



**MONASH** University

**Faculty of Education**

**Globalisation, International Education and the  
Marketing of TESOL:  
Student Identity as a Site of Conflicting Forces**

**Md Raqibuddin Chowdhury**

**BA (Hons) (English), MA (English Literature), MEd (TESOL)**

**Doctor of Philosophy**

**September, 2008**

**Submitted in total fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy  
in the Faculty of Education, Monash University**

## Table of Contents

<b>ABSTRACT</b> .....	<b>5</b>
<b>Declaration</b> .....	<b>6</b>
<b>Acknowledgements</b> .....	<b>8</b>
<b>List of Abbreviations</b> .....	<b>9</b>
<b>CHAPTER ONE Situating the Research Problem</b> .....	<b>10</b>
1.1 The Research Problem .....	12
1.2 The Discourses of International Education .....	14
1.2.1 International Education’s Discursive Links with Colonisation .....	15
1.2.2 International Education and Globalisation.....	16
1.2.3 International Education in Australia: the Beginning.....	17
1.3 The Discourse of Markets .....	18
1.3.1 International Education and the Apotheosis of Markets.....	18
1.3.2 Education as Commodity.....	19
1.4 Manufacturing the Self: Researcher Standpoint .....	20
1.5 Research Questions.....	27
1.6 Concluding Comments and Summary of Ensuing Chapters .....	29
<b>CHAPTER TWO Discourses and the Construction of Identity: ‘Truths’ and Theory</b> .....	<b>34</b>
2.1 Foucault and the Production of Knowledge .....	36
2.1.1 Discourse and the Plurality of Meanings.....	36
2.1.2 Power and ‘the rules of the game’ .....	38
2.1.3 Power and Knowledge: the Construction of Subjectivity.....	44
2.1.4 Analysing Discourses: Foucauldian Archaeology .....	46
2.2 Linguistic Production and the Discourses of Identity .....	47
2.2.1 Orientalism and the Construction of Identity .....	49
2.2.2 Interpellation: the Generation and Sustenance of Desire .....	51
2.2.3 Constructing the ‘truths’ of International Student Subjectivities .....	55
2.3 Agency and Autonomy: Appropriation, Negotiation and Resistance .....	61
2.3.1 Hybridity and the Construction of Identity .....	62
2.3.2 The Three Foucauldian Spaces of Resistance .....	66
2.4 Concluding Comments .....	67
<b>CHAPTER THREE Globalisation and International Education: a Changing Policy Environment</b> .....	<b>69</b>
3.1 The Globalisation Debates .....	70
3.2 Reading Discourses of Globalisation.....	72
3.2.1 Globalisation and International Education: Hyperglobalising Opportunities.....	73
3.2.2 International Education in Globalisation Discourses: Legitimising the Market Mode of Operation.....	75
3.3 Globalisation and the Commodification of Education .....	79
3.3.1 Commodification and the TESOL industry .....	81
3.3.2 Popularity and Fetishism .....	83
3.3.3 The Merchantilisation of Knowledge .....	84
3.4 Globalisation and Identity .....	85
3.4.1 Identity: a Work in Progress .....	86
3.4.2 Globalising Identity .....	88
3.5 Hyperglobalist Alliances: Partners-in-Trade in a Globalising World .....	90
3.6 Concluding Comments .....	92

