p.11). There was no discussion in the platform about collaboration between the major ministry partners, but the fact that adult literacy was included in the first goal of only five within the platform was significant, and the issue gained importance within parts of the associated ministries (as identified by respondents from all three ministries).

This initial identification of literacy as a corporate priority was followed by a cavalcade of corporate direction documents. Reports from Premier’s Advisory Panel on Literacy and the Select Standing Committee on Education Adult Literacy Strategy provided early corporate direction. Both

documents have a similar catalyst: the IALSS results and the challenges for literacy learners, although the framing in the Select Standing Committee report had more specific language about the needs of adult ESL learners, e.g. comments from stakeholders regarding the need to “seriously look at the issue of adult ESL and settlement supports to immigrants, because they are our future" (Select Standing Committee, p.23). Both documents also pointed to a lack of coherency and integration across the language programs. As the Panel said

> "Many people in British Columbia want to learn, raise their education levels and address their literacy challenges and competencies. They can only do this well if there are literacy and learning resources that are accessible, affordable and responsive. We do not have such a coherent and integrated system of best practice literacy resources across the province” (Panel Report, p. 4).

In response to these concerns, both documents put forward recommendations for greater inter-Ministry coordination, with the Select Standing Committee stating:

> “an integrated approach should be adopted to address the challenges facing British Columbians with low levels of functional literacy. This could involve more coordination of policies and program funding within the government; more collaboration among institutions (school districts, colleges and public libraries), community-based literacy organizations and key sectors of the provincial economy." (Select Standing Committee, 2006 p.26).

The Select Standing Committee report reiterated the need for a coordinated approach with regards to addressing the literacy needs of immigrants, and provided some recommendations addressing the policy barriers that come with federal funding (including eligibility) and reducing gaps and overlaps in provincially funded adult ESL services. Both reports identified the need for a clear leader within government, with the Select Standing Committee identified a secretariat as the best approach. The Panel’s final report recommended the delegation of leadership on literacy to the Ministry of Education, and for adult literacy to the Ministry of Advanced Education, as well as highlighted that there remained "major challenges in creating and maintaining effective collaboration across Provincial Ministries on literacy issues" (p.3).

While both documents were not formal direction for the Ministries, they do provide some framing for the policy arena. They both highlight the importance of literacy for the government, with

specific mention of immigrant literacy as a core part of that scope. They both include discussion of the need for greater collaboration, provide guidance on which Ministry should lead on which component, and reinforce the payoff rules overall for moving forward on this government priority. However, while there is a push for collaboration, the documents did not address the choice limitations on both AVED and EDUC, or any of the other potential payoff rules that may be in play, either at the Ministry level or the implementation level.

Following those initial reports, two corporate documents were created in parallel processes by EDUC and AVED to provide the overall corporate approach to literacy. EDUC was tasked with overall responsibility for the Great Goal of the "best-educated, most literate jurisdiction in North America." In order to address this goal, the Ministry developed, and had approved by Cabinet, the *ReadNowBC Action Plan*. *ReadNowBC* had four goals, including one on adult literacy, even though adult literacy, and immigrant adult literacy are more firmly within the mandates of the Ministry of Advanced Education and WelcomeBC. There was little direct discussion of the needs of immigrants, or adult literacy learners more generally in *ReadNowBC*: the one page on adult learners was not very specific, besides recognizing the benefits of making adult basic education free, and the need for building networks. However, the issue was identified as important, and the *Adult Opportunities* strategy, done in parallel to *ReadNowBC* by AVED, did address these issues in considerably more depth (see below). Once the *Adult Opportunities* plan was developed, components were then ported back into the broader *ReadNowBC* strategy.

ReadNowBC did have a mission and principles of operation that would seem to recognize the interdependency issues between the Ministries in meeting the Great Goal, and would seem to be supportive of collaboration across Ministry or agency lines, with a mission that included "*to increase coordination between programs and services"* and principles of operation that included collaboration and coordination. (*ReadNowBC Final Report).* However, the *ReadNowBC Action Plan* was fairly limited on actual strategy or tactics to achieve that mission or to implement those principles of operation. The one

significant, relevant piece of concrete action in the document was the positioning of school districts as the lead on developing local community literacy plans and fostering networks of support at the implementation level, with this direction embedded into legislation by amending the *Schools Act.*

In September 2007, the Ministry of Advanced Education put forward the *Adult Opportunities Action Plan* to address adult literacy issues in BC. It was much more explicit than *ReadNowBC* on strategies, and included more language on immigrant literacy, including a specific objective: "Immigrants improve their literacy and English language through targeted learning opportunities, including enhanced workplace language programs and services." The *Adult Opportunities Action Plan* also contained significant language that was either explicitly or implicitly supportive of collaboration towards English Language Development and adult literacy more broadly (e.g. the need for programs to "complement each other and work together efficiently and effectively" and an objective that "the approach to adult literacy and lifelong learning is coordinated"). There was even a strategy explicitly about collaboration in English Language Development: "inter-ministry coordination of Adult ESL training"(AVED 2007, p.9). Similarly, the three central ministries [AVED, MEd and MAG (the home of WelcomeBC)] were jointly identified on strategies/actions that would necessitate collaboration:

1. Standard Learning Outcomes, assessment and reporting for literacy programs to articulate program to facilitate learner pathways, monitor learner success, enhance efficiency.
2. Enhance integration of service delivery between colleges, school districts and non-government

Despite recognizing the importance of collaboration, there were two issues with the *Adult Opportunities* plan. First, similar to the *ReadNowBC* plan, there were no supporting rules that would require or incentivize collaboration between Ministries or their implementing agencies. Second, there were some oddities in the aggregation rules concerning who would be included in collaboration that excluded WelcomeBC.

In summary, in looking at the institutions in the *Adult Opportunities Action Plan*, there is a lot of language that reads as recognizing the importance of collaboration across Ministries, with an explicit

focus on Adult Literacy, and includes immigrants as a target group. However, as with the *ReadNowBC* plan, there is nothing in the strategy that would require or provide a strong incentive to collaborate, or otherwise address any of the barriers that Ministries may have in building collaborative approaches.

Other Factors at the Policy Level

Two other factors may have influenced the policy actors during this time, although not specifically corporate direction: Auditor General's reports on literacy, and pressure to resolve a longstanding issue regarding funding from the CBCIA.

In 2008, the Office of the Auditor General released a report called *Literacy: Creating the Conditions for Reading and Writing Success* (OAG 2008a) and a *Follow-up Report: updates on the implementation of recommendations from recent reports* (OAG 2008b) The general finding of the report was: "Overall, we found that, while the government demonstrated some leadership in promoting literacy over the last few years, more needs to be done if it hopes to reach its literacy goal by 2015"(OAG 2008b p.1). A special emphasis in the report was the need for better coordination between the Ministries involved in planning literacy services, given the incredible complexity of existing literacy leadership and provision in the province (p.17). The OAG noted "a particular challenge" in the area of coordinating English as a second language training, because of the responsibility being across multiple ministries, with different funding and priorities (OAG 2008b, p.24). While the report recognized that some work has begun in that area, "much remains to be done" (OAG 2008b, p. 25). The report also looked at the delivery agents, recognizing that "the government's goal can only be met if all school districts, schools and post-secondary institutions are aligned towards achieving the same goals" (OAG 2008b, p.27).

Additional external pressure for collaboration between Advanced Education and WelcomeBC stemmed from the negotiation of the final version of the CBCIA in 2009. The first version of the CBCIA (1998) came with approximately $40m in federal settlement funding, of which the BC Government transferred $17.1m into general coffers to account for ESL in the colleges. There were significant federal

concerns with the way that ESL had been delivered to date in the BC college system that did not meet the CBCIA requirement and yet was accounted for against the CBCIA funding. According to a respondent, there was "easily a decade of… dialogue from a policy perspective," with differing levels of policy engagement from the Ministry of Advanced Education, but by the time that the 2009 CBCIA was being negotiated, there had not been sufficient progress to appease the federal government, resulting in more pressure to resolve the issue as the federal government "got more diligent, and had higher expectations" (WelcomeBC respondent). This funding accounted for most of the delivery in the BC college system, at a time that funding would not be easily found to backfill the federal funding, which put additional pressure on WelcomeBC and Advanced Education to work together, in order to address the federal concerns.

Table 9 below summarizes the findings of the analysis of the overall corporate direction and other policy level influences through the lens of the analytical framework. The corporate direction was strongly supportive of collaboration on the topic of literacy, in both its discussion of scope-interdependency and the aggregation rules that created expectations of collaboration between the Ministries. There was also relatively high importance for immigrant literacy given the use of the IALSS results to frame the discussion. However, there was nothing in the corporate direction that provided incentives or requirements to collaborate or otherwise change the internal rules of each of the policy actors in support of collaboration.

Table 9 Summary of Rules from Corporate Direction

Rule Type	Findings of document review
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant literacy, how it is **framed**, and whether literacy is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Relatively high importance of immigrant literacy given IALSS results, but one of many groups **Interdependence**: Significant discussion of the importance of collaboration **Frame:** Framed primarily by IALSS results, a measure of adult English language literacy, where immigrants were a significant factor
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	Split leadership, with EDUC for overall goal, AVED for adult literacy. WelcomeBC identified as another actor

Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	Expectation for Ministries to work together
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Potential political payoff for being seen as a leader or supporting the government's goals No change in other payoff rules or additional incentives to collaborate
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	No specific additional choice rules.

Summary of Document Analysis at the Policy Level. The table below summarizes the rules in the key documents. When looking at the rule-set at the policy level, there is a disjuncture between the language of collaboration coming from corporate direction, and the internal rules for the potential partner ministries. This section will discuss the potential issues arising from the rule-set.

Scope. In the documents, the importance of the issue of immigrant language development, or even adult literacy varied greatly between the documents providing corporate direction and Ministries' own Service Plans. The issue of literacy was one of only five Great Goals identified by the government, with framing focused on the findings of the IALSS and its implications for adult literacy and immigrants, and was reinforced through the findings of the Premier's Panel and the Select Standing Committee. Adult literacy, including immigrants, was identified in the *Adult Opportunities Action Plan* and to a much lesser extent in the *ReadNowBC* plan. However, this scope importance from corporate direction was not mirrored in the Service Plans for AVED or EDUC, where the primary focus remained on their core businesses of the post-secondary and K-12 education systems respectively. Addressing scope interdependency was also similarly important in the corporate direction, which recognized literacy as an issue that would benefit from collaboration. However, given the relatively minor importance of immigrant literacy within the AVED and EDUC Ministry Service Plans, there is no discussion of interdependency on this topic.

Table 10 Summary of Rules at the Policy Level - English Language Development

Rule Type			
	Corporate Direction	**AVED**	**EDUC**
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant literacy, how it is **framed**, and whether literacy is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Relatively high importance of immigrant literacy given IALSS results, but among other groups **Interdependence**: Significant discussion of the importance of collaboration **Frame:** Framed primarily by IALSS results, a measure of adult English language literacy	**Importance:** Low importance of immigrant literacy relative to other post-secondary issues **Interdependence**: No discussion **Frame:** Part of Adult Basic Education, and access to post-secondary	**Importance:** Very low relative importance of immigrant literacy compared to other concerns **Interdependence**: No discussion **Frame:** No discussion
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	Split leadership, with EDUC for overall goal, AVED for adult literacy. WelcomeBC identified as another actor	The post-secondary institutions as implementing agencies.	The Boards of Education as implementing agencies.
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	Expectation for Ministries to work together	Aggregation primarily with post-secondary institutions; only minor mention of cross-ministry	Aggregation primarily with Boards of Education; only minor mention of cross-ministry
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Potential political payoff for being seen as a leader or supporting the government's goals No change in other payoff rules or additional incentives to collaborate	Primary payoff is based on achievement of targets related to other aspects of the post-secondary system	Primary payoff is based on achievement of targets related to other aspects of the K-12 system
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	No specific additional choice rules.	Significant limitations on ability to direct the post-secondary system given the legislated autonomy of the post-secondary institutions.	Significant limitations on ability to direct the Boards of Education given the legislated autonomy for operational matters.

Boundary. The Boundary rules identified in the corporate documents recognized, at least to some extent, the three primary policy actors in the space of adult literacy in BC, although there was

some contestation as to who is the leader and who is part of which strategies. While both AVED and EDUC had well reinforced boundary rules about their primary implementers (colleges and school districts respectively), those rules by themselves do not necessarily imply challenges in collaborating.

Aggregation. The corporate documents strongly supported the idea of collaborating, but had fairly weak actual aggregation rules that would require or incentivize cross-Ministry collaboration. Both AVED and EDUC's Service Plans could be read as implying significant aggregation rules towards working primarily with their core implementing agencies.

Payoff Rules. The payoff rules analysis also results in a mixed bag. On the one hand, the issue of literacy, including adult immigrant literacy, was a government priority which could imply a reputational 'payoff' of being seen to lead/support the achievement of the government priority; however, there were no additional corporate payoffs for those ministries to collaborate. Both AVED and EDUC's own performance measures, the achievement of which would have a similar type of reputational payoff, focused primarily on their core businesses of post-secondary and K-12 education.

Choice. Both AVED and EDUC had significant choice rules that could affect their ability to direct their implementing agencies enshrined in legislation. This has potential impacts on WelcomeBC and the Government's goals regarding cross-Ministry collaboration in support of a coordinated approach at the implementation level as it limits what these policy actors can do in directing their respective systems. Nothing in the corporate direction either increased or decreased the level of choice for the Ministries in this regard.

In summary, there was a lot of language in the corporate documents recognizing scope importance and interdependency, and supporting collaboration to address the issue. However, the document analysis highlights some potentially significant challenges in achieving collaboration due to the relative scope importance in the Ministries' own documents, the lack of payoffs to collaborate, choice rules that may limit the ability to meaningfully collaborate towards a coordinated and integrated

system, and the weakness of the aggregation rules compared to these other factors. The dissertation now turns to perceptions of collaboration at the policy level, and the perceived factors influencing attempts at collaboration.

Collaborations at the policy level – perception of collaboration, factors influencing that development

While there was significant corporate direction to work collaboratively, there were signs that collaboration was not occurring (e.g. Auditor General's report discussed above). The respondents in this area (which included all senior program and policy leaders in WelcomeBC, as well as the senior program and policy leaders from AVED and EDUC) all noted that there was not much success at developing cross-ministry collaboration. When asked directly regarding the quality of the collaborative relationships, respondents used terms like "poor"; and "a bit of a power struggle." (AVED and EDUC Respondent interviews). This lack of collaboration was also reflected in the Final Report of ReadNowBC (ReadNowBC, 2011), where there is little to no evidence of collaboration and coordination: the "highlights" (p.10) starts by a status quo statement that "Ministries continue to provide programs and services to support adults," and beyond one minor collaboration, the rest of the section reads as a listing of individual programs. This section will explore in more detail the reasons given by respondents regarding why cross-ministry collaboration did not develop at the policy level, using the rules rubric to frame the responses.

Factor 1: Payoff Rules created competition in the cross-ministry Policy Arena. Respondents from all three Ministries noted the political importance of the issue creating a competitive payoff rule: by naming Literacy as one of the 5 Goals for a Golden Decade, it created pressure to both contribute and, more importantly, to be seen to lead on the issue. Because there was a payoff in being seen as a leader on one of the "premier's top issues" (EDUC respondent), respondents from AVED, EDUC and WelcomeBC felt that it created a competitive dynamic between the ministries, rather than a collaborative dynamic. In the most direct statement of this, an AVED respondent noted

> "it was a quasi-political piece […] every Deputy [Minister] wants to look like they're really doing things leading to [the Great Goals]… they're really responding to what government is saying is important [...] It's kind of a constant problem that ministries have: trying to collaborate on anything because everybody wants their Minister, their Deputy to shine." (AVED respondent)

The payoff rules resulted in jockeying for position by the Ministries of Education and Advanced Education. As the AVED respondent said: "our ministries weren't really talking at that time. It wasn't like the ministers sat down at the beginning and said "this ministry is the lead, or this ministry is the lead, or this is how you're going to work together. [They] basically just told people to go forth and do stuff […] because we both thought we had a mandate, we weren't able to collaborate better." This sentiment was echoed by the EDUC respondent, who noted that "at that time, or ministries were very siloed."

Factor 2: Duplicative or Misapplied Boundary Rules in the Corporate Direction. The challenge between Education and Advanced Education was compounded by the perception of a misapplied boundary rule that put Ministry of Education as the lead for literacy under the Great Goals process. Respondents from all Ministries (including Education), felt that Education may not have been the most appropriate lead, when the issue was framed by the IALSS data as primarily an adult literacy issue. In fact, a branch within AVED had been working on a plan to address adult literacy, but that plan was superseded by the Great Goals leadership being placed with Education. This was seen as very frustrating by the respondent from Advanced Education, and recognized by the Education respondent:

> "it was troubling for them to think about how suddenly there is this big strategic plan for literacy, and they had been flogging away for years on, and not getting a ton of attention, and suddenly, this comes in, but it doesn't land on their desks."

In the end, the Ministry of Advanced Education still moved forward with their strategy (the *Adult Opportunities Action Plan*), but there was a feeling by respondents from all three Ministries that the misalignment of the leadership for the file caused ongoing problems. This also created some challenges due to role confusion: as the AVED respondent said "there wasn't very good coordination at the

government level of who is on first." When asked what could have made things easier to partner at the ministry level, the AVED respondent said:

> "What would have made more sense is if at the outset there was one lead ministry. It could have been WelcomeBC, it could have been Advanced Ed, it could have been Education, but one ministry that was clearly in the lead and from there they could lead […] I think we spend a lot of time bickering and chasing our tails and whatever."

Overall, the lack of clarity on leadership and the contested space that created, combined with the payoff rule above, was seen by respondents from all three ministries as challenging for collaboration.

Factor 3: Disconnect between corporate direction and Ministry regarding scope and payoff AVED and EDUC respondents noted a disconnection between the high visibility corporate importance of the file and the importance that it held within their organizations as noted in the document review. Both AVED and EDUC respondents noted this challenge, with the EDUC respondent noting:

> "I'm not sure that it got the attention, certainly within the Ministry, that it needed to have. It had the attention of the [Assistant Deputy Minister] and the Deputies […] but everybody else was focused on K-12. Yes, there was support and of course because it was one of the Premier's top issues, one of the five great goals… [but] people are busy with their own stuff, their own accountabilities"

The AVED respondent noted that it was seen as important at the Deputy Minister level in order to be responsive to political direction, but within the rest of the Ministry it was not as important as the core mission of the post-secondary system. Because most accountabilities within the Ministry were related to non-literacy work, this made it difficult to get a lot of traction within the Ministry.

Factor 4: Challenges with Boundary and Choice rules for Ministries. Both AVED and EDUC had legislated choice rules about how they engage with their mandated implementing agencies. While these rules were primarily about the relationship at the implementation level, these rules also were perceived by AVED and EDUC respondents as having a significant impact on how the Ministries could or should act at the policy level. In the case of Advanced Education, there were two sets of rules in play: boundary rules and choice rules. As mentioned in the document analysis, the main bodies that the Ministry could work

with are publicly-funded universities and colleges. This linking of the Ministry to those actors, by itself, would not necessarily be a challenge for developing collaborations. However, the choice rules regarding operational autonomy embedded in the *Colleges and Institutes Act* were perceived by the AVED respondent to have significant impacts on the Ministry's ability to direct work, who observed that "the mantra was institutional autonomy". Because of this autonomy, it was challenging for the Ministry to get institutions to adopt different strategies and for it to "think systemically" (AVED respondent interview).

Education had similar challenges, but with a slightly different nuance. Similar to AVED, the boundary and choice rules from legislation circumscribing the relationship between EDUC and the School Boards significantly limited the ability of the Ministry to direct the School Boards. In addition, the Ministry had an internal firewall that reinforced this distinction and limited the ability to engage on the issue of literacy. The relationship with the School Boards was managed primarily through a table of Superintendents of Learning, whose primary responsibility was for the provision of the K-12 system, and so had little interest in the adult literacy work. The EDUC literacy lead was not allowed to work with the School Districts directly: when asked about whether it was easy to work with the Boards of Education, the EDUC respondent responded "not easy at all, I didn't have access to them" (EDUC respondent interview), which was noted as a significant challenge.

Both AVED and EDUC respondents felt that these rules had a significant impact on their ability to play a coordinating or collaborative role across government ministries. Both the Education and Advanced Education respondents felt that they could not address some of the bigger system issues highlighted by the corporate direction given the lack of ability to give substantive direction to their implementing agencies regarding provision and collaboration.

Factor 5: Weak aggregation and choice rules, insufficient to overcome Ministry silos. Respondents also noted the lack of strong aggregation rules in the inter-ministry policy arena. While *ReadNowBC* and the *Adult Opportunities Action Plan* were corporate documents, and there was significant political-level

pressure to achieve them, there was a perception that the aggregation rules for the cross-ministry work were not strong enough, especially in comparison to the internal rules of each of the partner ministries that reinforced silos. As the EDUC respondent put it:

> "I think the problem was, at that time, the siloing was so great that I think people didn't know what we know now about collaboration, about true collaboration. And the idea that there is one vision and we all have a role to play in that vision… And I don't think it is anybody's fault. I don't think that it could necessarily have been any different because… our public service was not set to be conducive of collaboration across ministries, and people were not used to that kind of behaviour"

The AVED respondent identified that the lack of corporate approach and clarity of roles at the Ministerial level between *ReadNowBC* and the *Adult Opportunities Action Plan* was challenging:

> "we were each being kind of siloed saying 'this is my ministry's work, and this is what my ministry is doing.' As opposed to 'this is what we're doing corporately.'"

Factor 6: Disagreement on scope framing and interdependence for complementary programming.

Other than general agreement that what was intended was an improvement in literacy rates, respondents from all three policy actors noted challenges due to a lack of a well-defined shared scope framing; at the most basic level, there were differences between the Ministries even on how to measure literacy. The population literacy rate for adults was derived from IALSS data; however, each ministry used different standards to assess literacy levels, and so it was difficult to paint a single picture of what the current state was, and no common foundation on which to assess the best path forward. As the AVED respondent put it:

> "that was the first step in knowing where we are. As it was, all we knew was so many people were in this program, and so many people completed this program. We had no data to find out what kind of strategic, what kind of students would do best in what kind of environment, or even, was [adult basic education] better? Was the college system better? Were the federally funded programs better?"

> "There was, I would say generally, a fundamental skepticism [regarding comparability]. Like 'oh, it's different, it's different, we're special, we're different."

This created problems for collaboration and the creation of an integrated, coordinated system as identified in the corporate documents. It was not possible to develop an appropriate mix and level of offerings to address community needs if it was not possible to say how the program levels across providers were similar or different, or how they related to each other for issues of transition and partnering. This issue was noted as well in the OAG report, that "lack of a single province-wide definition for literacy has been, we believe, a significant contributor to the piecemeal approach to literacy in BC." (OAG 2008, p.31).

Two Special Cases of Collaboration

While respondents felt that overall there was limited effective collaboration at the policy level, the WelcomeBC respondents identified two special cases of collaboration.

Special Case #1: Shifting Payoff Rules - 17.1M issue. In 2011, significant additional pressure was put onto WelcomeBC and the Ministry of Advanced Education regarding the use of Federal settlement funding and accounting for it against post-secondary ESL offerings, as the federal government intimated that further CBCIA funding (including the $17.1m) was contingent on successfully resolving the issue (WelcomeBC respondent interview). Given the potential negative payoff rule of not addressing the issue, the policy actors signed an MOU to do so, and brought together AVED and WelcomeBC staff, ELSA providers and post-secondary providers to identify opportunities for collaboration. A WelcomeBC respondent identified that “that table and that connection definitely came about through the will of where we had gotten to” as a result of the MOU development and subsequent discussions. However, this table was brought together too late to significantly affect collaboration, as it was convened very near to when the Federal government announced its intention to resume control of settlement funding in BC.

Special Case #2: ESLSAP/CALP collaboration. WelcomeBC respondents identified one area of successful, albeit minor, collaboration with AVED. Since 2001, AVED had supported the Community Adult Literacy Program (CALP), with community-led literacy initiatives around the province. The CALP

projects were done primarily by community agencies, in collaboration with post-secondary institutions. In some cases, these are strong collaborations; however, in many cases, these are very loose collaborations, with the colleges acting as a flow-through for funding from AVED.

In 2007/8 there was corporate direction to address literacy, and WelcomeBC had been given a mandate to develop collaborations across Ministries with the CBCIA funding. From WelcomeBC's perspective, the CALP model was interesting in that it supported access to literacy in smaller communities across the province, at a relatively low cost. In 2008, WelcomeBC provided funding to AVED to support developing a parallel program to CALP called the English as a Second Language Settlement Assistance Program to support "recent immigrants and refugees who are settling in rural communities an opportunity to access basic English language programs." (News Release https://news.gov.bc.ca/stories/new-grants-help-immigrants-improve-english-skills-3 -). The program used approximately $2m of CBCIA funding, spread across 45 communities, and was managed out of the same branch within AVED as the Community Adult Literacy Program. Funding processes were run similarly to CALP - collaborations between community agencies and post-secondary institutions, with funding flowing through post-secondary institutions.

This collaboration was considered successful by AVED and WelcomeBC respondents because it met both AVED and WelcomeBC's goals related to adult immigrant literacy. WelcomeBC respondents thought it worked for several reasons. First, this collaboration was a purely additive and had a payoff rule: by building the collaboration, more funding would be added to support programming in smaller communities. Second, the boundary rules supported a co-funding model, rather than a competitive model: in almost all cases the funding approach (grants through a post-secondary) in local communities was competitive in name only, as in most communities the CALP provider was also the ESLSAP provider. Third, this was an area that avoided the boundary and choice rules that restricted most AVED work: CALP one of the rare programs that the Ministry of Advanced Education offered through a grant system to

community partners and was not included as part of the block funding for post-secondary institutions. As such, it worked outside of the *Colleges and Institutes Act* and allowed the Ministry to provide a much greater level of direction.

TRANSMISSION LEVEL

This section looks at how direction from the policy actors was transmitted to the implementing agencies. All three Ministries worked through external implementing agencies, and in many service areas with a reasonable level of immigration, all three major Ministries had implementing agencies: there could be offerings that included CALP, ELSA, college ESL and adult basic education, ESLSAP, school district and other community literacy and adult learner programs; these programs could be offered in settlement agencies, other community agencies, colleges, schools, libraries and private for-profit providers. However, the pattern of service provision was not random, due to the transmission process. This section looks at both the initial transmissions from policy actors to implementing agencies, as well as other efforts, and the impact that these had on the development of cross-ministry collaborations in the implementation area.

Ministry of Advanced Education. The Ministry of Advanced Education (AVED), as discussed above, had a strong overall boundary rule: its primary implementing agencies are the post-secondary institutions. AVED provides direction to post-secondary institutions through two documents: the Mandate Letter and the Budget Letter, which are highly consistent with the rules within the *Colleges and Institutes Act* (i.e. Ministry funding for seats and overall policy, but with significant institutional operational autonomy for the colleges). The Mandate Letter contains a few sections of interest, as can be seen through a review of Vancouver Community College's Mandate Letter (chosen as it is responsible for approximately half of all ESL provision in the post-secondary system). First, the Mandate Letter reiterates the relevant sections of the *College and Institutes Act*, including "in meeting the needs of its designated region, a college

provides adult basic education, English as a second language...programs [etc.]" (p.2 2016 VCC Mandate Letter). Second, the letter provides some high-level direction to VCC, "within the terms of the legislation, the Vancouver Community College will, in fulfilling its mandate, consider strategic priorities of Government when allocating institutional resources." (p3). The specifics of these sections can shift slightly from year to year but range from very high level (e.g. "continue to deliver on provincial priorities on international education") to the very specific ("Develop and implement an updated Skills Gap Plan). Over all, the mandate letter did not provide strong direction to the college due to the institutional autonomy built into the *Act.*

The second transmission document, the Budget Letter, outlines the funding for the institution. Given the limits on Ministry direction in the *Colleges and Institutes Act*, as well as the AVED "mantra of institutional autonomy" (AVED respondent), the funding allocation was very high level. The level of direction regarding English as a Second Language (ESL) programming in the Budget Letter was minimal: the ESL offering is subsumed under a more general set of funded seats called "developmental" programs, and the target was set only at the number of base-funded FTEs within the "developmental" programs, which provided the colleges significant flexibility in program design and delivery.

In analysing the AVED transmission documents using the rules framework, several issues may have affected WelcomeBC's ability to develop collaboration with the Ministry at the implementation level. There was little direction related to literacy or immigrants in the scope, aggregation or choice rules from the Ministry. In addition, the payoff rules primarily had to do with the achievement of enrolment targets, which could be seen as creating a zero-sum game between providers if there are a limited number of potential clients in a given service area. As mentioned above, the strong choice rules in favour of college operational and programming autonomy meant that colleges would be free to pursue a broad variety of courses to meet that payoff rule.

Table 11 - Summary of Rules in AVED Transmission

Rule Type	Findings of document review
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant literacy, how it is **framed**, and whether literacy is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** No mention of immigration **Interdependence**: N/A **Frame:** within broad category of developmental education; no scope limits within that category
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	Only Post-Secondary institutions are eligible to be implementers
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	None
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Primary payoff is for achieving enrolment targets in terms of funded seats
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Significant operational freedom, including scope of programming, to meet payoff rules

Ministry of Education. The relationship between the Ministry of Education and Boards of Education as the primary implementing agencies was governed by the *Schools Act*: the Ministry provides funding to the Board, which has significant autonomy in relation to its operations and activities. The primary transmission model is a block grant, based broadly on the number and types of students in the district, with high level, general policy direction from the Province, with respect for the considerable autonomy of the Boards of Education regarding its operations.

The Ministry did try to get more directive with the Boards of Education about literacy, with the introduction of a District Literacy Plan requirement in 2007, as part of the ReadNowBC process, to "expand […] the responsibility of Boards of Education to include collaboration with community partners."

(*ReadNowBC* District Literacy Plan guide p.1). The legislation, embedded in the *Schools Act,* explained what is required in the District Planning Process:

> "81.1 (1) A board must, on or before July 15 of a school year, establish and make available to the public a district literacy plan for the school year, setting out the plan for improving literacy in the school district.
> (2)A district literacy plan must address any matters required by the minister
> (3) Before establishing a district literacy plan, a board must provide an opportunity to persons in the school district who have an interest in literacy to review and comment on its proposed district literacy plan"

The requirements of those plans were spelled out in a district literacy planning guide; the requirements were fairly sparse but do include general directions that the plan is inclusive of adult education and should be collaborative. The guide articulated that one of the expected outcomes is that "broad-based literacy planning enables school districts and communities to […] increase collaboration" (DLP Guide, p.5), and in the section on collaboration, some of the questions that the DLP participants are asked to think about include "what other ways could we collaborate to support literacy in our community" (p.9).

From the analysis of the transmission documents using the rules regime, the direction by EDUC was fairly neutral with regards to collaboration on adult immigrant literacy, as the types of programming that school districts tend to do in the area of adult literacy are done by the school districts themselves rather than as a funded activity by the Ministry, with significant operational autonomy for the school districts. The one aspect of the transmission that would seem to support collaboration was the requirement for the ReadNow District Literacy Plans; but while this was an aggregation rule for the school districts, there were no additional payoff rules or requirements for others to participate, and there were no changes to the underlying choice or payoff rules for the School Boards in terms of achieving collaboration or coordination beyond the requirement for the delivery of the plan.

Table 12 Summary of Rules in EDUC Transmission

Rule Type	Findings of document review
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant literacy, how it is **framed**, and whether literacy is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** No mention of adult immigrant literacy **Interdependence**: N/A **Frame:** N/A
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	Only Boards of Education are eligible to be implementers
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	Boards responsible for collaborative district literacy plans; rule applies only to Boards
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	No payoff rules for adult immigrant or adult enrolments more generally
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Significant operational freedom, including scope of programming

WelcomeBC. WelcomeBC used open, competitive Request for Proposal (RFP) processes for its transmission to implementing agencies. This approach had two implications for the transmission phase. First, it had a broad boundary rule, which allows all actors who meet the requirements of the RFP to put in a bid, including everything from settlement agencies to for-profit organizations to post-secondary institutions to school districts. In this way, the act of transmission itself could cause the development of cross-Ministry nodes of delivery: the implementing agencies of AVED and EDUC (post-secondary institutions and school districts) were also able to bid on the RFPs. Second, the RFP was more directive in defining programming than what occurs in either the AVED or EDUC transmission models. The RFP for ELSA specifies the language level (based on the Canadian Language Benchmarks) the number of student contact hours per service delivery are, the general content of the courses and curriculum guidelines, and a general policy guideline for the entire program (ELSA RFP 2009), It also gave WelcomeBC the right to adjust the offerings per service delivery area at its sole discretion (3.3.8). This level of prescription makes

it so that WelcomeBC would have a much greater ability to direct the implementing agencies than either AVED or Education. WelcomeBC also included local collaboration in its ELSA RFPs as program requirements that “contractors will have linkages with local stakeholders or Community Partners in the area of adult ESL,” and an expectation that contractors will participate in WelcomeBC settlement-focused tables. The ELSA RFP stated that successful Contractors "will be required to become a member of ELSANet” (p.14), an umbrella organization for ELSA provider; ELSANet will be discussed more in the implementation section.

Overall, the WelcomeBC institutions in its transmission documents were much more open to different types of providers than AVED or EDUC and also much more directive regarding the delivery. However, the payoff rules in WelcomeBC’s approach were very similar to the other Ministries, with targets and funding set around the number of students and contact hours.

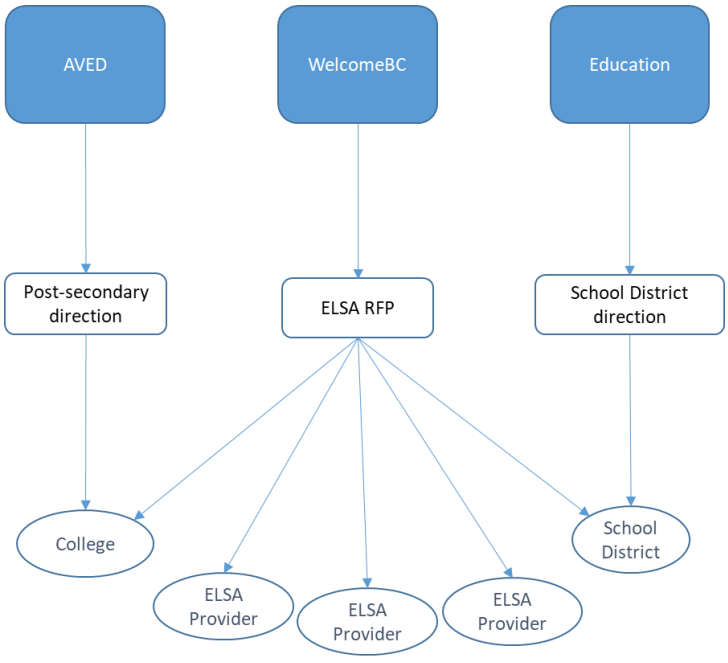
Table 13 - Summary of Rules in WelcomeBC Transmission

Rule Type	Findings of document review
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant literacy, how it is **framed**, and whether literacy is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Specific to immigrants **Interdependence**: Some recognition of interdependence, but minor **Frame:** Settlement language focused, with some labour market language as well.
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	Open to a broad range of implementers
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	Limited language re: implementers working with others
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Payoff to being successful in the RFP Payoff to meeting enrolment targets and class hours
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Limited freedom for implementers under a contractual model. Programming type and levels, and client eligibility fixed; changes to programming require approval from WelcomeBC.

