Critical Analysis of the Quebec Policy on Education

Aimee Louise Noelle St. Hilaire

A thesis

In the

Department of Education

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

For the Degree of Master of Arts (Educational Studies) at

Concordia University

Montreal, Quebec, Canada

March 2025

CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY

School of Graduate Studies

This is to certify that the thesis prepared

By: Aimee Louise Noelle St. Hilaire

Entitled: Critical Analysis of the Quebec Policy on Education

And submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of

Master of Arts (Educational Studies)

Complies with the regulations of the University and meets the accepted standards with respect to

originality and quality.

Signed by the final Examining Committee:

N/A

_____ Chair

TBA

_____ Examiner

Dr. Giuliana Cucinelli

_____ Examiner

Dr. Saul Carliner

_____ Supervisor

Dr. Carolina Cambre

Approved by   _____

Chair of Department or Graduate Program Director

_____2025 _____

Dean of Faculty

Abstract

Critical Analysis of the Quebec Policy on Education

Aimee Louise Noelle St. Hilaire

This critical policy analysis seeks to identify the underlying ideologies, as well as the government's motivations and intentions, by examining the *Policy on Educational Success* (PES) (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017). The PES was developed to provide a framework for educational reforms from 2017 to 2030 in Quebec. This analysis considers the influence of globalization and the unique socio-political context of Quebec while utilizing Fairclough's (2007) and Bacchi's (2016) critical discourse analysis. The results indicate the PES mirrors many structural reform recommendations found in the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) education policy. This analysis finds that these reforms are integrated within the Quebec education system with two intentions. The first is to cultivate human capital to support and sustain economic development. The second and most prominent intention of the PES is to inculcate the population with a national identity, dominated by Quebec values of secularism and the French language. The conclusion of this thesis is a warning that the reform recommendations of the OECD, in the movement toward globalization, are creating systems of centralized authority, which are vulnerable to being co-opted by government powers and used for the indoctrination of the population. This analysis contributes to the body of research on education policy, specifically, on Quebec education policy, providing a much-needed critical perspective.

Acknowledgements

I would like to that all who supported me through the years of my education. First and foremost, I would like to thank my mother. You have always been available to listen and encourage me. Thank you for being my greatest teacher.

I would like to thank Dr. Carolina Cambre for her role as my supervisor. Your help and guidance have been invaluable. I am immensely grateful.

I would also like to thank Dr. Guiliana Cucinelli and Dr. Saul Carliner for accepting to be on my committee and for your time, insight and comments to improve my thesis.

Contents

I.   Chapter One: Introduction

The Quebec Policy on Educational Success (PES), published in 2017, was introduced by

the Government of Quebec's Ministry of Education, as "the guiding framework for all

government action relating to educational childcare services, the public and private school

systems, community organizations and society as a whole" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p.

3). This policy, which I will analyze in this thesis, provided the framework for educational

reforms in the province and set benchmark measures of success in education to achieve by 2030.

The purpose of my analysis is to provide a foundation for future research about the

educational policies in Quebec. When I started planning my thesis, I had been interested in

homeschooling regulations in Quebec. I was particularly interested in Bill 144 (2017) which

changed the rules for homeschoolers in the province and imposed strict limits. This bill imposed

provincial exams on homeschoolers, strict adherence to the provincial curriculum and an arduous

schedule for parents to provide progress reports to the Ministry of Education. These were

dramatic changes to a once minimally regulated option for education in the province. I wanted to

research why the province changed the rules for homeschoolers. I was seeking to research the

government's motivation to change homeschool regulations and the purpose of the new

regulations. When I began to research the subject, I found most literature about education policy

in Quebec was focused on the effects of policy, without clear investigation of the motivation for

the development of educational policies in Quebec. I decided to conduct my own research to

better understand the goals of Quebec education policies, leading me to my thesis topic.

With a focus on the PES and consider how it is positioned within the social-cultural-

political context of Quebec from years 2017 to 2025, I aim to provide a much-needed

background and comprehensive explanation of the ideological framework of the policy and

better understand the intentions behind changes to the education system in Quebec since its publication. My preliminary research was unable to locate literature specifically regarding the ideological framework of Quebec education policy after 2008; this analysis will address this gap.

Aims and Objectives

This critical policy analysis of the *Policy on Educational Success* (PES) (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017) aims to identify underlying ideologies embodied within the policy. I will use critical discourse analysis to evaluate the policy's discursive framework and determine which strategies they reflect based on the following research questions:

1. What is the underlying ideology of the PES?

2. What does this ideology reveal about the government's motivations and intentions for the creation of the PES?

Overview of Thesis Chapters

Chapter one includes the literature review of previous findings about Quebec education policy, followed by the background and context. I outline the historical context of Quebec education policy, including a description of the consultation process involved in the development of the PES. I also include a brief description of recent developments in the socio-cultural-political context of the Quebec education system and introduce previous research about Quebec education policy.

Chapter two begins with an explanation of what constitutes an ideology, and I describe how the concept of ideology is key to the theoretical framework of this thesis. Linking ideology to social constructs, I review the role of education in socialization and maintenance of ideological hegemony. This leads me to draw a connection between the ideology of policy and the use of education for socialization and indoctrination. The second section then reviews the

concept of globalization of education. In the following sections, I present the theoretical framework for critical policy analysis, detailing the methodology of this study. My analysis is based on a critical discourse analysis (CDA) using Fairclough (2007) and Bacchi's (2016) frameworks to identify the discursive framework of the policy. I also refer to Ball's public policy trajectory approach to describe my multi-step analytical approach to support my aim of offering a nuanced understanding of the intersection between Quebec's political and cultural context, its educational policies and the influence of globalization. After providing the methodology, I include a step-by-step account of my analysis method.

In chapter three, I provide a detailed analysis of the PES. This includes quotes and summaries of the policy text and how these relate to the concepts from chapter one and two. I use strategies of CDA to uncover the meaning of what is written in the policy. After the detailed analysis, I include a discussion of my findings, specifically in relation to the ideologies identified through my analysis. The chapter ends with a brief conclusion.

II.   Chapter Two: Literature Review, Background and Context

Literature Review

The literature review is an overview of research relevant to the PES. I conducted a comprehensive database search for all resources related to education policy in Quebec. I included both French and English language content in my search criteria. I narrowed the results by reading the abstracts and eliminating content that was not relevant to the PES, either because it related to education policy of much earlier years which is no longer relevant to the current government, or it was completely unrelated. The results were limited as research on Quebec education policy is quite limited.

I begin with Da Silva Camillo et al.'s (2020) content analysis of the PES, followed by my critique of their findings. This is followed by a summary of the research findings on the effects of Quebec's universal childcare program, which demonstrates how such programs are promoted as beneficial, yet the negative effects are well documented (Baker, 2011). The final paper included in the literature review is a trajectory analysis of Quebec's education policy from 1963 – 2008 (Maroy et al., 2017)

Content Analysis of the Policy on Educational Success

Da Silva Camillo et al. (2020) evaluated the *Policy on Educational Success* (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017) by using content analysis. The authors created a list of ten categories based on the United Nations 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development Goal 4 of quality education. They organized quotations from the PES text into these ten categories. The authors also used an online tool to create a lexical analysis, which provided a measurement of the quantity and frequency of words. They also used a software, Orange, to create a concordance analysis. Based on their findings, the authors posited that the policy is an example of an

education policy that would support an increase in quality of education, which they recommend for use in Latin American countries.

Da Silva Camillo et al. (2020) did not examine the PES with a critical lens and instead unquestioningly considered each statement to be factual. All recommendations were positioned as beneficial, yet the authors did not ask who the beneficiaries might be. The authors did not include any references to research conducted in Canada or Quebec. The authors presented the governmental regulation of education as beneficial. In the following section, my overview of other research on Quebec policies provides an example of the research missing from Da Silva Camillo et al.'s paper. My analysis of the PES counters their position with a critical perspective questioning the underlying assumptions upon which these authors based their findings.

Universal Childcare: Overview of Research

The PES encompasses an educational path from early childcare through to the labour market (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017). Of all aspects of the PES, the area that appears to be most researched is the Quebec Universal Child Care Program. The following overview is presented in a linear manner to demonstrate the evolution of research overtime beginning with the introduction of the program, as the researchers built upon each other's work.

In 1997, the Quebec government initiated the Universal Child Care policy, which provided low-cost subsidized childcare. The program established a fee structure of $5 per day, per child for childcare of children under six years old. The program had two goals: first to provide mothers with affordable childcare so they could join the labour market, and second, to provide quality care to support healthy development of children (Kottelenberg & Lehrer, 2014).

Lefebvre and Merrigan (2008) reviewed the annual data from 1993-2002 of Statistics Canada Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics and found that the policy for universal

childcare increased maternal participation in the work force for parents of children aged 0 - 4 years old. Based on the same data from Statistics Canada, Baker et al.'s (2008) study confirmed negative effects on child developmental scores, health, and behavioural outcomes, such as increased hyperactivity, as well as negative effects on parental health and behaviours.

Lefebvre et al. (2009) investigated the long-term effects on children and parents, and they claimed that the policy permitted mothers to retain employment during their children's preschool years and therefore they had better job prospects when their children reached the elementary school years. This effect was most significant for mothers with education at the high school level or less. The effect was less significant for mothers with post-secondary education. They wrote, "In almost all cases, the effects of the policy for low-education mothers are pronounced and statistically significant. … To the contrary and whichever dependent variable is considered the policy effects are almost never statistically significant for high-education mothers" (Lefebvre et al., 2009, p. 500).

Kottelenberg and Lehrer (2014) investigated the impacts of early childcare on child development, specifically on children by age. Their findings suggest that on average, the earlier a child enters the universal childcare program, the greater the negative impact on motor - social development, behavioural outcomes and overall health, including increased anxiety. They posited that this applies to children ages 0-2 years old when they entered care. For children who began universal childcare at age 3 or later, there are no associated negative effects and rather there are positive results. They propose that earlier studies that found negative results for children aged 0-4 years old were skewed by the results of the younger ages.

Building upon the previous research, Haeck et al. (2015) conducted a study of the universal childcare program ten years after its implementation. The results indicate that while

employment rates increased for mothers with only high school education or less, the effects of the universal childcare policy were negative regarding the cognitive development and reading skills of their children ages 4-5 years old in low-income families. They conclude that the policy did not improve school readiness in children who participated in the universal childcare program. They attributed some of the negative effects on lower income families due to more hours in care for these children, as parents worked longer hours, and a lower quality of care available to the lower income families. Further research conducted by Haeck et al. (2018) found that of the negative effects detected in the 0–4-year-old age group, only anxiety continued through to the ages of 5-9 years old, but to a lesser degree. These effects were statistically undetectable in the ages 12-19 years old.

