# Chapter 10 A Large-scale Policy Research Programme: A Canadian Experience

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In this chapter we look at how a number of factors have provided momentum for a major cultural change in evidence-based policy in Canada. At the same time as longitudinal surveys and methodologies offered opportunities for research on new trajectories, a political will appeared to undertake a concerted policy programme which resulted eventually in the "Children's Agenda".

#### A major culture change

In the late 1980s the time was ripe for policy action on human development from childhood to adulthood in Canada. However, the evidence was inadequate for supporting expensive policy investments. Much of the research was conducted on past generations and the context had dramatically changed. Single research projects or evaluations, no matter how rigorous, were insufficient for developing a major policy initiative. Therefore, it was time to build a "body of evidence" based on the best sources of national data on the current generation of children. This was the start of a major culture change regarding not only evidence-based policy but also the use of indicators for accountability.

A number of factors aligned to provide momentum major cultural change. Research from natural as well as social science began to show that early childhood development could have impacts on outcomes later in life. Longitudinal surveys and methodologies provided opportunities for research on trajectories that could test the evidence in Canada. There was political will to undertake a concerted policy programme which resulted eventually in the "Children's Agenda".

### Policy-driven research demands a long-term view based on desirable outcomes

Governments eager to show policy successes during their short elected mandates often demanded a short horizon for initiatives. The public debates, nevertheless, considered "legacy" proposals and encouraged the consideration of a significant addition to the policy infrastructure of the country, similar to public pensions. Such an investment required a long-term view and a variety of policy instruments to achieve the desired goal. This led over the next decade to the launch of the "National Children's Agenda", which required a package of policy initiatives by two levels of governments. This article describes how this was achieved.

A major breakthrough was achieved in about 1992 when positive human development was made the desired objective rather than *ad hoc* short term goals in childhood (*e.g.* reducing bullying in schools). Human development was defined as a lifelong process by which individuals acquire knowledge, skills and individuality which they use to adapt to the changing environment and for personal and societal benefit. Such a lifelong perspective was important to explain different trajectories of individuals and to relate the differences to opportunities and experiences that could result in positive changes.

Such a broad conceptualisation of human development was directed to the national vision of fostering "good Canadians". Four final outcomes in adulthood were chosen – lifelong learners, productive workers, nurturing parents and engaged citizens.

Such a long-term and holistic view required a different conceptual framework and a major rethink of the sources of data. The conceptual framework (Figure 10.1) had to accommodate the potential developmental pathways of children to adulthood while identifying the contextual factors, resources and determinants, and life events which could affect developmental outcomes. Age appropriate outcomes at each developmental stage were studied but they were linked as a trajectory. The five developmental outcomes selected as leading to the final outcomes in adulthood, were physical development, cognitive development, emotional development, social development and communication.

Context Resource **Family** Community School Work **Public Programs** Social **Outcomes Physical** Transitions: **Emotional** Illness/Injury Social Accidents Death of Family Member Spell of Poverty Puberty **School Entry** Graduation First Job Cognitive/ Marriage Language/ Learning **First Child** Communication **Spatial** Time in Years of Age

Figure 10.1. Conceptual framework for data, research and policy for human development

Source: Survey Documentation, HRSDC (1998).

### A better understanding of the relation between evidence and policy

Evidence-based policy enables strategic and effective policy decisions for complex, multiple and persistent problems based on reliable research evidence. Its functions are:

- to contribute to the policy debate based on evidence rather than ideology or tradition:
- to identify the seriousness of existing and emerging problems and to estimate their consequences to individuals and society;
- to determine the need and to target clientele;
- to choose between policy options based on evidence of cause and effectiveness of interventions:
- to determine the best time and the most sensitive variable for interventions and to increase the chances and durability of successful results.

The assumption that known and existing problems were serious enough to merit policy action resulted in incremental policies. Because of a high reliance on proxies or risks rather than outcomes, over or mis-targeting were common. Since the emphasis was on children at risk, problems were over-estimated, ignoring the fact that a large majority children were developing normally. Without measured outcomes it was difficult to design policy objectives and to judge their effectiveness. Evaluations were often unable to show that policy effects at the population level. In addition, emerging problems such as obesity grew to be serious issues before they were addressed.