Resulting patterns of implementation providers due to Transmission from Policy Actors

As both the Ministry of Advanced Education and Ministry of Education used closed funding models with their mandated implementing agencies, there was no cross-selection of providers for these Ministries' programs. However, as a result of the openness of the ELSA RFP, there was cross-selection of providers between ELSA, colleges and school districts; for example, in an ELSA procurement in 2009, five school districts and four post-secondary institutions provided ELSA programming as well as their own English Language programming. Given the curricular, programming and reporting requirements for the ELSA program, these programs tended to be run in colleges and schools with some separation from other programs in order to meet the respective accountabilities. However, this cross-funding led to some collaboration and creating of multi-funder service nodes at the implementation level that may not have otherwise materialized (to be discussed in more detail later). Figure 6 shows the transmission pathways.

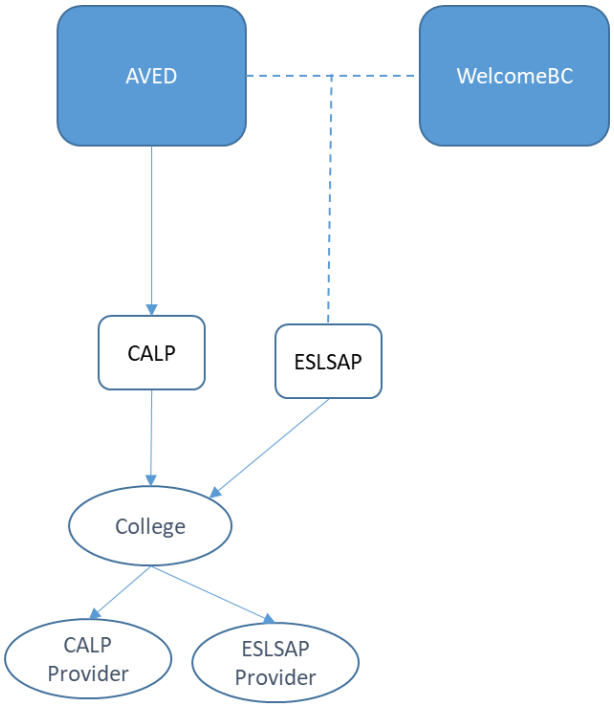
Figure 6 - Patterns of implementation providers due to Transmission



A special Case: ESLSAP/CALP Parallel Procurement. As mentioned above, the procurement processes for ESLSAP (funded by WelcomeBC) and CALP (funded by AVED) ran in close parallel. This had two implications for the development of collaborations at the implementation level. First, the ESLSAP

providers tended to be also those funded by the CALP, due to the similarity in the procurement model, and the limited range of agencies in these smaller communities that would meet the requirements. Second, the requirement for funding to flow through the colleges could potentially affect the development of collaborations between the colleges and the community providers in each of their regions. The figure below highlights the pathway for this collaboration.

Figure 7 - Results of Transmission - ESLSAP and CALP



Other attempts to build collaboration at the implementation level

There were further efforts by the Ministries to support local collaboration beyond the transmission process. The most notable examples were the development of District Literacy Plans under ReadNowBC, and the role of ELSANet under WelcomeBC.

District Literacy Planning Process. Under the ReadNowBC process school districts were required to develop District Literacy Plans. However, this requirement only put responsibility on the Boards of Education, as explicitly stated in the document:

> "Boards of Education are responsible for submitting a District Literacy Plan [DLP] on a yearly basis in collaboration with their communities as required by the Ministry of Education. Colleges, libraries and community organizations are responsible for their own participation in the development of the District Literacy Plan, just as they are responsible for the projects and programs that they operate as defined by their boards, programs or funders." (DLP guide p.11).

This approach identified the importance of collaboration, but provides no substantive tools to support it: while it gives clear direction and accountability to the Boards of Education, no one else has a clear accountability, and the EDUC and the school districts had no ability to compel those other actors or incentivize participation. Within that context, and the allowance for significant variation by school district, it is not surprising that the success measure of the DLP was weakly stated compared to corporate direction: "the fundamental success measure for the district literacy plan is demonstrated when implementation is underway, so that the goals of the plan are being met over time." (P.11, DLP guide). There was no discussion of measures of collaboration or, more importantly given the corporate direction in this area, ensuring that the core programs offered by School Districts, Colleges, and WelcomeBC providers within the district were coordinated and integrated towards corporate goals.

ELSANet. ELSANet was an organization funded by WelcomeBC to provide support to ELSA providers, and in later days, to ESLSAP providers as well. Of their four objectives, one spoke directly to collaboration outside of ELSA: "Collaborate with organizations with mutual concerns for developing and delivering resources and services for immigrants, refugees, and newcomers (ELSANet, 2012 p.8). When asked about the role of ELSANet in supporting collaborative efforts, WelcomeBC respondents said that they felt that ELSANet had been effective at supporting ELSA providers, and building the network of ELSA providers as identified in the ELSANet report (ELSANet, 2012). WelcomeBC Respondents were also clear that while ELSANet did provide support to cross-ministry discussions as appropriate, its' mandate was

kept fairly narrow both because of the scope of work required under the funding, and due to the preferences of the ELSA community it supported.

The dissertation will now turn to the perceptions of the key informants in this area on developing collaborations at the local level through the analytical framework.

Implementation Level: perceptions of collaboration at the implementation level, and factors affecting the development of collaborations

Overall, the direction to the implementation level may not have been supportive of collaboration between implementing agencies from the three policy actors. Table 14 provides a summary of the rules from the transmission level, which highlight that there was little direction from AVED or EDUC to give adult immigrant literacy scope importance, significant payoff rules for AVED and WelcomeBC for the achievement of enrolment targets under the funding model, significant freedom for AVED and EDUC providers in choosing their programming, and fairly weak aggregation rules under District Literacy Planning process.

Table 14 - Summary of Rules at the Implementation Level

Rule Type	Summary of Rules from Transmission at Implementation Level		
	AVED	**EDUC**	**WelcomeBC**
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant literacy, how it is **framed**, and whether literacy is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** No mention of adult immigrant literacy **Interdependence**: N/A **Frame:** developmental education; no scope limits within that category	**Importance:** No mention of adult immigrant literacy **Interdependence**: N/A **Frame:** N/A	**Importance:** High **Interdependence**: Some recognition of interdependence, but minor **Frame:** Settlement language focused, with some labour market language as well.
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	Only Post-Secondary institutions are eligible to be implementers	Only Boards of Education are eligible to be implementers	Open to a broad range of implementers
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	None	Boards responsible for collaborative district literacy plans; rule applies only to Boards	Limited language re: implementers working with others

Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Payoff for achieving enrolment targets in terms of funded seats	No payoff rules for adult immigrant or adult enrolments more generally	Payoff rules related to meeting enrolment targets and class hours Payoff rule to winning RFP
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Significant operational freedom, including scope of programming, to meet payoff rules	Significant operational freedom, including scope of programming; Requirement to lead the district literacy planning process	Limited freedom for implementers under a contractual model. Programming type and levels, and client eligibility fixed; changes to programming require approval from WelcomeBC.

Overall, the respondents felt that, within this rule-set, there was not much real collaboration at the implementation level. As one AVED respondent put it: "I didn't see a lot of relationship there […] I honestly didn't see a lot of interaction between the NGOs and the post-secondary institutions […] I didn't see a huge partnership. They're just fixed in their ways and they're protecting their turf." There were some minor exceptions noted by a WelcomeBC respondent. First, in some of the smaller communities, there were collaborations where the different agencies had come to an understanding about roles and mandates, and so addressed the scope and payoff rule issues identified above. The second was the nodes created by a college receiving funding from both AVED and WelcomeBC. The most notable of these was Vancouver Community College, which was a significant provider of both WelcomeBC- funded ELSA programs and AVED-funded ESL programs. VCC was not only a node for both of these programs, they actively worked on building bridges between ELSA classes and the AVED funded ESL programs to support transitions of new immigrants both within their own system and more broadly.

Factors affecting collaboration development

Respondents identified several factors that they felt influenced the formation of collaborative service delivery networks (or lack thereof) at the implementation level, which will be discussed using the rules rubric.

Factor 1: Overall payoff structure. The critical issue that affecting collaboration at the implementation level identified by WelcomeBC and AVED respondents was the payoff rule embedded in enrolment-driven funding models of AVED/colleges and the WelcomeBC/ELSA agencies – the number of students being taught had a direct relationship to the funding the implementing agency would receive. This was seen as creating an incentive for "poaching" clients, as one WelcomeBC respondent put it, or otherwise taking action to maximize enrolments. All agencies had an incentive to meet or exceed their delivery targets, and as such, there was little incentive to engage in discussions about more systemic approaches or sharing clients to best meet client needs. As a respondent put it: "they're protecting their turf. I know there was some jealousy as well, some rivalry about who got the money." An example of this was a funding issue in a region, where a college offered both WelcomeBC-funded ELSA programming and AVED-funded ESL and Adult Basic Education. Because of the success of the joint programs, it created a situation where other ELSA providers in the area were not getting sufficient clients to meet their targets, and that resulted in the reduction in the size of one of the other ELSA contracts. This payoff rule created competition between providers, and reduced incentive for implementing agencies to collaborate or think systemically if it resulted in a reduction in enrolments for their organization.

Factor 2: Choice, Scope and Payoff Rules. This issue of payoff rules incentivizing client capture to meet enrolment targets was exacerbated by the inability of AVED or EDUC to direct the scope of the programming of the school districts and colleges to create/reinforce scope complementarity. WelcomeBC's funded programs had a robust contract model, with clearly defined programming; the other two ministries had much less capacity to direct the choices made at the implementation level by the colleges and school districts. As such, the colleges and school districts had extensive freedom to define their scope of delivery as necessary to achieve the payoff rules: as their funding was enrolment based (either through AVED base funding or school boards continuing education fees), there was an incentive to deliver the range of programs that would maximize enrolments. While at one point, there

had been a perceived “gentleman’s agreement” (WelcomeBC respondent) that colleges would stick more to academic English programming, leaving the settlement programming to ELSA, over time this distinction got blurrier as colleges expanded the scope of their offerings. This was noted by one WelcomeBC respondent as creating “tension” and competition rather than collaboration.

A WelcomeBC respondent also noted there were areas where the relationships did work out between implementing agencies. For example, in one delivery area, a local post-secondary, an ELSA provider and an ESLSAP/CALP program built a network between the programs to connect learners to the right classes/approaches and building a pathway between the programs. In large part, this was attributed to everyone agreeing to a clearly defined scope of work for each implementation actor, regardless of whether or not the government directed it, and because everyone was able to meet their own enrolment targets which reduced competition.

Factor 3: Weak aggregation rules, insufficient payoff and choice rules, and scope of District Plans. The district literacy plans, and the process to develop the district literacy plans, were insufficient to support collaboration towards a more coordinated and integrated system as desired in the corporate direction. This was due in large part to the weakness of the aggregation rules, and related incentives (payoff rules) or requirements (choice rules) for non-Education implementing agencies. While direction was given to the Boards of Education, this did not apply to other actors. This is not to say that the settlement agencies and colleges were not at the table; there was pretty good, at least on paper, engagement from the colleges and WelcomeBC agencies (Glickman 2011, p.50). However, for many of the respondents, there were challenges with participating in the collaboration process due primarily to resource constraints, both in terms of core funding and in terms of supports for coordination (Glickman 2011).

When looking at the examples of coordination and collaboration identified in the body of the evaluation report, the activities tend to be very incremental collaborations – things that would not affect the core business or trigger the payoff rules related to enrolment. This includes websites, or greater

awareness or “participation in meetings increased and expanded knowledge of what literacy programs are taking place through other organizations” (Glickman 2011 p.52). The scope of the plans was also limited. The focus on 'building on what is already happening' means that they were not addressing what the AVED respondent was looking for in terms of developing coordinated and integrated approaches:

> “I found the ReadNowBC community action plans, they would pull people to the table, but a lot of it was just detailing what people were doing. Maybe it just needed more time to evolve into a more integrated plan, but I honestly didn’t see a lot of interaction between the NGOs and the post-secondary institutions.” (AVED Respondent)

Assessing the effectiveness of the district literacy plans in fostering collaboration depends a bit on which benchmark is being used. For the purposes of the corporate direction to achieve the Great Goal of the most literate jurisdiction, the District Literacy plan approach did not go far enough, either in concept or in application due to the limited scope, aggregation, payoff, and choice rules as discussed above. This lack of collaborative progress can be seen in how they are addressed in the final report for *ReadNowBC*: the District Literacy Plans, which were supposed to be the backbone of the ReadNow approach, receive only minor attention with a recognition that the plans were done but no discussion of impact or how they influenced collaboration, policy or funding discussions (*ReadNowBC* Final Report p. 6).

Factor 4: Scope importance of ELSANet representatives in support of intra-ELSA collaboration. While it was limited to their membership, ESLANet was seen by WelcomeBC respondents as a positive support for collaboration between the full range of ELSA providers (including colleges and school districts). One WelcomeBC respondent noted that this may have been due to the mix of people on the ELSANet committees, which tended to be either instructors or program managers for ELSA programs whose primary focus was on teaching; this was mentioned in contrast to other umbrella organizations where the leadership tended to be Executive Directors (EDs): “it wasn’t EDs at the table, so it wasn’t empire-building EDs. It was more program directors who were passionate about language training… so at that level, I think you saw colleges happily collaborating with non-profits, with privates… whereas at the

[other] table, you had EDs of settlement agencies who hated the fact that private (providers) had government contracts, and that colleges shouldn't be in the game."

CONCLUSION – ENGLISH LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

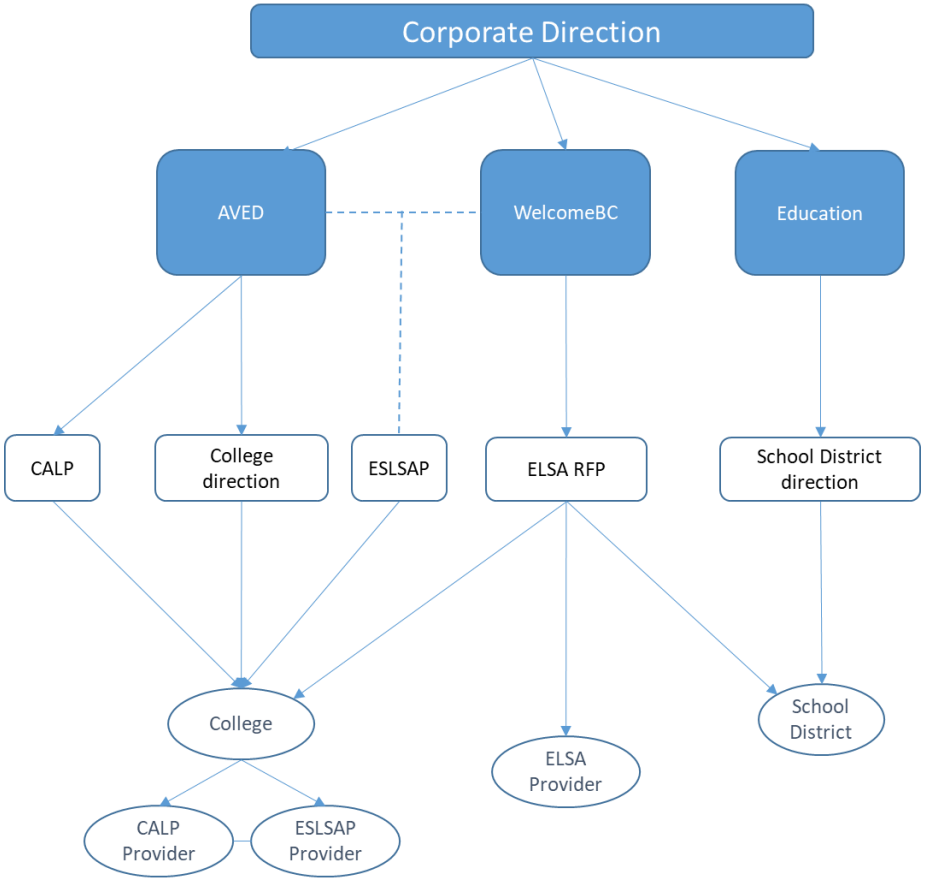
Overall, WelcomeBC respondents felt they were not very successful in building effective collaboration in for English Language Development, either at the Policy Level or at the Implementation Level, beyond a few limited communities or in the nodes of service providers funded by more than one Ministry. Figure 8 summarizes the findings of the chapter using the analytical framework. The primary outcome question for the policy level is whether WelcomeBC was able to foster a collaborative cross-Ministry network approach that would support the achievement of both its defining position for English Language Development and the overall goal of immigrants being able to fully contribute to the social and economic prosperity of the Province. This chapter suggests that the answer is "no." Even with the issue named as one of the government's top priorities, with calls for collaboration from corporate documents as well as outside sources (e.g. Standing Committee, OAG) , WelcomeBC was not able to foster any real level of collaboration (other than the creation of the ESLSAP program) at the policy level, due to:

- The low relative importance of the issue of immigrant literacy for either of the other policy actors compared to their core functions (K-12 and post-secondary), and the reinforcement of that importance in the payoff, aggregation and boundary rules;
- The limited ability of the other policy actors to direct the implementing agencies;
- the competition between the other two ministries to achieve the payoff of being seen as the lead on a government's priority;
- Weak corporate aggregation rules that did not affect any of the Ministries' underlying rules.

At the transmission level, the primary question from the analytical framework was the extent to which there were any cross-Ministry service provider connections created. While both AVED and EDUC's

primary means of transmission had closed boundary rules, such that only colleges and school districts could be implementing agencies, WelcomeBC's open procurement for ELSA and the combined procurement with AVED for the ESLSAP program did create some initial cross-Ministry service provider networks. The ELSA/School District or ELSA/College nodes were seen by WelcomeBC respondents to build bridges between the funded programs from different policy actors (e.g. VCC's approach), and in doing so, help build out the broader connections to other WelcomeBC providers. However, overall at the implementation level, the fact that all of these programs had payoff rules associated with enrolments and/or class hours made it so that the relationships between implementing agencies tended to be competitive rather than collaborative. The weak aggregation rules of the District Literacy Plans and the limited choice rules to direct either the school districts or colleges made it so that the dynamic of the payoff rules remained primary in most delivery areas, other than where the implementing agencies independently came to an agreement on an appropriate range of programming of each implementer, or in intra-ELSA collaboration as was seen in ELSANet.

Figure 8 - Summary of English Language Development



Rule Type	Policy Level		
	Corporate Direction	**AVED (Internal)**	**EDUC (Internal)**
Scope:	**Importance:** High **Interdependence**: Recognized **Frame:** IALSS Results	**Importance:** Low **Interdependence**: N/A **Frame:** Developmental education	**Importance:** Very low **Interdependence**: N/A **Frame:** N/A
Boundary	EDUC lead for overall goal, AVED for adult literacy.	Colleges as implementers	School Districts as implementers
Aggregation	Expectation for Ministries to work together	Aggregation primarily with colleges	Aggregation primarily with School Districts
Payoff	Payoff for being seen as a leader	Payoff for meeting post-secondary targets	Payoff for meeting K-12 targets
Choice	No specific additional choice rules.	Limited ability to direct colleges operations	Limited ability to direct school districts.

Rule Type	Summary of Rules from Transmission		
	AVED	**EDUC**	**WelcomeBC**
Scope:	**Importance:** No mention **Interdependence**: N/A **Frame:** Developmental Education	**Importance:** No mention **Interdependence**: N/A **Frame:** N/A	**Importance:** High **Interdependence**: Minor **Frame:** Settlement language
Boundary	Only Colleges	Only School Districts	Open
Aggregation	None	Lead district literacy plan	Limited
Payoff	Payoff for achieving enrolment targets in terms of funded seats	No payoff rules of interest	Payoff rules: meeting enrolment/class targets
Choice	Significant operational freedom	Significant operational freedom	Limited freedom for implementers

CHAPTER 7
CASE 2: LABOUR MARKET

Labour market integration is identified by immigrants as the second most important factor after English language development (LSIC, cited in WelcomeBC 2009). Under the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework, the 'defining position' for Labour Market was that "BC immigrants' international education, skills and experience will be utilized and valued in BC's labour market and economy" in support of the overall goal that "British Columbia's immigrants fully contribute to the social and economic prosperity of the Province" (WelcomeBC, 2009). The first section of this chapter looks at why WelcomeBC would need to collaborate in order to achieve that defining position, before turning to an analysis of rules at the policy, transmission, and implementation levels, and the perceived impact of those rules on the development of collaborative approaches.

Achieving the defining position for immigrant labour market success required WelcomeBC to collaborate due to the magnitude of the issue and the limitations on the federal funding under the CBCIA. Each year, more than 22,000 working age immigrants arrive in BC, many with significant barriers to participating fully in the labour market as discussed in the introductory chapters. WelcomeBC budgeted around $20m in funding annually for Labour Market programming (WelcomeBC 2009), but given the scale of immigration and the broad range of interventions necessary as discussed in the introductory chapters, this funding was insufficient to address immigrant labour market needs at a level that would achieve the defining position and overall WelcomeBC goal.

Even if there was sufficient funding, the terms of the Canada-BC Immigration Agreement (CBCIA 2010) also created challenges for WelcomeBC. The first challenging term was the limitation on client eligibility: once an individual becomes a citizen, they are no longer eligible for CBCIA-funded services, regardless of whether or not they have achieved labour market integration. For many immigrants, there can be pressures to get employment quickly upon arrival, even if it is not on par with their education or

experience. Working while learning English and settling into their communities can limit immigrants' time for pursuing labour market programming prior to citizenship. As citizens, they are no longer eligible for WelcomeBC programs, and WelcomeBC would have to collaborate in order to achieve goals around labour market integration. The second significant CBCIA term challenge was limits on the types of services that were eligible for CBCIA funding. Section 3.0 of Annex A "Scope of Settlement and Integration Services" appears to be open to a broad range of labour market services for immigrants:

> 3.1 Settlement and integration services, which are designed, administered and delivered by British Columbia under the terms of this Annex, may include, but are not limited to, the following:
>
> […]
>
> (d) labour market participation – labour market bridging, job search skills, labour market information, workplace orientation, business activity preparation and mentoring;

However, there was clear direction from the federal government that labour market skills training was not to be funded from the settlement funding (WelcomeBC respondent). This was challenging because many immigrants need additional skills training to support their transition to the Canadian workplace. For WelcomeBC to achieve its defining position and overall goals, they would need to collaborate with those whose funding could address what they could not with CBCIA funding.

POLICY LEVEL

This section outlines the key policy actors, reviews key documents to identify the internal rules of the policy actors, provides an overview of the context and corporate direction given, provides an assessment of the perceived level of collaboration between policy level actors, and identifies the perceived factors that affected the development of collaboration at the policy level.

Policy actors

The responsibility for provincial labour market programming was split among policy actors. In order to

achieve its defining position and overall goals, WelcomeBC attempted to foster collaboration with[13]

- the Ministry responsible for the Labour Market Development Agreement (LMDA), with responsibility for the management of employment programs
- The branch responsible for the Labour Market Agreement (LMA) funding, which is responsible for skills training and upgrading of lower-skilled individuals;[14]

WelcomeBC. As WelcomeBC has already been introduced, this section will provide a brief overview of how labour market integration is reflected in the key documents, and the programming offered by WelcomeBC. Immigrant labour market success was one of the three lines of business within the WelcomeBC Strategic Framework, and given significant priority in its reporting. WelcomeBC's framing of immigrant labour market success had three components. The first two were generic labour market considerations: labour market participation and overall labour market outcomes (e.g. employed). However, WelcomeBC also had a significant focus on underemployment: "many immigrants continue to experience lack of recognition of their international skills, training and experience. As such, recently-arrived newcomers who are highly educated and skilled continue to be significantly underemployed" (WelcomeBC 2009, p.14). This focus informed the defining position of WelcomeBC: "BC immigrants' international education, skills and experience will be utilized and valued in BC's labour market and economy." As discussed earlier, WelcomeBC's Strategic Framework also included a strong emphasis on collaboration, with Partnerships and Sector Development considered a core foundational element and in the area of Labour Market, WelcomeBC identified in its strategies the need for a framework to support a coordinated approach to strengthen immigrant and labour market integration in British Columbia.

[13] There were other government actors as well, but more on the periphery. These included the Ministry of Advanced Education (responsible for post-secondary education as well as the regulation of several key professional designations), and the Ministry of Health, which had responsibility for labour market planning for the health sector as well as the regulation of health-related professions. However, since these are not directly related to labour-market service provision, they are not part of the study.

[14] During this time, WelcomeBC and the branch responsible for the LMA were in the same Division and Ministry.

WelcomeBC's primary work in the area of immigrant labour market integration was basic labour market information and orientation programs, mentorship programs, and labour market-focused language training. The exception to the CBCIA limitations was the Skills Connect program, which was co-funded with provincial funding to support skilled immigrants to have their credentials recognized in the labour market; however, this was a very small program overall, with about $5m in provincial funding.

Ministry of Social Development - responsible for LMDA. The purpose of the Ministry was to "assist all British Columbians in achieving their social and economic potential" (2009 SP p.6). The responsibilities of the Ministry were broad, including labour market programming (e.g. Employment and Assistance Program, the Labour Market Development Agreement, employment programming for unemployed and underemployed people) and other issues (e.g. disability, housing, liquor licensing, gaming regulation).

Immigrant labour market success did not appear as very important for the Ministry and immigrants in the reviewed document: they were not mentioned at all in the 'Purpose' of the Ministry sections, and MSD's performance measures did not include any specific mention of immigration or immigrant labour market success. However, starting in 2011/12, the immigrant population is identified as one of many specialized populations for programming. The Ministry's primary labour market focus was on 'return to employment' in all but one of the years under study, driven by the terms of the *Labour Market Development Agreement* (more on this later). This framing was reinforced by performance measures which differed slightly from year to year (e.g. returned to employment; employed at least 70 hours per month/achieve $560 per month; achieve employment or community attachment), but are always focused on a return to employment with a low bar as to quality of employment.

While not specific to immigrant labour market, there was a lot of vague language related to the concepts of partnership, collaboration and integration of approaches in all policy areas for the Ministry (e.g. Ministry is focused on an "integrated" approach and works "in collaboration with other ministries, levels of government, business, community and service organizations" to "serve [ ] the needs of those

who receive our services" (e.g. 2010/11 SP, p.10)). This appears to come from a general understanding of scope-interdependency in the labour market area: "challenges such as labour market uncertainty… cannot be solved by a single organization. Their complex nature requires a collective and integrated response from all levels of government, business and community organizations" (MSD 2009 SP p. 8).

The other guiding document for the Ministry was the 2008 Canada-BC Labour Market Development Agreement (LMDA). Under the LMDA, BC assumed responsibility for the design and delivery of Employment Insurance (EI) funded employment benefits and support measures, along with nearly $300 million per year from the federal government. The primary intent of LMDA programming was to help EI clients and the unemployed general public to prepare for and obtain employment, through benefits and measures to clients (skills development subsidies; earnings supplements; wage supplements; training, employment counseling, work experiences). While not specifically targeting immigrants, the LMDA included significant language regarding the need to address a "broad range of client groups" (Annex 3 Section 2.1.a), and that they will offer clients "flexible and tailored services to meet individual needs." The LMDA had a very clear and narrow framing of employment success that can be found in the first recital:

> "Whereas Canada and British Columbia agree of the importance of the development of a skilled workforce and to the *rapid* re-employment of unemployed British Columbians" (emphasis added) (LMDA 2008 Recital 1).

The focus on *rapid* re-employment was driven in part by sections 3.3 and 3.4 of the LMDA: that the approaches taken by BC must adhere to the "requirement of similarity and consistency with the purpose and guidelines of Part II of the EI Act" (3.3, 3.4 LMDA 2008), with a focus in the guidelines on the "reduction of dependency on unemployment benefits by helping individuals obtain or keep employment" (57.1.b EI Act 1996). Noticeably absent from the guidelines in the EI Act was any discussion of the *quality* of employment. This emphasis on rapid return to employment was reinforced by the performance measures included in Annex 4 of the LMDA that include measures of return to

employment and savings to the Employment Insurance Account (due to individuals returning to work and not using their full insurance entitlement (LMDA 2008)). Due to the nature of the Agreement, aligning with these directions and achieving these measures acts as a payoff rule: for BC to continue to receive that $300 million, the Province needed to comply with the terms of the LMDA.

The emphasis on saving funds by returning people to work prior to the use of their full entitlement tended to prioritize finding any form of employment, regardless of the appropriateness of that employment, and was a very different scope-framing to WelcomeBC's focus on underemployment. The LMDA did include some discussion of collaboration, with a focus on integrated approaches and coordinated delivery (6.1 and 6.3). Under Annex 3 Section 3.2, BC identified that they will provide "a continuum of service offerings across a number of provincial ministries and will coordinate labour market and skills training programs offered by [the province]."

Both the LMA and LMDA required an annual plan and report as part of the accountability for the federal funding. This section outlines the general components of the plans shared between the LMA and LMDA, and then focuses on the LMDA-specific components of the plans. The plans referenced the issue of immigrant labour market participation and success several times. This included generic statements such as "immigrants [among other groups such as Aboriginal, disabled, etc.] will be increasingly important to Canadian society, labour market and economy" (p.15 LMDA/LMA Plan 2011/12). Immigrants were also mentioned in discussions of the LMA and the LMDA, and the report identified the immigrant population as a "specialized community" for programming. While the Plans minimally discussed the labour market issues facing immigrants, Appendix 1 of the report encapsulated the challenges faced by recent and longer-term immigrants (e.g. underemployment, lower participation rates and gender differences in participation rates, difficulty finding work for recent immigrants, regardless of education level, and the time require to achieve parity in employment rates (pp. 41-42).

While not specific to immigrant labour market success, there was some recognition of scope-interdependency in labour market policy: the Plan states that "Addressing complex labour market challenges requires a collective, integrated and citizen-centred response from all level of government, business, non-profit and community organizations. There was language around collaboration within the LMA/LMDA plans, although the language is at a low bar (e.g. the creation of the joint LMA/LMDA plan itself is shown as proof of collaboration (p.14)). There was also discussion of collaborations outside of the two main policy actors, although it was also very generic and lacking detail. The most notable change in these documents over the years for the LMDA was the implementation of the new Employment Program through the Business Transformation Project in 2012/13, which was a major initiative for the Ministry and a significant shift in procurement and program delivery; however, the overall measures for the federal accountability remained the same (savings to EI account, number of clients, and return to work).

Overall, several potential issues were identified in the LMDA documents that could affect WelcomeBC's efforts at collaboration. Table 14 below provides an analysis of the above, using the rules regime identified in the analytical framework. Immigrant labour market integration had a low relative scope-importance for the Ministry, since it was focused on the delivery of a massive overhaul of its systems with the Business Transformation project. To extent that it was on its radar, the LMDA scope framing was significantly different from WelcomeBC, with a focus on rapid reemployment, reinforced by choice and payoff rules. The rules analysis also suggests that the LMDA was potentially a closed-loop system - a clearly defined, limited frame of success, reinforced by choice and payoff rules, with a dedicated funding source to achieve that success, within the context of significant pressure to deliver on the Business Transformation project. Overall, the rules analysis suggests it would be challenging for WelcomeBC to foster a truly collaborative approach with the LMDA to meeting WelcomeBC's goals.

Table 14 - Summary of Rules at Policy Level - LMDA

Rule Type	Findings of document review
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant labour market success, how it is **framed**, and whether it is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Relatively minor importance: immigrants one of many target groups for programming **Framing:** Very different framing of labour market success from WelcomeBC focused on rapid reemployment and savings to EI account **Interdependence:** Some recognition of scope interdependence in the language regarding the broader labour market, but limited in the specific program offerings given the narrowly defined outcomes and the funding being available to achieve those outcomes
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	No significant boundary rules
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	No strong aggregation rules
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Payoff associated with the achievement of the requirements of the LMDA funding and the associated performance measures in the Service Plan re: rapid re-employment, Payoff associated with the implementation of the Business Transformation Project.
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Limited choice rules to work outside the definitions within the LMDA Agreement regarding the purpose and desired outcomes.

Ministry responsible for Labour Market Agreement (LMA). The responsibility for Labour Market Agreement programming and WelcomeBC fell under the same Ministry and often the same division; however, the Ministry housing the LMA and WelcomeBC shifted several times, including: Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development; Ministry of Regional Economic and Skills Development (RESD); Jobs, Tourism and Innovation; and Jobs, Tourism and Skills Training and Ministry Responsible for Labour. The common theme across the different ministries was a focus on jobs and labour market development as a primary purpose of the Ministry.

Given WelcomeBC was in the same Ministry, it is not surprising that there were some references to immigrant labour market within the Service Plans, although the depth of discussion and framing differs a bit by host Ministry and year, e.g.: "one-third of all job openings in the next ten years will need to be filled by immigrants," (ALMD 2009) and immigrants as one of the "traditionally under-represented groups" and "underutilized" groups that would benefit from a greater focus to meet labour market demands (RESD 2011). However, even with WelcomeBC in the same Ministry, the relative importance of immigrant labour market integration was never particularly high, e.g. only 4 lines out of 3 pages in the Purpose of the Ministry for 2012/13 focused on immigrants. While immigrants were mentioned in the labour market components of the Service Plans, the emphasis was on attraction of skilled immigrants and temporary foreign workers/Provincial Nominees to meet labour market needs. In later years, there were some mentions of broader labour market success for immigrants, but it is difficult to parse out what is language for the LMA branch or WelcomeBC. The primary measures for the Ministry focused on the achievement of goals other than immigrant labour market success; where there were measures related to immigration, they were primarily to do with the attraction of immigrants as workers, although 2012 included an aggregate measure of the number of labour market clients supported through the LMA and WelcomeBC (2012). Across all LMA/WelcomeBC Ministries, there is a lot of discussion of collaboration, but with either the external business community and/or community organizations, or with front line-delivery partners. Only in the later years, there was some increased discussion around cross-Ministry collaborations, with regards to the *Jobs Plan* and other cross-ministry initiatives, but not immigrant labour market. There was no discussion of LMA and WelcomeBC internal collaborations across all years.

Another key guiding document for the LMA unit was the Canada-BC Labour Market Agreement signed in 2008. The Labour Market Agreement provided the framework for $396m (over multiple years) in funding from the federal government to the Province, with the intention to "increase the quantity and

enhance the quality of Canada's labour force" by supporting "Individuals who are not in the labour market, and therefore not eligible for Employment Insurance, as well as under-represented groups:

- Aboriginal people, immigrants, persons with disabilities, youth, women, older workers and other under-represented groups within the labour market; and
- Individuals entering or re-entering the labour market" (LMA Information Package (2008).