Kottelenberg and Lehrer (2018) add to this research by evaluating if the negative results were equally attributed to male and female children. They posit, "The analysis is suggestive that the availability of subsidized child care changed home environments disproportionately and may be responsible for the growing gaps in behavioural outcomes observed after child care is subsidized" (Kottelenberg & Lehrer, 2018, p. 626). They propose that there was a disproportionate effect on boys, and that boys were more likely to be placed in large childcare centres, while more girls attended in-home childcare centres. They also suggest that statistically subsidized childcare led to a decline in motor social development and an increase in hyperactivity and inattention scores specifically in boys. The statistically significant effect on girls is an increase in anxiety. However, the overall average effect of universal childcare was not statistically significant between genders. Kottenlenberg and Lehrer (2018) propose that the changes in the household environment and child rearing practices are significantly impacted by

the shift in mothers working and are likely the most significant influence on child development stemming from the institution of universal childcare.

Seeking to address the body of research attributing negative effects to the Quebec childcare program, Baker (2011) reasoned that universal policies are not effective in targeting at-risk children. He found that targeted programs designed to specifically benefit at-risk children are effective as early interventions. But he argued against citing the success of targeted programs to promote universal programs because universal programs cannot deliver the same type of level of care as targeted ones. Baker et al. (2019) further supported these findings and maintained that universal childcare in Quebec required further development to improve the outcomes for non-cognitive skills, such as aggression and hyperactivity. Older children who had participated in the universal childcare program had lower life satisfaction and increased criminal activity, while no impact on cognitive skills was detected.

Shifting from studying the effects of the universal childcare policy on children, Haeck et al. (2020) studied the effects on mothers. They suggest that the Quebec childcare policy led to an increase in maternal depression scores and a deterioration of parental behaviours. They report that these effects persist overtime, while they diminish in severity. They attribute these negative effects to the decrease in quality time spent between mother and child. They also indicate that the quality of care has a significant impact on the child's well-being and consequently the child's behaviour.

As demonstrated in the above examples of research on the effects of the Quebec universal childcare program negative effects on children and parents is well documented. These effects need to be considered in policy development. The two main points are that the negative impacts on children occur when they enter the program at ages 0-2 years old, and that specifically, at-risk

children require specialized programs and are negatively impacted in the long term by universal programs. This is relevant in the analysis of the PES because Quebec's education policy is a universal program claiming to be beneficial to all, and it emphasizes early intervention (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017).

Quebec's Education Policy: Vernacular Globalization

Maroy et al. (2017) provided an overview analysis of Quebec's education policy from 1963 to 2008. They highlighted the relevance of local context in policy analysis using Ball's Public Policy Trajectory approach (1997, as cited by Maroy et al., 2017), and acknowledge that Quebec's policy reforms had been influenced by globalization. However, this influence had been translated through Quebec's distinct national context resulting in a process of vernacular globalization. The concept of vernacular globalization, first proposed by anthropologist Appadurai (1996), refers to the shaping of the globalization framework within the pre-existing local context. Quebec's historical and political context are factors identified by Maroy et al. (2017) through which the influence of globalization is filtered resulting in a distinct Quebec interpretation and manifestation of such globalization policies.

Maroy et al.'s (2017) analysis of Quebec's education policy situated Quebec as a neostatist manifestation of vernacular globalization. They posited that the manner of integrating education policy reform in Quebec is more in line with a strategy of neostatism and not neoliberalism, which is associated with globalization of education. They convincingly describe how the political context of Quebec, specifically in relation to the national agenda to protect the distinct Quebec identity and language, is better aligned with a neostatist framework. While Quebec is evidently influenced by the globalization of education, including adopting policy

reforms in line with transnational organizations like the OECD, the implementation of these reforms is filtered through the context of Quebec society.

Background and context: The Unique Social-Cultural-Political Context of Quebec

This section includes a brief overview of the early history of Quebec education policy, followed by a description of the process of development of the PES. I include a few examples of reforms and bills that have passed since the publication of the PES and discuss some of the consequences of these changes. These examples highlight the direction of education policy in Quebec and how it is closely tied to its unique social-cultural-political context.

Early History of Quebec Policy on Education: A brief overview

Quebec's socio-political discourse has influenced the historical development and reforms of the education policy. During the 1950s in Quebec, significant changes were taking place. Historically, the French Quebecers had lived in rural areas, but by 1951, 67% of the French-speaking population was living in urban areas and 34% were concentrated to in the city of Montreal (Cook, 1986/2005, p. 17). This was largely due to industrialization. Tensions grew between the French and English populations in Quebec because the English population was in control of the economy and the French population wanted to change this. A provincial education policy was developed to address this issue.

The first policy on education in Quebec was developed in 1964 with the Parent Report which came in response to the Quiet Revolution, a national movement towards secularism. This inspired the complete restructuring of the education system in Quebec as faith-based school boards were replaced with a national Education ministry and public schools (Maroy et al., 2017, p.105). This centralized system of education signified a politicization of education with a unified secular curricula and pedagogical systems (Magnuson, 1980; Maroy et al., 2017).

The Quebec national [1] education system stemming from the Parent Report established the structures of education: primary and secondary schools, the collegial system of CEGEPs, and a network of public universities. Minimum compulsory education was established to provide accessible free education to the population. The preservation of the French language and culture were central to the education policy (Smith et al., 1999).

With the separation of church and state, "the identity of Quebec as a distinct nation became more centered on the issue of distinct language" (Cook, 1986/2005). The push for French unilingualism was fueled by the desire to open the corporate/commercial sectors to the French population. As Cook (1986/2005) explained, the upper management of corporations within Quebec, at the time, predominantly conducted business in English and prevented French employees from rising to these management positions. This led to the creation of the Department of Cultural Affairs and Bill 101 in 1977.

Known as the language law, Bill 101 recognized French as the official language of Quebec and mandated that French was the language of everyday life, such as in business and in schools. Religion was no longer the commonality and instead language created the Quebec identity as a distinctive nation. Cook (1986/2005) argued that protecting the French language and language rights was the unifying theme at the centre of the New Nationalist movement in Quebec.

In 1988, the Quebec National Assembly enacted Bill 107, fundamentally reforming the organization of school boards in the province. This law transitioned the public school system away from its religious base to one based on language, leading to the dissolution of existing Catholic and Protestant boards. The Act granted the government and the Minister of Education

---

[1] In Canada, education is regulated provincially. Quebec identifies as a unique cultural and linguistic nation, and as such, is referred to in this paper as a nation.

extensive regulatory powers over school management, including curricular decisions and oversight of board operations (QAPSB et al. v. the Attorney General of Quebec, 1993). Since the creation of the Education Act in 1988, the Quebec National Assembly has passed numerous bills to amend the Act.

Consultations Leading up to Quebec's Policy on Educational Success

In 2016, public consultations began for the development of the PES for which the Quebec government published a consultation document titled, *Toward a Policy on Educational Success: Education, Let's Talk About the Future.* The document began with a famous quote from Nelson Mandela: "Education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world" (as cited by Gouvernement du Québec, 2016). Through this statement the government aligns itself with a notion of education as a "weapon" and as a forceful way to enact change of society. The consultation document outlined three broad areas of intervention which the subsequent policy was meant to address. These broad areas of intervention were listed as: "I. All students achieving their full potential; II. A favourable context for student learning, personal development, and success; III. Mobilization of partners and stakeholders in support of educational success" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 77). My analysis of the PES will evaluate how the government interpreted these broad areas of intervention to support their recommendations.

From September to December 2016, the consultation document was published online with questionnaires for the public to read and complete. Nearly 14,000 responses to the questionnaires were received. In-person meetings were held on December 1 and 2, 2016, in Quebec City. After these consultations, the Policy on Educational Success was published in 2017. The policy is reflective of what was included in the consultation document, although the policy is more extensive and detailed (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017).

Education in Quebec from 2017-2025

Since the publishing of the Policy on Educational Success, Quebec has instituted numerous amendments to the Education Act. For example, Bill 144 (2017) imposes many new limitations for homeschooling. Prior to 2017, homeschoolers were previously exempt from having to write the provincial exams, but Bill 144 mandates that all homeschooled students must now write provincial exams and their results on the exams will make up the entirety of their grade on their academic record. Bill 40 (2019) eliminated French-language school boards in the province and replaced them with school service centres. This change was followed by Bill 23 (2023) which provided the Education Minister governing power over the school service centres. Bill 96 (2022) altered the eligibility criteria for CEGEP students limiting French students from attending English CEGEPs. Each of these bills had significant impacts on the education system in Quebec.

More recently, in 2024, Bill 74 grants more power to the government with regards to universities in the province. The bill includes limits to the number of international students studying at Quebec universities. International student tuition rates were also drastically increased, and the funds collected for international students were to be redistributed between the universities in the province. This altered the funding models for all universities, with a dramatic decrease in potential income for the English universities. At the same time, new Canadian non-Quebecois students who wish to attend Quebec universities would have their tuitions increase from $9,000 to $12,000 annually. This change was made to reduce the Quebec government subsidies for tuition fees for non-Quebecois students, specifically because these students tend to leave the province once they graduate (Cabinet de la ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur, 2023; Knott, 2023). Lapierre (2023) reported that Quebec's higher education minister, Pascale Déry,

supported the measure as a means to correct the financial imbalance between French and English language universities, as well as a means to dissuade out-of-province and international students from attending English universities in Quebec. Ultimately, the government's position is that these measures are necessary to protect the French language from declining.

Most recently, a new bill has been tabled in the National Assembly on January 30, 2025, Bill 84. This bill is titled An Act respecting national integration, and while it is not directly addressing education policy, the subject is relevant to my analysis. In the explanatory notes, it says:

> The purpose of this bill is to establish the Quebec national integration model, which fosters the vitality and preservation of Québec culture as the common culture and vector for social cohesion, a culture of which the French language is the main vehicle and which enables immigrants and persons identifying with cultural minorities to integrate into Québec society. (Bill 84, 2025, p. 2)

The bill establishes a model for integration and cohesion to a national identity. The bill also details how the Quebec national identity is built upon a common culture, with the French language at its core, along with values of democracy, gender equality and secularism. This bill relates to the concepts of nation building and socialization that were discussed in part one. This is a relevant development I will consider in my analysis of the PES in relation to the socio-political context of Quebec.

Summary

Chapter one provides the literature review and background related to specific Quebec education policies. The literature review reveals that very little literature about these Quebec education policies has been published in English. Using the example of the Quebec Universal

Child Care Policy, the research indicates universal programs do not benefit those at-risk and may have negative effects (Baker, 2011). Maroy et al. (2017) posited that Quebec education policy is influenced by the socio-political context and creating a vernacular globalization of education policy.

Finally, the background section of this chapter provides an overview of the history of Quebec education policy, including the development process for the PES. The chapter concludes with examples of recent changes to Quebec policy that highlight the relevance of socio-political contexts in policy analysis.