<b>CHAPTER FOUR Learning Supermarkets in the National Interest: International Education and the Australian Government</b> .....	<b>94</b>
4.1 International Education in Australia: From Aid to Trade to Internationalisation.....	96
4.2 Ministerial Statements about International Education in Australia .....	100
4.2.1 'International Education in Australia through the 1990s' (1992).....	101
4.2.2 'Engaging the World through Education, 14 October 2003' (2003).....	102
4.2.3 'Bigger than wool and close to wheat': Ministerial Statements as Discourse.....	107
4.3 Specific Institutes: Tantalising with the 'Real Australia' .....	108
4.3.1 Monash University .....	109
4.3.2 IDP Education Australia.....	113
4.3.3 Study in Australia .....	115
4.4 Concluding Comments .....	117
<b>CHAPTER FIVE Epistemology and Research Design</b> .....	<b>119</b>
5.1 Situating the Self .....	120
5.2 The Qualitative Case Study .....	122
5.2.1 The Qualitative Research Paradigm .....	122
5.2.2 The Case Study .....	123
5.2.3 Defining the Cases.....	124
5.3 Interviews: the Joint Construction of Knowledge .....	125
5.3.1 Narratives: Textualising the Self .....	126
5.3.2 Constructing 'Truths' .....	127
5.4 Selection of Participants: Demographic Variables .....	130
5.4.1 Participants' Group Profile: the International TESOL Student.....	132
5.4.2 Participants as Members of a 'Community' .....	132
5.4.3 Participants' Individual Profile: Faces to Names.....	133
5.5 Research Design .....	135
5.5.1 First and Second Round Interviews.....	136
5.5.2 Complementary Methods .....	137
5.5.3 Data Analysis .....	139
5.5.4 Data Presentation .....	144
5.6 Ethical Issues.....	145
5.6.1 Position of the Researcher .....	145
5.6.2 Methodological Challenges of the Study .....	146
5.6.3 Generalisation Debates .....	147
5.7 Concluding Comments .....	148
<b>CHAPTER SIX The Fabric of Relations: Desire and the Formation of Choices</b> .....	<b>149</b>
6.1 First Contact: English and Identity Formation .....	151
6.1.1 Nobu: English 'defining life' .....	152
6.1.2 Ning: 'Touching English - I was in the other world' .....	153
6.1.3 Xia: English and the Othering of Foreign Language Schools.....	154
6.1.4 Yun: Home Education - 'I didn't choose English, I think English chose me' .....	158
6.1.5 Rahman: English as 'the monster and the language of unbelievers' .....	160
6.2 Advantages of English: Standing Somewhere in the Middle.....	164
6.2.1 Xia: 'Opening windows': English for Practicality, not Relevance .....	164
6.2.2 Rahman: 'It's really a matter of how other people see you' .....	165
6.2.3 Ning: 'I could do my practice better than others' .....	167
6.3 Choosing with Care: Desiring Australia and University X: .....	167
6.3.1 Yun: 'If you cannot go to America, you go to Australia' .....	168
6.3.2 Nobu: 'Quality doesn't matter' .....	172
6.3.3 Ning: 'I didn't want to waste my time' .....	174
6.3.4 Xia: 'I really have a good impression of Australia' .....	175