The LMA funding could also be used to support those lacking literacy and essential skills and/or did not have a high school diploma or a recognized credential. To address these clients' needs, the LMA allowed for a broad range of interventions, including skills training, job readiness assistance, employment counseling and services, financial supports such as loans, grants and living allowances, and labour market connections that promote and enhance labour market efficiency, with direction to "ensure that LMA programs complement and do not overlap or duplicate existing employment/labour market programs." Similar to the CBCIA and LMDA, there was an implied payoff rule with delivering on the agreed terms of the LMA to allow for renewal of the LMA to allow BC to continue accessing and controlling the funding.

The *Canada-BC Labour Market Agreement* explicitly recognized the immigrant population as one of several under-represented population in the labour market. When looking at the annual joint LMA/LMDA plans and reports), immigrants were recognized as "highly represented" in the eligible client groups for the LMA (unemployed but non-EI clients; employed individuals who are low-skilled, or who have low levels of literacy and essential skills). The immigrant population was identified as a "target population" (p.24) for two program lines, and were eligible for others. The LMA measures in the plans and reports provide an understanding of the desired outcomes of the LMA, and are more complex than the LMDA, as there are expected outcomes and measures for each "intervention/service" types, with immigrants identified specifically in measures for two of the four service types. All of the interventions and services under the LMA track the same performance metric data, including found employment,

satisfaction, hours, wages upon exit, participation rates by target groups, etc. (p.24; see also Wood and Hayes, 2016), which aligned somewhat better with the WelcomeBC approach than the LMDA framing. LMA also had a broader, more inclusive definition of immigrant than WelcomeBC - including any age cohort, and any length of time in Canada (p.24), and so was not bound by the same requirements as WelcomeBC regarding citizenship.

There was some limited discussion of collaboration within the LMA Plan, but primarily on LMA funded projects: BC will "provide the programs through an integrated and client-centered service delivery network," with programming "to be delivered through a variety of Ministries and government organizations". The LMA staff was to coordinate "with all ministries and agencies receiving funds to ensure accountability and reporting requirements under the Agreement are met" (Canada-BC LMA information package). There were no requirements or incentives to promote collaboration.

Overall, when reviewing these documents through the analytical framework (as shown in the table below), there is much more scope-framing alignment with WelcomeBC than the LMDA, although immigrants are only one of several eligible groups so it is difficult to assess scope importance from the documents. The remaining rules would, *prima facie*, be relatively neutral with respect to WelcomeBC's collaborative efforts.

Table 15 Summary of Rules at the Policy Level - LMA

Rule Type	Findings of document review
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant labour market success, how it is **framed**, and whether it is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Immigrants are recognized as 'highly represented' in the eligible client groups; more emphasis on other populations (e.g. Aboriginal) **Framing:** focus on improved labour market outcomes, including quality of employment, which is more in line with WelcomeBC's framing. Very inclusive definition of immigrant. **Interdependence:** Some discussion of interdependence, and value of working with other Ministries for delivery in an integrated system. However, much of the language is primarily about ensuring coordination within LMA-funded programs
Boundary rules	No major boundary rules

Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	No requirements or incentives identified to partner, although some language supporting collaboration in the Service Plans and LMA report; discussion about engagement with employers and the community
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Payoff associated with the achievement of the requirements of the LMA funding and the associated performance measures in the Service Plan.
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Choice rules limited by LMA in terms of the types of programming and for which client groups (non-EI); otherwise nothing that would limit or encourage collaboration.

Corporate Direction

During the study period, two corporate documents provided direction related to BC's labour market initiatives: *Skills for Growth* and *Canada Starts Here: the BC Jobs Plan*. This section will provide a brief overview of these documents and the potential implications for WelcomeBC's collaboration attempts.

Skills for Growth: British Columbia's Labour Market Strategy to 2020 was written in 2010, under the guidance of the Ministry of Regional Economic and Skills Development as a provincial strategy, to address "one of [BC's] largest economic challenges – ensuring we have enough workers, with the right skills in every region of the province to maximize British Columbia's economic potential" (Minister's Foreword, *Skills for Growth*, 2010 p. i). The issue of immigrants in the labour market was threaded throughout the *Skills for Growth* document, referencing the BC Labour Market Model that projected that immigrants will be required to meet 1/3rd of job openings over the next decade. However, the main mechanism for addressing that need in the *Skills for Growth* plan was the attraction of skilled immigrants, rather than a more general improvement of the labour market outcomes for immigrants. There were potential conceptual linkages to the WelcomeBC framing of immigrant labour market success, including reference to a British Columbia immigrant employment framework that "improves connections between employers and immigrants and labour market success for immigrants" (p.19), and

an objective to “improve the labour market attachment and employment outcomes for newcomers” (p.20).

The plan also highlighted the importance of collaboration: “Collaboration is essential to delivering a skilled workforce… Particularly important will be developing well-coordinated collaborations between all participants in the labour market system to successfully prepare all British Columbians to enter, transition into, or re-skill for a constantly changing labour market” (p.2). Part of the vision is “a coordinated network of organizations that support connections between workers and employers and workers with training” (p.8). However, this language seemed primarily about fostering collaboration at the regional level, with regions divided by the college regions of BC, which makes sense given the Ministry responsible for the development of the plan (Regional Economic and Skills Development). In the priority area specifically to do with immigrants, the discussion of collaboration was with those who are involved in the attraction and credentialing of new skilled immigrants. There was no discussion, direction or incentives to increase collaboration between policy actors to support broader immigrant labour market success.

In 2011, the BC government published *Canada Starts Here: the BC Jobs Plan*, (*Jobs Plan*), its plan to “create long-term jobs and investment in [BC]” by “taking [BC’s] strategic competitive advantages and using them for the benefit of our entire province” (p.1). The document sought to provide overall direction for BC’s economic development work, including a commitment to a skilled workforce through “ensuring our skills and training programs lead the way to the jobs of tomorrow” (p.2). The issue of immigration or immigrant labour market issues were not coherently addressed in the document, beyond the targeted attraction of skilled immigrants, immigrant investors and entrepreneurs. There was general discussion about collaboration (e.g. within sector specific plans, or more generally collaborations with industry, educators etc.), that recognized at a high level the value of collaboration for the achievement of the overall *Jobs Plan*. Only one section specifically addressed labour market programming through

Regional Workforce Tables, which were intended to be a "new platform for educators, industry, employers, local chambers of commerce, First Nations, labour and others to plan how best to align training programs to meet regional needs" (p.17); however, these Tables were to ensure college and related training was appropriate rather than collaboration across labour market programs.

While *BC's Skills for Jobs Blueprint: Reengineering Education and Training* came out after the study period (2014), it had an interesting look at the relative scope importance of immigrant labour market within the provincial government's labour market approach. The same demographic pressures were quoted (1m job openings; 530,000 graduates) that show up in other BC labour market strategy documents, which typically included discussion of the role of immigrants in addressing the gap. In this plan, however, Aboriginal, youth and persons with disabilities were highlighted in the document as key populations to close this gap rather than immigrants, while immigrants were discussed primarily in terms of attracting specific skilled immigrants or addressing foreign qualification recognition. The BC government's focus on youth, Aboriginal people, and persons with disabilities would be a challenge for WelcomeBC in developing collaborative approaches to improve immigrant labour market integration, if those other groups were given priority.

Overall, the rules from the corporate direction summarized in the table below do not show a high scope importance for immigrant labour market success. Where immigrants were discussed, it was primarily regarding attracting new skills immigrants and temporary foreign workers to meet labour market needs, rather than on supporting the broader range of immigrants through labour market programming. Emphasis on collaboration tended to be more about collaborating with employers, sector organizations, industry and training bodies (e.g. colleges), rather than collaboration across labour market policy or programming. There is little in the way of aggregation, choice or payoff rules to require or incentivize collaboration with other Ministries. The corporate direction overall did not seem to be supportive of WelcomeBC's efforts to collaborate.

Table 16 Summary of Rules from Corporate Direction

Rule Type	Findings of document review
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant labour market success, how it is **framed**, and whether it is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Relatively minor importance **Framing:** Primarily focused on the attraction of new skilled immigrants and temporary foreign workers rather than immigrants **Interdependence:** recognition of the importance of collaboration to address
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	No major boundary rules; focus is on employers, sectors and industry.
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	No strong aggregation requirements; significant discussion of importance of working with employers, sectors; limited talk about collaboration in programming
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	No specific incentives besides supporting a government priority
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Nothing of note

Summary of Policy Level rules from the Document Analysis

The document analysis identified a potentially challenging rule set for WelcomeBC in trying to develop a collaborative approach to achieve the goals of "BC immigrants' international education, skills and experience will be utilized and valued in BC's labour market and economy, and "BC's immigrants fully contribute to the social and economic prosperity of the Province". The rule-set included:

- a relative lack of scope-importance for immigrant labour market - while immigrants were named as one of the potential targeted or overrepresented groups by the LMA and LMDA, that was within a much broader scope of work;
- Lack of perceived scope-interdependency for programming by both the LMA and LMDA, as both came with substantial, purpose-linked resources to meet their mandates;

- Significantly different framings of labour market success between the LMDA and WelcomeBC; backed up by payoff and choice rules that reinforced that scope of work for LMDA;
- Some potential cross-over in scope between LMA and WelcomeBC;
- Corporate scope focus primarily about the attraction of skilled immigrants rather than a broader based approach to supporting immigrants to be successful in the labour market;
- Weak aggregation rules for cross-Ministry work from corporate direction, and none related to broader immigrant labour market integration;
- Discussion of collaboration by LMA and LMDA was primarily with other actors (e.g. employers, educational institutions); and
- No associated payoff rules in the other Ministries specific to immigrants, although they were mentioned as client groups.

Table 17 Summary of Policy Level Rules

Rule Type			
	Corporate Direction	**LMDA**	**LMA**
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant labour market, how it is **framed**, and whether immigrant labour market is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Relatively minor importance **Framing:** Primarily focused on the attraction of new skilled immigrants and temporary foreign workers rather than immigrants **Interdependence:** recognition of the importance of collaboration to address	**Importance:** Relatively minor importance: one of many target groups for programming **Framing:** Very different framing of labour market success **Interdependence:** Some recognition of scope interdependence in the language regarding the broader labour market, but limited in the specific program offerings given the narrowly defined outcomes and the funding being available to achieve those outcomes	**Importance:** Immigrants are recognized as 'highly represented' in the eligible client groups; more emphasis on other populations (e.g. Aboriginal) **Framing:** focus on improved labour market outcomes, including quality of employment, which is more in line with WelcomeBC's framing **Interdependence:** Some discussion of interdependence, and value of working with other Ministries for delivery in an integrated system. However, much of the language is primarily about

			ensuring coordination within LMA-funded programs
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	No major boundary rules; focus is on employers, sectors and industry.	No significant boundary rules	No major boundary rules
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	No strong aggregation requirements; significant discussion of importance of working with employers, sectors; limited talk about collaboration in programming	No strong aggregation rules, although some vague language regarding integrated approach in the Service Plans	No requirements or incentives identified to partner, although some language supporting collaboration in the Service Plans and LMA report; discussion about engagement with employers and the community
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	No specific incentives besides supporting a government priority	Payoff associated with: the achievement of the requirements of the LMDA funding; the associated performance measures in the Service Plan; and the implementation of the Business Transformation Project.	Payoff associated with the achievement of the requirements of the LMA funding and the associated performance measures in the Service Plan.
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Nothing of note	Limited choice rules to work outside the definitions within the LMDA Agreement regarding the purpose and desired outcomes.	Choice rules limited by LMA in terms of the types of programming and for which client groups (non-EI); otherwise nothing that would limit or encourage collaboration.

Perception of collaboration and factors influencing collaboration at the Policy Level

The study will now look at perceptions of collaboration and the perceived factors that affected the ability of WelcomeBC to foster collaboration with two sets of policy actors: the Ministry responsible for the LMDA (LMDA) and the unit responsible for the LMA (LMA).

LMDA-WelcomeBC Collaboration

Overall, WelcomeBC respondents and the sector respondent felt that there was little to no collaboration between WelcomeBC and the LMDA at the policy level. They identified five factors affecting the development of collaboration.

Factor 1: Scope: Relative importance of immigrant labour market success. As noted in the document analysis, immigrants were seen as not a clear priority for the LMDA. When the new Employment Program was developed as part of the Business Transformation Project, immigrants were named as one of several specialized groups for programming (along with women, youth, older workers, aboriginal people and people with disabilities). According to WelcomeBC and sector respondents:

> "In the scheme of things that was so big, we [WelcomeBC] were significant, but also one of many interested stakeholders.
>
> "There were significant concerns of the expertise and the uniqueness of services around immigrants and the expertise that they bring, that that isn't necessarily heard.

Factor 2: Competing Payoffs: Business Transformation Project and the new Employment Program. Getting immigrants on the LMDA's radar was also perceived to be a challenge due to the significant pressure that LMDA faced to deliver the Business Transformation Project, a complete overhaul of the EI employment services system. Under this model, there would no longer be standalone contracts for specialized services (including immigrant-specific services); instead, these services would be part of every contract, and each contract would serve a distinct geographical area. Delivering this project was the core priority for the Ministry and required several years of dedicated effort by LMDA policy staff. As such, there was little bandwidth to think about developing collaborative approaches across Ministries. Even if there had been bandwidth, the scope and logic of the Business Transformation Project was fairly resistant to cross-ministry collaboration for programs for specialized populations such as immigrants. As respondents said:

> "It's a massive project. It's a massive thing that needs to happen. They did huge consultations. They are driven and need to deliver […] Like I didn't get a feel that they had direction to do their own thing at all costs and don't involve anyone else […] my sense is they genuinely went out there for consultations and I think probably what happens in these processes is these generally shifted a little bit from the consultation, but likely not. […] They're on a train, they need to do this.
>
> "I recall that we tried to get some connection at working levels and input, and I think there was will, and again, it's one of those massive government engines you know. That starts going and it's just difficult to shift."

Because of this, it was challenging for the immigrant sector and WelcomeBC to get traction. As a sector respondent said regarding the immigrant serving sector providing submissions as part of the consultation for the new Employment Program:

> "Boy did we [provide input]. Not welcomed, but yes […] "I don't think it was that they couldn't understand [immigrant specialized needs and nuances]; it's that they had been told no […] the woman who led this thing up initially gave us the sense that this was going to be a flexible program that we can work within and taking our input and oh, those are great ideas, so we're going to come back. And then they came back with this model where, bullshit, right? So it all started with the oh, you never meant it thing, because everything we said to you has just been lost because you just came out with this cookie cutter model… a lot of head nodding, yes, we will listen to you, but nothing ever changed."

Factor 3: Scope and Payoff: difference in framing of success for each actor. One key issue between the LMDA and WelcomeBC was the different framing of success. LMDA's success was framed by the LMDA and Provincial measures: Rate of return to employment and Savings to EI Account. WelcomeBC had a broader sense of what constituted immigrant labour market success, including quality of employment and alignment with the individual's skills, which would take more time and impact LMDA's metrics negatively. WelcomeBC and sector respondents raised this challenge in discussions with LMDA staff

> "I do remember people championing underemployment – that these were going to be very generic, just get a job, any job as long as we get everybody working at Safeway, things will be fine"

> "It's going to take longer, there lies the challenge. The funder is going to say "Why are you taking so long?" Well, that's just what we need to do to get people towards the real meaningful attachment to the labour market rather than the survival job and 'bye'"

However, given that the LMDA's scope-framing was fixed by the terms of the LMDA, and achieving those terms was required for ongoing funding under the Agreement, it was not possible to engage effectively to address WelcomeBC's broader concern.

Factor 4: Payoff and perceived Scope Interdependence. Related to the above was the difference in perception of scope-interdependence and related payoffs. For WelcomeBC, there was a perceived scope-interdependence for achieving the defining position and overall goal: collaboration with the LMDA would have provided programming that was not eligible under CBCIA funding (e.g. skills training). However, the reverse was not true for the LMDA for scope interdependence: LMDA had sufficient funding that aligned with its purpose, and its purpose was fairly narrowly defined. In this circumstance, and given the pressures of delivering on the Business Transformation Project, there would have been costs to building collaborative approaches, with no offsetting payoff.

WelcomeBC attempt to collaborate with LMDA

WelcomeBC attempted to foster collaboration at the policy level during the Business Transformation Project. At that time, there was significant concern from the immigrant settlement sector and WelcomeBC, about the loss of funding for differentiated programs for immigrants. There were also concerns from immigrant serving organizations (ISOs) that the new Employment Program model would create incentives for non-ISO lead organizations to 'keep' immigrants due to the payment model or that immigrants would not have access to sufficiently specialized supports. These concerns, raised through letters to the responsible ADMs, led to a series of conversations between LMDA and WelcomeBC staff. However, given the strong momentum, closed scope and associated payoff rules, and adequate funding for the Business Transformation Project, there was not significant flexibility or leverage for WelcomeBC

to foster collaboration at the policy level or influence the program model of the Employment Program. Instead, the conversation between the policy actors focused on:

1. How best to align programs and support collaborations across the different lines of programming, and
2. How to ensure, while the general model of the Business Transformation Project moved forward, that immigrants were supported by programs and service providers that could address their specific needs.

Regarding alignment, this effort resulted primarily in a cross-listing of all services offered by the two funders, but no real collaboration. The effort to ensure that immigrants were supported by programs and service providers that could address their needs (at least within the confines of the LMDA purpose) was only slightly more fruitful, but it did have an effect: WelcomeBC was successful in influencing the selection criteria (boundary rules) for the service providers for the immigrant services of the Employment Program. WelcomeBC had developed selection criteria for RFPs that would identify those with the appropriate expertise and experience to serve immigrants, "to tell [whether] someone would be good at employment programs for immigrants," as one respondent said. After consultations, LMDA staff took WelcomeBC's advice to inform its selection criteria for the RFP. Whether this affected the development of collaboration at the implementation level will be discussed in a later section.

Collaboration between LMA and WelcomeBC.

Overall, WelcomeBC respondents indicated they did not develop policy-level collaboration between WelcomeBC and the branch responsible for the LMA funds and programs. The WelcomeBC and sector respondents identified several factors that affected the development of collaborative approaches.

Factor 1: Relative Scope Importance of Immigration. The LMA's primary focus and eligibility was based on skill level, rather than a particular population group. While the BC LMA approach recognized that

immigrants are 'highly represented' within the target group, they are only one such population - the LMA also identified youth, older workers, Aboriginal and others. There were also other significant strategic pressures and direction: LMA funding was seen as a major source of potential funding for broader government priorities, as identified in the *Skills for Growth Plan* and *Canada Starts Here: the BC Jobs Plan*, as well as supports for other populations (e.g. Aboriginal, youth). As one WelcomeBC director put it

> "[they were] much more interested in youth unemployment, aboriginal unemployment, in people with disabilities than [they were] with immigrants… I guess there were more pressures on [them] to say 'I guess we should do something about immigrants but don't worry about them too much. Our more pressing issues in the province are youth underemployment, unemployment and Aboriginal. The immigrant thing was a bit of a 'yeah, yeah, yeah, we'll get to that when we get to it"

The LMA focus could be seen in its program offerings and clientele. Only one program specifically targeted immigrants, which was a relatively small program focused on trades training, while there five programs specifically targeted at the Aboriginal population. In the 2012/13, 26.8% of LMA participants identified as Aboriginals, while Aboriginals were only 5.0% of the BC working age population.

Factor 2: Scope interdependency: need for collaboration. For WelcomeBC, there was an identified need to collaborate with others in the labour market policy area as discussed earlier in the chapter, largely due to the magnitude of the issue and the limitations of the CBCIA. For the LMA, there was no such barrier to the achievement of its own strategic priorities: it had a mandate that was achievable within its funding and eligibility requirements, so LMA did not need to collaborate.

Factor 3: Payoff: The Paradox of Abundance. One of the potential drivers for collaboration is to obtain resources from others. In the case of the LMA and WelcomeBC, there was almost the opposite problem. WelcomeBC and LMA had both accumulated surplus federal funding under their respective funding agreements, due to the lag between the transfer of federal funding and provincial timelines necessary

for program design, procurement, and implementation. This led to pressure from the federal government on both LMA and WelcomeBC to reduce their surpluses, which, combined with provincial pressure to spend in times of budgetary restraint, created a situation where getting more funding would have been detrimental. While there was still an advantage to WelcomeBC, as collaborating could unlock different types of services (e.g. skills training), this was not so for the LMA. The LMA had sufficient funds, the financial capacity to address its full mandate, and incentive to maximize its own expenditures.

Factor 4: Aggregation. Beyond the weak aggregation rules from both corporate direction and the LMA policy documents, another issue identified by one WelcomeBC director was the different approach to engaging service providers. WelcomeBC had developed considerable collaboration and consultation processes with the settlement agencies and other providers (Lindquist et. al 2013) which informed its approach to programming. The LMA staff took a very different approach: as a WelcomeBC respondent said: "[LMA staff weren't] that consultative and [they] definitely had a negative view of service providers. There was always a lot of push back […] I remember them saying "don't listen to the service providers. You're always telling me what the service providers are saying but the service providers just want more money." A WelcomeBC respondent observed that it challenging to collaborate on program design. This is not to say that the LMA projects were not seen favorably by the immigrant services sector. When asked if the LMA approach was similar to the LMDA approach in how they addressed immigrants' labour market needs, a sector respondent said:

> "Nope, gosh nope. Those were about developing special programs with different immigrant groups in mind that didn't homogenize immigrants and refugees, they looked at the sub grouping and how can we do intervention that's […] working with the individuals based on their needs, right? […] that's how immigrant service employment providers were able to keep doing what they considered to be good works"

Factor 6: Choice and accountability requirements. Another key difference between the LMA and WelcomeBC was the amount of administration that was required to show adherence to the rules of the

respective federal-provincial Agreements. As one respondent put it, referring to both the LMA and LMDA: “they were very rules-oriented”; another noted “LMA was very federal driven restrictive, this is what you can or can’t do” with significant accountability reporting requirements, which reduced the flexibility to collaborate and came with its own costs in collaborating to ensure accountabilities were met. This may seem like a minor issue, particularly in an area where there are no significant drivers for collaboration, but such issues can matter a lot, as will be seen below

WelcomeBC Attempt to Foster Collaboration with LMA

Despite ongoing interest by WelcomeBC to partner with the LMA, there was only one real instance of collaboration. WelcomeBC ran a program called Skills Connect, which supports skilled immigrants to attach to the labour market at a level commensurate with their skills. WelcomeBC wanted to increase the funding for the program, but needed non-CBCIA funds for the skills training aspect of the program. The LMA agreed to fund a pilot supporting those with lower levels of essential skills and language than the typical Skills Connect client, in line with LMA funding requirements. WelcomeBC respondents noted that there was never a strong commitment to the pilot from either side, and after a few years, the pilot fizzled out. The reason for this was twofold. First, the activities eventually developed under the pilot would have been eligible for settlement funding use, and WelcomeBC preferred to spend its own considerable surplus of funds (see Paradox of Abundance factor above). Second, the number of reporting accountabilities associated with the LMA funds were considerably higher than those for the settlement funds, and service providers and Ministry staff found that reporting required considerably more effort than what it was felt to be worth.

TRANSMISSION LEVEL

All three labour market policy actors did open, competitive procurement in line with direction from the respective agreements and BC's procurement policy.[15] This section outlines the transmission processes, the rules that can be inferred from procurement documents, and the implementing agencies as a result of the transmission level.

WelcomeBC Employment Programs

The two main WelcomeBC labour market programs were the labour market component of the Settlement and Integration Program and the Skills Connect program.[16] Both were procured with open procurement processes. This section will provide an overview of the relevant components of the requests for proposal (RFP) documents.

The Settlement and Integration Program (SIP) was the primary settlement program under WelcomeBC, covering a broad range of basic community and labour market settlement needs through orientation, case-management, mentoring, and labour market services. Given this broad range, the labour market component was only one of several priorities. In the 2009 RFP (SIP RFP 2009),

- immigrant adults destined for the labour market was only one of seven target client groups identified, with the other categories being significant (e.g. Adults; Youth, Women) (p.12);
- of the ten listed settlement and integration needs listed, only one explicitly mentions labour market, although another two include economic goals and economic systems as part of a broader set of issues (p.15); and
- Labour market is one of 15 topics listed for orientation services (p.16), and two of 10 topics for life skills and education services (p.17).

[15] Some initiatives were supported through direct awards to post-secondary institutions through both the LMA and the WelcomeBC funding, but these were minor and not an area that WelcomeBC focused its efforts.
[16] WelcomeBC had other labour market initiatives such as labour market language classes, which were more consistent with the work discussed in the English Language Development chapter, and other minor programs.

The RFP also outlines what was out-of-scope, with the first topic being labour market services not allowed under the CBCIA (e.g. job-specific training) as well as working with employers to develop welcoming work environments (which was a subject for a different program). The Out of Scope section also includes "mainstream programming that are intended for all residents by replicating existing government funded services such as […] skills training or employment programs" (p.25). This last bullet is important, as it delineates where the work of the settlement program ends with regards to labour market, and may provide a rationale to collaborate with agencies who do/can provide those 'mainstream' services in order to meet the labour market needs of immigrants.

The SIP RFP had considerable discussion of collaboration, with Partnership and Collaboration identified as one of the Program Principles:

> "The engagement of multiple sectors and a network of partners are critical to support local coordination, referral and linkages of programs to support clients and create opportunities for capacity building in communities and across BC Systems" (p.11).

This principle was backed up by an expectation of contractors to "support local service coordination and establish referral networks with other Settlement and non-Settlement agencies so clients have access to a variety of services and programs to meet their settlement and integration needs" (p.20). The Contractor Responsibilities required Contractors to establish referral protocols and "[work] collaboratively with relevant stakeholder or community partners in the area of Settlement and Integration" (p.26), and this was reinforced by a selection criterion related to existing community partnerships.

As the SIP was procured competitively, the RFP also included several selection criteria, many of which would be easy for a diverse range of organizations to address (e.g. ability to assess and respond to local community needs; ability to manage and coordinate a variety of services and programs; experience delivering services in the Service Area) (p.29). However, some criteria could act as stronger boundary rules, favoring existing settlement services providers, and reducing the competitiveness of other types of

providers. The prime example was that the Lead Proponent and/or its Delivery Partner(s) should have experience delivering similar services to settlement services. It would have been difficult for most non-settlement agencies to meet this requirement since, prior to the introduction of the open procurement process in BC in 2003, settlement program funding was handled by a grant system almost exclusively to settlement agencies.

The second major Labour Market program from WelcomeBC was Skills Connect, an employment program to bridge skilled immigrants into work aligned with their experience and education. It included as a target for employment success not just the achievement of employment, but a move from "under-employed to improve[d] employment status" (p.27, Skills Connect RFP). This was the only program offered by WelcomeBC that included provincial funding and allowed for training and skills enhancements that would not have been eligible under CBCIA funding.

The RFP had language that reflects the desire for collaboration. Under General Services, the RFP identified that proposals should "include strategies for working with other community agencies/training organizations that will support Participant referrals, where appropriate" (p.26). Collaborative multi-agency, multi-sector approaches were also more likely to be selected as a contractor:

> "As one of the objectives of Skills Connect is to improve the labour market outcomes for immigrants, joint submissions between organizations such as educational entities, regulatory bodies, industry groups, employers and immigrant serving agencies have a greater likelihood of meeting or exceeding these objectives" (p.12).

Selection criteria reinforced a preference for organizations with existing collaborative relationships "with relevant stakeholders and have existing established credibility and connections/networks specific to the BC immigrant communities and employers [that can be] leveraged to deliver Skills Connect" (p.25).

The requirements of the Proponent Response in terms of experience would not be limiting in the same way as in the Settlement and Integration Program RFP. Under the Service Experience, Proponents "should have three or more years experience managing projects or programs of a similar scope and

complexity to Skills Connect" (p.24), which can include programming for "other related client groups facing employment challenges" (p.24). The framing of the program services that count as similar complexity are also fairly generic in terms of employment programs – e.g. assessment, referral, skills upgrading, planning, job search (p.24-25). The table below summarizes the rules that were inferred from the document analysis of RFPs for both the Settlement and Integration Program (SIP) and the Skills Connect program using the rules rubric.

Table 18 - Summary of Rules in WelcomeBC Transmission

Rule Type		
	WBC – SIP	**WBC - Skills Connect**
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant labour market, how it is **framed**, and whether immigrant labour market is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** One of several priorities in a broader settlement program **Framing:** General workplace integration, but no skills training or 'mainstream' labour market services **Interdependence:** recognition of the importance of collaboration to address	**Importance:** Program purpose is entirely on addressing labour market integration of immigrants **Framing:** Focus on employment that builds on skills, qualifications and experiences; focus on reducing under-employment **Interdependence:** Recognition of value of collaboration
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	Boundary rule for previous experience in providing settlement services would prioritize existing settlement agencies.	Selection criteria would be open to a broad range of potential providers; criteria also prioritize collaborative approaches and agencies that already have collaborative relationships in the community
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	Program expectations of service bridging and local service coordination and referral systems	Proposals should include strategies for working with other actors.
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	No specific payoff rules besides meeting program requirements for selection and funding	Selection payoff associated with joint submissions and those who have strong collaborative relationships. Ongoing payoff with delivery and achievement of program outcomes

Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Program requirements built into contract; contract model allows for ongoing direction from WelcomeBC within those requirements.	Program requirements built into contract; contract model allows for ongoing direction from WelcomeBC within those requirements.

LMDA RFP Process for the Employment Program. The major LMDA procurement during the study period was the RFP for the Employment Program (the result of the Business Transformation Project). The Employment Program was to "deliver an integrated system of employment supports and services to all British Columbians who seek Labour Market Attachment and are eligible to work in British Columbia," with labour market attachment defined as "working in the labour market on a full-time, part-time, seasonal, temporary or self-employment basis."

Immigrants were identified as one of eight specialized populations in the RFP, along with Aboriginal people, Francophones, people with a disability; rural and remote populations; multi-barriered; survivors of violence and/or abuse and youth. These populations were identified as "those who may require alternate service delivery arrangement to access employment services to meet their unique needs and increase the likelihood of outcomes being achieved" (p.17 RFP). Some individuals from these groups should "have no barriers to obtain and maintain Employment. Others may require specialized assessments and services designed to meet their unique needs to achieve a Labour Market Attachment or, where this is not possible, Community Attachment" (p.18). Immigrants were defined more broadly than in the CBCIA, with no limitations on citizenship.

The expected outcomes of the program were in line with the expected outcomes of the LMDA as discussed above, to ensure rapid reemployment and reduce EI expenditures. This scope rule was reinforced by the program's payoff rule structure: providers had an additional incentive in an "outcome fee" for clients that achieve employment, with rates based on how quickly clients achieve labour market

attachment. The RFP also identified the importance of collaboration in delivery. Within the Service Contract Requirements and Deliverables, there was an expectation that the Contractor would

1. "Build on existing capacity and networks to proactively obtain local labour market information
2. Establish partnership with community organizations and employers to encourage sharing of information and collaborative and coordinated responses to Client and labour market needs…
3. Ensure a planned and consistent approach to community and employer partnerships which prevents or avoids duplication in contacts with organizations and employers" (p.38)

This responsibility included the development of an annual Community and Employer Partnership Plan, with strategies that responded to the needs of Specialized Populations (p.38), and with annual check-ins to ensure community engagement was occurring.

Overall, the selection criteria were open to a broad range of providers with experience in providing labour market services. Two criteria could have affected the development of collaboration generally and with respect to immigrants. Criterion 5.3.d "working with Specialized Populations and meeting their needs" includes "demonstrat[ing] past experience in working with Specialized Populations and in meeting their needs" (p.60). This is the criterion that WelcomeBC influenced, and would tend to favor the inclusion of a settlement organization as part of the provider mix in a proposal because those organizations would score very highly on this criterion. The second criterion 5.4 (c) focused on having established connections with local organizations, and identifying how those connections "have been leveraged in the past" (p.60), which would tend to favor collaborative agencies.

The Employment program also included payoff rules that may have affected collaboration at the implementation level. Four payment types were outlined by the RFP:

- the Outcome Fee (as discussed above);
- the Fixed operating fee, which covered the basic operating costs;
- the Financial Supports and Purchased Services, which covered third party payments and

services such as specialized assessments and other client services; and

- the Variable Service Fee, which was designed to compensate for case management and case managed services provided to clients by the contractors (p.20).

The Variable Service Fee was seen by the immigrant serving organizations (as well as WelcomeBC), as an incentive for contractors to serve their clients in-house, rather than refer clients out to other agencies. This was a concern not only for broader collaboration (e.g. that contractors would not refer out to other agencies because they would not get paid for those services), but also for individual contracts (e.g. that a lead contractor might prefer to serve a client at their offices to capture those fees, rather than share them [and the associated fees] with the sub-contractor who may have more specialized expertise). This will be discussed in more depth later. Table 19 below highlights the key RFP rules using the rules rubric.

Table 19 Summary of Rules from LMDA Transmission

Rule Type	LMDA – Employment Program
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant labour market, how it is **framed**, and whether immigrant labour market is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Immigrants one of eight specialized populations for services **Framing:** return to employment defined as at least minimum wage and sustainable employment at 52 weeks **Interdependence:** recognition of the importance of collaboration
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	Open to a broad range of providers Selection criteria include: experience with working with specialized populations (including immigrants) and established connections with local organizations. Only one contract per service area
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	Program expectations of partnerships and collaboration
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Payoff in selection would incentivize inclusion of organizations with previous experience with serving immigrants and established local connections Payment structures based on achieving program outcomes as well as ongoing fees for each service offered.

Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Prescribed program rules and requirements reinforced through the contract model

LMA RFP Process for Job Options BC. The LMA funded a broad range of programs and services – more than 20 in total – for specific sectors or demographic groups (e.g. people with disabilities, aboriginal, youth, older workers, women and immigrants). The study will look at a larger program that was not specific to immigrants, but supportive of their needs – the Job Options BC program – which was the second largest LMA program (LMA Performance Outcomes Report 2012/13). Job Options BC was procured in 2010 under the LMA line of business of Job Supports for the Unemployed (Non-EI). The target for this program was "unemployed non-Employment Income clients who can benefit from longer term group-based programming as opposed to individuals who many only require minimal interventions" (JOBC RFP p.5), which aligned well with the issues facing immigrants. Interestingly, there was little to no consultation with WelcomeBC when developing this program, even though the LMA program branch was in the same Ministry and division as WelcomeBC. The program was procured through an open request for proposals. This section will outline some key rules embedded in that procurement and implications for collaboration with WelcomeBC-funded agencies in implementation.