III.   Chapter Three: Theoretical Framework

This chapter presents a theoretical framework rooted in critical discourse analysis. In what follows, I introduce concepts relevant to my analysis; these are ideology, socialization, indoctrination, nation building and globalization. Each one of these definitions occurs where it is most relevant to the text and is set apart by the name of the concept in bold that I will define. Rather than have a list of definitions at the start of the paper, I found it more useful to include them in situ. I discuss critical policy analysis and what purposes it may serve. I outline the arguments that policy is discursive, inherently political and ideological (Ball, 1993; Fairclough, 2007; Olssen et al., 2004; Ozga, 2000). It is from the understanding that policy exists within a discursive framework that I propose critical discourse analysis as the methodology for my policy analysis. This chapter concludes with a step-by-step account of the method I used to conduct my analysis.

Part One: Ideology

Ideology Defined

Before delving into the research topic of this thesis, it is important to be clear about the central concepts and clearly define notions such as ideology. Singh (2021) wrote "an ideology is a defined set of beliefs and ideas shared by a group of people. Often, these beliefs and ideas are about how society should work and be organized" (p. 3). In relation to critical policy analysis, expanding this definition to include how ideology functions within society is required to then demonstrate how critical discourse is able to uncover it.

Critical theory considers ideology to have both structural and strategic dimensions. Structures relate to systems such as the economy, law, politics, education, and government. Strategies include all that supports, communicates and maintains the structures, such as

discourse, actions, and activities. There is a dialectic interplay between the structures and strategies of ideology (Jessop, 2002). Jessop posited that structures constrain strategy; structures do not determine strategy; structures are produced and reproduced through strategy; and structures can be transformed through strategies. As such, policy is a representation of ideology and includes strategies which are "inherently discursive" (Fairclough, 2007), and therefore, it is by identifying the strategies within policy that ideology is revealed in critical discourse analysis.

For example, Fairclough (2007), described globalization as a complex network of interconnected and interrelated processes which manifest both structurally and strategically (pp. 1-2). Structurally, the process of globalization increases global interdependence of governments, institutions, and organizations, increasing the scope and strength of authority and influence over systems such as economy, education, law, and others. Strategically, these structural changes are driven by coordinated activities which align with the dominant ideology and discourse (pp. 1-2).

For the purposes of this thesis, the operative definition of ideology includes ontology and epistemology, such as beliefs about what we know and how we know it. Ideological strategies are discursive and shape the framework within which policy exists (Fairclough, 2007). However, beyond policy, the role education plays in society adds a layer of complexity when considering the influence of the underlying ideology. In the following section, I will describe how education acts as an agent of socialization (Robson, 2013) before reviewing the significance of the relationship between the concepts of ideology and socialization for this thesis.

Education's Role in Socialization

School attendance has long been considered an important pathway to child development which goes beyond knowledge acquisition. As defined by Robson (2013), "socialization is the process of learning the expected behaviours, values, norms, and social skills of individuals who

occupy particular roles in society" (p. 152). Quebec education policymakers recognize the role of education in the socialization of its population. Cadrin-Pelletier (2007) acknowledged this in her brief to Quebec's Minister of Education when she wrote, "a single, common education will foster the cultural development of students and contribute to social cohesion by helping new members of Quebec society integrate" (p. 21). Thus, as agents of socialization, school environments foster conformity to the dominant social and cultural class, cultural practices, normative values and knowledge. Schools establish rules and codes of conduct to address behaviour (Robson, 2013; Singh, 2021). Students are also socialized by practices without explicit rules, which are instead part of routines or behaviours that are taken for granted. For example, social competence is developed through interactions as students learn to understand social cues (Robson, 2013). The topics included in the curriculum and how it is taught contribute to socialization of the students, such as implicit moral instruction in history and literature. Moral exemplars are embedded within the curriculum, such as in the stories read in class, and teachers, as well as peers, also act as exemplars, demonstrating appropriate behaviours (Robson, 2013).

Porterfield (2017) wrote about the role of schools as agents of socialization, specifically, the role of the hidden curriculum. The hidden curriculum refers to norms, values and beliefs reflected by the school environment, which contribute to the process of socialization of the students. Porterfield highlighted how the hidden curriculum is visible in plain sight but taken for granted and unquestioned, which leads it to be invisible or "hidden". Through her research, she argued that due to the exposure to a visual culture of the school environment, Black students altered their behaviours to conform to the dominant culture, despite the efforts of the school to promote inclusivity of diversity. Therefore, in considering schools as agents of socialization, it is

crucial to consider not only the explicit curriculum, but the hidden curriculum which is often reflective of the dominant culture and ideologies.

The Significance of Ideology and Socialization in Education

The PES details several specific ways the educational system acts as an agent of socialization, including the identity formation of children. The policy references the development of civic responsibility and the transmission of the values of Quebec society, with a specific role of education in the integration of recent immigrants (Gouvernement du Quebec, 2017). The significance of this for my analysis is how ideological hegemony is perpetuated through the mechanisms of social institutions, and more specifically, through the education system because of its role in socialization. It is crucial to examine how policy creates a structure by which it establishes processes and strategies to maintain this ideological hegemony (Singh, 2021). For my analysis, I will be looking at how education policy is based on an ideological framework which establishes structures within the education system. The education system then reinforces that same ideology through the tools it provides, through socialization. Within this self-perpetuating configuration, the underlying ideological framework may not immediately apparent, which is why critical theory requires an examination of dominant ideology to identify what may not be evident and what is taken for granted to reveal the power structures within, in order to work towards change for social justice (Ozga, 2000).

Indoctrination and nation-building are two key concepts defined below because both are related to the understanding that education policy is created within an ideological framework, which then reinforces this same ideological framework through education.

Indoctrination. For Neundorf et al. (2023) indoctrination is, "a socialization process that aims to increase congruence between the views and principles of the regime and its citizens" (p.

2). They argued that indoctrination was not only used for autocratic leaders to maintain power, but that in democratic societies, indoctrination was a powerful political tool to inculcate citizen compliance. Control over education through compulsory schooling provides an opportunity to expose entire generations of children to a chosen ideology. The potential for indoctrination is highest when a centralized education system is created with an imposed standard curriculum (Darden & Mylonas, 2015; Neundorf et al., 2023). In this way, the control of education leads to the indoctrination of the population with concepts of identity, good citizenship, good behaviours and values. There are various types of indoctrination; for example, political indoctrination involves political ideology, whereas nation-building is more culturally influenced, and state-building intends to socialize the population towards adherence to the rule of law (Neundorf et al., 2023).

   Nation-Building. Nation-building is a process of socialization with the intention to create a shared national identity within the population (Darden & Mylonas, 2015). Nationalism is the ideology operationalizing nation-building, which seeks to preserve and reinvigorate cultural traditions and language (The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica, 2018). Darden and Mylonas found that interstate competition or threats created an incentive for nation-building. They found that in reaction to external threats, Indonesia instituted mass schooling, which created a homogeneity of language. Interestingly, Paglayan (2022) explains that internal conflict was also a driving factor in the development of mass education systems to be used as tools of indoctrination. Therefore, it can be said that inner- and inter- state conflict are factors in how education may be used for socialization of the population. This is particularly relevant when considering the cultural and political history of Quebec.

Part Two: Global Policy-Making

Globalization of Education

In this section, I will introduce the concept of globalization of education since the Policy on Educational Success (PES) includes a statement that it was developed in line with "an international trend towards the review and transformation of education systems" (Gouvernement du Quebec, 2017, p. 11). The PES includes language and reforms that mirror the recommendations of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) education policy which is fundamentally based on globalization (OECD, 2018). This framework provides the reasoning for examining the PES in relation to globalism and the globalization of education. In the following section, I continue to elaborate on some concepts that I will use in the analysis of the PES. I will provide some context for the influence of transnational organizations on education policy, and I will outline the key features of the globalization of education and the OECD recommended reforms.

Transnational Organizations. Transnational organizations, such as the OECD, develop education policy and influence reforms of educational policies in nations around the globe (Elfert & Ydesen, 2023). The movement towards globalization of education stems primarily from three transnational organizations: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and the World Bank (Elfert & Ydesen, 2023). These organizations were all founded shortly after the Second World War with the goal to foster global cooperation and peace. Initially, UNESCO was the leader in global education policy, but the OEDC grew to become a powerful influence in the globalization of education with the launch of the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) study in 2000 (Elfert & Ydesen, 2023; Zajda, 2020).

Globalism. The discursive influence of globalization has created a global hegemonic meta-ideology leading to a shift in educational discourse (Ozga, 2000). Steger highlights globalism (Steger, 2005, as cited by Fairclough, 2007) as the dominant strategy of globalization. As the importance of education has been linked with social, political and economic development, education has been "implicated in geopolitical priorities" (Elfert & Ydesen, 2023, p. 2) and understood to be instrumental in "diffusion of national agendas" (Elfert & Ydesen, 2023, p. 2). For these reasons Elfert and Ydesen argue education has become "a major ideological battle ground" (p. 2). The discourse of globalism in rooted in the following claims: a) that liberalization and globalization of markets will benefit everyone; b) that globalization is inevitable and that no one oversees it; and c) that globalization promotes democracy (Steger, 2005, as cited by Fairclough, 2007, p. 3).

With the influence of globalism, education policies have adopted strategies from the corporate sphere, such as accountability, efficiency, a market-oriented model of competitiveness and the commodification of knowledge and students (Maroy et al., 2017; Ozga, 2000; Zajda, 2020). Outcome-driven policy changes include the adoption of tools such the PISA as performance indicators. The objectives of these types of policy reforms are to improve efficiency and economic gains through modernization of policies, with the focus on preparing students to engage in the economy and society by promoting job-focused education and vocational training, literacy and numeracy, as well as instilling civic identity and values of community engagement and democracy (Maroy et al., 2017; Zajda, 2020).

Human Capital. Globalist education policy has shifted the understanding of education and its purpose in terms of its relation to economics. Education is considered as an investment in human capital, meaning that investments in education will develop the resource of a qualified

labour market (OECD, 2018; Zajda, 2020). In relation to early childhood education, the OECD (2018) stated that "the rate of return on investment in human capital is greater in the earliest years" (p. 40). Reflective of the corporatization of education, the return on investment in human capital is determined by the "productive capacities of human beings as income producing agents in the economy" (Zajda, 2020, p.4). Reforms tend to focus development on vocational training and job-focused educational programs to meet the needs of evolving labour markets (OECD, 2018; Zajda, 2020).