The burden of proof demanded by the public for expenditure of tax dollars required a more rigorous approach. Results from small, single research projects were insufficient. It was no longer sufficient to examine data to see what the current state was but to develop an informed view of what might be. Scarce dollars should be used for interventions that addressed the cause rather than symptoms of the problem to increase the likelihood of problem reduction and durability of result.

Furthermore, it was necessary to build a body of evidence from multiple data sources and multiple analytical methods in order to increase the chances of successful policy investments.

#### Public investment in national data

In 1992 the Canadian government invested in a national data system that would provide regular, reliable and systematic flows of data. This decision immeasurably enriched the system of surveys that support human capital development. There was a momentous change in the way such data was generated. Stable funding, protected from the risk of budget cuts was assured over time and given to a policy department rather than the national statistical agency in order to ensure that surveys would be policy-driven.

With the shift of policy questions from "who?" and "how many?" to "why?", "which?", "how?" and "when?", the emphasis of analysis was on explanation, size of effect and prediction. This required multi-variate analysis, forecasting models, longitudinal analysis and experiments and data that could support such analyses.

This resulted in a suite of linked surveys, some longitudinal and others cross sectional. The innovative National Longitudinal Survey of Children Youth (NLSCY), initiated in 1992 with the first data collection in 1996, provided an overall view of the current generation of children based on the conceptual framework in Figure 10.1. A national sample of 25 000 children was surveyed every two years from birth to age 24.

The need for reliable and objective measured outcomes of performance achievement required expensive data collection at the home of the child but contributed to a bank of information on the development progress of children. Such direct assessments of outcomes enabled analysis related to children's assets as well as exposure to risk.

Two types of age-appropriate outcomes were measured:

- *Life events of milestones*: Discrete events or a process that ends with a change in status or condition.
- Performance achievement: Acquired knowledge, skills or attributes.

Such a longitudinal survey focused on trajectories is broad but not deep. It was described as a backbone, which was supplemented by other cross sectional surveys and community studies that provided additional in-depth information. For example, in order to understand community effects, community based studies, called Understanding the Early Years were begun. The outcomes of children in a particular community could be compared to national and provincial averages but the distribution of outcomes in the community could also be studied relative to the distribution of services. Such evidence at the community level, anchored in space through the use of maps were powerful instruments for local action integration and for planning of service delivery.

Other sources of data were also put to use. A random control experiment called the Self Sufficiency Project tested (in addition to other research objectives) whether the outcomes of children would be affected if parents were involved in welfare to work programmes. Administrative data on social services and child care were used to understand the child rearing context. Programme evaluations were scheduled.

# A policy-driven consolidated policy research programme

The consolidated research programme was essential because it systematically addressed issues related to human development in order to build a body of evidence. The federal government provided research leadership through multiple activities within and outside government.

A major role was the development of key concepts and outcome indicators, in particular, a composite measure of development, the "vulnerability index". The vulnerability index is used to measure age-appropriate multiple developmental outcomes over time to gauge development. Vulnerability is defined as the occurrence of low measured current learning and behavioural outcomes that indicate a higher chance of negative outcomes later in life. Children may experience short episodes or prolonged periods of vulnerability. The developmental trajectory built using the index showed pathways of children who were resilient and those who were not after an episode of vulnerability.

While waiting for the first data release from the longitudinal survey, reviews and syntheses were conducted. Once data became available, research was generated by multiple means. The involvement of the research community was vital, resulting in the growth of interest in human development research. Policy research was largely conducted within government or by a programme of directed research contracting with researchers.

In addition, funding was provided to train young researchers in longitudinal analytical techniques, either through training or by bursaries to graduate students who would use the NLSCY for their research.

#### The construction of the body of evidence

There were important parallel developments that supported the construction of evidence. E.O. Wilson's concept of consilience links the results from natural sciences with those from research in the humanities (Wilson, 1998). With the advent of magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) major brain studies were conducted capturing the process of "brain sculpting" and "hard wiring" in early childhood. These findings combined with the results of research from the NLSCY began to provide powerful empirical evidence on the importance of early childhood development for success in later life.

The presentation of complex evidence required public education on the relationship between outcomes and determinants. Once the concept of outcomes was understood, information was presented on the fact that not all determinants heightened risk. Some were protective.