6.3.5 Rahman: 'No Australian student at Monash University!'	176
6.4 Choosing with Care: Desiring TESOL	178
6.4.1 Yun: 'Teaching is a stable job for girls'	178
6.4.2 Ning: 'The main thing would be TESOL'	179
6.4.3 Nobu: 'TESOL is still sign of professional English teacher'	180
6.4.4 Xia: 'TESOL is very profitable'	181
6.4.5 Rahman: 'I didn't have any other choice'	182
6.5 Other Factors in Choosing	183
6.5.1 Ranking and Popularity of Universities	183
6.5.2 Australia on the Web: 'Just too much information!'	185
6.5.3 Rahman: 'I can tell the story of here'	186
6.5.4 International Education as a Romantic Escape	187
6.6 Concluding Comments	188
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN Brokering Identity</b>	<b>191</b>
7.1 English and Identity as a Work in Progress	193
7.1.1 Xia: The conflict of Identities - 'chocolate and milk'	193
7.1.2 Yun: 'The longer I'm studying English, the more that I feel I'm Chinese at the bottom of my heart'	195
7.1.3 Nobu: 'I'm away from the United States but I still belong to, I must, I don't know'	196
7.2 The Ownership of English - Whose English do you speak?	197
7.2.1 Xia: 'I can make up words myself. I think that is OK'	197
7.2.2 Yun: 'I am the owner of English'	198
7.2.3 Rahman: 'My English is the English of the textbook'	199
7.2.4 Ning: 'I think it's just the same'	200
7.2.5 Nobu: 'English is not my language'	200
7.3 The English Culture: 'totally western cultures'	201
7.3.1 'That is just a superficial thing'	201
7.3.2 'It's no wise going to the unbeliever's country... what are you doing?'	202
7.4 Marketing and International Education: Identities as Open Sites	203
7.4.1 Education Brokers: 'Just the signature and it is done!'	204
7.4.2 Nobu: 'Monash is like a Fujitsu' - <i>hito no ashi wo hipparu</i>	207
7.4.3 Xia: 'As long as you can pay, you can come in'	209
7.4.4 Rahman: 'What you gonna do?'	210
7.5 Current Status and the Future: Expectations, Disillusionments and Disappointments	211
7.5.1 Ning: Using TESOL in Nursing	212
7.5.2 Nobu: 'But my knowledge level is still the same'	215
7.5.3 Yun: Scepticism About Being an English Teacher - Native Speaker Fallacy	220
7.5.4 Rahman: 'Is teaching really my passion?'	223
7.5.5 Xia: Buying Experience - 'they expect native teachers to teach'	224
7.6 Concluding Comments	231
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT Rika: 'The Spotlight of Difference'</b>	<b>233</b>
8.1 Foundations of Identity: 'I chose to accept my difference'	235
8.1.1 First Contact: 'I spoke English as nearly my first language'	236
8.1.2 Final Year at Junior High School: 'being cool'	236
8.2 Identity in Crisis: Choosing to be Different	238
8.3 The Spotlight of Difference: Constructing the Self as Other	239
8.4 Owning English: 'I speak my English'	242
8.5 Forming Choices: Chasing a Naïve Dream	244
8.6 Current Impressions: 'you really don't have a choice'	247
8.6.1 TESOL Studies: 'relevant but not practically applicable'	247
8.6.2 Dynamics in the TESOL Classroom: Us and Them	248

8.7 Universities and Marketing: 'use university to get the most of it' .....	250
8.8 Using TESOL in Japan: 'It is not wasted at all' .....	251
8.9 Looking Towards the Future: 'I can speak what I think' .....	252
8.10 Concluding Comments .....	254

<b>CHAPTER NINE Establishing the Polyphony of International Education .....</b>	<b>256</b>
9.1 Revisiting Old Questions, Seeking New Answers .....	257
9.2 Constructing the Plurality of Voices .....	258
9.3 Moving Beyond the Market Discourse .....	259
9.4 Looking Towards the Future: The Need for Change in Dominant Discourses .....	261
9.5 Closing Comments and Suggestions for Future Studies .....	263

<b>BIBLIOGRAPHY .....</b>	<b>265</b>
---------------------------	------------

#### **LIST OF FIGURES:**

Figure 4.1 Study in Australia .....	105
Figure 4.2 'Australian Made' Logos .....	105
Figure 4.3 AEI Research .....	106
Figure 4.4 Monash Gippsland Homepage .....	112
Figure 4.5 Passport to Monash .....	112
Figure 4.6 IDP Real Australia .....	115
Figure 4.7 Western Australia, the Real Australia .....	116

<b>Appendix 1: TESOL and Victorian Universities.....</b>	<b>278</b>
<b>Appendix 2: Poster.....</b>	<b>279</b>
<b>Appendix 3: Profile of Participants .....</b>	<b>280</b>
<b>Appendix 4: First-round Interview Prompts .....</b>	<b>281</b>
<b>Appendix 5 Pre-Interview Form .....</b>	<b>282</b>
<b>Appendix 6: Second-round Interview Prompts (Rahman) .....</b>	<b>283</b>
<b>Appendix 7: Explanatory Statement.....</b>	<b>285</b>
<b>Appendix 8: Consent Form .....</b>	<b>287</b>
<b>Appendix 9: Timeline of Interviews .....</b>	<b>288</b>
<b>Appendix 10: Invitation to Rahman.....</b>	<b>289</b>
<b>Appendix 11: Email questions to Rika .....</b>	<b>290</b>
<b>Appendix 12: Last Questions to Rika (not responded to) .....</b>	<b>291</b>