With a focus on human capital, the OECD's (2018) educational policy prioritizes inclusivity to engage the highest percentage of the population. Identifying specific populations of individuals who leave school early or who do not engage with the labour market is necessary so that these populations can be targeted with policies to achieve eventual success for all in the labour market. Gaps in the education system must be identified to address issues such as the integration of recent immigrants, migrants and students with special educational needs. These populations require particular attention to reduce the rates of grade repetition and delayed tracking. Strategies recommended by the OECD (2018) to address these gaps include early interventions and increasing the length of time in education to increase student retention.

The development of fields of study, particularly job-focused education, is a keystone of globalization and neoliberalism because employment options have become insecure as employers prefer to use short-term contracts and performance-related pay (Olssen et al., 2004). Employers also expect employees to seek training beyond the employer rather than employer-provided training. A flexible workforce must adapt to the job market and learn the new skills required to remain competitive. Lifelong learning is a key strategy of globalization as this

concept encourages adults to learn new skills to acquire and maintain employment (OECD, 2018; Olssen et al., 2004).

New Tools for Assessments. The standardization of education and assessments provides vectors of learning to evaluate the success of the educational system. Success is thus defined and restricted by what is measurable through such assessments. While modernized policies centralize authority, new measures are implemented to create a system of decentralized accountability (Maroy et al., 2017; Zajda, 2020). The OECD (2018) recommends that where autonomy exists at the school level, tests will act as "tools of accountability" (p. 31). Often, these globalization reforms are presented with a stated goal of promoting democracy and equality, however, research has found that such policies may actually increase government domination and control over education, effectively undermining the stated objectives (Maroy et al., 2017; Olssen et al., 2004; Zajda, 2020).

Part Three: Critical Policy Analysis

My thesis is grounded in critical educational scholarship, which as a field of study evolved to apply critical theory to educational policy. Critical policy analysis examines the process of policymaking, the effects of policy, and the discursive meanings of policy. Olssen et al. stated that "Educational policymaking has become highly politicized" (2004, p. 3). They argued that critical analysis must not only consider the policy but also the historical context, both globally and nationally, and social factors that shape political discourse at the time of policymaking. Fairclough (2007) proposed an interdisciplinary framework to combine critical discourse analysis and socio-political theories. He was greatly influenced by Jessop's (2002) state-theoretical regulationist approach which considers ideological strategies in policy analysis. I will thus consider of the contextual background of both the global and local context within

which the PES had been created while also considering that policy is reflective of an ideological strategy.

Educational policy theorist, Ozga (2000) powerfully shows that a critical approach to policy research functions to highlight and challenge the accepted or predominant assumptions guiding policy development and is thus rooted in critical theory. As a paradigm critical theory does not accept social and power structures as givens, but instead scrutinizes their origins and potential for change, questioning established norms rather than taking them for granted. Critical theory also seeks to construct a broader understanding of societal complexities and the interconnectedness of various components and endeavours to comprehend the dynamic processes of change within society as a whole (Olssen et al., 2004; Ozga, 2000). Ball (1993) wrote about how the intricate "relationship between policy intentions, texts, interpretations and reactions" (p. 13) has a direct role in the "restructuring, redistribution and disruption of power relations" (p. 13). This understanding speaks to the purpose of my analysis and the topic of this thesis as I seek to identify how the policy text signals its intentions and make the inherent power structures that this policy utilizes, supports and reinforces explicit.

Discursive Framework of Policy

It is important now to offer an explanation of policy as a concept that developed within a discursive framework and is influenced by the context of a wide spectrum of factors. Ozga (2000) proposes that critical discourse analysis is required to decipher the true meaning of policy because the way words are used may indicate a meaning that is the opposite of what they are perceived to mean. Ball (1993) and Ozga both recognize the influence of perceived meaning within the discursive framework of policy development, which is not reliably based in factual data. They also agree that policy analysis should include a review of the historical narrative in

the social, economic and political contexts to reveal the patterns and repeated assumptions involved in policy development.

Adding to the concept that policy exists within a discursive framework, Fairclough (2007) describes how discursive simplification reduces what is included and excluded in the system or object of regulation. In these ways, discourse shapes the structure of systems and institutions, while also justifying the ideological strategies. For example, when educational success is measured by the results of standardized exams, learning is defined by the student's ability to perform on evaluations. Learning of subjects and skills that are not on standardized exams are excluded from the stated definition of education. This is demonstrated by the PES in how narrowly educational success is defined and measured.

The scope of a policy analysis considers how policy is developed through the evolution of discourse and problematization combined with shifts in prioritizing various stakeholders and the hybridization of existing policies with new innovations. As such, evaluating the shifts in policy can reveal the dominant ideological framework guiding the policy making (Ball, 1993; Fairclough, 2007; Ozga, 2000). Similar to Fairclough's (2007) discursive simplification, Ball describes policies as representations. A representation by nature cannot encompass the complexity of that which it represents.

Ball (1993) argues that policy must be clearly defined and offered two conceptualizations of policy: "policy as text and policy as discourse" (p. 10). He warns that policy as a static object is misleading because "policies are also processes and outcomes" (Ball, 1993, p. 11). Ball adds a layer of complexity to the concept of policy by highlighting how written text is created through a process of encoding, which is decoded by the reader. He quotes Codd, "for any text a plurality of readers must necessarily produce a plurality of readings" (Codd, 1988, p. 239, as cited by Ball,

1993, p. 11). The discursive simplification embedded within policy text may be abstract enough to adapt to a range of interpretations. Therefore, policy analysis must examine both the areas of policy that are abstract and the areas of policy that are more specific and prescriptive (Ball, 1993).

The discursive framework establishes what is considered possible and discursive simplification limits what is included within the conceptual reality. Policy analysis seeks to reveal the limits of the discursive framework and to understand the reasons for what is included and what is excluded from this reality (Ball, 1993; Fairclough, 2007; Ozga, 2000). Therefore, in my analysis, I consider how policy texts can represent both simplification and representation, which leads me back to my research question of seeking to identify the underlying ideology of the PES.

The link between historical narrative and discursive frameworks, as described by Ball (1993) and Ozga (2000), set the theoretical basis for my policy analysis approach. Policy exists and functions within a discursive field of ideology, meaning there are underlying assumptions involved in its development and interpretation (Ball, 1993; Ozga, 2000). For example, the PES states, "Quebec's education system has contributed to the province's social progress, economic growth, and cultural development" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 11). What does this mean effectively and in terms of implementation? Critical discourse analysis of policy intends to decipher the meaning behind such statements, the underlying assumptions upon which the statement is made and the overall ideological framework upon which these are based (Ozga, 2000).

Part Four: Methodology and Data Analysis

Methodology

The analytical process for this research combines both Fairclough's (2007) critical discourse analysis (CDA) and Bacchi's (2016) "What's the Problem Represented to Be?" (WPR) approach. These methods are complementary and guide my analysis from different perspectives. Bacchi's approach to critical policy analysis uses a method to "work backwards" from the policy text to uncover what the problem is represented to be (Bacchi & Goodwin, 2016). This approach considers the underlying presuppositions and assumptions that contribute to the representation of the problem and scrutinizes the problematizations within policy, which provides a methodology for policy analysis that situates it within the discursive context.

Fairclough's (2007) method seeks to ground the analysis within the cultural-political-economic context, which he stated,

> …helps to avoid the real danger that in placing a necessary emphasis on the often
> neglected discursive aspects of economic, political and social systems and processes, we
> overstate the effects of discourse on reality beyond discourse, or even treat processes
> such as globalization as if they were purely discursive. (p. 8)

Essentially, Fairclough proposes a critical discourse analysis grounded within the socio-cultural-political context of the policy, which is also supported by Ball's (1993) trajectory approach. To validate the methods I use in my discourse analysis, I will refer to the evaluation criteria of CDA developed by Jarman-Clark and Cambre (2021).

To complement the CDA and WPR approaches, the public policy trajectory approach developed by Ball (1993) "provides a mechanism for linking and tracing the discursive origins and possibilities of policy, as well as the intentions embedded in, responses to and effects of

policy" (p. 16). I use Ball's public policy trajectory approach to build upon the research of

Maroy et al. (2017), which included a trajectorial analysis from 1963 to 2008 and posited that

Quebec policy demonstrated an ideology of a neostatist vernacular globalization. Drawing from

Fairclough (2007) and Ball's emphasis on the importance of the broad context, my analysis

considers the global and national context relating to the development of the PES, as well as the

changes to the education system since it was published.

Finally, by combining CDA (2007), WPR (Bacchi, 2016) and Ball's (1993) public policy

trajectory to create an interdisciplinary approach to policy analysis, I consider the text, the

discursive framework and the social-cultural-political context together. And again, I validate the

steps of my analysis with Jarman-Clark and Cambre's (2021) CDA evaluation criteria. In this

way I provide a triangulation of methods while returning to the policy document, my analysis,

and the supporting background information in chapters one and two and review them, which

further supports my findings.

Data Analysis Method

The steps of the process of my analysis began with first reading the policy to become

familiar with it in its entirety. This analysis is based on the English language version of the

publication. I extracted the text from the PDF downloaded from the Government of Quebec

website and went page by page and typed the text manually into a Word document using bold

typeface or italics to replicate how the policy text was bolded or italicized in certain parts, such

as headings and sub-headings. Because the policy document is a fully coloured document with

graphics, I tried to replicate some of the formatting differences as I translated the text into a word

document. Some of these translations from word bubbles were not well illustrated in the word

document format. But as I read and re-read the Word document text, and while I proceeded to

the analysis, I had the original PDF and the word document side-by-side and often referred back to the original PDF for added context to the text in the Word document.

After becoming familiar with the text, I wrote summary notes from the word document, including paraphrasing and many direct quotations. With an understanding of critical discourse analysis, I began an analysis of the text using the summary notes I had created, but also referred back to the original PDF for additional context and to maintain accuracy of the direct quotations used for my analysis notes. My analysis working document took the shape of a list of direct quotations, each followed by a brief analysis either as bullet points or in paragraph form. This stage of analysis was created through several readings of the text, both my summary notes and the original PDF. With each reading, I added additional quotations and added or expanded upon the analysis of these direct quotations. I paid attention to themes, contradictions, statements of fact, statements of values, repetitions, goals.

I then reviewed the text and my notes and asked myself, "What stands out?" There were three main topics that I identified, as well as the differences between the broad areas of consensus and the vision sections of the document. I then focused on these areas of the text, re-reading and adding more notes, specifically considering what has been included or excluded.

The next step was to review the document and look for instances of rhetoric indicative of ideological strategies, such as globalization and nationalism. I specifically paid attention to the use of certain key phrases that I had previously identified as part of the rhetoric of globalization, but also identifying any undertones of indoctrination or nation building. I added these and commentary notes to the working analysis document.

At this stage, I reviewed my findings and began to organize my notes into sections. As I began to structure the areas of the analysis, I reduced the number of quotes to a select few that

best illustrated the points. I reread each section and edited my analysis comments to be clear and concise. I sought to add comments to make clear links to the concepts and theories from chapters one and two. Once I felt I had an analysis that was well organized and thorough, I stepped away for several days.