- Determinants of risk increase the probability of low outcomes, less successful trajectories.
- Protective determinants increase the probability of good outcomes, resilience after an episode of low outcomes and positive trajectories.

Over a six-year period, there was a continuous flow of results from high quality, peer reviewed research. The federal government published more than a hundred research reports using the NLSCY alone (see link under References). Two books were published supported by government funding, with research by multiple authors ("Growing up in Canada" and "Vulnerable Children"). Longitudinally, results distinguished between trauma effects, lagged effects and persistent effects.

A body of evidence provided an on-going view of the social and human development of individuals and society so that both preventive and corrective policies were possible. Such a body of evidence was built through multiple lines of evidence to confirm findings. Contradictory findings, on the other hand, called for further research. Moreover, syntheses and meta-analyses done by others were used to consolidate such findings.

The flow of findings using different data sources and various analyses slowly built the case for policy action. Such evidence was essential for both the generation of public acceptance of policy action and the reduction of political risk. It was essential for government to disseminate research results and the consolidated evidence using multiple formats and modes to reach a wide variety of consumers such as parliamentarians, key policy players, professionals and the general public. For instance, parliamentary committees heard evidence supporting legislation on divorce and access to children by divorced parents and grand parents.

# Policy innovations driven by evidence

Some policy innovations were possible because the case built by evidence was strong. There were several ideas that have served as a model for other policy fields.

- Shift in policy direction: A packaged approach benefits from synergies and possible
  interactions across interventions. For example, enhanced maternity leave benefits the
  baby and its mother in the first year while providing job protection and career retention.
  Classic debates between the efficiency of targeting versus the fairness of universal
  policies were abandoned. Rather, there was greater acceptance of hybrid approaches of
  targeted universalism that would support protective factors on one hand and prevent or
  risk factors on the other.
- 2. Federal research information as a policy instrument:
  - No other institution, other than the federal government can make the high investment required in national data, which is then made available to researchers.
  - Many professionals and institutions contribute to the welfare of children. Investments by the federal government alone were unlikely to significantly raise the outcomes of children. However, when data from multiple sources was linked and analysed in meaningful geographical context, information became a policy tool. The availability of research information to players other than the federal government resulted in more informed decision-making by them towards achieving the same policy objective. The transaction and co-ordination costs were reduced as all parties had the same information. The resulting interactions were better and therefore, there was less duplication, less unintended consequences and more effective delivery.
- 3. Innovative federal-provincial collaboration: There was a new federal provincial relationship built for the Children's Agenda. Normally, the division of jurisdictional powers prevented joint action. However, because there was such strong public support, the federal government and the provinces negotiated an innovative way to work together. The federal government agreed to transfer payments to families with children, which would result in the reduction of welfare expenditures for provinces. These savings were to be spent on services for families with children. All governments would be accountable by publishing child development outcome indicators achieved by their expenditures. This has become a model for future federal-provincial collaboration.

#### Concrete results on behalf of Canadian children

The mounting evidence and the power of potential analysis to determine the success of policy investments led to a string of investments. These policies work together as a package (see Table 10.1), with results from the whole being greater than the results of the individual policies.

The value of the data assets in support of both policy development as well as accountability for results has resulted in the availability of stable, sustained funding for the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth. In addition, sub-surveys were added to ensure that additional data could be used for indicators and for in-depth analysis of particular issues. Currently, the children in the survey have reached the age of majority and discussions have begun to start a new cohort.

Table 10.1. The policy package for the national Children's Agenda

Initiative	Start date	Expenditures
<ul> <li>National Longitudinal Survey of</li> </ul>	1992	\$8 million a year
Children and Youth		
<ul> <li>National Children's Agenda</li> </ul>	1997	
<ul> <li>Centres of excellence</li> </ul>		\$20 million
<ul> <li>Aboriginal Headstart</li> </ul>		\$66 million (2003-2004)
<ul> <li>Federal Provincial Early Childhood</li> </ul>	2000	\$3.2 billion (2001/2-
Agreement		2007/8)
<ul> <li>Enhanced Canada Child Tax Benefit and</li> </ul>		40.4.4.4.
National Child Benefit	2000	\$9.1 billon (2004-2005)
<ul> <li>Enhanced Maternity and Parental</li> </ul>	2000	\$2.1.7H; (2002, 2004)
Benefits (10-35 weeks)	2000	\$3 billion (2003-2004)
<ul> <li>Child Care expense Deduction</li> </ul>	2002	\$5.45:11: (2002, 2004)
<ul> <li>Understanding the Early Years – 100</li> </ul>	2003	\$545 million (2003-2004)
communities	2004	\$100 million (over 7 years)
<ul> <li>Canada Learning Bond (\$3000)</li> </ul>	2004	\$85 million
<ul> <li>Federal Provincial Agreement on Early</li> </ul>	2004	\$5 billion (over 5 years)
Childhood Learning and Care	2003	φ5 omnon (over 5 years)
Children's fitness tax benefit	2007	\$106 million