## ABSTRACT

This study provides a critique of institutional discourses that are informed by race, culture and identity, learning constraints and particular constructions of English and offers ways of thinking that encourage multiplicity and complexity. Its principal aim is to probe issues relating to the identity formation of international TESOL students in the context of the globalisation of international education. To achieve this aim, the study poses questions about the commodification of the TESOL machinery through marketing programmes and its impact on international TESOL students. In addressing these questions the study considers Australian universities' marketing practices, the discursive representation of international students by these universities and the government, as well as wider matters of educational policy.

The research draws on poststructuralist and postcolonial theories, particularly on selected aspects of the works of Foucault and Said and in so doing demonstrates the usefulness of such theories for exploring issues associated with international TESOL students. Taking from these theorists the concepts of power/knowledge, subjectivity, identity and agency, it also incorporates the work of cultural theorists such as Althusser and Hall.

The participants were drawn from a wide range of cultural, linguistic and professional backgrounds, enrolled in Masters of TESOL at Australian universities. Through dialogic sessions with them and documentary analysis the discursive practices of the university sites were examined. So too were the subjectivities of students, as they became involved in the various activities of the institution in which they were enrolled, before, during and after their studies.

Overall, the analysis reveals how the subjectivities of international TESOL students are constructed both by the university and the students themselves. The students' accounts of their experiences broadly conflicted with the sweeping claims made by certain institutes, as well as by the dominant knowledges of marketing, international education and globalisation. The analysis shows how the subjectivities of international TESOL students are constructed by both the university and by the students themselves. It also shows how economics has become firmly entrenched in a market discourse and overall how international students are inscribed within policy shifts. The academic welfare, teaching and learning processes of the university indicated little awareness of the fluidity of culture and language or hybridity of its international students. A consequence of this myopic vision of the university is that students are subjected to constricting, divisive and exclusionary discursive practices that fail to properly acknowledge their complex histories, subjectivities and professional aspirations. An identity has been created for them that is not only superficial but also inaccurate.

The findings point to the benefits of examining through a Foucauldian analytic such discursive practices of the institution alongside the subjectivities of students. The approach adopted in the research points to the possibility of moving beyond the current reductionist dualisms and binaries to the adoption of educational and institutional practices that recognise students' hybridity and syncretic subjectivity. In such a space, the meaning of 'international students' and the institutional and educational policies and practices designed for them might be renegotiated. The study concludes that if the goal of genuine internationalisation is to be achieved, there is a need for significant institutional change.

## Declaration

This thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or any other educational institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, it contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_

Name: **Md Raqibuddin Chowdhury**

**The plan for this research was approved by the Monash University Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans (Reference: 2005/689)**

**This thesis is dedicated to my twins,**

***Sameen and Nishwan***

**'They'll learn much more than I'll ever know' - Bob Thiele**

## Acknowledgements

First of all I thank the Almighty and my parents.

I am indebted to a host of people who created the conditions that helped me complete this study.

My supervisors Associate Professors Brenton Doecke, Ilana Snyder and Lesley Farrell provided warm and expert guidance and support over four years, which resulted in this thesis. Their encouragement was central to keeping me going in times of uncertainty and doubt. I am grateful for their painstakingly detailed commentaries on my early drafts. While the conclusions and errors in this thesis are entirely mine, I sincerely acknowledge the freedom they all extended to me to find my own way.

I thank my participants who agreed to be interviewed for this study and were generous enough to make time from their busy schedules to share their valuable experiences and insights with me.