For scope framing, Job Options BC was in line with the work that WelcomeBC wanted to do for immigrants. They were identified as a potential target population, but the LMA used a definition of immigrant that was wider than, but inclusive of, the WelcomeBC/CBCIA definition. This framing would have allowed immigrant serving organizations and others to apply and deliver programming to support immigrant labour market success. There was some limited discussion of collaboration in the RFP. In the scope of services and budget, it was expected that "Services will complement existing employment programming" (p.6), and that "Proponents will have […] well-established relationships with other community service providers" (p.7). As well, there was language in the selection criteria that created an

incentive to collaborate: respondents were to "explain how your service delivery will be enhanced by community partnerships to support recruitment of Participants and employers," backed up by letters of support from local community agencies (p.12).

The selection criteria for this program were notable in their openness. The eligible activities were quite broad (p.9) and in many cases overlapped with the work that was done for immigrants under WelcomeBC programming, with the notable addition of work experiences, vocational assessments and skills training. Given this similarity in programming, the selection criteria would be open to immigrant-serving organizations funded under WelcomeBC. Given the network of settlement agencies and the collaboration that happens between WelcomeBC programs, the requirement regarding community partnerships would also be relatively easy to achieve for WelcomeBC funded agencies. The table below summarizes the rules from the transmission level using the rules rubric.

Table 20 Rules from Transmission Level

Rule Type	
	LMDA – Employment Program
Scope: The relative **importance** of immigrant labour market, how it is **framed**, and whether immigrant labour market is understood as an issue that would benefit from collaboration **(interdependence)**	**Importance:** Immigrants a potential target population **Framing:** Allows for longer-term group based programming, aligned with WelcomeBC's understanding of the needs of immigrants **Interdependence:** recognition of the importance of collaboration
Boundary rules Who is eligible to be in a given position, and how they enter or exit positions	Open to a broad range of providers Selection criteria includes discussion of community partnerships and experience working with target populations
Aggregation rules Specify who needs to be involved in a given process	Program expectations of partnerships and collaboration
Payoff rules Assign rewards or sanctions to actors for particular actions or under certain conditions	Payoff in selection would incentivize inclusion of organizations with previous experience with serving immigrants and established local connections
Choice rules Specify what an actor in a position can, must or must not do in terms of decision-making	Prescribed program rules and requirements reinforced through the contract model

The table below summarizes the rules across all of the transmission processes. The programs from LMDA and LMA seem generally supportive of the cross-selection of providers (e.g. something that WelcomeBC funded settlement agencies could apply and be successful for under the LMA and LMDA) and for WelcomeBC funded programs, the openness of the Skills Connect program model and selection criteria seemed to be open to non-settlement labour market agencies which also provide services to LMA and LMDA). The SIP's requirements for previous experience would make it challenging for non-settlement actors to provide labour market programming for immigrants under that program. The boundary rules for LMA and LMDA regarding the skills and expertise similarly would be open to settlement agencies, and the selection criteria for all programs include incentives to collaborate.

Table 21 Rules from Transmission Level Across All Levels

Rule Type	Rules for selection of providers			
	WelcomeBC SIP	**WelcomeBC Skills Connect**	**LMDA Employment Program**	**LMA Job Options**
Scope:	Includes immigrants	Includes immigrant labour market, and a broad range of labour market issues	Includes immigrants as a target population for specialized services	Immigrants are within scope as a target population
Boundary	Challenging for non-settlement agencies due to experience requirements	Open process, boundary rules open to many types of providers	Open process, boundary rules open to many types of providers Selection criteria that prioritize: expertise and experience that settlement agencies would have; and local connections	Open process, boundary rules open to many types of providers Selection criteria that prioritize: expertise and experience that settlement agencies would have; and local connections
Aggregation rules	Scoring includes demonstration of community partnership	Joint submissions preferred; focus on collaboration	Scoring criteria include discussion of connections with local organizations; requirement for Community and Employer Partnerships	Community partnerships as scoring criteria, with requirement for letters of support from other agencies.

Payoff rules	Collaboration embedded in selection criteria	Collaboration embedded in selection criteria	Collaboration embedded in selection criteria	Collaboration embedded in selection criteria

Implementing Agencies as a Result of Transmission

Generally, there was significant cross-selection of WelcomeBC-funded settlement agencies and more mainstream implementing agencies engaged through these open procurement processes. This section provides an overview of the results of the selection processes.

WelcomeBC funded programs. The one program where an open procurement did not result in much crossover between 'mainstream' service providers and WelcomeBC immigrant serving organizations was the Settlement and Integration Program. Given the 'boundary rule' requirements of previous experience in providing these services, these contracts went mostly to immigrant-serving organizations; the few exceptions were in places where more general community agencies had been providing services to immigrants as part of their suite of services for a long time (e.g. Abbotsford). However, the more open boundary rules for the Skills Connect Program resulted in more 'mainstream providers' being successful: while some of the selected providers were settlement agencies (e.g. MOSAIC, ISS, VIRCS), some mainstream/non-settlement agencies providers were awarded contracts, such as Douglas College and Back In Motion.

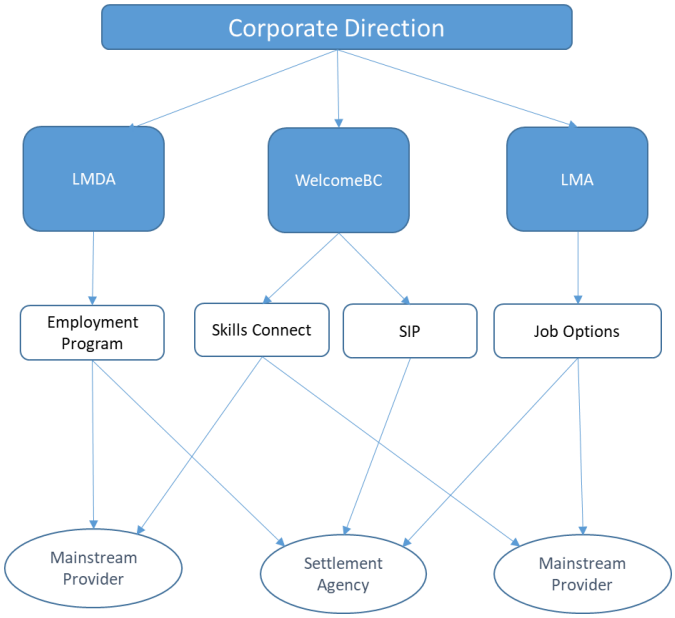
LMDA – Employment Program of BC. Many WelcomeBC-funded agencies were also chosen to be part of the BC Employment Program through the RFP, as lead contractors or sub-contractors. The consolidated services model of the Employment Program resulted in complex and intertwined sub-contracting: in total, the 73 contracts had a total of 537 sub-contracts to 269 unique service providers (FerenceWeicker 2015 p.90). This means on average, sub-contractors held contracts with two ESCs, although that was not evenly distributed: one sub-contractor had 16 contracts with different ESCs and "about half of all EPBC contractors (25 out of 47) also sub-contract to other ESCs [and] there are mutual sub-contracting

arrangements between 11 pairs of EPBC contractors" (FerenceWeicker 2015 p.90). In a few cases, immigrant-serving organizations were the lead contractor for an EPBC contract; these tended to be the larger immigrant serving organizations that had expanded their service offerings over time such as SUCCESS and MOSAIC. However, immigrant serving organizations were usually the subcontractors for specialized services for immigrants on most contracts (Centre for Employment Excellence, 2013), and overall, 37% of all subcontracts were to address the needs of immigrants (FerenceWeicker 2015, p. 90).

LMA Job Options. Job Options was much more discrete and less complex than the Employment Program of BC. The eligibility requirements were also framed in such a way that immigrant-serving organizations were successful in the procurement process, especially those with labour-market program experience. As such, several WelcomeBC SIP agencies were successful, including SUCCESS, MOSAIC, ISS, PICS and NSMS. The second round of procurement opened up to new regional and rural communities, and smaller WelcomeBC funded ISOs such as the Cowichan Valley Immigrant and Multicultural Society succeeded.

Overall, there was a significant cross-selection of implementing agencies due to the openness of the transmission processes. Figure 9 below provides a highlevel overview of the pathways to cross-selection.

Figure 9 Results of Transmission



IMPLEMENTATION LEVEL

This section will provide an overview of the collaboration that occurred at the implementation level on an ongoing basis.

LMDA Employment Program of BC (EPBC) and WelcomeBC Settlement Agencies. As discussed above, there were many sub-contractor relationships generated by the EPBC procurement process; however, this does not necessarily mean that there was effective collaboration as a result. In an evaluation of the Employment Program of BC (EPBC), there were signs of some collaboration challenges, both within the contractor/sub-contractor relationship in the EPBC and between the EPBC actors and non-EPBC agencies (FerenceWeicker 2016). While these findings are not specific to WelcomeBC providers, they do point to some of the issues felt by these groups, and reflected in respondent comments. The programming offered by EPBC was generally complementary to programming offered by other labour market programs in BC (FerenceWeicker 2016 p.43), and so should be a basis for at least collaborative referral with non-EPBC actors. In terms of referrals, 25% of EPBC clients were referred from other programs (p.43), with most of these referrals being informal (p.57). The evaluation also notes the perception that the EPBC has a "greater focus on employer and community engagement than the previous model" (p.88), but there were still collaboration challenges:

> "The EPBC has been somewhat successful in building awareness, developing partnerships and engaging employers, referral sources and other agencies and programs. The biggest challenge is lack of contractor, stakeholder and employer time and resources to engage in partnerships" (p.58).

This is an important point: even if the aggregation rules require or promotes collaborations, if there is no payoff rule to support the participation of other actors, there may be challenges in getting those actors to the table, and "there is a need to develop more partnerships with service delivery organizations to increase awareness of the Program" (FerenceWeicker 2016 p.55).

A second issue with the collaboration with non-EPBC funded agencies is concern from those others about whether the program can provide specialized services. While specialized services for immigrants were not specifically identified in the evaluation report, concerns were raised about the lack of experience among case managers, their ability to provide expertise to specialized populations, and the level of variation in the quality of services across different service providers. Only 66% of key informants interviewed for the evaluation agreed (strongly/somewhat) "that there is access to specialized expertise and services when needed (p.83), and "external stakeholders noted that there have been challenges in ensuring the adequate provision of specialized expertise and support" (p.89). This was echoed by the sector and WelcomeBC respondents, who noted that immigrant serving agencies had challenges in believing that non-settlement agencies had the skills or experience to understand and effectively address the needs of immigrants, which may affect whether or not settlement agencies would collaborate with, or refer clients to, EPBC agencies.

Even if there was trust in the specialized expertise, there was still the fundamental difference between EPBC's emphasis on rapid re-employment and the greater emphasis on reducing under-employment that the broader settlement sector wanted, which may have affected the connection between EPBC and non-EPBC settlement agencies. The 2016 evaluation of the implementation of the Employment Program of BC also noted that "[g]iven the identified barriers to employment for recent immigrants, youth and other groups, there will be a need for EPBC programs and services to help ensure these groups are able to overcome barriers and challenges that contribute to ***under-utilization***, lower employment and lower labour force participation." (FerenceWeicker, 2016, p. 41, emphasis added). On the issue of under-utilization, the evaluation also found that "surveyed stakeholders […] perceived the EPBC as not well-aligned with the barriers faced by unemployed clients belonging to a specialized population […] Several indicated the EPBC should better address the needs of qualified or professional immigrants, and tailor services to immigrants' needs (FerenceWeicker 2016, p. 44) in a section on the

'challenges serving specialized populations' within the evaluation, a subcontractor working with new immigrants noted that "there is less time to work with clients since the focus is on delivering results and targets in specific timeframes" (FerenceWeicker, 2016, p, 92) to meet the requirements of the LMDA. This would also seem to mitigate against referrals from settlement agencies given the fundamental difference in scope-framing. As the sector respondent noted, settlement agencies were more likely to try to get a client into a program, such as Job Options, that was seen as responsive to immigrant labour market needs rather than have them "end up in the Employment Program."

Given that many of the EPBC contracts included settlement agencies funded by WelcomeBC, either as a lead or as a sub-contractor, it is also important to examine whether collaborative approaches formed *within* the program. Overall, the evaluation pointed to significant challenges in internal collaboration. The financial model, which determines the payoff rules for actors in the program, played a significant role in the evaluation of the EPBC, in large part because of the Variable Service Fee. According to the statistics in the evaluation, the Variable Service Fee accounted for the majority of fees earned by service providers (54% in 2014/15). While concerns were raised around whether or not the VSF is causing clients to get unnecessary or unproductive services (p.ii, p. 89), of more interest is the effect that the financial model and its embedded payoff rules had on contractor-subcontractor relationships and contractor-contractor relationships. While most contractor and subcontractor respondents felt that the financial model was working, this was not felt equally across all providers, and those serving specialized populations such as immigrants felt the financial model might be hampering collaboration (FerenceWeicker 2016 p.92). These concerns included "financial viability issues due to the variable service fee model and low client volumes. Some sub-contractors stated that they are underutilized by contractors due to low demand for the services and because contractors chose not to utilize their services" (p.92). This was seemingly as predicted by stakeholders during the development of the RFP, as

the payoff rules in the fee structure create incentives for organizations to provide the services themselves rather than use their subcontractors or refer out to other providers.

LMA Job Options and WelcomeBC Programs. The perception of WelcomeBC and sector respondents with knowledge of the area, was that the collaboration between Job Options and WelcomeBC-funded programs generally worked. Part of this had to do with the scope alignment between WelcomeBC funded agencies and the Job Options program. As the settlement sector respondent said: "Those were about developing special programs with different immigrant groups in mind… and that's how immigrant service employment providers were able to keep doing what they consider to be good works… I think the idea with the Job Options is that you were still able to do the work you believed would be effective." This alignment of scope was seen as very important, a major factor in why the settlement agencies competed for these contracts. When these agencies were successful in the LMA procurement, it created a linkage between WelcomeBC programs and the LMA program, both with the node of the multi-funded settlement agency, but also with other WelcomeBC funded settlement agencies which may have felt more comfortable referring to a another settlement agency. The program was seen by the sector respondent as more generally in line with settlement agencies' views of what was an effective labour market program, in contrast to the Employment Program of BC. The responded observed that "if an immigrant service provider saw that client and would say 'I'm going to get them over to somebody else's Job Options program so they don't end up in the Employment Program.'"

SUMMARY OF WELCOMEBC'S COLLABORATION EFFORTS - IMMIGRANT LABOUR MARKET

WelcomeBC and sector respondents perceived the area of immigrant labour market integration as one of the more frustrating areas for collaboration towards the achieving WelcomeBC's goals. Figure 10 below summarizes this chapter's findings. At the policy level, WelcomeBC was not successful at creating a collaborative cross-Ministry approach to meet its goals, for a variety of reasons. Corporate direction was

not aligned with WelcomeBC's goals, and the limited focus on immigrants tended to be on attracting new skills immigrants and temporary foreign workers rather than addressing the labour market integration of immigrants. Even for that limited purpose, the corporate direction had little concrete aggregation, payoff or choice rules to foster collaboration at the policy level.

There were also significant challenges in getting on the radar of the two other major labour market policy actors (LMDA and LMA), due to the relative scope importance of immigrant labour market integration. Both other policy actors recognized immigrants as one of several target populations for their work, but had significant other priorities in the form of other target populations (e.g. Aboriginal for LMA) or in the model they were developing and the pressure to deliver (LMDA's Business Transformation Project). Another key challenge was that, while WelcomeBC would have benefited from stronger collaboration with other policy actors, there was no similar scope interdependency or perceived payoff for the other policy actors in engaging with WelcomeBC: they each had sufficient funding to meet their purposes and open enough choice rules to pursue the range of programming to meet their purposes. With no strong aggregation rules from corporate documents, there were few reasons to collaborate and many reasons not to: when collaboration comes with costs (e.g. aggregation costs; not spending down own surplus; distraction from core scope of work and the achievement of targets with payoffs) that outweigh perceived benefits, it is not surprising that no collaborations formed at the policy level.

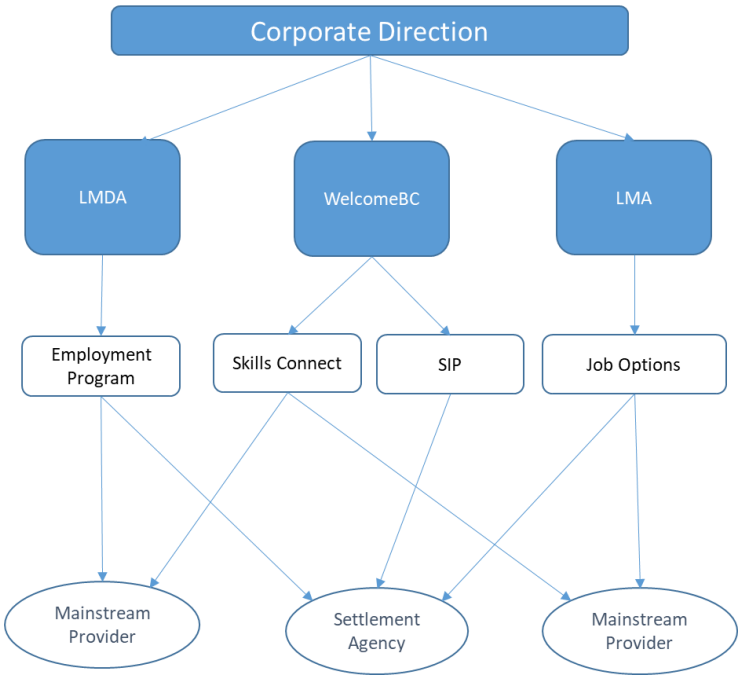
The transmission process did create cross-Ministry service provider connections and potential collaboration nodes due to the open nature of the competitive processes and the use of boundary and payoff rules emphasizing collaboration. This allowed and encouraged agencies to apply for projects funded by the other policy actors. For WelcomeBC's funded programs, there were some limited nodes for collaboration created by the Skills Connect program, where traditional labour market providers could become part of the WelcomeBC network. More importantly, WelcomeBC-funded settlement agencies had opportunities to become providers for both LMA and LMDA programming. In this way, new nodes

were created to allow for some collaboration, as WelcomeBC-funded settlement agencies also became providers for LMA and LMDA projects.

However, what was implemented in the field was not necessarily the type of collaboration hoped for by WelcomeBC to meet its goals. Besides the SIP program, all of the other programs had some payoff rules associated with client retention. This was most notably a challenge with EPBC, which caused some competition between EPBC and other programs, as well as within individual EPBC contracts. However, this was seen as less of an issue for Job Options and Skills Connect, especially those run by settlement agencies: the programs seemed to be sufficiently differentiated, complementary to SIP labour market programs, and well-aligned with the settlement agencies' perceptions of the right approach for addressing immigrant employment and underemployment issues, to allow for collaboration and referral.

Overall, there was greater collaborative networks developed at the implementation level than the policy level, primarily through the openness of the procurement models, the actions of the settlement agencies in pursuing contracts from other Ministries, and referrals between SIP, JOBC and Skills Connect based on perceived alignment of scope-framing and scope-interdependence given the complementarity of the programs. The next chapter look at the final cases, where WelcomeBC took a different approach to fostering collaboration at the implementation level to meet its overall goal.

Figure 10 - Summary of Labour Market Integration



Rule Type	Corporate Direction	LMDA	LMA
Scope:	**Importance:** minor **Framing:** attraction of skilled immigrants and temporary workers **Interdependence:** collaboration important	**Importance:** one of many target groups **Framing:** Very different framing from WelcomeBC **Interdependence:** Minor	**Importance:** Immigrants are eligible clients; more emphasis on other populations **Framing:** similar framing to WelcomeBC **Interdependence:** Minor
Boundary	N/A	N/A	N/A
Aggregation	No strong cross-ministry	No strong cross-ministry	No strong cross-ministry
Payoff rules	No incentives besides supporting a government priority	Payoff for: achieving LMDA requirements/Ministry targets; and the Business Transformation Project.	Payoff for: achieving LMA requirements/Ministry targets
Choice rules	Nothing of note	Choice rules limiting to achievement of LMDA requirements	Choice rules limited by LMA but nothing that would limit or encourage collaboration.

Rule Type	Transmission rules			
	WelcomeBC SIP	**WelcomeBC Skills Connect**	**LMDA Employment Program**	**LMA Job Options**
Scope:	Immigrant labour market as part of broader program	Immigrant underemployment	Immigrants a target population; focus on reemployment	Immigrants a target population with compatible goals
Boundary	Limited by experience to Settlement agencies	Open process, boundary rules open to many types of providers	Open process, Selection criteria favorable to settlement agencies;	Open process, Selection criteria favorable to settlement agencies;
Aggregation	Scoring includes demonstration of community partnership	Joint submissions preferred; focus on collaboration	Scoring criteria includes community connections; requirement for partnerships	Community partnerships as scoring criteria
Payoff	Collaboration in selection criteria	Collaboration in selection criteria; Pay by service/outcome	Collaboration in selection criteria; Pay by service/outcome	Collaboration in selection criteria; Pay by service/outcome
Choice	Contract based	Contract based	Contract based	Contract based

CHAPTER 8

CASE 3: COMMUNITY SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION

The final case examines the third pillar of the WelcomeBC Framework: the settlement and integration of new immigrants into their communities. The pillar's 'defining position' was "BC immigrants will have access to enhanced immigrant settlement services and be part of welcoming communities that accelerate their social and economic integration," in support of the overall goal of "BC's immigrants fully contribute to the social and economic prosperity of the Province" (WBC 2009 p. 5). Supporting the settlement and integration of immigrants into their communities was the most differentiated type of work for WelcomeBC: no other provincial policy actors in BC had a mandate in this area. This program area was closely aligned with the purpose of the CBCIA and received significant funding, which expanded greatly with the increased federal funding, resulting in an annual budget of around $47m. Starting in 2006, consistent with the language of the renewed CBCIA, and in response to needs recognized by staff and the settlement sector, WelcomeBC shifted its emphasis. It sought to address the needs of specific immigrant populations such as children and families, youth and vulnerable populations, who faced more significant and different challenges than the typical principal applicant immigrant in integrating into their communities.

WelcomeBC pursued collaborative approaches in this area for two reasons: to support the integration of newcomers into mainstream public services, and to address specific needs that could not be addressed due to the limitations on the federal funding under the CBCIA. The success of immigrant children and youth requires integration into 'mainstream' schools and support systems for children and youth, under the principles of the 'two-way street of integration' – whereby non-settlement services would become better at supporting the integration of new immigrants, and bring their resources to bear on the challenge of integration as well. Similarly, vulnerable immigrants needed to be supported by a

broad range of 'mainstream' services to succeed, which needed to be responsive to the specific needs of vulnerable immigrants.

The limitations on the use of the CBCIA funding also made it challenging to address the full range of needs of these populations to really support them to "fully contribute." For young vulnerable immigrant children not in the school system and their parents, there were some limitations related to what type of parenting skills and child welfare programming could be supported. For immigrant children in the school system, there were limitations on the use of funding for educational programs that fell in the jurisdiction of the K-12 system. For Vulnerable Populations, many of the necessary supports were not fundable by CBCIA funds, and would fall to the general support systems of the province (e.g. clinical counselling, child welfare, housing, disability, trauma supports, etc.). Finding alignment with other social policy and program actors such as the Ministry of Children and Family Development, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Social Development was important for developing a holistic approach to support the integration and success of these immigrants.

POLICY LEVEL

This section outlines: the key policy actors, with an overview of their guiding documents; the context and corporate direction given to those actors as it relates to immigrant children/family settlement and vulnerable immigrant populations; the perception of the resulting level of collaboration and the perceived factors that affected WelcomeBC's ability to foster collaboration with other Ministries.

Three provincial policy actors had mandates that overlapped with the issue of immigrant family settlement and integration, and support for vulnerable individuals: the Ministry of Children and Family Development, the Ministry of Education, and the Ministry of Social Development. Given that WelcomeBC made no attempt to collaborate with the Ministry of Social Development at the policy level, that Ministry is not included in this discussion.

WelcomeBC. As mentioned above, settlement and integration of the full range of immigrants, including vulnerable populations, children, youth and families was seen as central to the WelcomeBC approach, and to the CBCIA. The importance of addressing the needs of vulnerable populations showed up distinctly in the CBCIA under the Shared Visions and Principles Section: "immigrants and refugees facing significant barriers to successful settlement and integration, and who are deemed most in need within the community, are a priority." (CBCIA 2.e). In addition, community settlement was a key focus of the "two-way street" concept as embedded in the CBCIA: "integration is a two-way process, which involves commitments on the part of immigrants and refugees to adapt to life in Canada and on the part of Canadians to welcome and adapt to new people and cultures" (CBCIA, 2.a). This was seen by WelcomeBC actors as a critical approach: true integration of these populations would only come if there was greater capacity and collaboration across different social policy actors to support longer term integration for all immigrants, and especially for vulnerable immigrants which would need specialized supports within broader mainstream systems that could not be supported by CBCIA funding. Finally, WelcomeBC was also guided in this area by its own foundational principle of Partnerships and Sector Development, and the corporate direction that came with the WelcomeBC Framework approval to share funding with other Ministries in a time of relative fiscal constraint.

***Ministry of Children and Family Development*.** The Ministry of Children and Family Development (MCFD) "promotes and develops the capacity of families and communities to care for and protect vulnerable children and youth, and supports healthy child and family development to maximize the potential of every child in BC" (p.6, Service Plan 2009/10-2011/12). The Ministry operates through both direct services and through community agencies; there are some programs and services that are provincially run, but with significantly regionalized service delivery across the province. These services and programs include childcare, adoption, child welfare and youth justice services. The following are the rules inferred from the Ministry's Service Plans.

The MCFD Service Plans do not specifically mention of the immigrant or refugee population; however, vulnerable children and youth were cited in the first sentence of the purpose statement of MCFD in 2009, and included in every purpose statement thereafter. This focus on vulnerable children created an overlap between the WelcomeBC and MCFD mandates and programs, as many immigrant children were considered vulnerable. The concept of interdependency between services for children and youth, and collaboration to address that interdependency is threaded throughout the MCFD strategic plans, including both broad statements of collaboration, and specific strategies, goals and objectives identified to increase partnership, with discussion of working with other ministries to "improve collaborative practices" at the service delivery level (2010 p. 12).

When studying attempts to foster collaboration at the implementation level, it is important to understand the relationship between the policy actor and its implementing agencies as was the case in the English Language chapter. MCFD had a complex organizational structure: some programs and initiatives were managed provincially, but there was also significant regionalization into 13 Service Areas and 47 Local Service Delivery Areas, with programs run by MCFD staff and contracted community organizations. This had potential implications for attempts to foster collaboration at the implementation level, as decisions are a combination of overall Ministry direction and local implementation decisions.

Using the rules rubric, as shown in Table 22 below, MCFD's focus on vulnerable and at-risk children and youth would create alignment with WelcomeBC in terms of scope importance and framing. MCFD already recognized scope interdependency in addressing the needs of vulnerable children and youth, and had a history of collaboration. The one potential issue within the rules at the policy level is the decentralized decision-making regarding implementation: while not as stark as the limitations seen in AVED or EDUC, the regionalized model may have an impact on the provincial policy actor's ability to support collaboration at the implementation level.

Table 22 Summary of MCFD Rules at the Policy Level

Rule Type	
Scope:	**Importance:** No mention of immigrants; significant focus on at-risk and vulnerable populations **Framing:** maximize the potential of children and youth **Interdependence:** recognition of the importance of collaboration to address
Boundary rules	Combination of in-house provision and contracted agencies for provision
Aggregation rules	Focus on collaboration in service plans; no specific rules requiring collaboration
Payoff rules	No specific incentives for collaboration
Choice rules	Regional level decision-making on implementation for many program areas

Ministry of Education. As discussed in Chapter 6, the Ministry of Education has primary responsibility for the K-12 education system. There is relatively little discussion of the issues of immigrant children and youth in the Service Plans, other than some limited discussion of ESL programs. More emphasis was placed on supporting Aboriginal students and students with special needs, which had their own specific objectives or strategies. However, similar to MCFD, while there is little specific discussion of immigrant students, there is significant language about supporting students with specific or additional needs, which would be a fair characterization of many immigrant children and youth.

There is some discussion of collaboration within the Service Plans, but it had primarily to do with collaborations within the K-12 system (i.e. with the School Districts/Boards of Education), or with other Ministries related to specific initiatives (e.g. Advanced Education to support transition to post-secondary). As discussed in more depth in the English Language Development chapter, School Districts were the primary implementing agencies for the Ministry, and had a significant degree of operational autonomy based on the *School Act.* This limited the Ministry's ability to provide operational direction to the School Districts, and the range of choices the Ministry had at the Policy level regarding promoting collaboration at the implementation level.

When analyzing using the rules rubric as shown in Table 23 below, the scope importance of addressing students with additional needs would seem a potential point of connection with WelcomeBC, as immigrant children and youth would have additional needs. Similarly, EDUC's focus on maximizing the potential of children and youth is similar to WelcomeBC's focus on supporting immigrants' ability to fully contribute. There are boundary and aggregation rules which reinforce the importance of the K-12 system for EDUC and School Districts as the mandated implementing agencies, while the choice rules regarding EDUC's ability to direct the Districts may cause similar issues as in the English Language Development case.

Table 23 - Summary of EDUC Rules at the Policy Level

Rule Type	
Scope:	**Importance:** only minor mention of immigrants; significant focus on students that need additional supports **Framing:** maximize the potential of children and youth **Interdependence:** recognition of the importance of collaboration to address
Boundary rules	Only implementing agencies are school districts
Aggregation rules	Primarily focused on the K-12 system partners (school districts)
Payoff rules	No specific incentives for collaboration
Choice rules	Significant autonomy for school districts which limits EDUC's ability to direct school districts to support collaboration

Corporate Direction

During the study period, two high-level and three topic-specific corporate documents may have informed or reflected policy actors' thinking on immigrant families, children and vulnerable populations. The two overall Liberal government platform documents were the 2005 *Proven Plan for a Golden Decade* and the 2012 *Families First Agenda.* In 2005, the *Proven Plan for a Golden Decade* platform included as Goal Three (of five): Build the best system of support in Canada for persons with disabilities, special needs, ***children at risk*** and seniors (BC Liberals, 2005; emphasis added). While this would seem to include vulnerable children such as immigrants and refugees with multiple barriers, there was no explicit

mention of these groups within this Goal. In 2012, the Liberals published the *Families First Agenda*, which had three overarching pillars: Family Affordability, Supporting Vulnerable Families and Safe Communities, Strong Families. The first two pillars were most closely related to family settlement and integration. The Affordability pillar highlighted the focus on children: "We remain steadfast in our commitment to children's early years. Strengthening supports for children is a key element of our government's commitment to families. By providing children and their families with support, we can help ensure that they have every opportunity to build the future of their dreams" (p.15-16). Under the Vulnerable Families pillar, there is a focus on support for vulnerable children, with the recognition that "[t]he earlier interventions are made to support vulnerable children, the better their chances of maturing into successful citizens who can help our province thrive. Providing such supports early in life also helps break the cycle of generational poverty" (p.23). The document was fairly lean on specifics related to immigration (i.e. only discussing ESL in the post-secondary system) or collaboration, with a brief mention of "our government's commitment to collaboration" (p.24) in discussion about supports for vulnerable children and youth, with some other brief mentions of other forms of collaboration.

Three lower level corporate direction documents – 2008's *Strong, Safe and Supported*, 2012's *BC's Education Plan* and 2013's *Early Years Strategy* – may have informed or reflected the approaches taken by the policy actors. In 2008, the BC Government put out *Strong, Safe and Supported: A commitment to BC's children and youth*, which was to guide the government's approach to ensure that "BC Children and Youth are strong, safe, and supported to reach their full potential" (p.1). While MCFD led the development of the document, and it was considered a "foundational document" for the ministry (p.7), it was depicted as a government corporate document. Consistent with MCFD's other documents, there was no discussion of the needs of immigrants; the only specific populations mentioned were Aboriginal populations and those with special needs. However, there was significant discussion of the importance of addressing the "at risk" and "vulnerable" children and youth, regardless

of the specific nature of their vulnerability; many immigrant families, especially those who enter Canada with refugee status, could be covered by that language. The document also recognized the cross-cutting nature and scope-interdependence of the challenges facing children and youth: the Minister's foreword observed that "Healthy developmental outcomes for children and youth are an obligation for all of government, and many ministries and agencies contribute the elements that provide the foundations for long term success" (p.1). To address this cross-cutting issue, the document had a significant focus on collaboration, including calls for enhanced coordination, cross-ministry collaboration and integrated services (see for example p.1, p.9, and p.17).

In 2012, the Ministry of Education released a corporate strategy document called "BC's Education Plan" intended to "take what we know is a good education system and make it great" as the Minister articulated in the Minister's Message (p.1). While a corporate document, it was to primarily inform the work of the Ministry of Education. The plan was very brief (a total of 8 pages), mostly focused on identifying the action steps around five key elements: personalized learning for every student; quality teaching and learning, flexibility and choice; high standards, and learning empowered by technology. While immigrants were not mentioned in the document, the Plan's focus on personalized learning and "more responsive and effective interventions for students who are struggling" (p.3) was at least conceptually linked to the needs of immigrant youth, who would require personalized approaches to support their integration and success/stop them from struggling in the K-12 system. Even in the context of a brief document, the language around collaboration is sparse, and primarily focused on K-12 partners (e.g. school districts, parents, teachers). The only specific mentions of collaboration with other stakeholders were with universities and Aboriginal communities.

In 2013, the Province came out with the *Early Years Strategy,* intended to address the early years component under the *Families First Agenda,* and written as a cross-government approach. During the public engagement for the *Families First* agenda, a key issue that came up was "the need for enhanced

integration, coordination and development of existing early years policies and programs to address fragmentation and service gaps to better meet the needs of families across BC" (p.1). Similar to other documents reviewed in this area, there was no mention of immigrants in this strategy document, but the language of "at risk" and "vulnerable" continued to appear, categories which would apply to many immigrant children. While this strategy, and the office were developed in the later period of WelcomeBC, it is included here to show that the issue of cross-ministry coordination, integration and collaboration were themes in the work regarding children and family as part of the BC government agenda during the study period. Table 24 below summarizes the findings from the analysis of the corporate direction documents using the rules rubric.

Table 24 Summary of Rules - Corporate Direction

Rule Type	
Scope:	**Importance:** Focus on supporting vulnerable children and youth or those children and youth that require additional supports to succeed; little discussion of immigrants **Framing:** Supporting children and youth (and their families) to succeed, especially those with vulnerability **Interdependence:** some recognition of the importance of collaboration to address, especially for at risk and vulnerable children and youth; less so with
Boundary rules	Open
Aggregation rules	*Strong Safe and Supported:* intent to build a government-wide approach *Early Years Strategy*: 'One Government' approach *BC Education Plan*: only K-12 partners
Payoff rules	No specific incentives for collaboration beyond supporting government priorities
Choice rules	No significant choice rules

In looking across the policy actors and the corporate direction as summarized in Table 21 below, there are interesting nuances to the rules that could have affected WelcomeBC's success and approach in fostering collaboration. First, if scope importance is read narrowly as looking at the language around

immigrants, there was a relatively low perceived scope importance of supporting immigrant integration for the other two potential collaborators (MCFD and EDUC) and in the corporate direction. However, the other two ministries and the corporate direction expressed significant concerns about addressing the needs of the vulnerable and at-risk, or those who needed additional supports (e.g. students), which would include immigrant children and youth, especially vulnerable immigrants. Second, both potential collaborator ministries had a significant break between the policy and operational levels. For Education, the school districts had functional operational autonomy, and MCFD provided degrees of freedom to its regional delivery offices on funding and operational issues. In terms of corporate direction, there were notable differences between the two potential collaborators: the K-12 system had little push to collaborate outside of the limited subset of 'education partners,' while MCFD's corporate direction was more reflective of a recognition of broad-based scope-interdependency and the value of collaboration.