When I returned to continue the process of analysis, I reviewed the background and literature I had prepared to ensure that I felt it included the full context I needed to complete the analysis. I found that I needed to further research the concept of education as an agent of socialization. I added to that part of the literature review. I then re-read the full analysis and found additional areas where I could draw connections to the concepts of nation building and socialization.

At this stage, I reviewed the CDA evaluation criteria (Jarman-Clark & Cambre, 2021) to validate if I had respected the criteria as outlined, I reviewed what I wrote in the methodology and read my analysis document to ensure that I had done what I said I would do.

Summary

This chapter establishes the theoretical framework of my thesis and critical policy analysis. and introduces the concept of ideology in relation to the processes of socialization, indoctrination, and nation building. I present the history of transnational organizations to explain their influence on national education policy (Elfert & Ydesen, 2023), followed by a description of key qualities of globalization education policy, including concepts such as human capital and assessment tools that dominate such policy reforms (Olssen et al., 2004; Zajda, 2020). These are all concepts I use in my analysis. The chapter presents CDA (Fairclough, 2007) and WPR (Bacchi, 2016) as the methods of choice for this analysis and includes the step-by-step account of my methods of analysis.

IV.   Chapter Four: Analysis of the Policy on Education Success

I begin my analysis with the introductory message from the then-education minister, Sebastien Proulx which highlights key elements of the PES. The PES provides a background section, which I relate to the role of education as an agent of socialization. I continue with an examination of the stated mission of schools. The PES indicates that the creation of the policy was influenced by the OECD, and I consider this statement in relation to the context of the entire policy text. I also identify where there are contradictions or differences between sections of the PES, outline these and review the discursive strategies being used.

Analysis of the Message from Minister Sebastien Proulx

The Message from the Minister (see Appendix A), then Minister of Education, Sebastien Proulx introduces the policy, describing it as a comprehensive vision statement that encompasses the entire educational path from preschool through to higher education or the labour market (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 5). The phrases "Comprehensive visions" and "encompasses the entire" are similar in that they hold the same meaning that implies the "whole" of the purpose of the document, which are followed by the qualifying statement defining the entire educational path as "preschool through to higher education or the labour market" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 5). Such colocation or clustering of words with similar meanings is what Fairclough refers to as "clustering of discourses" (2007, p. 12). This happens where an emphasis is being made through the redundant use of similar words in a single sentence.

The Minister's statement essentially outlines what is defined as education by this policy, as something that encompasses the entire educational path. This positioning implies by default that there is no alternative path, version, or definition of education to be considered viable by the

government. The path is structured and defined, and in fact, rules and regulations stem from this policy to prevent the possibility of other paths of education. This wording creates an imposition of one version of education and by labeling it comprehensive, it is implied to include all conceivable understandings of education. This ignores the potential for alternative understandings of education or alternative paths. This policy is an example of discursive simplification (Fairclough, 2007) of education, the educational path and educational success. The educational path is limited to preschool through to higher education or the labour market.

The Message from the Minister also includes the statement, "One of our major challenges as a society was to establish a shared and innovative vision of educational success" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 5). Does this statement seem to slightly contradict the previous statement that the policy is all encompassing? This statement illustrates the intention of this policy document to galvanize the definition of education and eliminate any other opinions, beliefs or perspectives that are outside of this specifically defined "vision". The combination of statements then confirms that discursive simplification (Fairclough, 2007) of educational success is occurring, because this is an acknowledgement of the narrowing of the concept of education to include the challenge of having a cohesive vision within society.

The text continues with a statement of operationalizing the policy: "we also needed to translate our vision into a structural continuum extending from early childhood to adulthood, with a view to fostering lifelong learning" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 5). Referring to the structural continuum, the Minister denotes what is to come after the creation of the policy, i.e.: structural change. Also included in this sentence is the insertion of the concept of "lifelong learning" as part of the vision. Lifelong learning is a keystone concept in the globalization of education (OECD, 2018). With this statement, the minister is positioning the PES as the strategy

that will be used to influence the structure of the education system while at the same time linking to OECD priorities. This tactic mirrors the dialectic between the structures and strategies of Jessop's (2002) theory of state systems.

Further down, a claim describing the government's role occurs when operationalizing the policy: "With this Policy on Educational Success, the government is working to ensure that everyone can achieve their full potential" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 5). This statement of intention, because to "ensure" something is to make it certain, includes is a connotation of authority and implies an increase in authority. The government's tools for certainty are regulations which can be used to limit or control the behaviours of its citizens. Therefore, the statement implies that the government will take the steps required to regulate education to impose a desired result. Offering some indication of the scope of authority intended to be given to the government can be seen in the statements "More concerted action. More fully integrated efforts. More accountability for all stakeholders. Appropriate support for parents. These constitute the essence of the Policy on Educational Success" Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 5). These statements also align with reforms of globalization, specifically the mention of accountability measures; such reforms seek to redistribute responsibility, while increasing central authority (OECD, 2018) and are indicative of the potential for indoctrination, as centralized authority over education is a key factor of political indoctrination or nation building (Neundorf et al., 2023; Paglayan, 2022).

The final paragraph of the message from the Minister begins with: "Succeeding in school means being free and able, at some point, to share, give back to the community, be innovative and assert oneself" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 5). Olssen et al., (2004) have shown that "Being free" is a common type of language in the neoliberal discourse. The discursive

simplification (Fairclough, 2007) operating here relates to the meaning of freedom and the meaning of giving back to the community. The implication is that the ideological framework, upon which this policy is based, will provide the definition of freedom for the population. It is only within that specific definition of freedom that the population can 'be free.' By extension, the same process will then define the meaning of giving and community. Implied in the expression of giving back to the community is a contribution to the labour market in support of a prosperous economy. This framework positions education as an economic policy specifically built around the idea of educating for employment, either by higher education or vocational training to join the workforce. These verbal strategies all closely mirror the OECD education policy (OECD, 2018).

The final two sentences of this message from the minister provide some indication of what is intended by the phrase 'educational success'. The policy states:

> Educational success means providing everyone with the opportunity to display their talents at any stage of life, either immediately upon graduation or later through skills-maintenance activities. Educational success is first and foremost the result of intervening early to lay solid foundations. (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 5)

The use of the phrase "to display their talents" is a euphemism for "to be employed." Essentially, the statement is defining educational success as providing everyone with the opportunity to have the skills "required" to participate in the labour market and to be employed. This narrow containment of the concept of success is reflective of the concept of education as an investment in human capital. Further supporting this point, the last sentence is an acknowledgement that the rate of return on investment in human capital is greatest with early intervention (OECD, 2018).

Overall, the "Message from the Minister" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 5)

provides a framework for the educational policy that is aligned with the reforms of globalization

of education in several ways. The Minister's message includes discursive simplification to

outline the vision for educational success and the meaning of success in ways that center these

ideas around the concept of human capital. This economic perspective of education intimately

connects Quebec's policy goals to those of organizations like the OECD and the neoliberal

strategy of globalism (OECD, 2018; Olssen et al., 2004).

Analyzing the Background Section of the Policy

Social Progress, Economic Growth, and Cultural Development

In the background section of the policy, the role of the education system is positioned as

having "contributed to the province's social progress, economic growth and cultural

development" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 11). The following analysis will examine

how this statement aligns with the discursive framework of ideological strategies, such as

globalism or nationalism.

Social Progress. Social progress fits within the discourse of Quebec's progressive social

policies. Such policies include guidelines on gender equality and controversial policies such as

Bill 21, known as the secularism bill. The background section of the PES includes several

mentions of social progress. The policy states that "the school system must contribute to social

progress" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 11). This emphasizes the role of education in the

process of socialization and integration, which includes the reinforcement of secular values. This

is further supported with these two additional statements: "society expects to see responsible

citizens who participate actively in democratic, social, community, economic and cultural life"

(Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 12) and schools and childcare centres "offer a living

environment that transmits the values of Québec society, which fosters identity formation and equips Quebecers to be active citizens" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 12). These statements resemble aspects of indoctrination and nation building (Darden & Mylonas, 2015; Neundorf et al., 2023; Paglayan, 2022), and can be compared with Bill 84 (2025) regarding national integration of immigrants.

       Economic Growth. Economic growth is tied to education with the concept of human capital and the need to have everyone participate in the labour markets. This link between engaging all everyone within the population in Quebec society, in support of the community and economy, is perfectly summarized in the following quotation:

> Inclusive educational settings focused on success for all, supported by their community, where people learn to be civic-minded, creative, competent, responsible, open to diversity and fully engaged in social, cultural and economic life in Québec… Educational success is also intended to instill values and attitudes, and to impart competencies that will help mould responsible citizens who are prepared to play an active role in the labour market, the community and society as a whole. (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 26)

Clearly, the policy is defining educational success and the main focus as social integration and active roles in the labour market. The background section of the document refers to the example of Quebec's educational childcare system as a pillar of Quebec family policy, stating this system has had an impact on work-family balance. With the first edition of the Educational Childcare Program, the province offered $5 per day childcare in 1998. Quebec was able to provide the opportunity for more women to enter the labour market, thus increasing economic growth (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017). The early childcare centres also provide an opportunity for

early intervention, something which is confirmed to provide the highest rate of return on investment for human capital (OECD, 2018).

 Cultural Development. Cultural development refers to the cultural identity of Quebec and how the education system can contribute to the integration of immigrants, as well as how education can impact the maintenance of cultural identities. An example of this is the effort to raise the level of education and socio-economic status of French speaking Quebecois and the initiative's overall success (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017). While the policy may refer to Quebec culture in general terms, considering the bills tabled since the publication of the PES, the meaning of cultural development and Quebec cultural identity have been defined with such bills as, Bill 101, Bill 21 and Bill 84. Cultural development in this context has the characteristics of nation building, specifically due to the emphasis on French as the common language of Quebec culture, and the importance of immigrant integration (Darden & Mylonas, 2015; Paglayan, 2022).

 Analysis of the Role of Education. Social progress, economic growth, and cultural development are generic terminologies that are open to interpretation in terms of what each of these may mean in the context in which they are used, which in the case of my analysis is the context of the PES. Social progress refers to the Quebec values of gender equality and secularism. These values are tied closely to economic growth, because with gender equality, more women can take an active role in the workplace/job-economy and contribute to the economy. This aspect is also linked to cultural development in how when more women work, their children will be enrolled in early childcare facilities which provides the opportunity for early intervention. Early intervention is a key factor in the success of the education system's ability to indoctrinate children with a common culture, in nation-building, but also in terms of

preparing them to join the workplace. Indoctrinating individuals at an early age limits the possibility of these individuals becoming socialized by family or developing ideologies that do not conform to the dominant culture. Social progress, economic growth, and cultural development are intrinsically linked as they fuel each other. Because the meaning of social progress and cultural development in the context of the PES are specifically defined by the national values and culture of Quebec, without deference to international policy, I conclude that these do not support a globalist agenda, but rather a nationalist ideology.