# **Tests for quality of evidence**

Evidence does not come cheaply. How do we know that policies based on evidence are more effective and efficient than those that are not? Below are some suggested tests for the quality of the evidence:

- 1. The need for policy action test: Is public expenditure warranted? Are societal consequences serious? What are the risks of not responding collectively?
- 2. The reality test: Practical rather than moral imperative to move outcomes in a desired direction could challenge conventions.
- The public good test: Can policies deliver desirable societal benefits? Can they reduce future public expenditures?
- The value for money test: Are resulting policies cost-effective? 4.
- 5. The certainty of result test: Does the policy work under varying situations? Different regions?
- 6. The durability of result test: Do policies spring board recipients to independence?

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#### Web links

- Publications from Human Resources and Social Development Canada using the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth: <a href="https://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/en/cs/sp/sdc/pkrf/page00.shtml">www.hrsdc.gc.ca/en/cs/sp/sdc/pkrf/page00.shtml</a>
- Research projects using the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth: www.statcan.ca/english/rdc/rdcprojectsnlscy.htm

# **Biography**

Adrienne Alton-Lee is the Chief Education Adviser for the New Zealand Ministry of Education's Iterative Best Evidence Synthesis (BES) Programme. Her role is to strengthen the evidence-base informing policy and practice in education and to provide medium term strategic advice to government. Dr. Alton-Lee is a Fellow of the International Academy of Education. She was formerly a teacher, classroom researcher, Professor and an Associate Editor of *Teaching and Teacher Education*. She has published in leading educational journals including the *Harvard Educational Review*, the *Elementary School Journal*, the *International Journal of Inclusive Education* and the *American Educational Research Journal*.

René Bugge Bertramsen is the Deputy General Director for the Danish University and Property Agency within the Danish Ministry of Science, Technology and Innovation. Since 1999 he has been involved in reforms aiming at enhancing the quality of the Danish educational R&D system (such as the establishment of the Danish Pedagogical University – DPU – and the R&D centre Learning Lab Denmark). Mr. Bertramsen was responsible for the University Act of 2003 which gave Danish universities a new governance system, *i.e.* boards with external majority and employed rectors, deans and department heads. In 2006-2007 he was responsible for a merger process where government research institutes were integrated with the universities and a number of single-faculty universities were merged with larger multi-faculty universities, including the merger of DPU with multi-faculty University of Aarhus.

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Satya Brink is currently Director, National Learning Policy Research, Human Resources and Social Development Canada. She and her team are responsible for developing evidence in support of policy development for lifelong learning for the Government of Canada. This work includes analysis on outcomes for each age group and type of education as well as the impacts of earlier learning on subsequent learning. In her previous post, she was responsible for research on human development based on two major Canadian longitudinal surveys. During this time she and her team produced a major body of evidence based on the National Longitudinal Survey of Children and Youth which influenced major new initiatives of the Canadian government in support of children and their families.

**Tracey Burns** is a research and policy analyst for the Centre for Educational Research and Innovation, OECD, Paris. Previous to this she worked on social determinants of health across the life-span with Charles Ungerleider & Associates in Vancouver, Canada. As a Post-Doctoral Fellow at the University of British Columbia, Dr. Burns led a hospital-based research team investigating newborn infants' responses to language. Tracey Burns holds a BA from McGill University, Canada and PhD from Northeastern University, USA. She is the recipient of various awards and honours, including the UBC Post-Doctoral Fellowship, a student-nominated university teaching award, and the American Psychological Association Dissertation Research Award.

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