Table 25 Summary of Rules - Policy Level

Rule Type			
	Corporate Direction	**MCFD**	**EDUC**
Scope:	**Importance:** Focus on supporting vulnerable children and youth or those children and youth that require additional supports to succeed; little discussion of immigrants **Framing:** Supporting children and youth (and their families) to succeed **Interdependence:** recognition of the importance of collaboration to address	**Importance:** No mention of immigrants; significant focus on at-risk and vulnerable populations **Framing:** maximize the potential of children and youth **Interdependence:** recognition of the importance of collaboration to address	**Importance:** only minor mention of immigrants; significant focus on students that need additional supports **Framing:** maximize the potential of children and youth **Interdependence:** recognition of the importance of collaboration to address
Boundary rules	Open	Combination of in-house provision and contracted agencies for provision	Only implementing agencies are school districts
Aggregation rules	*Strong Safe and Supported:* intent to build a government-wide approach	Focus on collaboration in service plans; no specific rules requiring collaboration	Primarily focused on the K-12 system partners (school districts)

	Early Years Strategy: 'One Government' approach *BC Education Plan*: only K-12 partners		
Payoff rules	No specific incentives for collaboration beyond supporting government priorities	No specific incentives for collaboration	No specific incentives for collaboration
Choice rules	No significant choice rules	Regional level decision-making on implementation for many program areas	Significant autonomy for school districts which limits EDUC's ability to direct school districts to support collaboration

Collaboration at the Policy Level

How WelcomeBC approached collaboration in this policy area was quite different from the approaches for English Language Development or Labour Market. This section outlines the approaches, before talking about the perceived factors that affected its success in fostering collaboration.

Collaboration with Ministry of Education – Settlement Workers in Schools.

The school system is a place for community integration (e.g. integrating students and their families into the school system) and a place where immigrant students and their families can be reached to support their integration into broader Canadian society. To support these goals, WelcomeBC approached the Ministry of Education with a proposal for a new program called Settlement Workers in Schools (SWIS). Under this program, WelcomeBC would fund School Districts to develop and implement programming to meet the following objectives:

1. To help children adjust to school culture and focus on learning while providing their parents with information and resources on settlement and immigration issues
2. To increase parents' understand of Canadian culture and school systems
3. To increase parent involvement in the school and the community
4. To assess needs of immigrant families and the barriers to successful integration

5. To increase access to community settlement programs and services and work to improve the effectiveness of those programs (FerrenceWeicker 2008).

WelcomeBC would be the primary policy lead for the program, in partnership with the Ministry of Education, and both Ministries would sit on a Provincial Steering Committee that also included five school districts and two settlement agencies. Overall, respondents from WelcomeBC (all directors involved in program/collaboration activities and the SWIS program lead) felt that this was a successful collaboration at the Policy level, and the project was a finalist for a Premier's Award for partnership. Four key factors were identified by WelcomeBC respondents for its success.

Factor 1: Payoff Rules and Scope interdependence. One factor that all WelcomeBC respondents agreed was important was the payoff for the Ministry of Education, as WelcomeBC would be funding the core of the project when EDUC had budget constraints, especially for projects outside the core teaching mandate. As one respondent put it "[I said] we've got some money and right away they were super, super receptive." This was not an entirely one-way collaboration in terms of use of resources – while WelcomeBC funded the SWIS workers, the school districts invested significant staff time and space within the schools to support the positions, and worked with the SWIS workers on identifying ways to better support immigrant youth and children more broadly (FerenceWeicker 2009). This was seen by WelcomeBC respondents as an appropriate split, consistent with the principle of the two-way street of integration and improving the entire school systems' ability to support immigrants. WelcomeBC could not address that issue on its own, and recognized its scope interdependence with the K-12 system.

Factor 2: Scope importance of needs of immigrant students. The second factor that respondents agreed fostered collaboration was that the project aligned well with the Ministry of Education's mandate, and the focus on personalized learning and support for students needing extra help. While not referenced in

strategic documents, immigrant student and family integration into the schools had been identified by EDUC staff as a concern, as the school districts had started raising the issue:

> "When we contacted them, they had already been feeling pressure from the school districts starting to say we're having a lot of pressures integrating all these new families and how should the Ministry of Education be helping us […] Surrey in particular was starting to raise concerns that 'oh man, all these refugees are coming to Surrey and we don't really know how to handle them"

According to another WelcomeBC respondent, the collaboration was also helped by the lead EDUC staff person being well-versed in the challenges facing school districts and refugee children. According to a WelcomeBC respondent, the EDUC staff member was not "one of those people that were just administrative and detached. They really knew what was going on in the school districts. And […] they wanted to have these programs in place really to help the kids."

Factor 3: Working within Boundary and Choice rules. The way School Districts were engaged respected the autonomy of School Districts for decision-making on operations, and did not run into the same challenges as seen in the English Language Development chapter. The SWIS program was not a direction from EDUC, but an opportunity for school districts to participate, respecting the districts' institutional autonomy. EDUC supported this approach and WelcomeBC in engaging with the school districts under this model: "they [EDUC staff] were critical in helping getting the school districts on board with things."

Factor 4: Clear, agreed boundary rules between policy actors that reflect scope interdependence. Another WelcomeBC respondent believed collaboration was furthered by the way the two policy actors came to the table with clear, complementary roles for each:

> "They [EDUC] weren't territorial about it. They were very keen to say 'we trust you guys to administer the contracts. Let's just set up a table or structure and we're there just to give you advice and guidance and how to work in the school districts.' It was very different perhaps than employment […] it was a very different mindset right from the get go."

Early Years Program – Collaboration with MCFD.

WelcomeBC engaged with the Ministry of Children and Family Development (MCFD) to co-develop a program to support vulnerable immigrant and refugee children and their families, with the intent of bringing together actors at the policy and implementation levels to provide the range of supports necessary for this population. WelcomeBC convened a table with MCFD and the United Way to discuss opportunities to work together towards an Early Years immigrant and refugee focused pilot. This policy-level process ran parallel with a local implementation approach that convened implementation actors with the United Way (more on this in the implementation section). Given the diffuse nature of MCFD's organization, the Policy level discussions had two purposes for fostering collaboration: to get MCFD's blessing for the pilot to support local engagement of its regional offices; and where possible, to support these local approaches through linkages to its funded programs or services. Overall, respondents felt that this was an exceptionally successful collaboration with MCFD at the policy level with three main factors identified by respondents as supporting the success of the collaboration.

Factor 1: Scope importance and interdependence. WelcomeBC respondents identified key drivers of the success as the shared scope-importance of the issue and understanding of scope-interdependence. The proposed program was closely aligned with MCFD's mandate to support vulnerable children, youth and families, but in a way that was complementary – i.e. the project would supplement and enhance existing offerings, rather than be a replacement for them or create confusion around mandate. In this way, it was consistent with the language in the Service Plans and corporate documents for MCFD, both in terms of the target (supporting vulnerable children) and with the focus on collaboration and interdependence.

Factor 2: Payoff – mutual benefit. The Early Years collaboration between WelcomeBC and MCFD was primarily funded by WelcomeBC, when there were significant budget constraints on MCFD. This created a positive payoff rule for MCFD: by collaborating, MCFD would be able to influence and support the use

of additional funds that would complement and enhance its existing efforts. In exchange, MCFD provided overall blessing to the project, committed significant staff time, engaged its regional providers, and encouraged participation in the program that would lever MCFD resources.

Factor 3: Aggregation – the value of community-led processes. MCFD, with its regionalized structure, already supported locally-led initiatives within broader frameworks. A WelcomeBC respondent recalled: "I remember […] a meeting with an ED [Executive Director] level MCFD guy who explained how diffuse they were and how they really empowered their regional reps to make funding decisions." WelcomeBC's approach of convening all local players to help develop and implement the project was consistent with that philosophy, and did not require changes to MCFD's decision-making or allocation processes.

Vulnerable Immigrant Populations Program

WelcomeBC took a significantly different approach to the development of the WelcomeBC Vulnerable Immigrant populations programming to address the needs of refugees and multi-barriered immigrants, with the focus on fostering collaboration at the implementation level through the transmission process, with little engagement at the policy level. The approach was based on successful pilot projects which relied on a multi-agency and/or multi-sectoral approach in their development and procurement, but without significant cross-Ministry work at the Policy level. During these pilots, there were significant perceived benefits to the collaboration model. According to one evaluation report:

> A number of agencies and community partners noted that a strength/success of the project was the enhanced collaborations and partnership between the organizations involved in delivering the project. The "win" of improved inter-agency relationships was described as a boon both for the agencies (i.e., in terms of their ability to leverage project funding to access specialized services that were made possible through the partnership) and, more importantly, for the youth/young adult clients, who now had a broader range of services/supports available to them, to meet their multi-faceted needs (Nota Bene 2010, p.47).

Indeed, one outcome identified by partners was that the multi-sectoral collaboration had created new networks and possibilities, which possibly led to broader networks and possibilities for future

collaborations on other types of projects or programs/services (Nota Bene, 2010). These successful pilot local partnership approaches involving collaboration at the implementation level without a strong policy engagement informed the approach taken for developing the Vulnerable Populations program.

TRANSMISSION LEVEL

This section reviews the transmission methods and documents related to the Settlement Workers in Schools program, the Early Years program and the Vulnerable Populations program, and the resulting implementation actors.

Settlement Workers in Schools (SWIS)

The transmission model for SWIS was a non-competitive direct award to School Districts. WelcomeBC made offers to School Districts to participate, along with program guidelines, including eligible services and activities. Each district put together a business plan in line with the guidelines which formed the basis of a contract between WelcomeBC and the School District. The program documents outlined the services that could be offered under SWIS, limited to the integration of immigrant youth and families into the school system. This was an important scope limitation to differentiate between the work of SWIS (integration into schools) and the more general work of settlement, with the expectation that SWIS would refer to settlement agencies on broader settlement topics. The intention was to create complementarity and scope interdependence between the School Districts and the settlement agencies (this issue will come up later in the discussion on implementing the SWIS program). To maximize the benefits of that complementarity, it was expected that the SWIS program would collaborate with the Settlement services offered through WelcomeBC's community providers. This expectation came with an incentive in the form of a budget of up to 10% of the proposed annual budget (up to $190,000 in the larger school districts) to engage the settlement agencies in partnership activities (FerrenceWeicker 2008). There were also requirements for the organizational structure to support collaboration: each

District was to have a Local Advisory Committee, comprised of the SWIS workers, school staff, local community partners and settlement agencies, which was to give "input and feedback" for the program, and more importantly "build strong partnerships and networking opportunities" (FerrenceWeicker 2008 p.12).

Generally, the rules identified in the document review (see Table 26 below) were supportive of collaboration. While the transmission had a closed boundary rule (only School Districts could hold a contract) there was significant language, backed up by aggregation rules, program scope limitations that should create complementarity, and payoffs to support developing collaborations between the School Districts and settlement agencies funded under the Settlement and Integration Program (SIP).

Table 26 Summary of Rules in SWIS Transmission

Rule Type	
Scope:	**Importance of immigrant settlement:** High **Framing:** Supporting vulnerable immigrant children and their families to succeed **Interdependence:** Scope limitations on SWIS that would require collaboration with settlement agencies funded under the SIP
Boundary rules	Open to School Districts only
Aggregation rules	Requirement for Local Advisory Committee with other local agencies; not a requirement for SIP-funded agencies.
Payoff rules	Payoff in the form of partnership funding to support collaboration with settlement agencies.
Choice rules	Choice rules based on program design and to reinforce interdependence with settlement agencies

Early Years Program

The approach taken to the transmission of the Early Years program was different from most of the programming done by WelcomeBC. To develop the program, WelcomeBC and MCFD convened local community tables of settlement agencies and non-settlement organizations involved in early childhood development (ECD) to co-develop a response to the offer of funding from WelcomeBC and the United Way (Munro, 2010). Unlike many of WelcomeBC programs procured through competitive processes, it

used the procurement policy category of "sole provider" which allowed direct awards when the proposal was coming from a steering committee open to all those involved in the field. This approach incentivized collaboration: to be eligible for funding, communities had to work together to put in a single proposal.

The push for collaboration was not just in how the specific programs were developed and procured. The transmission process also included two program outcomes that the community tables had to address in proposals that directly supported collaboration: increased understanding and support for refugee families (which included a broad focus on increasing cultural competency around refugee families, but also includes community capacity building); and increased collaboration between services in the settlement and ECD sectors (Munro, 2010 p. 3). From a rules perspective, the approach taken here was the most stringent in pushing collaborative approaches at the implementation level.

Table 27 Summary of Rules - Early Years Transmission

Rule Type	
Scope:	**Importance:** Entirely focused on supporting vulnerable immigrant children **Framing:** Supporting vulnerable immigrant children and their families to succeed – a broad frame, important to many actors **Interdependence:** strong recognition of need for collaboration
Boundary rules	Open to all agencies involved in a given delivery area
Aggregation rules	Collaborative community-based tables required as part of program design
Payoff rules	Requirement to be part of a collaborative approach of all interested providers in an area in order to access funding under sole-source provision
Choice rules	No significant choice rules

The transmission process seems to have been successful in developing collaborative approaches: as the evaluator said about the transmission and program development process:

> "while the project development process was time consuming and complex and would perhaps have benefited from a longer time frame, the expectations regarding process and partnerships were met, the knowledge, expertise and resources of a wide variety of community and regional partners were harnessed, and for the most part, community consensus on how and where the services would be delivered was reached." (Munro 2010, p. 11)

The evaluator also noted that a broad variety of partners in each of the communities "worked together to take advantage of the funding opportunities and solve the complex issues involved in working collaboratively to address a myriad of challenges relative to program start-up" (Munro p.6). While the partners differed slightly by community, the steering committees included family and community services groups, settlement agencies, local health authorities, school districts, municipal representatives, libraries, United Way, and the Ministry of Children and Family Development, along with WelcomeBC (Munro 2010, pp.21-24). While certain organizations were chosen as specific delivery sites in each area, those sites acted as nodes in a network supporting program delivery and referrals to aligned supports.

Vulnerable Immigrant Populations Program (VIPP)

For the Vulnerable Immigrant Populations program (VIPP), WelcomeBC built collaboration at the local level purely through the transmission/procurement process, using a competitive procurement process with several rules reinforcing and incentivizing collaboration between settlement agencies and non-settlement agencies. The project was framed to address the needs of vulnerable immigrant populations, including children, youth, refugees, seniors and others who may face significant barriers to integration and success in their communities, a scope likely to interest multiple mission-driven providers that might be funded by other Ministries.

The RFP contained repeated references to a desired program model that builds cross-sector collaboration and lever of broader expertise and resources. The documents named collaboration, leveraging resources, and coordinated support systems as key objectives of the program (p.6, p.13), reinforced by service principles related to partnerships, and holistic, coordinated service (p.17). WelcomeBC encouraged and expected collaboration, with a partnership model that included direct delivery and broader community partners that could bring expertise and additional resources to bear, with a special focus on those from mainstream service providers (i.e. not settlement agencies). These

objectives, principles and service methodology expectations were embedded into the proponent response requirements that formed the basis of the selection process, acting as an incentive to collaborate: the organizations who best met these collaborative criteria (among other criteria) to work cross-sector and cross-agency would be awarded the contract.

Overall, the rules set out in the transmission document (summarized in Table 24 below) seemed to strongly support collaborative approaches at the implementation level, even though it was an open and competitive procurement. The Vulnerable Populations procurement resulted in programs with multiple partners in the delivery and community partner categories in each area. The Aggregation, Scope, and Boundary rules were seen by WelcomeBC respondents as reinforcing the drive towards a broader collaboration approach, while Payoff rules in the collaboration selection criteria made it even more explicit. However, these rules were not sufficient to adjust the approaches of some traditional settlement agencies. As one WelcomeBC respondent said, for some there was a realization that:

> "this is bigger than us [settlement sector], we are not the be-all and end-all settlement agencies, and I think for some that probably was hard to swallow or accept, so a design that responds and recognizes and demands that in order to be really effective, we need to have much more holistic and wraparound approach [with non-settlement agencies]."

This can be seen in the results of the transmission. In at least one area, the difference between the successful organization and the second-place organization was the level of proposed collaboration: the successful organization had created a broad-based delivery and community partner network, while the second-place organization relied primarily on its traditional settlement background and very limited collaborations because they did not perceive scope interdependence.

Table 28 - Summary of Rules - VIPP Transmission

Rule Type	Findings of document review
Scope:	**Importance:** Focus on supporting vulnerable and at-risk immigrants across all age groups **Framing:** Supportive of a broad range of interventions to support vulnerable and at-risk immigrants to settle and succeed in their community and labour market; a framing that would be relevant to both settlement and non-settlement agencies

	Interdependence: Strong recognition of the importance of collaboration to holistically support vulnerable and at-risk immigrants
Boundary rules	Open, with a significant emphasis on collaborative approaches
Aggregation rules	Program expectation of collaboration, both cross-agency and cross-sector
Payoff rules	Selection criteria strongly weighted towards collaborative approaches
Choice rules	No significant choice rules

IMPLEMENTATION

This section looks at the perception of the level of collaboration at the implementation level, and the perceived factors affecting collaboration.

Settlement Workers in Schools

The SWIS program was a WelcomeBC-funded program embedded within the broader education system. The types of collaboration hoped for were: between the SWIS program and the rest of the K-12 education system, and between the SWIS program and the settlement agencies.

In looking at the collaboration between the SWIS program and the broader school district, evaluators noted that it had had "notable positive impacts" on the rest of the school system (FerrenceWeicker 2009, p. 27). In line with what WelcomeBC was hoping for in terms of the 'two-way street of integration,' the program supported the school system to be more inclusive of newcomer families, engaging teachers and staff to be more culturally aware and more sensitive to cultural differences, and have more knowledge of the needs of newcomers (FerrenceWeicker 2009, p. 27).

However, the situation between SWIS and the settlement agencies was not as rosy. WelcomeBC and sector respondents had a range of responses when asked about the collaboration between school districts and settlement agencies in relation to the SWIS program. Respondents noted that there was "animosity" and "negativity" from the settlement agencies towards the SWIS program, with one

respondent recalling that “in some cases it was just incredibly separate and don’t talk to me and they fought”. Another WelcomeBC respondent thought that the settlement agencies’ negativity may have caused them to say “we’ll just sit back and watch them muddle through and probably telling staff, if they call you, you don’t have to answer their questions.” This tension is evident in the responses from the evaluation of the SWIS program:

> “Although generally supportive, the settlement sector continues to have some concerns about the Initiative. Some areas of concern identified by settlement representatives include unexpected increases in workload due to the support and assistance requested by SWIS, wage discrepancy between SWIS workers and settlement agency staff, and confusion amongst some settlement representatives regarding the role of SWIS, and the program mandate.” (FerrenceWeicker 2009, p.iii).

In the responses to specific evaluation questions: 85% of settlement sector respondents noted that they thought the program should continue (compared to 97% of school representatives); however, while the satisfaction with the program was very high for school representatives (average 4.7/5, where 5 is very satisfied), the respondents from community settlement agencies were only somewhat satisfied (average 3/5) (p.35). One explanation is the settlement sector’s view of the overlap and duplication of SWIS and SIP (45% of settlement agency respondents thought there was overlap/duplication, compared to only 18% of school-based respondents). Less than half of settlement agency respondents agreed that SWIS been more than ‘somewhat successful’ in the efforts to coordinate SWIS and settlement agencies with competition for clients, and lack of clarity on roles and mandates, among the factors cited (p.49).

However, this dynamic between the SWIS program and the settlement agencies evolved over time. As early as 2009, an evaluation noted that “Considerable progress has been made in establishing linkages with other resources in schools, with community and government programs, and with other settlement programs and resources in the community” (FerrenceWeicker, 2009 p. iii), although there was still a need for “further efforts […] to increase the level of coordination and cooperation” (FerrenceWeicker 2009, p.50). There emerged a perception by WelcomeBC and settlement sector

respondents that in some cases there were good or at least "sufficient" collaborations at the implementation level:

> "There was quite a bit of conflict in the beginning. And then some of those issues kind of worked themselves out with the first ten [school districts]. Except for in a few school districts which the issues never really ended up getting fully resolved […] that animosity, I don't think in some of the school districts ever went away."

The factors that influenced the level of collaboration between SWIS and settlement agencies at the implementation level (or lack thereof), according to evaluators and respondents were the following.

Factor 1: Boundary dispute: School Districts versus Settlement Agencies. The decision to contract with the School Districts, while positive from the viewpoint of EDUC and the school districts was, according to a sector respondent "super controversial to the settlement agencies […] because Ontario had primarily funded the settlement agencies to deliver [a similar program]." A WelcomeBC respondent observed that:

> "Settlement agencies felt this funding should have gone to the settlement agencies: "they [the settlement agencies] wanted to get that funding to run the programs, […] because they said the non-profit agencies that have typically provided the settlement service, are the ones that really know what they are doing."

There were also concerns that the settlement agencies were not going to get enough funding to compete with salaries offered in the school districts (FerenceWeicker 2009, p.iii), and that the School Districts would "take the money and that some wouldn't really know what they were doing and they'd heavily rely on the settlement providers for advice" (sector respondent), which was also identified as an issue in the early evaluation of the SWIS program (FerenceWeicker 2009, p.iii). This resulted in significant pushback from the Settlement agencies umbrella group (AMSSA. A WelcomeBC respondent recalled "there was definitely a lot of bitterness at the beginning."

Factor 2: Lack of recognized scope interdependence. The 'bitterness' at the beginning was exacerbated by lack of a clear scope differentiation and recognition of scope interdependence between the work of

the SWIS program and settlement agencies. While SWIS was to be school-focused, the boundaries were a bit unclear: "Definitely the boundaries between a SWIS role and a settlement worker role, because you know, you can't really 100% separate that" (WelcomeBC respondent). Another respondent noted a

> "lack of clarity between what's a settlement worker in schools versus settlement worker in a settlement agency, and what are their roles and how do they differ […] I just remember conversations around turf almost and a [… settlement worker is in the school, but at what point, if there's a family situation – do they follow-up or do they connect with the settlement agency?"

The same respondent also said "I just remember that continuum not always being clear or healthy." This also showed up in the evaluation of the early years of the SWIS program, which noted "confusion amongst some settlement representatives regarding the role of SWIS, and the program mandate" (FerenceWeicker 2009, p. iii), and the need to "further clarify the roles of [SWIS] and other settlement organizations" (p.49).

Factor 3: Weak aggregation rules. Although the SWIS transmission documents contained a lot of language about collaboration, there was little at the implementation level to require it, especially for the settlement agencies funded through SIP. Given the bitterness and animosity from the SIP providers, it was challenging for WelcomeBC to foster SIP/SWIS collaboration, especially in the program's early days. Over time this tension was reduced, according to WelcomeBC and sector respondents, as role clarity was strengthened and stronger direction was given to the implementation actors, but was still a challenge.

Factor 4: Payoff: Partnership funds ineffective. Additional funding (up to 10% of the contract value) was made available to SDs to support collaborations with, or purchase services from, settlement agencies. However, the uptake and use of those funds was minimal due in part to the challenges identified above. In the first evaluation of the program with the initial set of school districts, none of the partnership funds were used (FerrenceWeicker, 2008). After the initial evaluation, changes were made to the partnership funding model, which improved uptake but there were still challenges (FerrenceWeicker, 2009, p.49).

Factor 5: Scope importance and interdependence leading to "sufficient" collaborations. WelcomeBC and sector respondents felt that the underlying scope importance of supporting newly arrived immigrants and refugees for the SWIS and Settlement agencies eventually helped bridge the divide between SWIS and SIP:

> "I think paramount in it is that the service was needed and nobody was going to say that implementing it was the wrong thing to do"

> "Because when you sit down around the table, you're just talking about the needs of the client, and that's when all the rest of it washed away, right?"

While there was not an evaluation at the end of the study period, WelcomeBC and sector respondents indicated that, over time, the shared goal to ensure the successful integration of immigrants and refugee families helped to build what one respondent called "sufficient" bridges to help achieve that goal.

Early Years Implementation

The Early Years was seen by all WelcomeBC and sector respondents as being very successful at fostering collaboration at the implementation level. All WelcomeBC respondents mentioned the value of the collaborations developed, and within the evaluation of the pilot:

- 98% of program respondents agreed or strongly agreed that the projects were working well to coordinate activities in ways to make services more accessible to refugee families
- 93% strongly agreed or agreed that the projects were working well in sharing resources in order to expand the range and depth of services provided
- 93% of respondents indicated that the they thought services should continue to be offered in the same way after the pilot project. (Munro 2010, pp. 7-8);
- 93% agreed that the partners "enhance each others' capacity" (Munro 2010, p.30).

Overall, "the level of knowledge, expertise and resources brought together by a wide variety of community partners was significant in increasing capacity to deliver the projects" (Munro 2010, p.20),

and “the reported level of collaboration is significant for such a new project” (Munro 2010, p.28). What follows will now look as some of the factors that informed the level of collaboration.

Factor 1: Shared scope importance. A key component to the success of this project was a sense that “the groups around the table really saw a specific demand and need” (WelcomeBC respondent). This shared sense of purpose was seen as core to the success of the programs generally across this and the Vulnerable Immigrant program:

> “[from the sector’s perspective] this is the area that we’ve been dying to do, because this is about really meeting the needs of people […] it seemed to me like there is just a total willingness to work with whoever you needed to there” (Sector respondent).

Factor 2: Scope – Explicit goal of increased collaboration. The project explicitly identified the “increased collaboration between services in the settlement and ECD (Early Childhood Development) sectors” as well as “community capacity building” in the agreed outcomes of the project (Munro, 2008). Having these as a stated goal of the project, and being named and assessed in its evaluation influenced the design of the pilots in terms of the aggregation rules and the activities undertaken.

Factor 3: Aggregation. The scope rules were reinforced by aggregation rules that brought all of the potential implementing agencies together to address an issue they all had an interest and a role in, and using them to help define the programming built collaborations between the implementation agencies, and between the agencies and the government Ministries. As one WelcomeBC respondent said:

> “It feels like it was very bottom up, everyone’s equal at the table. Even though we brought money, it didn’t, somehow, it didn’t feel like we were the funder as much as, “hey, we got some resources, how do we work together to do this”

In the evaluation report, this focus on a bottom- up approach was seen as key to building collaboration and community capacity (Munro, p.6).

Factor 4: Payoff. The way that the funding was provided was identified as very important to the success of the project. It was not a competitive procurement process – rather, it was an invitation to collaborate and co-develop the plan for funding, and there were no options to access the funding otherwise. As the evaluator noted in a discussion of the community capacity building that occurred: "community partners worked together to take advantage of the funding opportunities, and solve the complex issues involved in working collaboratively to address a myriad of challenges related to program start-up" (Munro 2010, p.6). This was viewed as not only during the transmission process, but also at the implementation level to continue the funding to keep everyone at the table.

Vulnerable Immigrant Populations Program (VIPP)

The Vulnerable Immigrant Populations Program was one of the last procured near the end of the study period and the return of settlement programming and funding to the Federal Government. While there was not enough time to assess the collaboration at the implementation level, WelcomeBC and sector respondents nevertheless had impressions of the collaborative processes developed in the implemented programming. They believed there had been new collaborations formed as a result of the advent of the vulnerable populations program and how it had been both procured and designed; in other cases, the advent of the vulnerable populations program may have formalized existing collaborations, and provided funding to strengthen those existing collaborations. The following are the factors that WelcomeBC and sector respondents saw as responsible for supporting collaboration at the implementation level.

Factor 1: Scope importance. First and foremost, the focus on providing more intensive supports to vulnerable populations was very much aligned with the work of the settlement agencies and the broader range of social services agencies collaborating in the work. As with the work of the Early Years, there was seen to be strong buy-in to the program and the program model by most settlement agencies and their non-settlement partners, because of this shared scope importance. As the sector respondent put it:

> "Well, this is the area that we've been dying to do because this is about really meeting the needs of people – so it seemed to me like there is just a total willingness to work with whoever you needed to be there."

Factor 2: Scope interdependence/complementarity. Respondents also noted the benefits of an explicit recognition of scope interdependence across multiple agencies and sectors to address these issues. The sector respondent noted that the project brought together organizations with complementary scopes, and the benefit of taking a more holistic approach to address an issue that of mutual interest and importance: "if you're not forced to work with somebody, but you are choosing to work with somebody because you know them, you've got complementary capacities, then you know, then you want to keep working with them."

Factor 3: Payoff Rules – Supports for Collaboration. That desire to work with those with complementary approaches was reinforced by ongoing supports for collaboration. Funding was built into the proposals to support the bandwidth necessary to support the work of collaborations, including funding more than just basic service delivery hours. As one respondent said: "I think as long as those things were resourced and people were working with whom they naturally wanted to work with, that they would maintain [the collaboration]. I think when it would be a challenge is when they lost the resources and they'd probably go back to the informal relationships."

Factor 4: Aggregation Rules. Finally, one WelcomeBC respondent noted as a minor consideration was how the aggregation rules in the proposal process facilitated the maintenance and strengthening of collaborations during implementation – the requirements to describe how the collaborations would be supported during implementation, including diagrams of reporting relationships across the lead and delivery partners. These requirements became part of the contracts with the implementation agencies. While mentioned by only one respondent, this was not seen as a major contributor, but rather a support to the scope rules and the payoff rules that provided funding to support the collaborations.

SUMMARY OF CHILD, YOUTH AND IMMIGRANT SETTLEMENT AND INTEGRATION

Overall, the area of child, youth and vulnerable immigrant settlement and integration was the most successful for WelcomeBC in fostering collaboration. The key difference was the approach WelcomeBC took at the policy level, followed by different approaches at the transmission and implementation levels, summarized in Figure 10 (see p. 189).

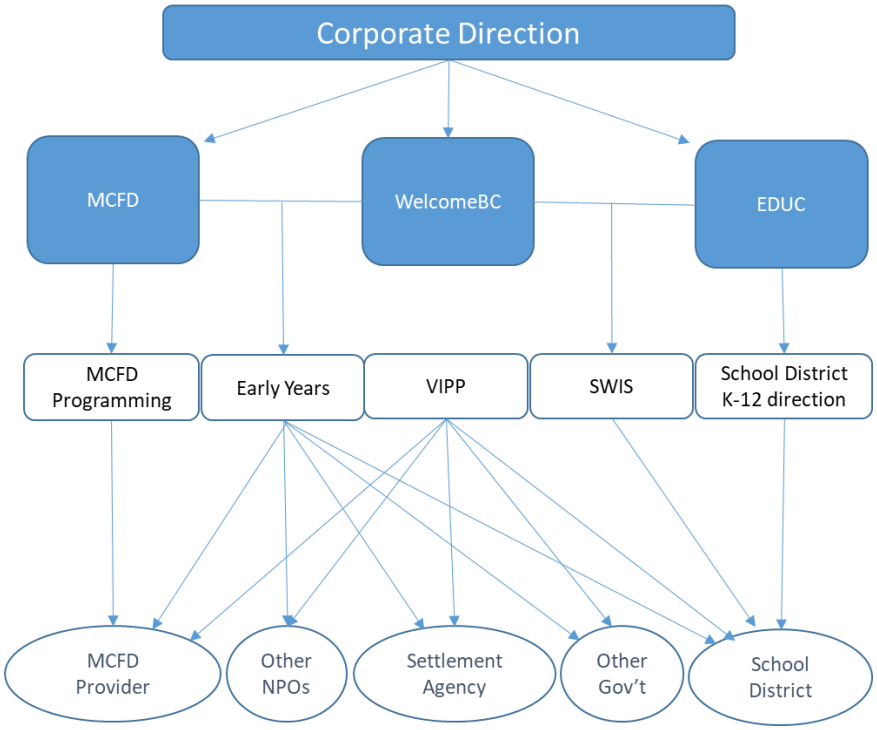
At the policy level, WelcomeBC found alignment on scope with MCFD on the topic of vulnerable children and youth, and with EDUC on immigrant children needing more supports in the school system, within broad corporate directions. From this base, WelcomeBC took the approach of getting policy-level blessing from the other Ministries, incentivized by funding, prior to working more directly with the implementing agencies of the other Ministries. In the case of working with Education on the SWIS program, WelcomeBC obtained general blessing from the Ministry, incentivized by funding, but otherwise dealt with School Districts on a contractual basis as a way of working within the Ministry's institutional limits on directing school districts. For the Early Years program, WelcomeBC again secured blessing and engagement from the Ministry of Children and Family Development, but otherwise primary discussions were at the local level with the implementing agencies. These cross-Ministry collaborations were also supported because they had a positive payoff rule for the other Ministries: WelcomeBC brought the main funding to the table, with significant in-kind contributions from the other Ministries' implementing agencies and staff, and leveraging existing programming. In both cases, WelcomeBC respondents felt that they succeeded in developing collaborative cross-Ministry network approaches.

In the case of the Vulnerable Populations program, WelcomeBC took a different approach, using the transmission/procurement process to strengthen collaboration among implementation delivery and community partners, including those funded by MCFD, EDUC and Social Development. By doing so, WelcomeBC avoided the challenges of trying to influence the other Ministries.

The transmission model played a significant role in creating cross-Ministry service provider connections. In the case of the VIPP, there were strong incentives in the selection process to bring forward collaborative, multi-agency program proposals, as well as ongoing program expectations of collaboration. The Early Years program went a step further through the sole-source procurement: the only way to get funding for that program was to be part of the collaborative community table. Both programs also had a scope framing of interest to a broad range of mission-driven organizations, and an emphasis on scope interdependence and complementarity, while avoiding some of the issues identified in the English Language and Labour Market chapters (e.g. avoiding the competition that arose from payoff rules that incentivized keeping clients). Overall, these programs arguably created the types of collaborative service delivery networks that WelcomeBC was hoping for to achieve its overall goals.

The exception was the SWIS program, an embedded program in the School Districts, which was pursued to create a node in the school systems that could influence the school district and provide links out to the broader settlement network, all while working with EDUC's limited ability to direct the school districts. The project was seen as successful in providing support within the school system and for the 'two-way street of integration' work within the schools. However, this approach experienced significant pushback from the settlement agencies due to their perception of a misapplied boundary rule which gave the funding to the School Districts. Over time, the shared scope-importance of supporting school-aged immigrants to succeed helped to make many of those SWIS-SIP collaborations at least "sufficient" (WBC respondent) and in some school districts, allowed for effective collaboration.