The Mission of Schools

My analysis continues with the mission of schools (see Appendix C), which is described as "to provide instruction… to socialize… [and] to provide qualifications" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 25). In this section, I examine each of these missions and how they are described in the PES.

To Provide Instruction. The policy indicates that the first responsibility of schools is "to cultivate the mind of each student" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 25). This part of the policy is reflective of the reforms promoted by the OECD (2018) that support lifelong learning and is based on the idea that schools must prepare students to have the ability to learn new skills through out a lifetime to contribute to an economy that requires a flexible workforce. Throughout the policy, there are several references for students to have the ability to "acquire knowledge". Language such as "life-long learning", "cultivating the mind" and "learning to acquire knowledge" are all trademarks of globalization education policy (Zaijda, 2020).

To Socialize. Describing schools as agents of socialization, the text details what this might include:

> To socialize, to prepare students to live together in harmony… schools must act as agents of social cohesion by foster a feeling of belonging to the community… transmit the heritage of shared knowledge, promote the fundamental values of democracy and prepare young people to become responsible citizens… [and] prevent exclusion. (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 25)

These are all statements directly related to the socialization and integration of people into the Quebec system of values, directly related to indoctrination and nation building (Darden & Mylonas, 2015; Neundorf et al., 2023; Paglayan, 2022). The way these are phrased and presented may initially be understood to imply that the schools are meant to be accepting of differences, but in fact they are framed in such a way to mean that schools must integrate students and indoctrinate them into the system of Quebec values. Based on this policy, diversity is accepted in so far as all students must be included, but the purpose of this inclusion is complete integration. At the end of the educational path, all students are expected to be fully socialized and embody the same Quebec values, including embracing a secular society, gender equality, and the French language (Bill 84, 2025).

To Provide Qualifications. Another mission of the schools is "to provide qualifications" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 25), which is followed by two qualifying statements. Schools should make it possible for all students to achieve educational success, and schools should facilitate integration into society and the workplace. This further reinforces the intention of this policy to place the responsibility of socialization and integration upon schools, but to further indicate that the end result of the educational path is very specific in what success may be, such that it is the integration into society which means to be employed as a means to contribute to society. The policy also indicates that the curriculum will be established by the

provincial Ministry of Education, indicating that the qualifications required are fully determined by the authority of the province. This would imply that the government would have some control over the labour market as they are the providers of the qualified work force.

Analysis of the Mission of Schools. Given the limited time available for instruction in schools, the mission 'to provide instruction' and the mission 'to provide qualifications' may create a conflict. This is because the assessments will determine what is learned and it is more difficult to evaluate if a student has been taught how to acquire knowledge. Provincial exams, particularly in science, history, and language arts, will test what the student has learned. It is possible that math exams, given there is one that contains a situational problem, could evaluate cognitive reasoning, but this may be different than what the policy means by the ability to acquire knowledge. Given the layer of socialization that applies to create the framework of social reality, instruction may relate more to the training of students to think within the system that is provided to them, rather than what is said in the policy of teaching students how to learn, particularly because learning is innate. The emphasis on aspects of socialization in the PES leads me to conclude that the mission of schools falls into nation-building indoctrination.

Analyzing the Broad Dialogue Section of the Policy

In this section, I compare two parts of the PES, which seem closely related, yet have notable differences. The PES was developed through public consultations and includes a list of broad areas of consensus reached during these consultations. In what appears to be a direct response to these broad areas of consensus, the PES also includes what is referred to as a shared vision. As shown in Table 1 (see Appendix B), the first column includes the areas of consensus stemming from the consultations that took place leading up to the creation of the PES, and the second column includes the details of the shared vision. Where there are differences, I will

consider these key moments of discursive rhetoric that require analysis. My analysis will focus on three main differences between the broad areas of consensus and the vision.

Differences Between the Broad Areas of Consensus and The Vision

Values of Universality, Accessibility and Equity. The first difference between the broad areas of consensus and the vision is the inclusion of the values of universality, accessibility, and equity. These were not included in the areas of consensus or the consultation document. The addition of values into the PES must be critically examined and I will consider each one individually.

Universality. The value of universality is defined through the connotations and implications of various parts of the document which address the scope of the application of the policy. As described in the text, universality in education means that the interventions apply to all without distinction, including standard tests/exams, standard grade levels, measures to increase the adherence to the age/grade protocols, the structured vision and path with the same beginning, middle and end for all. The PES is thus structuring an educational path that is labelled universal and accessible, but it is also creating opportunities for rules and regulations that mandate participation in the education system, with no exception (Bill 144, 2017).

Accessibility. The value of accessibility has been instrumental in Quebec education policy since the Parent Report because the intention of the policy has always been to ensure that education is available to all (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017). When examined together, universality and accessibility imply that the singularly defined, universal education must be made available and accessible to everyone in the province. One must wonder whether something can be both universal and accessible to all at the same time, doesn't this erase difference?

Equity. The value of equity has been linked to social progress in the province. The text specifically named gender equality as an example of this value. The early childcare program that enabled more women to join the labour market is an example of education policy built upon the value of equity. This is an example of education policy built upon the value of equity. In regard to equity, the policy states that "it seeks to consolidate and update the meaning and application of equity with respect to the social, economic, technological, demographic and cultural realities of the 21st century" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 29). It appears that the intention of including equity in the policy is that the expectation of educational success is for all citizens to participate and contribute equitably to Quebec society, meaning everyone must join the labour market. The policy addresses this by stating, "Inclusiveness will allow us as individuals and as a society to benefit from the richness and opportunities for fulfillment that others can offer us" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 29). The policy does not expect a different outcome from anyone. Does this mean everyone must have same outcome?

Diversity. Diversity was not listed in the policy as an underlying value; however, it is explicitly addressed. How diversity is addressed, and the implicit meaning of the values of universality, accessibility and equity must be considered within the socio-cultural context of Quebec, where secularism and language laws are held in high priority. The text positions diversity as a challenge to equity, illustrated by this quotation: "the growing diversity of the population and of needs poses new challenges with respect to equity. It requires constant review of this fundamental principle of Québec's education system" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 13). The text details specific diversity and educational needs, such as how boys and girls may drop out of school early for different reasons. Or how the growing number of allophone children and students "brings home the importance of linguistic, academic and social integration"

(Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 13). The policy then provides a comprehensive list of the various populations of students and their needs. Diverse types of students include at-risk students, students with handicaps, social maladjustments or learning difficulties, students from disadvantaged areas, gifted students, students without particular difficulties, and students from Indigenous communities.

Support Services. The second difference between the areas of consensus and the vision of the policy is that the broad areas of consensus specifically identified the need to reconsider the financing of support services for children and students with handicaps, social maladjustments or learning disabilities. This need for an increase in financial support to such programs stems from the historical and on-going underfunding of services for students who require additional supports to participate in and succeed in education. The policy vision statement addressed this issue with the argument that priority must be given to the needs of all students without distinction but ends up politicizing the issue of special needs education. Because the policy is based on universality, the education system limits the accommodations and resources offered only to certain populations of children, instead prioritizing the needs of the majority and not the minority. By prioritizing the needs of the majority, stated as, "the needs of all children and students" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 21), the policy is subordinating the exceptional needs of the minority as shown in the direct recommendation for schools "to avoid overspecialization in interventions and services" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 15).

The policy includes some indications in later sections about the ways the government intends to address the issue of students with particular needs, without overspecializing and outlines several objectives. These objectives include increasing graduation and qualification rates, decreasing the gap in success rates for groups of students deemed to be at-risk, increasing

the rate of enrollment of students without specific vulnerabilities, and reducing the rate of students with progress delays or repeated years. As I have noted earlier, the policy specifically states that early intervention is the key initiative that in this case will address many of these objectives. In addition to early intervention, the expansion of vocational programs and adult education are seen as ways to provide new opportunities for students to receive qualifications, these programs specifically target the population that may not have completed their schooling. In these ways, the policy opens discursive space for addressing the issues of special needs in ways other than offering specialization in the schools. The policy also indicates that the private sector schools will be required to provide more spaces and more services for students with special needs and in this way the government is passing some of the responsibility on to these organizations. These initiatives connect back to the values of universality, accessibility and equity in the way that the system is intended to provide a singular path that all citizens are expected to follow it (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017).

21st-Century Skills. The third difference between the areas of consensus and the vision is the mention of educating citizens for the 21st-century, which is not reflected in the broad areas of consensus. The phrase "21st -century skills" is a trademark phrase of globalization of education. This reflects the concept that education policy is also economic policy, a perspective largely influenced by the OECD and other trans-national organizations pushing for the globalization of education in a neoliberal global economy. The key here is to recognize that 21st-century skills imply a knowledge-based economy (Zajda, 2020).

Summary Analysis of the Policy on Educational Success

In sum, the introductory message from the minister of education was framed within the discursive rhetoric of the globalization of education. The undertones of this message were

focused on the economic benefits of education related to cultivating human capital with a narrow definition of educational success. The PES described the role of education as contributing to social progress, economic growth and cultural development. In the context of the PES, these are goals of a nationalist ideology because the meaning of these concepts is defined specifically in relation to Quebec values and culture. The stated mission of schools in the PES are predominantly focused on aspects of socialization and subordinately focused on skills acquisition related to cultivating human capital. The PES is based on the stated values of universality, accessibility, and equity, which positions the education system as a singular one-size fits all system that is ostensibly available to everyone, and consequently it is expected that everyone participate in this system.

Discussion

My research question was to identify the underlying ideology/ies of the PES, and after my analysis, I posit that the PES is based upon nationalist ideology, yet has a structure inspired by the globalization of education. In this section I discuss my conclusions about the role of the OECD and the globalization of education on policy in Quebec and discuss how the PES established a framework for indoctrination and how the reforms since 2017 support my findings.

Globalism

The tools of globalization of education have made it easier to control the education system and centralize the authority leading to a system that is more vulnerable to hegemony. The secularization of education is one such tool. Prior to secularism in schools, parents had a fundamental right to choose the type of education they wished for their children. After secularization, the separation of religion and schools meant that all schooling was the same and parents no longer had choices within the public school system. They retained their religious

freedoms, but this was outside of public schools. Religious private schools remained, but the educational curriculum was dictated by the province (Cadrin-Pelletier, 2007).

The PES indicates that it is influenced by the trend towards globalization, including reform recommendations by the OECD. The policy further highlights this influence with the statement "in a world without borders marked by globalization and subject to all sorts of changes that affect us both individually and as a society" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 12). This is a statement that is imbued with ideology and not fact, presented as fact. Fairclough (2007) refers to this as a construal of reality. This is an interpretation of reality, stated as an absolute, while it ignores that other interpretations of reality in relation to borders also exist, and are generally regarded as legitimate, such as the existence of international borders. The inclusion of this statement illustrates the influence of rhetoric of globalization within the policy.