Figure 10 – Summary of Community Settlement and Integration



Rule Type	POLICY LEVEL		
	Corporate Direction	**MCFD**	**EDUC**
Scope:	**Importance:** limited immigrant focus but vulnerable children/youth needing extra support **Interdependence:** yes, for vulnerable	**Importance:** No immigrant but vulnerable children and youth **Interdependence:** yes, for vulnerable	**Importance:** students that need additional supports **Interdependence:** yes, but limited to education system
Boundary	Open	In-house & contracted agencies	Only school districts
Aggregation	Support collaboration but nothing concrete	Focus on collaboration in service plans	Yes, but focused on the K-12 system partners
Payoff	No incentives for collaboration beyond government priority	No specific incentives for collaboration	No specific incentives for collaboration
Choice	No significant choice rules	Regional decisions for implementation in some program areas	Significant autonomy for school districts

Rule			
	VIPP	**Early Years**	**SWIS**
Scope (all high importance)	**Framing:** support vulnerable/at-risk immigrants to succeed **Interdependence:** Yes	**Framing:** Support vulnerable immigrant children/families **Interdependence:** Yes	**Framing:** supporting immigrant children/ families to succeed **Interdependence:** Yes
Boundary	Open	Open to all agencies involved in a given delivery area; required collaboration	Only School Districts
Aggregation	Program expectation of collaboration, both cross-agency and cross-sector	Collaborative community-based tables required as part of program design	Requirement for Local Advisory Committee
Payoff	Selection criteria promote collaboration	Required to collaborate for funding	Payoff in funding for partnerships
Choice	Choice rules based on program design	Choice rules based on program design	Choice rules based on program design

CHAPTER 9

DISCUSSION: KEY FINDINGS AND THEMES

> "The engagement of multiple sectors and a network of partners and service providers is critical to achieve success throughout the immigration pathway (from pre-arrival to longer-term integration)" (Foundational Element, WelcomeBC Framework, 2009).
>
> "British Columbia's immigrants fully contribute to the social and economic prosperity of the Province" – WelcomeBC Goal (WelcomeBC, 2009)

In assessing whether or not WelcomeBC was successful at addressing the 'critical' partnership foundational element in its Strategic Framework towards the achievement of its overall goal, the findings can best be described as: 'in some cases, some of the time, to varying degrees, and with varying reasonableness of attribution to actions by WelcomeBC.' This section provides a quick summary of the cases, and then discusses findings from across the three cases to draw out key learnings regarding:

- The effect of rules on WelcomeBC's attempts to foster collaboration and the potential for broader, generalizable findings from this study;
- The challenges and opportunities for fostering collaboration within the context of the New Public Management-informed governance ruleset;
- The value of the rules rubric and analytical framework as a conceptual framework for analysis of factors affecting collaboration, and how the findings engage with and inform other literatures.

SUMMARY OF CASES

Across the three cases, WelcomeBC undertook diverse approaches to foster collaboration towards its overall goal with varying degrees of success. In the English Language Development case (Figure 11) WelcomeBC attempted to foster collaboration towards its defining position of "BC immigrants will have access to English language training and gain language skills relevant to the labour market and

communities they live in" in support of the overall WelcomeBC Goal. These efforts were bolstered by significant corporate direction to collaborate to achieve one of the government's top priorities regarding adult literacy, and recent data showing the significance of immigrants in the overall adult literacy challenge in BC. Even in this context, WelcomeBC was unable to develop any substantive collaboration at the policy level with AVED and EDUC, beyond a minor, WelcomeBC-funded partnership with AVED on a small rural community literacy program. At the transmission level, there was some cross-selection as AVED-funded colleges and EDUC-funded school districts won WelcomeBC-funded ELSA contracts, resulting in service nodes across funding lines, but at the implementation level, few meaningful collaborations were created outside of these nodes.

In the area of Labour Market Integration (Figure 12), WelcomeBC faced significant challenges in fostering collaboration towards its defining position: "BC immigrants' international education, skills and experience will be utilized and valued in BC's labour market and economy." At the policy level, WelcomeBC failed to foster any real level of collaboration with either the LMA or LMDA. At the transmission level, there was significant cross-selection of providers through open procurements by all policy actors, resulting in local program nodes of implementing agencies funded by multiple policy actors. At the implementation level, beyond these nodes, there were some collaborations noted between settlement agencies with Job Options and other settlement agencies, but there were challenges in collaborating both within the LMDA's Employment Program (between contractors and sub-contractors) and between the Employment Program providers and other WelcomeBC-funded settlement agencies.

WelcomeBC had significantly more success in fostering collaborative approaches towards the settlement of immigrant children and families, and vulnerable immigrants (Figure 13). At the policy level, high-level collaborations were formed with the Ministry of Education (EDUC) and the Ministry of Children and Family Development in support of the Settlement Workers in Schools and Early Years

programming respectively. For the Early Years and Vulnerable Populations programs, WelcomeBC undertook transmission processes specifically designed to foster collaboration across a broad diversity of providers, which resulted in the perception of effective collaborations between WelcomeBC-funded agencies and implementation agencies funded by other Ministries. The SWIS program was more problematic: while it built a WelcomeBC-funded settlement node that influenced the EDUC-funded school system from within, there were challenges in building collaboration from that node to external settlement agencies.

In short, the three case study experiences point to significantly different degrees of collaboration towards meeting WelcomeBC's defining positions and overall goals across the cases and across the levels. In order to try to explain the difference in the level of collaboration, this dissertation applied an analytical framework that analyzed the 'rules of the game' for the actors at each of the policy, transmission and implementation levels to understand the effect these rules had on the development of collaborative approaches. This is discussed more in the following section.

Figure 11: English Language Development

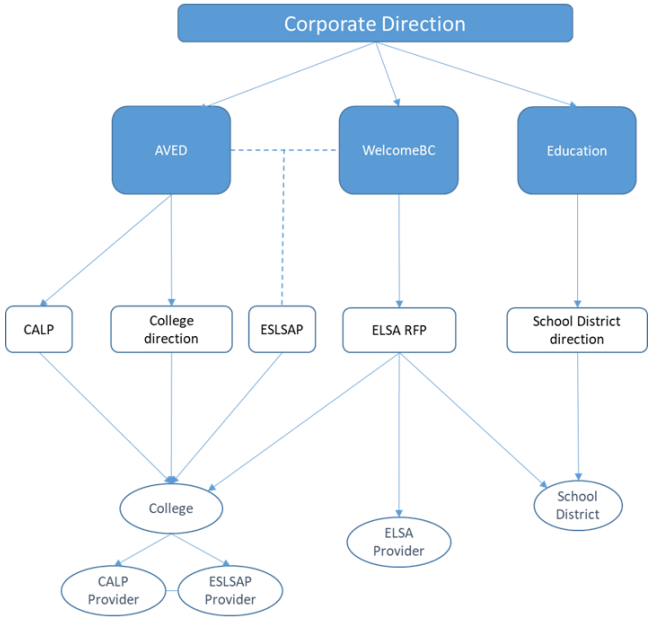


Figure 12 - Labour Market

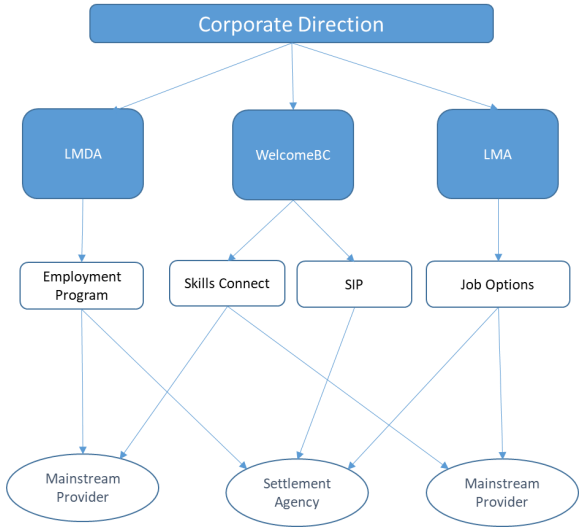
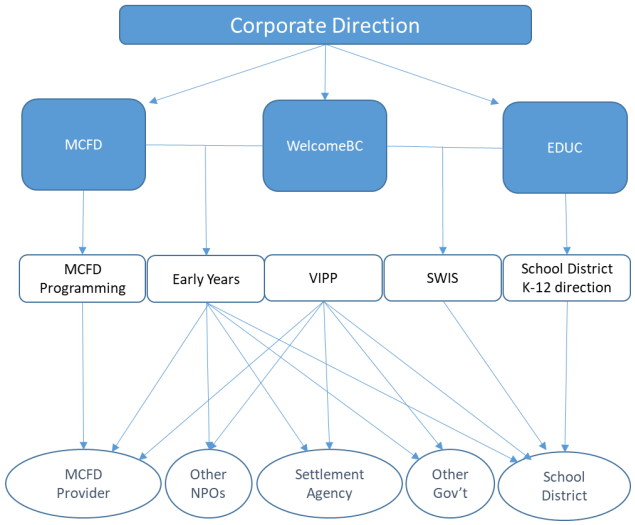


Figure 13: Family and Community Settlement



FINDINGS OF RULES ANALYSIS

The tables on the next two pages (Tables 29 and 30) provide a summary of the rules that were identified in the cases at the policy level, and at the transmission and implementation levels, as well as the level of collaboration fostered at each level. What was found in the case studies was that the level of collaboration could be explained to a great extent with reference to the rulesets in each potential collaboration area. This section takes a step back to look across the cases to identify findings that seem to hold across this set of cases; further application of the analytical framework to other cases will help to identify whether or not the framework will support cross-case learning across a broader set of cases, and whether these findings are more broadly applicable. What follows outlines the high-level findings regarding the role of the rules in collaboration across the cases in this dissertation, and attempt to state them as broader testable propositions.

Scope Rules – A critical factor in the public sector

At all levels (policy, transmission and implementation), scope rules played a significant role in the formation of collaborative approaches. There were three aspects of scope used in the study: how important the issue was to the organization, how the issue was framed, and whether the organization saw interdependence with other actors in achieving its goals related to the issue.

Scope importance. In all cases, scope importance to an organization's core mandate was seen to be a key driver of the level of effort that each organization put towards addressing the issue. At the policy level, WelcomeBC was unsuccessful in fostering any meaningful collaboration with AVED and EDUC on English Language Development (even in the context of significant corporate scope importance), or with the LMDA and LMA on Labour Market Development, due in large part to the relatively low importance of the immigrant issue compared to those organizations' core mandates or other priorities. WelcomeBC did have success in collaborating with EDUC and MCFD at the policy level on Community

Table 29 - Summary of Rules at Policy Level

	English Language Development			Labour Market			Family and Community Settlement		
	Corporate Direction	**AVED (Internal)**	**EDUC (Internal)**	**Corporate Direction**	**LMDA**	**LMA**	**Corporate Direction**	**MCFD (internal)**	**EDUC (internal)**
Scope Importance	High	Low	Very low	Low	Low	Low	High	High	Medium
Scope interdependence	Yes	No	No	Minor	Minor	Minor	Yes	Yes	Yes
Scope Framing-alignment with WelcomeBC	Similar: IALSS Results	Similar: Developmental Education	N/A	Different: focus on attraction of skilled immigrants	Different: Return to work	Similar	Similar: vulnerable children/youth	Similar: vulnerable children/youth	Similar: youth needing extra supports
Boundary	Split leadership – EDUC/AVED	Closed boundaries - Colleges	Closed boundaries – School districts	N/A	Open	Open	N/A	Semi-open in-house and contracted agencies	Closed boundaries – School districts
Aggregation	Strong aggregation	Bounded aggregation – Colleges	Bounded aggregation – School Districts	No strong cross-ministry	No strong cross-ministry	No strong cross-ministry	Support collaboration but nothing concrete	Focus on collaboration in service plans	Yes, but focused on the K-12 system partners
Payoff	Payoff to be seen as a leader	Payoff for post-secondary targets; no payoffs for collaboration	Payoff for K-12 targets; no payoffs for collaboration	Minor: support government priority	Payoff for achieving own targets	Payoff for achieving own targets	Minor: support government priority	No specific incentives for collaboration	No specific incentives for collaboration
Choice	No specific additional choice rules.	Limited choice in directing colleges operations	Limited choice in directing school districts.	No specific additional choice rules.	Choice rules from LMDA requirements	Choice rules limited by LMA	No specific additional choice rules.	Regional decisions for implementation in some program areas	Limited ability to direct school districts.
RESULT	No meaningful collaboration towards achieving WelcomeBC's goals beyond limited case of ESLSAP			No collaboration towards achieving WelcomeBC's goals			Collaboration towards achieving WelcomeBC goals		

Table 30: Rules in the Transmission and Implementation Levels

	English Language Development			Labour Market				Family and Community Settlement		
	WelcomeBC ELSA	**AVED - Colleges**	**EDUC – School Districts**	**WelcomeBC Settlement Program**	**WelcomeBC Skills Connect**	**LMDA Employment Program**	**LMA Job Options**	**SWIS**	**Early Years**	**Vulnerable Populations**
Scope Importance	High	N/A	N/A	High	High	One of target groups	One of target groups	High	High	High
Scope interdependence	No	N/A	N/A	Minor	Minor	Minor	Minor	Yes	Yes	Yes
Scope Framing	Aligned	Overlap	N/A	Aligned	Aligned	Different: return to work	Similar	Immigrants as youth and families needing extra supports in school system	Broad – immigrants as vulnerable children/families	Broad – immigrants as vulnerable population
Boundary	Open	Closed - Colleges	Closed – School Districts	Open competition, but relatively closed selection criteria	Open	Open Selection criteria support Settlement Agencies	Open Selection criteria support Settlement agencies	Closed - School districts	Open to all ECD actors in an area	Open to all working with vulnerable populations
Aggregation	N/A, other than membership in ELSANet	N/A	District Literacy Plan requirement	Scoring includes community partnerships	Joint submissions preferred.	Scoring criteria connections with local organizations; requirement for Partnerships	Community partnerships as scoring criteria,	Expectation of collaboration with Settlement Agencies	Must be part of the community table to access funding	Expectation of community and delivery partners. Selection benefits for collaborative approaches
Payoff	Selection payoff for winning contract; Ongoing payoff for enrolment/ delivery	Payoff for enrolment and delivery targets	Payoff for enrolment and delivery targets	Selection payoff for collaboration;	Selection payoff for collaboration Ongoing payoff for services provided and outcomes	Selection payoff to include agencies with experience serving immigrants Ongoing Payoff for services delivered and outcomes	Payoff for achieving targets	Partnership funds for collaboration	Selection payoff for participating in community table	Selection payoff for collaborative approaches
Choice	Contract	Significant operational autonomy	Significant operational autonomy	Contract	Contract	Contract	Contract	Contract	Contract	Contract
TRANSMISSION / SELECTION RESULT	Some Colleges and School Districts selected as providers of ELSA programming			No cross-selection on Settlement Program Some non-settlement agencies selected for Skills Connect Many settlement agencies selected for Employment Program and Job Options				No cross-selection on SWIS Significant collaborative approaches with non-settlement agencies on other programs		
Implementation	Primarily competitive rather than collaborative outside of multi-funded nodes, ESLSAP, and a few select communities			Multi-funded program nodes allow for some cross-Ministry collaboration Challenges to collaboration within the EP and between EP and WelcomeBC agencies Some collaboration between settlement agencies with Job Options and settlement agencies without Job Options				Ongoing collaboration within the Early Years and Vulnerable Populations programming, and collaboration with other settlement agencies Challenges with collaboration between SWIS and Settlement agencies – eventually came to be 'sufficient' collaboration.		

and Family Settlement, with a significant factor being that both the corporate direction and the other Ministries placed a high scope importance on addressing the issues when framed as vulnerable children and youth (for MCFD) or as students needing additional supports (for EDUC). Scope importance also played a role at the transmission and implementation levels, for some of the program areas where collaboration occurred by agencies coming together to address issues that they felt were important. Scope importance was also seen to be able to alleviate some of the challenges that occurred due to program design: in the case of SWIS, which initially suffered from conflicts between settlement agencies and the school districts, it was perceived that the shared importance of supporting immigrant families to integrate eventually resulted in 'sufficient' collaboration.

Scope framing. The framing of the issue played a minor role in the analysis, but had some effect on WelcomeBC's attempts to foster collaboration with LMDA, and with MCFD and EDUC on family and community settlement. For the LMDA, the fundamental mismatch between the required LMDA Agreement framing of rapid re-employment with minimal standards, and the WelcomeBC focus on immigrant underemployment made it challenging to collaborate. For MCFD and EDUC, scope framing was important to the fostering of collaboration: while there was relatively little explicit framing of immigrant children and youth in these actors documents, their scope framing of supporting 'vulnerable children and youth' and 'students needing more help' respectively created a conceptual overlap with WelcomeBC's focus on vulnerable immigrant children and immigrant students, and so created scope importance for those actors. At the transmission and implementation level, the scope framings of the policy actors' open transmissions created scope importance across different implementing agencies (e.g. LMDA and LMA programs were of interest to settlement agencies who recognized the importance of labour market issues for immigrant populations; WelcomeBC's language programs scoped to be of interest to School Districts and colleges and their educational mandates), which allowed for cross-selection of implementing agencies and the creation of multi-program nodes. The way that WelcomeBC

framed the Early Years and Vulnerable Populations programs made them of interest to many mission-driven organizations focused on early childhood development and supports for vulnerable populations, which supported collaborative efforts.

Scope interdependence. Recognition of scope interdependence was an important factor influencing collaboration across the cases. At the policy level, where other Ministries recognized scope interdependence (e.g. SWIS and Early Years), the Ministries were open to working with WelcomeBC. Both the LMDA and LMA assigned at least minor scope importance to immigrant labour market issues, but had the resources and the mandate to address those populations by themselves, and so did not see scope interdependence; in these cases, no real collaboration occurred. In the case of English Language development, the corporate direction strongly recognized the issue as interdependent across Ministries; however, in the context of relatively low importance to AVED and EDUC (outside of the Ministries' literacy leads), and some of the challenges that will be discussed in other rule sets (payoff, boundary and choice rules), this scope interdependence was not sufficient to foster collaboration. At the transmission and implementation levels, scope interdependence was noted as a factor influencing the level of collaboration in areas of shared importance (e.g. Early Years; SWIS; Vulnerable Populations) for mission-driven organizations.

From the research in this dissertation, three high level general findings can be made regarding scope rules and their effect on collaboration formation across the cases:

> *The more important an issue is to the core mandate of an organization, the greater the effort the organization will put towards addressing the issue.*
>
> *If an organization understands the issue as interdependent and benefiting from support from complementary organizations, there is more likely to be an opportunity for collaboration.*
>
> *The way an issue is framed can affect both scope importance and scope interdependence*.

These findings align well with Provan and Milward's model of the impact of institutional norms on service implementation networks (1991), which identified the more that an organizational understands an issue as cross-cutting and benefiting from complementary services, the more likely they are to pursue collaborations. It is also consistent with the work of Logsdon (1991) on the roles of interest and interdependence in social problem-solving collaborations. Logsdon proposed the following typology, shown below, around the role of the "two most critical factors that influence an organization's willingness to collaborate: its stakes in solving the problem relative to its fundamental interests, and its degree of perceived interdependence with other groups in devising a solution" (Logsdon 1991 p. 23).

Table 31 - Logsdon's Interest/Interdependence Matrix

		Perceived interdependence with other parties	
		Low	*High*
Stakes for the potential participant[17]	*Low*	Neglect	Free Rider Problem
	High	Reliance on individual responses (e.g. "lone ranger" programs; adversarial lobbying	Collaborative potential

The categories in this typology are consistent with WelcomeBC's attempts at fostering collaboration. In the Family and Community Settlement area, perceived scope interdependence, combined with the perceived importance of the work, led to interesting collaborations at both the policy and implementation levels. On the other hand, the issue of immigrant labour market success had relatively low importance and low interdependence for both the LMA and LMDA in the early years, and would be classified as 'neglect.' When the LMA did place greater importance on the topic in later years, the lack of perceived interdependence led to approaches in the bottom left quadrant that would be considered

[17] From Logsdon, J.M. (1991) p. 27

'lone ranger' – e.g. the LMA developed the Job Options program with immigrants as a target population, without consulting with WelcomeBC, which was in the same division of the same Ministry.

Payoff rules – incentives to collaborate (or not)

Payoff rules also played a significant role at the policy, transmission and implementation levels. At the policy level, payoff rules tended to be intertwined with scope rules: a key payoff for policy actors in BC comes from the achievement of their goals and targets in their key scope documents (the Service Plan, strategic documents). In cases where there are external funding sources tied to an Agreement (e.g. the LMDA, LMA and CBCIA agreements), staying within the scope of the agreement/achieving the goals of the agreement is important for the payoff of continued funding. WelcomeBC had very limited success in fostering collaboration at the policy level for both English Language Development and Labour Market, as the other Ministries were focused on the achievement of their own goals, and engaging with WelcomeBC may have come at a cost to that achievement.

WelcomeBC had some success at the policy level in cases where collaboration resulted in a net positive for the other policy actors (e.g. SWIS, Early Years, and ESLSAP) where WelcomeBC funded a program that aligned with the Ministries' own goals, and also funded the management of the program so that there was no coordination cost or distraction from the achievement of the other policy actors' core goals. Similarly, at the implementation level, WelcomeBC had success in fostering collaboration between implementing agencies where payoff rules, in support of collaboration, including direct supports for collaborative processes, were embedded in the program model (e.g. Early Years Program). The first general statement regarding payoff rules based on the findings of this study would be:

> *Payoff rules support collaboration formation where there is a net positive payoff for collaboration*

The cases also showed that payoff rules can create competition and hinder collaboration. At the policy level, the reputational payoff rule of being the leader on government priority created competition between AVED and EDUC. At the implementation level, payoff rules that incentivized keeping clients posed challenges for collaboration. In the English Language Development area, both the AVED and WelcomeBC funding models incentivized implementing agencies keeping clients, which created competition rather than collaboration. Similarly, the LMDA's funding model for the Employment Program (EPBC) created incentives to keep clients, which posed challenges for collaboration both between the EPBC and WelcomeBC agencies, and even between EPBC lead contractors and sub-contractors. Going back to Logsdon's typology, these cases would fit within the other sub-category in the bottom left quadrant (interest, but no interdependence) – adversarial lobbying, or in broader terminology, competition, where both parties are interested in an area, and they have incentives to take leadership. Broadly stated, the findings from this study would suggest:

> *Where payoff rules incentivize ownership of an area or service, a collaboration is less likely to form due to competition.*

Beyond Scope and Payoff

Scope and payoff rules were found to be important factors in collaboration formation; however, other factors also affected the ability of WelcomeBC to foster collaboration. These factors are less about the motivations of an organization as in the scope or payoff rules; instead, they are about the rules that actors work within, related to its authority or freedom to make decisions, who they need to work with, or the roles of actors in a given space. This context and these constraints are common in the public sector, and were found to affect WelcomeBC's attempts at fostering collaboration.

Choice Rules: the limits of action

Choice rules affect the range of actions that an actor can take in a given situation, and were found to affect both the actors' ability to collaborate and the way that they collaborate. At the policy level, some of the actors were bound by legislation or agreements that had an impact on whether and how they collaborated. Both AVED and EDUC had significant choice rules embedded in legislation; even if the scope and payoff rules had better aligned for collaboration at the policy level, these policy actors would have been challenged at collaborating towards a coordinated and integrated system because of the limits on ministries providing operational direction to the implementing agencies. The LMA and LMDA were bound by the terms of their respective agreements, which limited their choice in scope framings and how they used their funding, which made them more insular. WelcomeBC was similarly limited by the choice rules in the CBCIA regarding what the funding could be spent on; however, because WelcomeBC created a scope frame with associated scope importance that was wider than the limitations of the CBCIA, this had the effect of creating scope interdependence and pushed them towards collaboration to achieve its overall goals.

At the implementation level, the level of choice for implementing agencies was important in the context of the payoff rules. When implementing agencies had freedom of choice regarding delivery that could maximize their payoffs, they sometimes took advantage of this, which caused challenges for collaboration. This was seen in the English Language Development where Colleges had significant legislated operational autonomy with regards to their AVED-funded programming. With this autonomy, some colleges shifted their programming to overlap with WelcomeBC's ELSA program in order to maximize their enrolments, which created significant friction, and undermined the desire from the policy level to develop a coordinated, integrated system of language programs. A similar issue happened with the LMDA Employment Program within individual contracts, where lead contractors were incentivized by the payoff rules to provide services to clients that, under the program model, were supposed to be

supported by the sub-contractor who had specialization in the area (e.g. settlement agencies for immigrant labour market support). While this program used a contract model, enforcement of this aspect of the program model would have been challenging, and there was less collaboration than hoped as lead contractors kept clients to maximize payments. However, similar to how the choice rules at the policy level created interdependence for WelcomeBC, choice rules to limit the scope of SWIS were implemented by WelcomeBC to reinforce the scope interdependence between the SWIS program and settlement agencies. With the cases from this study, the general finding can be summarized as:

> *The level of decision-making authority and autonomy that an organization has over its own operations and scope will influence its ability to collaborate.*

Boundary Rules: who's in, who's out

At the policy level, the boundary rules had minimal effect other than two instances in the English Language Development case. First, AVED and EDUC had clearly defined boundary rules regarding their implementing agencies, which affected the ministries' ability to collaborate towards a coordinated implementation system due to the choice rules discussed above. Second, the boundary rules regarding leadership for literacy acted as a payoff rule due to the reputational benefit of leading on a government priority.

At the transmission phase, boundary rules were found to be very important. Generally, open boundary rules in transmission created opportunities for cross-selection of agencies as agencies could apply to multiple different Ministries' procurements; if successful, these agencies could form multi-service delivery nodes and build internal collaboration between the Ministries' programs within that node. The openness of the boundary rules in BC's procurement system, and the entrepreneurial spirit of the settlement agencies and other implementing agencies made these nodes a fairly common feature. Boundary rules at the transmission level were also a point of intervention by WelcomeBC to develop collaborative nodes between WelcomeBC and other providers. WelcomeBC influenced the boundary

terms/selection criteria in the LMDA procurement to support settlement agencies to be successful, and so create a node with between WelcomeBC-funded settlement labour market programming and the LMDA-funded Employment Program. WelcomeBC also used the SWIS transmission to ensure a WelcomeBC settlement node within the EDUC funded school districts, both to influence the school districts and create bridges between the districts and external settlement agencies. Finally, WelcomeBC used boundary rules to either promote collaborations in open procurements (e.g. Vulnerable Immigrant Populations) or in creating consortia in areas such as the Early Years by using a boundary rule under the sole source procurement that explicitly included every relevant organization in each of the service areas. The case from this study suggest that the effect of boundary rules may be stated as:

> *Open boundary rules allow for broader collaboration*
>
> *Boundary rules in the selection process can play a critical role in development of collaborative implementation.*
>
> *Boundary rules can act as competitive payoff rules when there is a benefit to being in a position*

Aggregation Rules: the failed philosopher's stone.

Finally, there are aggregation rules, which on the surface would seem to be a key mechanism for governments to foster collaboration by simply mandating or directing collaboration to occur. At the policy level, across all of the actors, there were various aggregation rules in Ministry Service Plans, strategic documents or corporate direction, with language about cross-government or cross-sector collaborations. However, as was seen in the case studies, simply having direction to partner, and/or language seemingly supportive of collaboration in each Ministry's documents, was not effective at the policy level. Even in the case of English Language, which had the strongest corporate direction to collaborate, there was limited real collaboration due to the effects of the other rules (e.g. conflict between external and internal scope importance and payoff rules; internal aggregation, boundary and

choice rules privileging the colleges and school districts and their autonomy), as well as the competition between AVED and EDUC to be the lead on a government priority.

At the transmission level, the aggregation rules had more impact. There were four broad tranches of aggregation rules at the transmission level. The weakest tranche included ELSA, AVED, EDUC, and SWIS transmissions which only included expectations of successful providers, rather than aggregation of providers as part of the selection process; only in the case of SWIS did this have any effect, and only after other rules had been clarified and imposed. The second tranche, which included the Settlement Program, Skills Connect and Job Options had ongoing expectations of collaboration, and considered collaborative approaches to a minor extent in the selection criteria. Both the Vulnerable Populations programming and the LMDA Employment Program had an aggregation rule with a payoff in the selection criteria for collaborative approaches, resulting in more collaborative approaches being successful in the selection process. Finally, the Early Years program had the strongest aggregation rules, reinforced by a strong payoff rule: the only way to access funding was to be part of the collaborative community table and co-develop the program.

However, on an ongoing basis the aggregation rules from the transmission were not always effective in implementation. Where the aggregation was built into the program model and had supports for ongoing collaboration (e.g. Vulnerable Populations, Early Years), there was perceived to be ongoing collaboration. Aggregation rules in other transmissions were less successful during implementation. The Settlement Workers in Schools program included aggregation rules, with associated payoff rules, to promote collaboration with settlement agencies through partnership funds, but the settlement agencies were initially not open to collaboration due to other factors. The two weakest aggregation rules could be found in the District Literacy Plans and EPBC's local tables. These transmissions had aggregation rules for the main contractor, but no supports for anyone else to participate, and so little real aggregation occurred. As a generalized statement, the role of aggregation rules could be stated as:

Aggregation rules will have limited impact without consideration of the broader set of rules.

This, in some ways, is why coordination is discussed as a philosopher's stone in the quote at the beginning of this study: when collaboration is simply mandated through aggregation rules, it is unlikely to be successful unless other rules are already aligned towards supporting collaboration.

Interplay of Rules

To these statements about the specific rules, there are two other generalized findings arising from the case studies. A key finding is that the rules interact with each other, and understanding how they interact is critical to understanding their effect on collaboration. Some rule-types had more explanatory power than others (scope importance, scope interdependence and payoff), but often the impact of these rules were affected by the other rules (e.g. is the problem framing supportive of collaboration? Who is eligible to participate? What level of choice does the organization have in the required decision-making?).

Secondly, rulesets can be internally reinforcing or conflicting. Where WelcomeBC was able to foster collaboration at the policy and implementation levels most effectively was when the rulesets aligned towards being supportive of collaboration, or where they were able to work within the rulesets effectively (e.g. Community Settlement). This leads to two broad statements:

Rules interact with other rules, and can either reinforce or undercut the effect of other rules.

Approaches to collaboration will be more successful in those areas where there is alignment towards collaboration across the full range of rules.

Bringing it all together – rules and collaboration

The following list of statements brings together the general findings from the WelcomeBC case studies as discussed above. While these statements are high level, and should be taken with a considerable grain of salt as they are based on one multi-case study, they do point towards key issues and commonalities, and

so can provide some initial, research-based guidance to policy makers who would like to foster collaboration. By way of summary, these statements are:

> *The more important an issue is to the core mandate of an organization, the greater the effort the organization will put towards addressing the issue.*
>
> *If an organization understands the issue as interdependent and benefiting from support from complementary organizations, there is more likely to be an opportunity for collaboration.*
>
> *The way an issue is framed can affect both scope importance and scope interdependence.*
>
> *Payoff rules support collaboration formation where there is a net positive payoff for collaboration*.
>
> *Where payoff rules incentivize ownership of an area or service, a collaboration is less likely to form due to competition.*
>
> *The level of decision-making authority and autonomy that an organization has over its own operations and scope will influence its ability to collaborate.*
>
> *Open boundary rules allow for broader collaboration.*
>
> *Boundary rules in the selection process can play a critical role in development of collaborative implementation.*
>
> *Boundary rules can act as competitive payoff rules when there is a benefit to being in a position.*
>
> *Aggregation rules will have limited impact without consideration of the broader set of rules.*
>
> *Rules interact with other rules, and can either reinforce or undercut the effect of other rules.*
>
> *Approaches to collaboration will be more successful in those areas where there is alignment towards collaboration across the full range of rules.*

To provide stronger and more generalizable guidance, these statements will need to be further tested and refined against other cases, using a consistent methodology to allow for cross-case comparative learning.

COLLABORATION IN A NPM-INFLUENCED JURISDICTION

While the discussion above focused on the roles of the particular rules in the formation of collaborative efforts, there are also broader findings regarding collaboration in a jurisdiction with a governance rule regime of divided Ministerial responsibility, informed by the New Public Management focus on specialization, performance management, and competition. This section will outline these findings.

Policy level collaboration hampered by rulesets reinforcing silos

A general finding across all of the cases were the challenges in fostering collaboration at the policy level. Both the English Language Development and Labour Market cases saw almost no collaboration at the policy level, with high-level policy collaboration only in the Family and Community Settlement area where the initiatives were funded and managed by WelcomeBC. This challenge in fostering policy-level collaboration was due in large part to the governance rulesets that the Ministries were working within. All policy actors had a primary scope, set through government direction and articulation of Ministry mandate (e.g. post-secondary for AVED, K-12 for EDUC) or through a combination of government mandate and the language of external agreements (e.g. LMDA and LMA). These scope rules were reinforced through the NPM-informed performance measures within the Service Plans and in the external agreements: by defining what is considered 'successes for a Ministry, the performance measures defined the desired outcomes for the Ministry, and incentivized the achievement of those outcomes. In the case of Advanced Education and Education, their roles were further specified and circumscribed by the *Colleges and Institutes Act* and the *Schools Act* respectively.

These rulesets generally privileged the continuation of a siloed approach, as the Ministries' primary focus remained on the achievement of their siloed scope. Even in the case of English Language Development, where there was significant corporate direction to collaborate across Ministry silos, government-approved cross-ministry strategic documents, and individuals working within the Ministry to support cross-Ministry collaboration, almost no real policy level collaboration occurred. While some of

this was attributed to the competition between the Ministries, both the AVED and EDUC respondents noted their significant challenges in getting traction within their Ministries, which remained focused on their core mandates, backed up by boundary and choice rules that privileged the autonomy of their implementing agencies. For the LMA and LMDA policy actors, the rulesets of the respective agreements and government direction as articulated in the Service Plans created similar silos. The only case where WelcomeBC was able to foster collaboration at the policy level was where the collaboration did not interfere or distract from the Ministry's achievement of its core scope and performance measures, and where WelcomeBC provided the funding for the programming approach.

This points to a more general challenge in fostering collaboration at the policy level under this type of governance rules regime, where government Ministries and policy actors are mandated and structured in a way to manage a particular policy area, and have accountability for a particular set of deliverables and outcomes associated with that mandate. While that ruleset can make sense for delivery on a policy actor's core mandate, it can be hostile to collaborating on complex and cross-cutting issues even with significant corporate direction. If, as identified by the OECD and others, collaboration is going to be a requirement for modern governments to address cross-cutting policy issues, there may need to be changes in how governments govern through policy actors; while the siloed/NPM approach of divided mandates and performance accountabilities may solve one set of governance problems, it creates hurdles to cross-Ministry collaboration. An individual organization such as WelcomeBC can try to work within the rulesets at the policy level to foster collaboration; however, addressing these broader issues would require a higher-level metagovernance approach to shift the rulesets.