The PES includes many references to keystone concepts of globalization. For example, the references to 21st-century competencies. These are listed to be: "basic skills such as reading, writing, and math, as well as critical thinking skills, communication skills, cooperation and entrepreneurship" (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017, p. 14). Other references to features of globalization include: the role of technology in education, job-focused education, vocational training, and the labour market; the focus on certain competencies, literacy and numeracy; lifelong learning interventions; and the structure and distribution of responsibility, accountability and authority OECD, 2018; Zajda, 2020).

The PES includes language featured in the reform recommendations for globalization of education. Literacy and numeracy are priorities, as these are basic skills required to participate in the labour market; these are also measurable skills that can be easily tested. Concepts of lifelong learning, job-focused education, vocational training, and the role of technology relate to keeping

pace with the changing nature of the labour market (OECD, 2018; Zajda, 2020). My analysis focuses on the reforms intended to alter the structure and distribution of responsibility, accountability and authority that is also a feature of the trend towards globalization of education.

It is my conclusion that the increased centralized authority creates an education system in Quebec that is more vulnerable to ideological indoctrination. The potential for indoctrination is highest when a centralized mass education system is imposed (Darden & Mylonas, 2015; Neundorf et al., 2023). Given that the original purpose of the transnational organizations was to foster peace after the world wars, it seems counter-intuitive to recommend reforms that centralize authority over the education system providing the state complete authority over the curriculum. This leads me to think back to the quote by Nelson Mandela that was included in the consultation document in the preparation of the PES, that education is the most powerful weapon that can change the world (as cited by Gouvernement du Québec, 2016). Education is an agent of socialization and can be used to indoctrinate a population. I am concerned that the OECD may be supporting a system of reforms that creates an education system with an increased vulnerability to state control, leading to a population vulnerable to indoctrination, which seems to be the opposite result to what the original purpose of these transnational organizations which was to foster peace in a post-World War era.

I conclude that the PES co-opted the discursive framework of the globalization of education movement because it would provide an opportunity to institute reforms that further centralized power, while also garnering popular support because the reforms appeared to be a modernization in line with global trends. The discursive framework of how the education system is understood and what metrics are used to measure performance are aligned with globalization,

such as PISA testing (OECD, 2018). But my analysis suggests these are not used to support a globalist ideology, but rather used to measure the success of the national policy.

One concept that is in line with globalism is the concept of educating a population as developing human capital (Zajda, 2020). This concept is at the centre of much of what is written in the PES. This is exemplified by how everyone must contribute, and everyone must follow the same path. This also explains why the policy is relying on metrics of performance to determine success, and why the values of universality, accessibility and equality are included. These reforms are attempting to capture participation of all those who had previously not been within the system. This would explain why Bill 144 (2017) mandated homeschoolers take ministerial exams, because they were previously not counted in the statistics.

Nationalism

The PES emerged against a backdrop of increasing globalization of education and the substantial influence of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) recommendations (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017). I posit that the PES references concepts and strategies reflective of the OECD's education policy reform recommendations and the move towards the globalization of education (Gouvernement du Québec, 2017). Yet, even with this influence from the OECD, the distinct political and cultural contexts of Quebec shape its ideological strategies of policy development (Maroy et al., 2017).

Darden and Mylonas (2015) argued that interstate threats create an incentive for nation building, and Paglayan (2022) argued that inner state conflict could also act as an incentive for nation building. Considering the historical, political, and cultural history of Quebec, the conflict between Canada and Quebec has been an interstate threat, and the division between the Anglophone community and the Francophone community has created an inner state conflict.

These two conflicts combined fuel a strong incentive for a nationalist ideology to drive mass education towards nation building in Quebec.

Policies such as Bill 101 (as cited by Cook, 1986/2005), the French language law, Bill 21 (2019), the secularism law, and the most recently tabled Bill 84 (2025), an act respecting national integration, are all designed to protect the French language and the Quebec values and culture. Bill 84, specifically describing the need to mandate the integration of immigrants into Quebec society while adhering to Quebec's common culture, further illustrates the nationalist ideology of the Quebec government. My analysis finds that the main intention of the education policy in Quebec as outlined in the PES is to use education as an agent of socialization for the process of indoctrination of the population for the purpose of nation building.

Conclusion

Overall, the PES is based on a nationalist ideology with the goal of using the education system as an agent of socialization in the process of nation building. This analysis seeks to contribute to the existing literature on Quebec education policy, presenting a valuable critical perspective. Considering the paper written by Da Silva Camillo et al. (2020), I offer a warning to importing such a policy to Latin American countries, as doing so further centralizes authority and works to eliminate diversity of language, culture and values. I also conclude that the structural reforms appear to be supported by the recommendations of the OECD and resemble the changes supporting the globalization of education, however the operationalizing of nationalist ideology underlies the intention of the PES. I recommend further research in this area to evaluate how the OECD may be creating a vulnerability to indoctrination by recommending centralizing authority in education policy.

References

Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at large: Cultural dimensions of globalization*. University of Minnesota Press.

Bacchi, C. & Goodwin, S. (2016). *Poststructural Policy Analysis: A Guide to Practice*. Palgrave Macmillan. DOI 10.1057/978-1-137-52546-8

Baker, M. (2011) "Innis Lecture: Universal early childhood interventions: What is the evidence base?" *Canadian Journal of Economics, 44*(4), 1069–105. https://doi-org.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/10.1111/j.1540-5982.2011.01668.x

Baker, M., Gruber, J., & Milligan, K. (2008) Universal child care, maternal labor supply, and family well-being. *Journal of Political Economy 116*(4), 709–45.

Baker, M., Gruber, J., & Milligan, K. (2019). The long-run impacts of a universal child care program. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, 11*(3), 1-26. DOI: 10.1257/pol.20170603

Ball, S. J. (1993). What is policy? Texts, trajectories and toolbox. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education, 13*(2), pp. 10-17. DOI: 10.1080/0159630930130203

Bill 21 (2019). *An Act respecting the laicity of the State*. National Assembly of Quebec. Quebec Official Publisher. https://www.assnat.qc.ca/Media/Process.aspx?MediaId=ANQ.Vigie.Bll.DocumentGenerique_143925en&process=Default&token=ZyMoxNwUn8ikQ+TRKYwPCjWrKwg+vIv9rjij7p3xLGTZDmLVSmJLoqe/vG7/Ywzz

Bill 23 (2023). *An Act to amend mainly the Education Act to enact the Act respecting the Institut national d'excellence en éducation*. National Assembly of Quebec. Quebec Official Publisher.

https://www.assnat.qc.ca/Media/Process.aspx?MediaId=ANQ.Vigie.Bll.DocumentGeneri
que_189259en&process=Default&token=ZyMoxNwUn8ikQ+TRKYwPCjWrKwg+vIv9r
jij7p3xLGTZDmLVSmJLoqe/vG7/Ywzz

Bill 40 (2019). *An Act to amend mainly the Education Act with regard to school organization
and governance*. National Assembly of Quebec. Quebec Official Publisher.
https://www.assnat.qc.ca/en/travaux-parlementaires/projets-loi/projet-loi-40-42-
1.html?appelant=MC

Bill 74 (2024). *An Act mainly to improve the regulatory scheme governing international
students*. National Assembly of Quebec. Quebec Official Publisher.
https://www.assnat.qc.ca/Media/Process.aspx?MediaId=ANQ.Vigie.Bll.DocumentGeneri
que_203749en&process=Default&token=ZyMoxNwUn8ikQ+TRKYwPCjWrKwg+vIv9r
jij7p3xLGTZDmLVSmJLoqe/vG7/Ywzz

Bill 84 (2025). *An Act respecting national integration*. National Assembly of Quebec. Quebec
Official Publisher.
https://www.assnat.qc.ca/Media/Process.aspx?MediaId=ANQ.Vigie.Bll.DocumentGeneri
que_206883en&process=Default&token=ZyMoxNwUn8ikQ+TRKYwPCjWrKwg+vIv9r
jij7p3xLGTZDmLVSmJLoqe/vG7/Ywzz

Bill 96 (2022). *An Act respecting French, the official and common language of Quebec*. National
Assembly of Quebec. Quebec Official Publisher.
https://www.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/Fichiers_client/lois_et_reglemen
ts/LoisAnnuelles/en/2022/2022C14A.PDF

Bill 144 (2017). *An Act to amend the Education Act and other legislative provisions concerning
mainly free educational services and compulsory school attendance*. National Assembly.

Quebec Official Publisher.

https://www.publicationsduquebec.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/Fichiers_client/lois_et_reglemen
ts/LoisAnnuelles/en/2017/2017C23A.PDF

Cabinet de la ministre de l'Enseignement supérieur. (2023, October 13). *Nouveau modèle de
tarification pour les étudiants hors Québec* [press release].
https://www.newswire.ca/fr/news-releases/nouveau-modele-de-tarification-pour-les-
etudiants-hors-quebec-882028473.html

Cadrin-Pelletier, C. (2007). *Secular Schools in Quebec: necessary Change in Institutional
Culture* [Policy brief]. Bibliothèque nationale du Québec.
https://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/site_web/documents/ministere/organismes/C
AR_Avis_LaiciteScolaire_ang.pdf

Cook, R. (2005). "Au diable avec le Goupillon et la Tuque" : The Quiet Revolution and the New
Nationalism. In R. Cook (Eds.), *Watching Quebec: Selected Essays* (pp. 17-35). McGill-
Queen's University Press. (Reprinted from "'Au diable avec le Goupillon et la Tuque':
The Quiet Revolution and the New Nationalism," 1986, Canada, Quebec and the Uses of
Nationalism).

Darden, K. & Mylonas, H. (2015). Threats to territorial integrity, national mass schooling, and
linguistic commonality. *Comparative Political Studies*. DOI:
10.1177/0010414015606735

Da Silva Camillo, E., Boccanfuso, D., & Marcondes de Castro Filho, C. (2020). Quality
education for Latin American countries: analysis and contributions from the Policy on
Educational Success of Quebec. *Em Questão, 26*(3), 490-514.

Elfert, M., & Ydesen, C. (2023). *Global Governance of Education: The Historical and Contemporary Entanglements of UNESCO, the OECD and the World Bank*. Springer.

Fairclough, N. (2007). Globalization and development- a CDA approach [paper presentation]. *National School of Political Studies and Public Administration*. Bucharest. https://www.academia.edu/10215152/Globalization_and_Development_a_CDA_approach

Gouvernement du Québec (2016). *Towards a Policy on Educational Success: Education, Let's Talk About the Future* [consultation document]. https://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/site_web/documents/ministere/pol_reussite_doccomplet_15sept_EN.pdf

Gouvernement du Québec (2017). *Policy on educational success: A love of learning, a chance to succeed.* https://www.education.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/site_web/documents/PSG/politiques_orientations/politique_reussite_educative_10juillet_A_1.pdf

Haeck, C., Lebihan, L., & Merrigan, P. (2018). Universal Childcare and Long-term Effects on Child Well-Being: Evidence from a Canada. *Journal of Human Capital, 12*(1), 38-98.

Haeck, C., Lebihan, L., Lefebvre, P., & Merrigan, P. (2020). Childcare, Parental Behavior and Well-Being during Childhood. *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy, 22*(2), 311-360. https://doi-org.lib-ezproxy.concordia.ca/10.1515/bejeap-2020-0129

Haeck, C., Lefebvre, P., & Merrigan, P. (2015). Canadian Evidence on Ten Years of Universal Preschool Policies: The Good and the Bad. *Labour Economics, 36*, 137-157.

Jarman-Clark, M. & Cambre, C. (2021). Evaluating critical discourse analysis in research: A Canadian educational policy case. *Handbook of Qualitative Research Methodologies in*

Workplace Contexts. Edward Elgar Publishing.

https://doi.org/10.4337/9781789904345.00020

Jessop, B. (2002). Liberalism, neoliberalism, and urban governance: A state-theoretical

perspective. *Antipode, 34*(3), 452-72. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-8330.00250

Kottelenberg, M. J., & Lehrer, S. F. (2014). Do the Perils of Universal Childcare Depend on the

Child's Age? *CESifo Economic Studies, 60*(2), 338–365. https://doi-org.lib-

ezproxy.concordia.ca/10.1093/cesifo/ifu006

Kottenlenberg, M. J. & Lehrer, S. F. (2018). Does Quebec's subsidized child care policy give

boys and girls an equal start? *Canadian Journal of Economics, 51*(2), 626-658.

https://search-ebscohost-com.lib-

ezproxy.concordia.ca/login.aspx?direct=true&db=ecn&AN=1730057&site=ehost-

live&scope=site.

Knott, M. (2023). Québec increases fees for international and out-of-province students in new

funding model. *Study Travel Magazine*.

https://studytravel.network/magazine/news/0/30158

Lefebvre, P., and Merrigan, P. (2008) Child-care policy and the labor supply of mothers with

young children: A natural experiment from Canada. *Journal of Labor Economics, 26*(3),

519–48.

Lefebvre, P., Merrigan, P., & Verstraete, M. 2009. Dynamic labour supply effects of childcare

subsidies: Evidence from a Canadian natural experiment on low-fee universal child care.

Labour Economics, 16(5), 490-502.

Lapierre, M. (2023). *Quebec reduces tuition hike for out-of-province students, but they'll have to learn French*. CBC News. https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/montreal/quebec-university-plan-tuition-increase-french-students-1.7058980

Magnusin, R. (1980). *A brief history of Québec education: from New France to Parti Québecois*. Montreal, QC: Harvest House Ltd.

Maroy, C., Pons, X. & Dupuy, C. (2017). Vernacular globalisations: neo-statist accountability policies in France and Quebec education. *Journal of Education Policy, 32*(1), 100-122. DOI: 10.1080/02680939.2016.1239841

Michael, B., Gruber, J., & Milligan, K. (2019). The Long-Run Impacts of a Universal Child Care Program. *American Economic Journal: Economic Policy, 11*(3), 1–26. DOI: 10.1257/pol.20170603

Nelson, J. (1975). *On the Study of Nationalistic Education*. ERIC Document Reproduction Service.

Neundorf, A., Nazrullaeva, E., Northmore-Ball, K., Tertytchnaya, K., & Wooseok, K. (2023). Varieties of Indoctrination (V-Indoc): Introducing a Global Dataset on the Politicization of Education and the Media. *University of Gothenburg, Varieties of Democracy Institute: Working Paper, 136*. https://www.v-dem.net/media/publications/wp_136.pdf

OECD (2018). Education Policy Outlook 2018: Putting Student Learning at the Centre. *OECD Publishing*. https://doi.org/10.1787/9789264301528-en

Olssen, M., Codd, J. & O'Neill, A. M. (2004). *Education Policy: Globalization, Citizenship & Democracy*. Sage.

Ozga, J. (2000). *Policy Research in Educational Settings: Contested Terrain*. Open University Press.

Porterfield, L. K. (2017). (Re) Seeing Black Girls: intersections of liberalism, difference, and the hidden curriculum. *Visual Studies*, *32*(4), 301-312. DOI: 10.1080/1472586X.2017.1363637

Quebec Association of Protestant School Boards, Fédération des commissions scolaires du Québec, Commission scolaire Chomedey de Laval, Conseil scolaire de l'île de Montréal and Montreal Catholic School Commission v. the Attorney General of Quebec, Reference re Education Act (Que.), 2 SCR 511 (1993). https://decisions.scc-csc.ca/scc-csc/scc-csc/en/item/1018/index.do

Paglayan, A. S. (2022). Education or indoctrination? The violent origins of public school systems in an era of state-building. *American Political Science Review*, *116*(4),1242-1257. DOI: 10.1017/S0003055422000247

Robson, K. L. (2013). *Sociology of Education*. Pearson Canada Inc. https://ecampusontario.pressbooks.pub/robsonsoced/

Singh, C. (2021). How ideologies shape the world. *Social Analysis for Social Change in Global Citizenship: From Social Analysis to Social Action*. Centennial College. https://soaoer.centennialcollege.ca/gned500/chapter/how-ideologies-shape-the-world/?tab=sources

Smith, W, Foster, W.F., & Donahue, H.M. (1999). *The Contemporary Education Scene in Québec: A handbook for Policy makers, Administrators and Educators*. Montreal, QC: Office of Research on Educational Policy.

The Editors of Encyclopedia Britannica (2018). What is a nationalist movement? *Encyclopedia Britannica*. https://www.britannica.com/question/What-is-a-nationalist-movement

Zajda, J. (2020). Globalisation and education reforms: Emerging research issues. *Globalisation, Comparative Education and Policy Research* 20. DOI: 10.1007/978-94-024-1743-2_1

Appendix A: Message from the Minister

MESSAGE FROM THE MINISTER

In the past 50 years, considerable effort has been expended to build Québec's education system. From the Parent Report in 1964 to the most recent amendments to the *Education Act* in the fall of 2016, numerous initiatives have helped guide state action in education.

As a basic collective responsibility, education has often been approached by sector of activity (adult education, vocational training, special education, improvement of French language skills, kindergarten for 4-year-olds in disadvantaged areas). With this Policy on Educational Success, Québec has opted for a comprehensive vision of education. By focusing on educational success, we are aiming higher than better graduation and qualification rates. We are affirming the importance of early intervention and confirming that this decisive action is everybody's responsibility.

One of our major challenges as a society was to establish a shared and innovative vision of educational success. We needed to focus more on children, students and their success. We also needed to translate our vision into a structural continuum extending from early childhood to adulthood, with a view to fostering lifelong learning.

This Policy on Educational Success is the outgrowth of considerable discussion conducted under the government's leadership and with the involvement of several networks. It is also the fruit of the wide-ranging public consultations held in the fall of 2016. Let me take this opportunity to thank all those who took part in this crucial exercise.

With this Policy on Educational Success, the government is working to ensure that everyone can achieve their full potential. Building on the achievements of the Quiet Revolution, it aims to make educational childcare centres, schools, vocational training centres and adult education centres more inclusive and conducive to development, learning and success. It also intends to bring all education stakeholders and partners on board in an effort to ensure success for all. Community action and popular education organizations play a key role in this endeavour by adopting preventive measures, providing services for at-risk populations and fighting illiteracy.

More concerted action. More fully integrated efforts. More accountability for all stakeholders. Appropriate support for parents. These constitute the essence of the Policy on Educational Success.

Succeeding in school means being free and able, at some point, to share, give back to the community, be innovative and assert oneself. Educational success means providing everyone with the opportunity to display their talents at any stage of life, either immediately upon graduation or later through skills-maintenance activities. Educational success is first and foremost the result of intervening early to lay solid foundations.

— Sébastien Proulx

5

Appendix B: Table 1

Table 1

Areas of consensus vs. shared vision

Areas of Consensus [a]	A Shared Vision [b]
Early intervention and prevention	It confirms the need for early intervention.
The need to rethink financing, reduce wait times and ensure the continuity of support services for children and students with handicaps, social maladjustments or learning disabilities	It gives priority to the needs of all children and students without distinction, whether they have handicaps, social maladjustments or learning difficulties, live in disadvantaged areas, are gifted or have no particular difficulties.
Literacy and numeracy skills	It makes literacy and numeracy skills key components in every possible educational path and stage of personal development.
Smooth transitions between the various educational settings and levels of education	It reflects a structured vision of the students' entire educational path, from early childhood through adulthood.
The need to recognize the importance of education, teaching quality and the teaching profession in order to mobilize all stakeholders and partners around educational success in the youth and adult sectors	It goes well beyond obtaining a diploma or qualification by focusing on the need to educate citizens who are equipped to meet the challenges of the 21st century.
The collaboration and cooperation of all practitioners in the children's and students' environment, including schools and educational childcare centres	It calls for a sustained and broad social dialogue on education and the values of equity, accessibility and universality.
The importance of parental support and guidance	It calls upon all networks, parents and social stakeholders, as everyone must contribute to educational success for all.

[a] Column is adapted from Gouvernement du Québec (2017, p. 19).

[b] Column is adapted from Gouvernement du Québec (2017, pp. 20-21).

Appendix C: The Mission of Schools

The mission of schools

To provide instruction with renewed conviction.

The first responsibility of every educational institution is to cultivate the mind of each student. Although schools are not the only places where children learn, they play a vital role in fostering intellectual development and the acquisition of learning. This orientation reaffirms the importance of students' cognitive development and mastery of knowledge.

To socialize, to prepare students to live together in harmony.

In a pluralistic society such as ours, schools must act as agents of social cohesion by fostering a feeling of belonging to the community and teaching students how to live together. This means that they must transmit the heritage of shared knowledge, promote the fundamental values of democracy and prepare young people to become responsible citizens. They must likewise prevent exclusion, which jeopardizes the future of too many young people.

To provide qualifications through a variety of options.

Schools have a duty to make it possible for all students to achieve educational success and to facilitate their integration into society and the workplace at the end of their schooling, whatever the path they choose. To this end, the Ministère de l'Éducation defines the basic curriculum. However, it is the responsibility of the educational institutions to provide all students with an educational environment commensurate with their interests, aptitudes and needs by differentiating instruction and offering a broader range of educational options.

Source: *The Québec Education Program*

25