Transmission as a tool for cross-ministry collaboration

While the rulesets for policy actors were seen to reinforce silos and create obstacles to collaboration as discussed above, another aspect of NPM as implemented in BC provided opportunities for collaboration: the use of external implementing agencies, and the processes for selecting and directing those

implementing agencies through the transmission level. At first glance, the NPM focus on competition among potential providers could be seen as challenging for the development of collaboration between providers. However, the cases had interesting findings regarding the development of collaborative approaches at the transmission level, related to the creation of nodes through cross-selection of providers, and the transmission process as a point of intentional intervention to foster collaboration.

Creation of cross-Ministry service nodes through cross-selection. The first finding related to the transmission process was the significant level of cross-selection of providers, i.e. agencies who were successful in more than one Ministry's transmission processes. Through this process, a cross-selected organization created a node between the programming of the two Ministries. Examples of this were seen in both the English Language and Labour Market cases. In the English Language Development area, AVED-funded colleges routinely bid on, and were successful in getting ELSA contracts from WelcomeBC, which created opportunities within the college to build linkages between ELSA and the colleges' AVED-funded literacy programming, and also created a bridge for the rest of the ELSA programs through those offerings. Similarly, many WelcomeBC-funded traditional settlement agencies (e.g. ISS, MOSAIC and SUCCESS), have been transitioning to multi-service agencies by bidding on and winning contracts from other policy actors through open competitions. The prime example here is in the labour market area – while WelcomeBC had significant challenges in getting engagement at the policy level, the openness of both the LMA and LMDA procurements allowed many WelcomeBC-funded settlement agencies to be successful in winning contracts from both these policy actors, either as the lead or as a sub-contractor. This created nodes that brought together the two service delivery networks at the local level. While it was beyond the scope of this dissertation, this is an interesting area for research moving forward – the role of multi-service providers as nodes that help bridge the work of multiple policy actors, what factors affect their ability to act as those bridges, and the benefits and challenges of these agencies as multi-service nodes.

Using the transmission level to foster collaboration. Transmission level selection and direction of implementing agencies was also found to be an important place for a policy actor/metagovernor's purposeful intervention in the development of collaboration, beyond the 'natural' cross-selection as discussed above. WelcomeBC attempted several ways to foster collaboration through transmission. The simplest WelcomeBC attempt to use the transmission process to foster collaboration was the case of the Employment Program of BC (EPBC). WelcomeBC failed to develop any real collaboration at the policy level, but was successful in influencing the LMDA's selection criteria regarding a proponent's ability to address the needs of immigrant populations, such that it mirrored WelcomeBC's own selection criteria. This was done with the hope that it would make it more likely for WelcomeBC-funded settlement agencies to be successful, either as a lead or as a subcontractor, and so build a node with both WelcomeBC and EPBC programming. While there is not an easy experimental control to assess the impact of WelcomeBC's intervention compared to natural cross-selection if the selection criteria had not been aligned, there was significant cross-selection of WelcomeBC-funded settlement agencies that occurred for the EPBC.

WelcomeBC went further with some of its own transmission models by building in collaboration either as part of the selection criteria or as an ongoing requirement. For the SWIS program, WelcomeBC specifically targeted the program to EDUC-funded School Districts, with the aim to influence the School Districts (which proved successful), but also to build bridges out from the School Districts to settlement agencies. To support this second goal, the program guidelines included guidance to the SWIS program to partner with settlement agencies, along with an incentive to collaborate in the form of the partnership funds; as was seen in the case chapter, given other challenges, this was not effective in the early days of the program. WelcomeBC's approaches to fostering collaboration with other Ministries' implementing agencies through the transmission process were effective in both the Vulnerable Populations program and the Early Years program. In the case of Vulnerable Populations, the use of selection criteria that

prioritized collaboration created an aggregation rule combined with a strong payoff rule – the greater the collaboration and collaborative approach of the proponent or group of proponents, the more likely they were to receive a contract. Even in the absence of collaboration at the policy level, this approach resulted in collaborations between traditional settlement agencies and agencies that were funded by, and delivering services for, other Ministries. In the case of the Early Years program, there was some minor collaboration at the policy level, as MCFD gave a general blessing to the program; however, the majority of the collaboration at the implementation level occurred due to the transmission. The requirement for collaboration was built into the way that funding flowed – by using a sole provider process, all local actors who could play a role were at the table in order to be able to access the funding. Combined with collaboration being a named and funded outcome of the program, this resulted in strong collaborations at the local level.

Implementation – the challenge of delivery targets as payoffs, and incomplete rulesets. While there was some cross-selection and development of collaboration through the transmission approach, the NPM focus on control of implementing agents through performance measures and output- and outcome-based payment models did pose some challenges at the implementation level. In the English Language Development and Labour Market areas, the focus on payment-per-service offered/client/ outcome meant that there was an ongoing competition for clients rather than collaboration at the implementation level. This was especially a challenge given the limited ability to dictate operations in the transmissions for AVED and LMDA as discussed in the choice rules section above.

VALUE OF ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

As discussed in the literature review, while much has been written, challenges remain in the study of collaborative public networks, especially as it relates to the antecedent factors for affecting collaboration as a dependent variable (Faling 2019). In large part this has to do with two factors: the breadth of the theoretical bases and piecemeal approaches that have been used to analyze public sector collaboration

(Vij and O'Leary 2012, Bryson 2015), and research that has prioritized descriptive case studies (Morcol et al. 2021, Rouzbehani 2020), such that "empirically tested knowledge that can be generalized more broadly is in short supply" (Raab 2013). This challenge is even more complex when trying to provide guidance to governments on how to foster collaboration at the implementation level in jurisdictions that have offloaded service provision to third party or contracted agencies.

To address these issues, this study developed and implemented an analytical framework that had three key components: a rules rubric with consistent definitions to support cross-case learning to address the key issues with public sector collaboration studies; a multi-level analysis framework that covers the policy, transmission, and implementation levels; and the role of the metagovernor. This section will provide an overview of the findings regarding the value of each of these aspects of the analytical framework, and how it compares to and informs the existing literature.

Consistent rules rubric to support cross-case learning

In order to support the cross-case learning and aggregation of knowledge challenge identified in the public sector collaboration literature, this dissertation developed and applied a consistent rules rubric to analyze the rule sets in place at the policy, transmission and implementation levels. The rubric was inspired by the rules in Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Design Framework, which aimed to address the 'babbling equilibrium' that had arisen in institutional analysis due to variation in the classifications of institutions. To be considered successful in addressing the challenges identified in the literature regarding assessing the factors affecting collaboration, the rules regime would need to: provide a level of explanatory power regarding the factors affecting the development of collaborative approaches in the public sector; have an ability to be applied consistently and meaningfully to a broad range of cases to allow for cross case learning; and be a practical tool for guiding practitioners in developing collaborative

approaches. This section will outline how the rules rubric meets these requirements, before providing a comparison to other public sector collaboration models.

On the first test, the rules framework proved useful in providing a reasonably high level of explanation of the factors affecting the development of goal-oriented public sector collaborative approaches. As shown in the case-study chapters and the discussion above, the key issues identified in each of the cases could be meaningfully explained with reference to the rulesets that the actors were working within. The second test of the rules framework is its ability to be applied in a meaningful, consistent way across a broad variety of potential collaboration areas. While all the cases in this study were based in one jurisdiction, the cases covered different policy areas, with different actors, and at different levels (policy, transmission and implementation). Across these diverse cases, the rule framework and methodology was flexible enough to capture meaningful data, without losing the level of consistency and comparability necessary for cross-case learning, while also supporting higher level generalizations of the role of the rules in fostering collaboration. However, there were some challenges with the rules rubric identified in its application to these cases, due to some overlap or reinforcement across rule categories in the public sector context. For instance, boundary (who is eligible to be in a given position) was found to overlap with aggregation rules (who needs to be included in a given process); similarly, in a public sector setting, scope importance often overlapped with payoff rules associated with achieving the scope. While this will need to be further explored in future studies, overall the rules framework as implemented in this dissertation was successful in identifying and categorizing rules from a variety of sources across multiple cases in a consistent manner.

The third test of the rules regime was its value in providing useful information to practitioners interested in supporting collaboration. Overall, the rules analysis and associated methodology do show promise as a tool for understanding the factors that could affect the success of a collaborative effort. A pre-emptive analysis of the rulesets of potential collaborators could be a very useful approach to

understand the potential viability of a collaborative effort, the potential factors that would need to be addressed, and identify an approach that would address those factors. This would be especially helpful once further cases are undertaken using a similar methodology to identify more generalizable guidance as well as the relative importance of different factors in different jurisdictional settings, policy areas or with different public sector and implementation actor types.

In comparing the rules rubric from this study to the major frameworks for collaboration identified by Bryson et al. (2015), a few comments can be made. The analytical framework in this dissertation has a comparatively simple foundation/scope of interest of institutionalism (albeit one with an added emphasis on scope) compared to the other models. This simplified foundation has some significant benefits. It narrows the scope of study to an area that is increasingly recognized as important to fostering collaboration in the public sector: "recent research confirms that the institutional environment is especially important for partnerships focused on public policy or public problem solving" as an antecedent condition (Bryson 2015, p. 651).

This is not to say that institutions do not play a role in the other theories: while "none of the frameworks delves very deeply into the effects of the broader institutional environments on collaboration" (Bryson 2015, p. 650), there is some discussion of the institutional environment, the challenge of competing institutional logics, and related issues such as shared understanding of problem and recognized interdependence. While the many, many other factors identified by the theoretical frameworks and empirical work synthesized in Bryson, Crosby and Stone (2015) cover a much broader range of topics with a potentially greater level of specificity, this can be a double-edged sword if the goal is practical, generalizable, empirically based guidance to practitioners and the literature. Given the complexity of issues at play and the many different, complex topics that have to be operationalized (e.g. trust, leadership, communication), there will remain a challenge in replicating studies to allow for cross-case comparison and generalizability. While the analytical framework used in this study may not be as

theoretically or methodologically complex as these other frameworks, it provides a level of explanatory power regarding public sector collaboration, can be operationalized relatively simply in a consistent fashion at multiple levels and across multiple cases to aggregate knowledge, and can provide practical guidance to practitioners and metagovernors on fostering collaboration.

Multi-Level Analysis and the Implementation Literature

The second major component of the analytical framework was the multi-level analysis that included the Policy, Transmission, and Implementation levels. As discussed in the introductory chapters, there has been a significant push to agencified implementation under the New Public Management, such that policy actors often achieve their service aims through external implementing agencies. In areas where there is a desire to enhance collaboration towards addressing cross-cutting issues, this introduces another level of complexity. The analytical framework in this study helped to unpack that complexity through the multi-level analysis, which identified the rules and collaborative outcomes at each level, but also how each level informed the level below. In doing so, it identified the similarities and differences in the effect of the rules at each level, as well as identifying the broader range of ways that collaboration at the implementation level can be influenced.

One of the key findings of this multi-level analysis was that cross-Ministry policy level collaboration is not necessary for the development of collaborative approaches at the local level: across all cases, there were collaborations formed at the implementation level, even in the cases where there was little or no collaboration at the policy level. As discussed above, the analysis identified that the transmission level can be a critical place for fostering collaboration, both purposefully and otherwise, in policy and program areas that have been agencified. The cases saw WelcomeBC purposefully using the transmission rule sets to foster collaboration, but also cases where even without that purposeful intervention, the rule sets of the transmission process created opportunities for cross-selection of

providers and development of collaborative nodes (e.g. ELSA, Job Options, Skills Connect) as non-traditional, multi-service providers are able to compete on or participate in these open procurements.

This is an interesting finding as it relates to the implementation literature, especially to the recent threads of the literature regarding: a "greater use of principal-agent, public choice and game theory perspectives to sharpen insights, testable propositions and empirical studies on policy implementation"; hybrid views of implementation and the role of implementing agencies in how programs are actually delivered; and an increased focus on collaboration in implementation (Lindquist and Wanna, 2015). Without repeating the discussion above, this dissertation's methodology applies to the first consideration, highlighting the value of having a consistent framework to support aggregation of empirical studies.

With regards to the hybridity of implementation, the findings are very consistent with a hybrid view of implementation: beyond WelcomeBC's engagement with the settlement agencies regarding WelcomeBC program design (Lindquist et al. 2013), the findings from the cases highlighted the critical role that implementation actors play in how programs are actually implemented, and the level of collaboration at the implementation level. Implementing agencies chose to engage (or not) with the transmission processes of multiple policy actors, and then chose to implement the programming through nodes, collaborative consortia or otherwise, showing the emergent nature of implementation and collaboration at the implementation level in these cases. It also showed the importance of ensuring appropriate guidance to manage or foster what could be adaptive and emergent responses to complex policy issues. In some cases, WelcomeBC attempted to engage with this hybridity to foster collaboration – key examples being the Early Years and Vulnerable Populations programming, which brought together multiple implementation actors to design the programming within broad parameters set by WelcomeBC.

If collaboration is one of the key topics of interest in the implementation literature, then further study into the guidance transmitted to implementers, and the role of the implementing agencies

themselves in fostering collaboration across Ministry funding lines will be needed. The approach taken in this dissertation, of a multi-level institutionalist analysis to unpack the 'rules of the game' with distinctions between Policy, Transmission, and Implementation levels proved to be useful in unpacking the factors influencing collaboration at the implementation level and shows promise for further understanding hybrid implementation in an agencified world. Further application of this analytical framework to other policy areas or jurisdictions will be needed to refine the framing and test its applicability to other scenarios.

Metagovernance – limits and opportunities

The study also engaged with the emerging metagovernance literature, which posits the role of a metagovernor that can "initiate, support, and guide collaboration in governance networks to ensure that they contribute to the production of public value" (Sorenson and Torfing 2009). WelcomeBC, driven by its foundational principle and the need for collaboration to achieve its overall goal, attempted to play the role of metagovernor in fostering collaboration. While WelcomeBC tried to foster collaboration at the policy level, as the metagovernor for the government-approved WelcomeBC Strategic Framework, its efforts were stymied by the broader institutional rulesets of the policy level as discussed above. In a few instances, WelcomeBC had some success working within those frameworks as best they could; but for WelcomeBC to effectively foster the desired level of collaboration would have required changing the underlying rulesets of the other policy actors, a level of authority or influence that WelcomeBC simply did not have.

As discussed in the English Language Development case, corporate actors did not fare much better at fostering collaboration at the policy level. The BC government undertook some of the key tasks of a metagovernor in trying to support collaboration as identified by Sorenson and Torfing (2009) - naming it as a government priority, aligning it with the goals of the policy actors, and making the case that there was an urgent need for coordination. However, they did not address the underlying rulesets

that reinforced Ministry silos and the operational autonomy of the colleges and school districts, and so despite considerable effort by staff, very little collaboration occurred. While the government did technically have the ability to change those rulesets, that would have required engaging in a much deeper governance question both about how Ministries are mandated and managed, and about the relationship between the Ministries as funders and the colleges and school districts as locally responsive educational institutions.

While the policy level highlighted some of the limits of attempting a metagovernance approach to foster collaboration within a well-embedded ruleset that privileges silos, the transmission and implementation levels showed the potential of thinking like a metagovernor to shape collaborative goal-oriented networks of independent implementing agents. While each policy actor had control over their own transmission processes, the outcomes and level of collaboration at the implementation level were still reliant on the independent actions and choices of the implementing agents within the transmitted rulesets: whether and how they become involved in a range of procurements, and how they choose to implement the programs and services that were transmitted. In this situation, the rulesets from the transmission processes played a significant role in 'shaping the arena for network interactions' at the implementation level (Sorenson and Torfing 2009) – boundary rules identified the number of implementing agencies and the selection criteria for choosing agencies, aggregation rules required or incentivized collaboration, payoff rules identified the incentives for provision of different services, scope rules outlined the required scope of programming and desired outcomes, etc. As shown in the case studies and discussed earlier in this chapter, the rulesets from various policy actors created a significant level of cross-selection of providers, resulting in cross-Ministry program nodes within implementing agencies.

Within this context, WelcomeBC acted purposefully as a metagovernor in the transmission space, undertaking different approaches to use the rulesets to shape the arena for network interaction

to support collaboration towards meeting its overall goal. This included both specific approaches in its own procurements to foster collaboration with other Ministry's implementing agencies (e.g. Early Years, Vulnerable Populations, SWIS), as well as influencing the transmission of the LMDA Employment Program. However, other purposeful approaches to foster collaboration through transmission were less successful, as was seen in EDUC's attempts to foster collaboration through the District Literacy Plan Process and the LMDA's Local Partnership Tables. The cases found that these differences in the level of collaboration at the implementation level (including where it was more competitive than collaborative) can be explained to a significant extent through a rules analysis of the transmission process (although more work will need to be done with regards to the types of implementing agencies and their own internal rules as discussed above).

The findings from this study suggest three overall learnings with regards to the metagovernance construct. First, the 'rules of the game' are an important factor in the shaping of collaboration in network spaces, and that the analytical framework used for this study could be of use as a tool for both furthering the metagovernance literature, and for public sector actors wishing to metagovern a network space to foster collaboration. Second, metagovernance approaches may have limits in shaping spaces for collaboration where the underlying ruleset is deeply entrenched and privileges silos, especially where the metagovernor does not have the ability to influence the underlying ruleset. Finally, given the agencification of delivery in NPM-influenced jurisdictions, the transmission level can be a powerful place for metagovernor intervention to influence the level of collaboration at the implementation level.

The next and final chapter will provide concluding remarks on the findings of this study, and the implications for the public service and research.

CHAPTER 10

CONCLUSION: IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC SERVICE AND RESEARCH

> "The research challenges involved in studying cross-sector collaborations and providing practical, research-based guidance to policy makers regarding the design and implementation of cross-sector collaborations are clearly substantial. But the challenges must be met or else effectively addressing the major public problems that confront us will be unlikely, and some of the most important opportunities for creating public value will be missed (Bryson, 2006 p.52).
>
> "From a research perspective, it is a low-paradigm field. Some of the specific reasons behind this slow knowledge development include the lack of agreed upon definitions of commonly used terms and variables, little consensus on significant research topics, a piece-meal approach to theory building, reliance on anecdotal description, differing and incomplete units of analysis" (O'Leary and Vij, 2012).

The concerns raised by Bryson in 2006 are still very much with us: while collaboration is considered a "critical capability for government" to address some of society's most important issues (O'Flynn 2013), there remains a lack of practical, research-based guidance to policy makers on how to build that capability. This is due in large part to the ongoing challenges in the literature – studies of public sector collaboration tend to rely on individual case studies, piecemeal approaches, with little consensus on research topics or common definitions, and with limited cross-setting learning or even analytical frameworks that would allow for cross-setting learning, especially about the factors that affect the formation of collaboration (Rouzbehani 2020, Faling 2019, Morcol 2021, O'Leary and Vij 2012).

This study has attempted to address these issues by developing and applying an analytical framework with a consistent rules rubric across a series of cases of potential collaboration formation. In doing so, this study provided empirical findings regarding the role of rules in public sector collaboration across the policy/implementation divide to inform the literature and provide guidance to policymakers, and tested the utility of the analytical framework and rules rubric in cross-case learning on issues of

collaboration. This section highlights the lessons for policymakers and public servants from the study, outlines the contributions of this study to the literature, and identifies potential future research directions arising from this study.

LESSONS FOR POLICYMAKERS AND PUBLIC SERVANTS

The main lesson for policymakers and public servants is that rules matter in fostering collaboration. As shown in the cases and the discussion chapter, the rulesets had explanatory power towards whether and how collaboration occurred, and the findings as discussed in the research and discussion chapters provide some initial research-based guidance to policy makers and public servants as to how to foster collaboration. However, this guidance would primarily be helpful within an understanding of the rulesets in play in a particular case; without that understanding and working to either modify the rulesets or work within them, direction to collaborate may be considerably less effective. To support this approach to fostering collaboration, the rules rubric from the study would be a useful tool for practitioners in understanding existing rulesets: by undertaking a preliminary analysis using the rules rubric, it would be possible to identify key issues that would need to be addressed or accommodated to support collaboration, using the guidance from the previous chapter.

However, the findings suggest that even with that understanding and the guidance from the findings, building collaborative approaches in the public sector may be hampered by broader governance rulesets that privilege siloed approaches. As was seen in the cases, collaboration at the policy level was severely limited by a governance ruleset that reinforced siloes, with divided ministerial responsibilities and a New Public Management focus on specialization and performance management. That governance ruleset has its own logic which addresses other significant governance issues (e.g. accountability, performance management), and as such is not easily discarded. If collaboration is an important capability for modern government, policymakers will need to address this tension.

The other guidance for public servants and policy makers stemming from the study is to consider the range of opportunities for fostering collaboration at the implementation level in agencified domains. While the NPM push to agencification is generally seen as creating fragmentation in the public sector, this study found that the use of external implementing agencies can create opportunities for fostering collaboration at the implementation level. The transmission level was found to be a critical place for fostering collaborative implementation, even when there was limited success at fostering collaboration at the policy level. The study saw a range of transmission approaches level that fostered collaboration: from supporting open procurements that would allow for cross-selection of providers from different funding Ministries, to more concrete interventions such as influencing the selection criteria of other Ministries to enhance cross-selection, all the way to requiring or heavily incentivizing collaborative approaches to access funding.

The study also provided guidance to policymakers and public servants regarding what is ineffective or even counterproductive at fostering collaboration at the implementation level through the transmission process. The study found that transmissions with weak aggregation rules (e.g. the EDUC and LMDA aggregation rules for their implementing agencies which did not include any incentives or requirements for any other actors) were ineffective at fostering collaboration, while NPM-influenced rules transmissions that include payoff rules that prioritize client capture can create competition rather than collaboration. Similar to the challenges at the policy level, while the logic of these payoff rules may make sense from a principal-agent control and accountability perspective for a specific program line, this approach may reinforce siloes and be hostile to broader collaborative efforts.

This returns us to the overall finding for policy makers and practitioners: rules matter. At a tactical level, policy makers and practitioners can learn from both the findings of this study and an application of the rules analysis to their particular cases in order to support specific collaborations. However, at a strategic level, if governments want to build the critical collaborative capability of modern

government, they will need to reconcile or somehow balance the governance aims of rules that reinforce silos with the desire for broader collaboration.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LITERATURE

The analytical approach to this dissertation was informed by four bodies of public administration literature: public sector collaboration; metagovernance; implementation and institutional analysis. This section will provide a summary of how the findings of this dissertation engage with, and contribute to, the literature, building off the discussion from the previous chapter.

Public Sector Collaboration Literature

The public sector collaboration literature has been challenged by the prevalence of individual descriptive case studies, drawing on a broad variety of theoretical bases, which do not support cross case learning, as well as gaps in the literature of studies of collaborative networks as dependent variables, and the antecedent factors that help to define the parameters of the collaboration. Empirical, broadly generalizable models of collaboration formation are still notably absent from the literature, and "there is still much to gain from future research that scrutinises the relationship between conditions, strategies and implications [affecting cross boundary collaboration]" (Faling 2019). To address these challenges, this study turned to an avenue of inquiry that has been identified as promising by the literature: institutional analysis (Laegreid et al. 2014; Sarapuu et al. 2014; Bryson et al. 2006; O'Toole 2004; Bryson et al, 2015), using a methodology specifically designed to support cross-case learning.

In doing so, this dissertation has contributed to the literature in a few different ways. The study of WelcomeBC's attempts to foster collaboration show the value of institutional analysis in the study of public sector collaboration: the 'rules of the game' in these cases were shown to play a significant role in public sector collaboration, and had explanatory power across the cases and across the levels within the cases (policy, transmission and implementation). The study was able to respond to Bryson's call for

"practical research-based guidance to policy makers regarding the design and implementation of cross-sector collaborations" (Bryson 2015), as shown in the findings discussed in the cases and the previous chapters. Beyond the specific findings of the role of rules in these cases, the study also contributes to the public sector collaboration literature by creating an analytical framework that can be meaningfully applied to other cases in order to support the broader aggregation of knowledge that has been missing in the literature. The rules rubric built upon the rules rubric in Ostrom's Institutional Analysis and Design Framework, which was designed to cut through the 'babbling equilibrium' (Ostrom 2005) of institutional analysis and allow for the consistent capture of key data across cases.

The resulting rules rubric, while not as theoretically or methodologically complex as some of the other models identified by Bryson et al (2015), was shown to have explanatory power regarding collaboration formation, and can be applied consistently to support cross-case learning. By replicating this study in different jurisdictions and different policy areas, the tool can support the aggregation of data that is required for the development of more generalizable findings, theory-building and practical guidance regarding the role of rules in collaboration.

Metagovernance Literature

The second body of literature that this study was informed by and contributes to is the relatively new metagovernance literature, where metagovernance is a "conceptual framework through which we think about the variety of ways in which specific types of institutionalized governance networks are created, managed and steered by government officials" (Doberstein 2013), with an emphasis on the "shaping of arenas for network interaction" (Sorenson and Torfing 2009). As seen in this study, the 'rules of the game' were a core component of how an arena is 'shaped,' especially as it relates to collaboration. The case studies also showed the relative importance of specific rules in 'shaping the arena' to foster collaboration, with an emphasis on payoff and scope rules, which reinforces some of the learnings from the metagovernance literature (e.g. the importance of creating alignment with network actors policy

objectives (Sorenson and Torfing 2009)). Given these findings, there would be value in further exploring the role of rules within the metagovernance literature in a systematic way: by analyzing the rulesets in a consistent fashion, the rules rubric from this study can support cross-case learning and support aggregation across metagovernance studies regarding the key factors that "initiate, support and guide collaboration in governance networks to ensure that they contribute to the production of public value" (Sorenson and Torfing 2016 p.830).

This study also showed the promise and the limitations of the 'metagovernor' role, pointing to conditions which are more supportive of metagovernance approaches than others: WelcomeBC had significantly more success as a metagovernor in some areas than others, related primarily to the level of influence they had over the shaping of the arena, and the strength and tenor of the other rulesets that affected that arena (e.g. governance rules regimes privileging silos; rules that are embedded in legislation or agreements). While WelcomeBC's efforts at the policy level had limited success, they were much more successful in shaping the implementation arena through the transmission process, and in general, the findings of the study highlight that the transmission and implementation areas in an agencified jurisdiction are ripe for further analysis as a space for metagovernance approaches.

Implementation Literature

The study also engaged with concepts from the implementation literature, as it analyzed the three linked areas of policy, transmission and implementation. The study showed the value of institutional analysis to the study of implementation: how rules in the transmission process influenced the development of collaborative implementation approaches, both for initial collaboration during the selection process and ongoing collaboration. The study also added to the literature on hybrid implementation (top-down and bottom-up) and collaborative implementation, highlighting the significant role that implementing agencies play as to whether and how collaboration occurs at the local level, within the context of the rulesets provided by the policy actors in open transmission program procurements. Finally, the study

also surfaced a particular set of challenges faced by policy actors in supporting collaborative implementation, even with significant corporate direction, where the rulesets limited policy actors' range of direction to implementing agencies (AVED and EDUC).

Institutional Literature

Finally, this study engaged with and contributed to the institutional analysis literature. The study evolved the Institutional Analysis and Design rules rubric, originally created by Ostrom to address collective action situations, to incorporate guidance from the public sector collaboration literature. The modification to the scope rules in the rules rubric used in this study were very important: the more nuanced version of the scope rules that included scope importance, scope interdependence and scope framing, drawing on Logsdon (1991), Milward and Provan (1991) and Sabatier (1988) was critical in unpacking the factors affecting collaboration formation. This evolution expands the usefulness of the IAD rules rubric, and shows the potential in extending this structured institutional analysis approach to address issues in the public sector collaboration, implementation and metagovernance literatures through further systematic exploration.

Overall, the study's exploration of how 'the rules of the game' affect the development of collaboration across the policy-implementation divide has implications for the study of public sector collaboration, implementation, metagovernance and institutions. Of particular interest for the purposes of this dissertation, the study has addressed some of the critical issues in the public sector collaboration literature, identified in the quotes at the beginning of this chapter, by developing and testing a consistent analytical framework that works across levels and policy areas and has explanatory power. Beyond the value of the specific findings of the analysis of WelcomeBC's attempts to foster collaboration, this methodology can support the broader aggregation of knowledge on public sector collaboration by being applied to multiple and comparative case studies, and in doing so better inform the literature and develop further practical research-based guidance for public servants.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The findings of this dissertation point to some areas that warrant further research. The first suggested area is to analyze a broader range of cases – varying on different jurisdictional settings, different types of actors and different types of policy issues – using the rules rubric and analytical framework. The aim would be two-fold. First, analyzing diverse cases would help to test and further refine the rules rubric and methodology to ensure its applicability or identify further nuances that may need to be addressed. Second, the use of a consistent methodology across a broader range of cases will support cross-case learning regarding the roles of rules in different contexts. The aggregation of such data could lead to better theory development and the generalizable, research-based practical guidance long called for in the literature and requested by practitioners. A corollary range of research could look to incorporate learning from other strains of the public sector collaboration literature. While the rules played a significant role in explaining the collaboration outcomes, it would be good to combine this institutional analysis with other meso- and micro-level factors from other public sector collaboration literature (leadership, trust, communication); for example, within a given institutional setting, are there other factors that make it more or less likely that an effective collaboration will form?

The second major area for further research could focus on the metagovernance of the implementation level and the role of implementing agencies in hybrid and collaborative implementation. This study showed both the importance of the rulesets that came through the transmission process to implementing agencies and how those were interpreted and acted upon by potential implementing agencies. This is a prime space to be conceptualized as a metagovernance space – how the rules of the game, transmitted by multiple policy actors, shape the arena for the interactions of potential implementing agencies. Further study of how those spaces are shaped by the rules, and how actors (either central government actors or other policy actors) attempt to influence these rules/metagovern

this space towards addressing complex social policy issues (e.g. homelessness) would help to move this literature forward.

This space is also ripe for further study of the role of implementing agencies in hybrid implementation and collaboration at the implementation level. As was shown in the cases, the use of independent implementing agencies can create hybridity: top-down transmitted rules, but actual implementation and collaboration at the implementation level reliant on the choices made by potential implementing agencies within those rules, which leads to two further areas for research:

Multi-service implementation agencies. In this study, there was significant cross-selection of implementing agencies across Ministry program lines, which created nodes between the Ministries' separately funded and procured program areas. The nodes were seen to have generated some interesting results such as the development of explicit bridging programs between differently funded programs, or agencies being a trusted place to refer clients for other actors. Further research into the level of cross-selection and creation of such nodes, as well as what occurs within these nodes and the role that they play in the broader implementation landscape may provide further insights into understanding of collaborative dynamics at the implementation level.

Mission driven implementing agencies. Given the scope importance of the issue for some of the implementing agencies, they found ways to work together with other agencies to provide the best overall services to the client, even if on occasion those relationships were contentious. This points to research questions about the role of implementing agencies' self-identified missions in how they implement programming and form collaborations at the implementing level. What is the role of the implementing agencies' scope importance, interdependence and framing to how they address an issue? Do mission-driven implementing agencies behave differently from more profit-driven service providers? This research would help to inform important questions about models of agencification, the roles of

implementing agencies missions in collaboration, the selection and direction of implementing agencies, and collaborative implementation.

CONCLUSION

As the quotes note at the start of this chapter, public sector collaboration is seen as key to addressing many of the most challenging and important public policy issues, and a critical capability of modern government. Despite significant interest from both practitioners and academics, there have been challenges in understanding and providing guidance on how to foster public sector collaboration due to the literature's reliance on descriptive individual case studies, broad range of theoretical bases, and empirical methods that do not easily support cross-case learning and the aggregation of knowledge.

This dissertation has attempted to address those issues by developing and implementing a methodology with a consistent rules rubric designed to support cross-case learning, and a multi-level analytical framework to address the layers that exist in an agencified public sector between policy actors, transmission and implementation agencies. In doing so, this dissertation has contributed in two key ways. First, it provided findings out of the case studies regarding the role of rules in public sector collaboration that inform the literature, and provide some initial, research-based practical guidance to policymakers and practitioners. Second, it developed and tested an analytical framework that has the potential to address some of the concerns about the current public sector collaboration literature by supporting cross-case aggregation and theory building, while also providing a potential tool to support practitioners in planning collaborative approaches.

While this study in no way solved the issue of public sector collaboration, it does point to some useful paths forward for the literature and for governments to foster the critical collaborative capability to address important, complex, and cross-cutting policy issues.

Works Cited

6, P. (2005) "Joined-up Government in the West beyond Britain: A Provisional Assessment" in *Joined-Up Government* Ed. V. Bogdanor. Oxford University Press: Oxford 43-106

Aberbach, & Rockman, B. A. (2002) "Conducting and Coding Elite Interviews" *PS, Political Science & Politics* 35(4), 673–676.

Abrutyn. (2014). Revisiting institutionalism in sociology : putting the "institution" back in institutional analysis (First edition.). Routledge.

Adamuti-Trache, M. (2011) "First four years in Canada: Post-secondary education pathways of highly educated immigrants" *International Migration and Integration* 12: 61-83

Agranoff, R. (2007) *Managing within Networks: Adding Value to Public Organizations* Georgetown University Press: Washington DC

Agranoff. (2012). Collaborating to manage : a primer for the public sector. Georgetown University Press.

Agranoff, R. and M. McGuire (2001) "Big Questions in Public Network Management Research" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 11(3) 295-326

Anisef, S., BROWN, R. S., PHYTHIAN, K., SWEET, R., & WALTERS, D. (2010). Early School Leaving among Immigrants in Toronto Secondary Schools. The Canadian Review of Sociology, 47(2), 103–128.

Ansell, C., & Gash, A. (2008). Collaborative governance in theory and practice. Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory, 18, 543–571.

Australia (2004) *Connecting Government*: *Whole of Government Responses to Australia's Priorities.* Commonwealth of Australia

Aydemir, & Skuterud, M. (2005). Explaining the deteriorating entry earnings of Canada's immigrant cohorts, 1966 2000. *The Canadian Journal of Economics*, *38*(2), 641–672.

Bae, & Feiock, R. C. (2012). Managing Multiplexity: Coordinating Multiple Services at a Regional Level. State & Local Government Review, 44(2), 162–168.

Bakvis, H. and Luc Juillet (2004) *The Horizontal Challenge: Line Departments, Central Agencies and Leadership*. Canada School for Public Service: Ottawa.

Bardach, E. (1998) *Getting Agencies to Work Together: The Practice and Theory of Managerial Craftsmanship*. Brookings Institution Press:Washington D.C.

Barrett, & Hill, M. (1984). "Policy, Bargaining and Structure in Implementation Theory: Towards an Integrated Perspective" *Policy and Politics*, 12(3), 219–240.

Barrett, S. (2004). "Implementation Studies: Time for a Revival? Personal Reflections on 20 Years of Implementation Studies" *Public Administration* (London), 82(2), 249–262.

Basurto, X. et al. (2010) “A systematic approach to institutional analysis: Applying Crawford and Ostrom’s Grammar” *Political Research Quarterly* V. 63:3 523-537

BC Stats (2010) *Immigrant Labour Force Survey 2009-January 22, 2010.* Government of BC.

Berry. (2002). Validity and Reliability Issues In Elite Interviewing. *PS, Political Science & Politics*, *35*(4), 679–682

Berry, F. et al. (2004) “Three traditions of network research: what the public management research agenda can learn from other research communities” *Public Administration Review* V.64 #5 539-552

Bertelli, & Smith, C. R. (2009). Relational Contracting and Network Management. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *20*(suppl-1), i21–i40

Bogdanor, V. (2005) “Introduction” in *Joined-Up Government* Ed. V. Bogdanor. Oxford University Press: Oxford 1-18

Bonikowska, A., Green, D. A., & Riddell, W. C. (2008). *Literacy and the labour market: Cognitive skills and immigrant earnings* (Vol. 20). Bank of Canada.

Borgatti, S. and P. Foster (2003) “The Network Paradigm in Organizational Research: a Review and Typology” *Journal of Management* 29(6) 991-1013

Boyd, M. & Cao, X. (2009). Immigrant Language Proficiency, Earnings, and Language Policies. *Canadian Studies in Population*, *36*(1-2), 63–86.

Browne, Kumar, A., Puente-Duran, S., Georgiades, K., Leckie, G., & Jenkins, J. (2017). Emotional problems among recent immigrants and parenting status: Findings from a national longitudinal study of immigrants in Canada. PloS One, 12(4)

Bryson, John M., Barbara C. Crosby, and Melissa Middleton Stone. 2006. The Design and Implementation of Cross-Sector Collaborations: Propositions from the Literature. Special issue, Public Administration Review 66: 44–55.

Bryson, J., Crosby, B. C., & Stone, M. M. (2015). Designing and Implementing Cross-Sector Collaborations: Needed and Challenging. *Public Administration Review*, *75*(5), 647–663.

Bryson, J. Crosby, B. C., & Bloomberg, L. (2014). Public Value Governance: Moving beyond Traditional Public Administration and the New Public Management: Symposium Introduction. Public Administration Review, 74(4), 445–456.

Bucklaschuk, & Wilkinson, L. (2011). *A Profile of Economic and Labour Market Integration among Immigrants in Canada*. Prairie Metropolis Centre.

Burnham. (2004). *Research methods in politics*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Butler, M. & Allen, P. M. (2008). “Understanding Policy Implementation Processes as Self-Organizing Systems.” Public Management Review, 10(3), 421–440.

Canada (2001) *Moving from the Heroic to the Everyday: Lessons Learned from Leading Horizontal Projects*. Canadian Centre for Management Development: Ottawa

Centre for Canadian Language Benchmarks (2005) *Relating Canadian Language Benchmarks to Essential Skills* Human Resources and Skills Development Canada

Christensen, T. and P. Laegreid (2011) "Complexity and Hybrid Public Administration - theoretical and empirical challenges" *Public Organizational Review* v.11 407-423

Combs, J. And D. Ketchen (1999) "Explaining Interfirm Cooperation and Performance: Toward a Reconciliation of Predictions from the Resource-Based View and Organizational Economics" *Strategic Management Journal* v. 20 867-888

la Cour, & Andersen, N. A. (2016). Metagovernance as Strategic Supervision. *Public Performance & Management Review*, *39*(4), 905–925.

Creese, & Wiebe, B. (2012). "Survival Employment": Gender and Deskilling among African Immigrants in Canada. *International Migration*, *50*(5), 56–76.

Dawes, S., A. Cresswell, and T. Pardo (2009) "From 'need to know' to 'need to share': tangled problems, information boundaries and the building of public sector knowledge networks" *Public Administration Review* 392-402

de Bruijn, H. and E. ten Heuvelhof (2008) *Management in Networks: on multi-actor decision making* Routledge: London

Jobin, D (2008) "A Transaction Cost-Based Approach to Partnership Performance Evaluation" *Evaluation* 14(4), 437–465

DeLeon, P. and W. Blomquist (2011) "The Design and Promise of the Institutional Analysis and Development Framework" *Policy Studies Journal* V. 39 #1 1-6

DeLeon, P. and D.M. Varda "Toward a Theory of Collaborative Policy Networks" *Policy Studies Journal* 37:1 59-74

Derwing, T. and E. Waugh, *Language skills and the social integration of Canada's adult immigrants* IRPP.

Diaz-Kope, Miller-Stevens, K., & Morris, J. C. (2015). Collaboration Processes and Institutional Structure: Reexamining the Black Box. *International Journal of Public Administration*, *38*(9), 607–615.

Doberstein, C. (2013) "Metagovernance of urban governance networks in Canada: in pursuit of legitimacy and accountability" *Canadian Public Administration* 56(4) 584-60

Doberstein, C. (2016) "Designing collaborative governance decision-making in search of a 'collaborative advantage'" *Public Management Review* 18(6) 819-841

Dolšak, Nives., and Elinor. Ostrom (2003). *The Commons in the New Millennium : Challenges and Adaptation*. MIT Press

Donmoyer. (1987) Why Case Studies? Reflections on Hord and Hall's Three Images. *Curriculum Inquiry*, *17*(1), 91–102

Douglas, Ansell, C., Parker, C. F., Sørensen, E., 'T Hart, P., & Torfing, J. (2020). Understanding Collaboration: Introducing the Collaborative Governance Case Databank. *Policy & Society*, *39*(4), 495–509

Downs, A. (1957) *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. Harper

Patrick Dunleavy et al. "New Public Management Is Dead—Long Live Digital-Era Governance" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, 16(3) 467–494

Durlak, J. and E. DuPre (2008) "Implementation matters: a review of research of the influence of implementation on program outcomes and the factors affecting implementation" *American Journal of Community Psychology* v.41 327-350

Ebers, M. (1997) "Explaining Inter-organizational Network Formation" *The Formation of Inter-organizational Networks* Oxford University Press: Oxford 1-40

ELSANet (2012) *ELSANet: Contributions to the Settlement Language Sector* ELSANet

Emerson, K. T. Nabatchi and S. Balogh "An Integrative Framework for Collaborative Governance" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 22(1) 1–29

Faling, M., Biesbroek, R., Karlsson-Vinkhuyzen, S., & Termeer, K. (2019). Policy entrepreneurship across boundaries: a systematic literature review. *Journal of Public Policy*, *39*(2), 393–422.

Ference Weicker (2008) *Process evaluation of the British Columbia Settlement Workers in Schools Initiative* Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development

Ference Weicker (2009) *Evaluation of the Britisih Columbia Settlement Workers in Schools Initiative: Final report* Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development

Ference & Co. (2016) *Evaluation of the Employment Program of BC (EPBC): Final Report*. Ministry of Social Development. Retrieved from:

Ferlie, E. et al. (2011) "Public Policy Networks and 'Wicked Problems': a Nascent Solution" *Public Administration v.89 #2 307-324*

Firestone, W. (1993). Alternative Arguments for Generalizing From Data as Applied to Qualitative Research. *Educational Researcher*, *22*(4), 16–23

Forum of Labour Market Ministers (2009) *A Pan-Canadian Framework for the Assessment and Recognition of Foreign Qualifications*. HRSDC.

Fuller, S. & Martin, T. F. (2012). Predicting Immigrant Employment Sequences in the First Years of Settlement. *The International Migration Review*, *46*(1), 138–190

Hou, F. and M. Beiser (2006) "Learning the language of a new country: a ten-year study of English language acquisition by South-East Asian refugees in Canada" *International Migration* 44(1) 135-165

Glickman, V. et al. (2011) *Literacy Now and District Literacy Initiatives: Connecting Loosely Coupled Formal and Informal Services; A Review of the Community Literacy Planning Process.* BC Ministry of Education. Retrieved from

Goggin. (1990). *Implementation theory and practice : toward a third generation*. HarperCollins

Goggin. (1986). "The 'Too Few Cases/Too Many Variables' Problem in Implementation *Research." Political Research Quarterly, 39(2), 328–347.*

Goldsmith, S. and W. Eggers (2004) Governing by Network: The New Shape of the Public Sector Brookings Institute Press: Washington DC

Goldstein, K. (2002) "Getting in the door: Sampling and Completing Elite Interviews*" PS: Political Science and Politics* 35(4) 669-672

Granovetter, M. (1992) *"*Economic institutions as social constructions: a framework for analysis*" Acta Sociologica* 35(1) 3-11

Green, & Riddell, W. C. (2007). Literacy and the Labour Market: The Generation of Literacy and Its Impact on Earnings for Native Born Canadians. Statistics Canada.

Greenwood, R. et al. (2008) *Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism* Sage: London

Hajer, M, and H. Wagenaar (2003) *Deliberative Policy Analysis: Understanding Governance in the Network Society* Cambridge: New York

Hamilton, H. A., Noh, S., & Adlaf, E. M. (2009). Adolescent risk behaviours and psychological distress across immigrant generations. Canadian Journal of Public Health, 100(3), 221–225.

Heijden, J., J. Kuhlmann, E. Lindquist and A. Wellstead (2019) "Have policy process scholars embraced causal mechanisms? A review of five popular frameworks" *Public Policy and Administration* Special Edition.

Herranz, J. (2007) “The Multisectoral Trilemma of Network Management” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 18:1 1-31

Herranz, J. (2010a) “The Logic Model as a Tool for Developing a Network Performance System” *Public Performance and Management Review* v. 34 #1 56-80

Herranz, J. (2010b) “Network Performance and Coordination: A theoretical review and framework” *Public Performance and Management Review* v.33 #3 311-341

Herriott, J., & Firestone, W. A. (1983). Multisite Qualitative Policy Research: Optimizing Description and Generalizability. *Educational Researcher*, *12*(2), 14–19

Hjern, B. and D.O. Porter (1982) “Implementation strucutres: A new unit of administrative analysis” *Organization Studies* v.2 211-237

Hollingsworth, J.R. (2000) “Doing institutional analysis: implications for the study onf innovations” *Review of International Political Economy* 7(4) 595-644

Hood, C. (2005) “The idea of Joined-Up Government: a historical perspective” in *Joined-Up Government* Ed. V. Bogdanor. Oxford University Press: Oxford 19-42

Hovik, S. and G.S. Hanssen (2015) “The impact of network management and complexity on multi-level coordination” *Public administration* 93(2) 506-523

Huot, Chen, X., King, C., Painter-Zykmund, E., & Watt, K. (2016). Making difficult decisions: Immigrants’ experiences of employment preparation and participation. *Work (Reading, Mass.)*, *54*(3), 709–720.

Hupe, P.L. (2011) “The thesis of incongruent implementation: Revisiting Pressman and Wildavsky” *Public Policy and Administration* 26 (1) 63-80

Isett, K. et al. (2011) “Networks in Public Administration Scholarship: Understanding Where we are and Where we Need to Go” *JPART* 21 157-173

Jocher. (1928). The Case Method in Social Research. *Social Forces*, *7*(2), 203–211

Jones, H. (2011) *Taking responsibility for complexity: how implementation can achieve results n the face of complex problems*. Overseas Development Institute.

Kaarbo, & Beasley, R. K. (1999). A Practical Guide to the Comparative Case Study Method in Political Psychology. Political Psychology, 20(2), 369–391.

Kapucu, N. and Hu, Q. (2020). *Network governance: theories, frameworks, and applications*. Routledge.

Kennedy, & Luzar, E. J. (1999). Toward Methodological Inclusivism: The Case for Case Studies. Review of Agricultural Economics, 21(2), 579–591. https://doi.org/10.2307/1349900 Kickert, W., E-H. Klijn and J.

Klijn,E-H, Koppenjan, J. F. M., Kickert, W. J. M., Koppenjan, J. F. M. (Johannes F. M., & Kickert, W. J. M. (Walter J. M. (1997). *Managing complex networks : strategies for the public sector*. Sage

Koppenjan, J. and E.-H. Klijn (2004) *Managing Uncertainties in Networks* Routledge

Klijn, E-H (2007). "Networks and Inter-Organizational Management: Challenging, Steering, Evaluation, and the Role of Public Actors in Public Management" in *The Oxford Handbook of Public Management*. Oxford University Press.

Klijn, E-H. and J. Edelenbos (2008) "Meta-Governance as Network Management" in *Theories of Democratic Network Governance* Palgrave Macmillan: New York

Klijn, E.-H., B. Steijn, and D. Edelenbos (2010) "The impact of network management on outcomes in governance structures" *Public Administration* 88(4) 1063-1082

Koschmann, Kuhn, T. R., & Pfarrer, M. D. (2012) "A communicative framework of value in cross-sector partnerships" *The Academy of Management Review*, *37*(3) 332–354

Laegreid, T. Randma-Liiv, L. Rykka, and K. Sarapuu (2014) "Introduction: Emerging coordination practices in European public management." *Organizing for Coordination in the Public Sector* Palgrave MacMillan. 1-20

Larsson, R. (1993). "Case Survey Methodology: Quantitative Analysis of Patterns across Case Studies." *Academy of Management Journal*, 36(6), 1515–1546.

Lauer, Wilkinson, L., Yan, M. C., Sin, R., & Tsang, A. K. T. (2012). "Immigrant Youth and Employment: Lessons Learned from the Analysis of LSIC and 82 Lived Stories." *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, *13*(1), 1–19.

Leach, W. and P. Sabatier (2005). "To Trust an Adversary: Integrating Rational and Psychological Models of Collaborative Policymaking" *American Political Science Review* v.99 #4 491-503

Lecours, A. (2005). *New institutionalism : theory and analysis* (Lecours, Ed.). University of Toronto Press. Liberal Part of BC 2005

Lindquist E. and J. Wanna (2015) "Is implementation only about policy execution?: advice for public sector leaders from the literature" *New Accountability, New Challenges* (ed. J. Wanna, E. Lindquist, and P. Marshall) ANU Press

Lindquist, E. H. Dickson, B. Pollard and M.C. Yan (2013). *Devolving Settlement funding from the government of Canada*. Western Canadian Consortium on integration, Citizenship and Cohesion

Lipsky, M. (2010) *Street Level Bureaucracy: Dilemmas of the Individual in Public Services* (2nd ed.) Sage: New York

Logsdon. (1991). Interests and Interdependence in the Formation of Social Problem-Solving Collaborations. *The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science*, *27*(1), 23–37

Mandell, Lam, L., Borras, J., & Phonepraseuth, J. (2018). Living on the Margins: Economic Security Among Senior Immigrants in Canada. *Alternate Routes*, *29*, 38–.

May, P and S. Winter (2007) "Politicians, Managers, and Street-Level Bureaucrats: Influences on Policy Implementation" *JPART* 19 453-476

McGinnis, M.D. (2011a) "An Introduction to IAD and the Language of the Ostrom Workshop: A Simple Guide to a Complex Framework" *Policy Studies Organization* v.39 #1 169-183

McGinnis, M.D. (2011b) "Networks of Adjacent Action Situations in Polycentric Governance" *Policy Studies Journal* v.39#1 51-78

McQuaid, R. (2010) "Theory of organizational partnership: partnership advantages, disadvantages and success factors" *The New Public Governance?: Emerging Perspectives on the Theory and Practice of Public Governance (ed. S. Osborne)* Taylor and Francis 127-148

Meek, J. (2021) "Introduction: collaborative public management as an emergent field" *Handbook of Collaborative Public Management (ed. J. Meek)* Edward Elgar Publishing

Meier, K.J. and L. J. O'Toole (2005) "Managerial Networking: Issues of Measurement and Research Design" *Administration and Society* V.37 #5 523-541

Meier, K.J. and L.J. O'Toole (2001) "Managerian Strategies and Behaviour in Netowkrs: A *model with evidence from U.S. Public Education" Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 11 217-293

Morcol, G. et al. (2021) "The collaborative public management literature: a comprehensive and systematic review" *Handbook of Collaborative Public Management (ed. J. Meek)* Edward Elgar Publishing

Munro, C. (2010) *The Early Years Refugee Pilot Project: Evaluation Report.* WelcomeBC

Nesteruk, & Marks, L. D. (2011). Parenting in Immigration: Experiences of Mothers and Fathers from Eastern Europe Raising Children in the United States. *Journal of Comparative Family Studies*, *42*(6), 809–825

Ng, E., K. Pottie, and D. Spitzer (2011) "Official language proficiency and self-reported health amont immigrants to Canada" *Health Reports – Statistics Canada*. 22(4)

North, D. (1990) *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance.* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge

Nota Bene (2010) *Demonstration Project for Older Immigrant Youth and Young Adults Year One Final Evaluation Report.* WelcomeBC

O'Flynn, J. (2013) "Crossing Boundaries in Public Management and Policy: an introduction" *Crossing Boundaries in Public Management and Policy: The International Experience"* Routledge 3-44

O'Flynn, J. et al. (2011) "You win some, you lose some: experiments with joined up government" *International Journal of Public Administration* 34(4) 244-254

O'Leary R. and N. Vij (2012) "Collaborative public management: where have we been and where are we going" *American Review of Public Administation* v.42 #5 507-522

Toole, L.J. (1986). Policy Recommendations for Multi-Actor Implementation: An Assessment of the Field. *Journal of Public Policy 6*(2), 181–210

O'Toole, L.J. (1997) "Treating networks seriously: Practical and Research-based agendas in public administration" *Public Administration review* V. 57 #1 45-52

O'Toole, L. (2004) "The theory-practice issue in policy implementation research" *Public Administration* v.82 #2 309-329

O'Donnell, Stuart, J., & O'Donnell, K. J. (2020). The long-term financial and psychological resettlement outcomes of pre-migration trauma and post-settlement difficulties in resettled refugees. *Social Science & Medicine (1982), 262*

OECD (2000) *Literacy in the Information Age Final Report of the International Adult Literacy Survey*. OECD

OECD (2013) *Building a Government for the Future: Improving policy performance and managing complex challenges – Symposium Discussion notes.* OECD

OECD (2013i) *Governments for the Future – Main Report.* OECD

OECD (2013ii) *Strategic Insights from the Public Governance Reviews: Update.* OECD

Office of the Auditor General (2013) *Office of the Auditor General's Report on New Zealand's Settlement Strategy*. Government of New Zealand

Olson, M. (1971). *The Logic of Collective Action: Public Goods and the Theory of Groups, Second Printing with a New Preface and Appendix*. Harvard University Press.

Ostrom, E. (1990) *Governing the Commons: The Evolution of Institutions for Collective Action* Cambridge University Press: Cambridge

Ostrom, E. (2005a) *Understanding Institutional Diversity* Princeton University Press: Princeton NJ

Ostrom, E. (2005b) 'Doing Institutional Analysis: Digging Deeper than Markets and Hierarchies', in Claude Menard and Mary M. Shirley, *Handbook of New Institutional Economics* Springer: Dordrecht, The Netherlands, 819-48

Ostrom, E. (2011) “Background on the Institutional Analysis and Design Framework” *Policy Studies Journal* 39:1 7-27

O’Toole, Laurence J. (1997) “Treating Networks Seriously: Practical and Research-Based Agendas in Public Administration” *Public Administration Review* 57 (1) 45-52

Panel on Employment Challenges of New Canadians (2015) *Summary of the Panel’s Online Consultation.* Government of Canada. Retrieved from: https://publications.gc.ca/collections/collection_2015/edsc-esdc/Em16-7-1-2015-eng.pdf

Peabody et al. (1990) “Interviewing political elites” *PS: Political Science and Politics.* 23(3) 451-455

Peters, B. Guy (1998) *Managing Horizontal Governance: The Politics of Coordination*. Ottawa: Canadian Centre for Management Development

Peters, G. (2018). The challenge of policy coordination. *Policy Design and Practice*, *1*(1), 1–11.

Peters, G. (2015) *Pursuing Horizontal Management: The politics of public sector coordination***.** University Press of Kansas

Petridou, E. (2014) “Theories of the policy process contemporary scholarship and future directions” *Policy Studies Journal* 42(S1) 12-32

Phillips, R. (1998). The politics of history: Some methodological and ethical dilemmas in elite-based research. British Educational Research Journal, 24, 5-19

Pollitt. (2004). *Agencies how governments do things through semi-autonomous organizations*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Pollitt, C. (2003) “Joined-up Government: a Survey” *Political Studies Review* v.1 34-49

Pollitt, C. et al. (2001) “Agency Fever? Analysis of an International Policy Fashion” *Journal of Comparative Policy Analysis: Research and Practice* v.3 271-290

Pottie, K., E. Ng, D. Spitzer, A. Mohammed and R. Glazier (2008) “Language proficiency, gender and self-reported halth: An Analysis of the first two waves of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada” *Canadian Journal of Public Health* 99(6) 505-510

Powell, W. (1990) “Neither Market Nor Hierarchy: Network Forms of Organization” *Research in Organizational Behavior* 12 295-336

Powell, W. and P. Dimaggio (1991) “Introduction” *The New Institutionalism in Organizational Analysis* (ed. Powell, W. and P. Dimaggio) University of Chicago Press

Pressman, J. and A. Wildavsky (1984) *Implementation: how Great Expectations in Washington are Dashed in Oakland 3rd Ed.* University of California Press

Provan, K.G. and H.B. Milward (1991) “Institutional-Level Norms and Organizational Involvement in a Service-Implementation Network” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* V.1 #4 391-417

Provan, K., K. Isett, and H.B. Milward (2004) “Cooperation and Compromise :A network response to conflicting institutional pressures in community mental health” *Nonprofit and Vulntary Sector Quarterly* 33(3) 489-514

Provan, K. G., and P. Kenis. (2008). “Modes of Network Governance: Structure, Management, and Effectiveness” *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* 18(2) 229–52

Provan, K. and P. Kenis (2007) “Modes of Network governance: Structure, Management and Effectiveness” *JPART* 18 229-252

Provan, K. and R. Lemaire (2012) “Core concepts and key ideas for understanding public sector organizational networks: Using Research to inform scholarship and practice” *Public Administration Review* 72:5 pp. 638-648

Raab, Mannak, R. ., & Cambré, B. (2015). Combining Structure, Governance, and Context: A Configurational Approach to Network Effectiveness. *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory*, *25*(2), 479–511

Ramesh, G. (2008)”Policy-Implementation Frame: A Revisit” *South Asian Journal of Management* 15(1) 42-63

Ravanera, Z. and V. Esses (2014) *The integration of immigrants of differing official language ability and use in Canada: Analysis of the 2006 Census and the 2007-2008 Canadian Community Health Survey*. Citizenship and Immigration Canada

Canadian Centre for Language Benchmarks (2005) *Relating Canadian Language Benchmarks to Essential Skills* Canadian Centre for Language Benchmarks

Remmer, K. (1997) “Theoretical decay and theoretical development: the reseurgence of institutional analysis” *World Politics* 50(1) 34-61

Rhodes, R. (1997) *Understanding Governance.* Open University Press: Philadelphia

Robinson, S. (2006) “A decade of treating networks seriously” *Policy Studies Journal* 34(4) 589-598

Rouzbehani. (2020). Let’s collaborate but how: Discussing collaboration barriers and opportunities in the digital era. *Canadian Public Administration*, *63*(4), 660–674

Sabatier, P. (1986) “Top-down and bottom-up approaches to implementation research: A critical analysis and suggested synthesis” *Journal of Public Policy* v.6 #1 21-48

Sabatier, P., C. Weible and K. McQueen (2009) “Themes and Variations: Taking Stock of the Advocacy Coalition Framework” *Policy Studies Journal* 37(1) 121-140

Sabatier, P.A. (1988) “An advocacy coalition framework of policy change and the role of policy oriented learning therein” *Policy Sciences* 21 129-168

Saleth, R.M. and A. Dinar (2009) “The impact of multiple policy interventions on food security” *Journal of Policy Modeling* 31 923-938

Sandstrom A. and L. Carlsson (2008) “The performance of policy networks: the relation between network structure and network performance” *The Policy Studies Journal* 36(4) 497-524

Sapeha, H. (2014) “Explaining Variations in Immigrants’ Satisfaction with Their Settlement Experience” *International Migration and Integration* 16 891-910

Sarapuu, K, P. Laegreid, T. Randma-Liiv and L. Rykkja (2014) “Lessons learned and policy implications” *Organizing for Coordination in the Public Sector* Palgrave MacMillan. 263-278

Scharpf, F. (1997) *Games Real Actors Play: Actor-Centred Institutionalism in Policy Research* Westview Press: Colorado

Schleifer, B., & Ngo, H. (2005). “Immigrant children and youth in focus”. *Canadian Issues* (29-33)

Scott, W.R. (2008) *Institutions and Organizations: Ideas and Interests (3rd. Ed.)* Sage: London

Seidle, L. (2010) *The Canada-Ontario Immigrant Agreement: options for renewal* Mowat Centre for Policy Innovation

Selimos, & Daniel, Y. (2017). “The role of schools in shaping the settlement experiences of newcomer immigrant and refugee youth” *International Journal of Child, Youth & Family Studies IJCYFS*, *8*(2), 90-109

Simon, H.A. (1996) *The Sciences of the Artificial* (3rd ed.)MIT Press: Cambridge Massachusetts

Sorensen, E. and J. Torfing (2009) Making governance networks effective and democratic through metagovernance” *Public Administration* 87(2) 234-258

Sorensen, E. and J. Torfing (2017) “Metagoverning collaborative innovation in governance networks” *American Review of Public Administration* 47(7) 826-839

Sørensen, E., & Torfing, J. (2016). “Collaborative Innovation in the Public Sector” *Enhancing Public Innovation by Transforming Public Governance (Ed.* J. Torfing & P. Triantafillou). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press 117-138

Sørensen, E. & Torfing, J. (2006) *Theories of Democratic Network Governance.* Palgrave Macmillan UK.

Sproule-Jones, M. (2000) “Horizontal Management: Implementing programs across interdependent organizations” *Canadian Public Administration* 43(1) 93-109

Stacey, R. and D. Griffin (2006) *Complexity and the Experience of Managing in Public Sector Organizations*. Routledge: New York

Statistics Canada (2004) *International Adult Literacy Survey: Literacy scores, human capital and growth across fourteen OECD countries* Statistics Canada

Stouffer. (1941). Notes on the Case-Study and the Unique Case. *Sociometry*, *4*(4), 349–357.

Sydow, Jorg and Arnold Windeler (1998) “Organizing and Evaluating Interfirm Networks: A Structurationist Perspective on Network Processes and Effectiveness” *Organization Science* 9 (3) 265-284.

TD Bank Financial Group (2012) *Literacy Matters: a call to action*.

Thompson, J. D. (1967). *Organizations in action: Social science bases of administrative theory.* McGraw-Hill.

Thompson, A. and J. Perry (2006) "Collaboration processes: inside the black box" *Public Administration Review* 66(Special Issue) 20-32

Thomson, A.M., Perry, J.L. and Miller, T.K. (2008) "Linking Collaboration Processes and Outcomes: Foundations for Advancing Empirical Theory" Collaborative Public Management: The Big Questions (Ed. O'Leary, R. and Bingham, L., Eds.) Sharpe

Turner. (1983). "The Use of Grounded Theory for the qualitative analysis or organizational behaviour" *Journal of Management Studies*, 20(3), 333–348.

Van Meter, D. S. and Van Horn, C. E.(1975). The policy implementation process: A conceptual framework. *Administration and society*, 6(4)

Vangen, S. and C. Huxham (2010) "Introducing the theory of collaborative advantage" *The New Public Governance?: Emerging Perspectives on the Theory and Practice of Public Governance (ed. S. Osborne)* Taylor and Francis 163-184

Vangen, S. and C. Huxham (2012) "The Tangled Web: Unraveling the Princpile of Common Goals in Collaboration" *Journal of Public Administration Research and Theory* v. 22 #4 pp.731-760

Weber, E. and A. Khademian (2008) "Wicked problems, knowledge challenges and collaborative capacity builders in network settings" *Public Administration Review* 334-34

Weible, C. (2005) “Beliefs and perceitved influence in a natural resource conflict: an Advocacy Coalition approach to policy networks” *Political Research Quarterly* 58(3) 461-475

Whelan, C. (2011) “Network Dynamics and Network Effectivenss: A methodological framework for public sector networks in the field of public security” *Australian Journal of Public Administration* 70(3) 275-286

Whitford, A.B. (2007) “Decentralized policy implementation” *Political Research Quarterly* 60(1) 17-30

Whitley. (1932). The Case Study as a Method of Research. *Social Forces*, *10*(4), 567–573.

Wilder, M. (2017). Comparative Public Policy: Origins, Themes, New Directions. *Policy Studies Journal*, *45*(S1), S47–S66.

Wilkinson, D. and E. Appelbee (1999) *Implementing Holistic Government: Joined-up action on the ground* The Policy Press: Bristol

Williamson, O. (1985) *Economic institutions of Capitalism* Free Press: New York

Woldendorp, J. and H. Keman (2010) “Dynamic institutional analysis: mearuing corporatist intermediation” *Qual/Quant* 44 259-275

Wood, D. and B. Hayes (2016) *The Labour Market Agreements: What did they really do?”* Caledon Institute of Social Policy

Wooten and Hoffman (2017) “Chapter 2: Organizational Fields: Past, Present and Future” *Sage Handbook of Organizational Institutionalism.* Sage. 55-75

Xue, L. (2006) *The Labour Market Progression of the LSIC Immigrants: A perspective from the Second Wave of the Lognitudinal Survey of Immigrnts to Canada (LSIC) – Two Years after Landing* Statistics Canada

Yates et al. (2012) *Language Training and settlement success: Are they related?* Department of Immigration and Citizenship

Yssaad, L. (2012) “The Canadian Immigrant Labour Market 2008-2011” *The Immigrant Labour Market Force Analysis Series.* Statistics Canada

Government Strategies, Reports and Other

ReadNowBC (2008) *British Columbia's literacy action plan: working together for literacy.* Government of BC. Retrieved from: http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/PubDocs/bcdocs/434990/booklet.pdf

ReadNowBC (2008) *District Literacy Planning Guide*. Government of BC. Retrieved from http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs2014_2/543319/dlp_guide.pdf

ReadNowBC (2012) *Literacy for the 21st century: final report on ReadNow BC 2007–2011: British Columbia's provincial literacy action plan.* Government of BC. Retrieved from: http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs2014_2/543320/dlp_guide.pdf

Skills for Growth (2010) *Skills for growth: British Columbia's labour market strategy to 2020.* Government of BC. Retrieved from: https://ezproxy.llbc.leg.bc.ca/login?url=http://www.deslibris.ca/ID/226856

Throne Speech (2004) *Speech from the Throne, Opening of the Fifth Session, Thirty-seventh parliament of the Province of British Columbia.* Government of BC. Retrieved from: http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/PubDocs/bcdocs/123805/throne_37th_5th.pdf

Strong, Safe and Supported (2008) *Strong, safe, and supported: a commitment to B.C.'s children and youth*. Ministry of Children and Family Development, Government of British Columbia. Retrieved from: http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/PubDocs/bcdocs/437986/Strong_Safe_Supported.pdf

Select Standing Committee on Education (2006) *Literacy through Leadership: Outlining an Adult Literacy Strategy for British Columbians* Legislative Assembly of British Columbia

Adult Opportunities Action Plan (2007) *Adult Opportunities Action Plan.* Ministry of Advanced Education. Government of British Columbia. Retrieved from: http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs2011/469717/adult_opportunities_plan07.pdf

BC's Skills for Jobs Blueprint (2014) *B.C.'s skills for jobs blueprint : re-engineering education and training*. WorkBC, Government of British Columbia. Retrieved from : http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs2014/542240/2014jtst0028-000545.pdf

Early Years Strategy (2011) *The BC Early Years Strategy.* Provincial Office for the Early Years, Government of BC. Retrieved from: http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs2018_2/687581/early_years_overview.pdf

Families First Agenda (2012 *Families First Agenda for BC.* Office of the Premier, Government of British Columbia. Retrieved from: http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs2012_2/522732/family-first-agenda.pdf

Ministry of Education (2011) *BC's Education Plan.* BC Ministry of Education

Jobs Plan (2011) *Canada Starts here: The BC Jobs Plan*. Office of the Premier, Government of British Columbia. Retrieved from http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs2011_2/499294/2011prem0114-001195.pdf

WelcomeBC (2010) *Immigrant Labour Market by Province 2009.* Government of BC

OAG (2008a) *Literacy: creating the conditions for reading and writing success.* Government of BC. Retrieved from: http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/PubDocs/bcdocs/434123/Report_6_Literacy_WEB_rev.pdf

OAG (2008b) *Follow up report: updates on the implementation of recommendations from recent reports.* Government of BC. Retrieved from

http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/PubDocs/bcdocs/455719/follow_report_updates_implementation_recommendations_recent_reports[1].pdf

LMDA/LMA Plan 2011/12. Retrieved from http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/pubdocs/bcdocs2012/516515/LMDA_Annual_Report_2011_12.pdf

Legislation

Citizenship Act R.S.C. (1985), retrieved from http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/c-29/FullText.html, retrieved May 2, 2017

Colleges and Institutes Act (1996) retrieved from https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/96052_01

School Act *(1996) School Act [RSBC 1996] Chapter 412*. Retrieved from https://www.bclaws.gov.bc.ca/civix/document/id/complete/statreg/96412_00

Transmission Documents

Job Options RFP (2010) *Request for Proposals: JobOptionsBC* Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development, Government of BC. Retrieved from BCBid.gov.bc.ca

VCC Mandate Letter (2016) retrieved from: https://www2.gov.bc.ca/assets/gov/education/post-secondary-education/institution-resources-administration/mandate-letters/vcc.pdf

Vulnerable Immigrant Populations Program RFP (2012) *Request for Proposals: Vulnerable Immigrant Populations Program* Ministry of Jobs, Tourism and Innovation. Retrieved from BCBid.gov.bc.ca

Skills Connect RFP (2009) *BC Skills Connect for Immigrants Program*. Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development, Government of BC. Retrieved from BCBid.gov.bc.ca

LMDA Employment Program RFP (2011) *Request for Proposals: The Employment Program of British Columbia* Ministry of Social Development

Job Options RFP (2010) *Request for Proposals: JobOptionsBC.* Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development. Retrieved from BCBid.gov.bc.ca

Settlement and Integration Program (SIP) RFP (2009) *Request for Proposal: Settlement and Integration Program.* Ministry of Regional Economic and Skills Development, Government of BC. Retrieved from BCBid.gov.bc.ca

ELSA RFP (2009) *Request for Proposals: Settlement and Integration Program* Government of British Columbia. Retrieved from BCBid.gov.bc.ca

Skills Connect RFP (2009) *Request for Proposals: BC Skills Connect for Immigrants Program*. Ministry of Advanced Education and Labour Market Development. Retrieved from BCBid.gov.bc.ca

ELSA RFP (2010) *Requests for Proposals: ELSA Levels Literacy to 5 Services* WelcomeBC, Government of BC. Retrieved from BCBid.gov.bc.ca

Agreements

CBCIA (2010) *Canada-British Columbia Immigration Agreement.* Retrieved from www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/laws-policy/agreeements/bc/bc-2010.asp

Canada BC Labour Market Development Agreement (2008). Retrieved from: https://www.canada.ca/en/employment-social-development/programs/training-agreements/lmda/bc-agreement.html

LMA/LMDA Information Package (2008). Retrieved from http://www.llbc.leg.bc.ca/public/PubDocs/bcdocs/435005/CanBC_Labmarket_agreement.pdf