I thank my wonderful friends and colleagues - Sabrin Farooqui, Pornsawan Tripasai, Sara Afrin, Zhiwen Gao, Renée Chong, Anna Podorova, Kusumarasdyati, Rizwana Ali, Munaza Nausheen - fellow travellers on the journey of doctoral research.

I thank my mentor, Professor Fakrul Alam, for his continuing encouragement and unwavering confidence in me.

I could not have completed the thesis without the love and support of my family - for reminding me that there was more to life than the completion of a research project. They have graciously tolerated my changes in temperament and my physical absence at times when they were entitled to more of my time and attention. I thank my wife Urmee for her understanding, patience and generosity, in enabling the fruition of this study. I thank my twins Sameen and Nishwan for making sure that I did not get lost in my books and whose phone calls always brought me back to reality. I also gratefully acknowledge the care I received from my sister-in-law Sinora.

A very special thanks to Rosemary Viete whose help went a long way in finetuning my final text.

I thank Monash University, my own Faculty and my colleagues here for the services they provided to me over the last few years.

## List of Abbreviations

AEI	Australian Education International
ALA	Australian Leadership Awards
CLT	Communicative Language Teaching
DEEWR	Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations
DEST	Department of Education, Science and Training
DIAC	Department of Immigration and Citizenship
DIMIA	Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESL	English as a Second Language
MBA	Master of Business Administration
NTCN	National Taipei College of Nursing
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages

## CHAPTER ONE

### Situating the Research Problem

At the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century we face an increasingly globalised world where a number of factors have catapulted English into becoming the world's most taught, learned, researched and used second or foreign language. Consequently, there is an increasing demand for English and, therefore, a greater need for aspiring teachers to go abroad to receive TESOL (Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages) degrees in the West. This thesis examines the way English language conflicts with international students' existing languages and cultures - an issue that also raises questions of the personal and professional identity formation processes of those who enrol in international TESOL programs, the characterisation of students' analyses of power relations and their own position within these relations. This study also discusses how international students are interpellated by the myriad forces of globalisation and marketing, how they are subjectified and how they appropriate, negotiate and resist such forces both during and after their overseas studies.

Despite the conspicuous growth in interest and research in TESOL<sup>1</sup> in the past decade, most studies in the area have focussed on issues such as pedagogy, teacher training, the development of materials and curriculum and the question of its cultural appropriateness, at the cost of ignoring other issues such as its marketing and the identity formation of its recipients. Thornbury (2000) argues that even though many English language teaching (ELT) materials appear to be culturally inappropriate in relation to teaching contexts, this is just a 'surface inappropriacy'. At a deeper level there is an inappropriateness of the 'implicit educational principles they convey' and that it is the 'culture of the coursebook' that should concern us more than the 'culture in the coursebook', shaped by the discourses of TESOL. This thesis looks at the informing principles of such an education and traces its roots at the policy level.

Questions of interpellation, or hailing - such as, who does the text think the international student is? - trigger a number of issues that have been either ignored or normatively accepted. According to Kubota (2001), one of the many ways in which institutionalised racism manifests itself lies in which type of pedagogy is promoted as the norm and how the curriculum is organised to provide

---

<sup>1</sup> By extension, 'TESOL' in this instance includes and refers to other similar disciplines such as ESL (English as a Second Language), EFL (English as a Foreign Language), ESOL (English for Speakers of Other Languages) and ELT (English Language Teaching). However, all participants of this study are TESOL students.

or deny access to various educational services for different groups of students. Within international education, the 'rules' of an older discourse of power still operate whose roots can be traced in the West in its role as educator of the 'other'. Kubota (2001) lists a host of researchers like Auerbach and Burgess (1985), Auerbach (1995), and Canagarajah (1999) who have argued that curriculum, textbooks and materials have a 'hidden agenda of assimilation into the White culture or contain racial stereotypes' (Auerbach, 1995, in Kubota, 2001, p. 37). In addition, Govardhan, Nayar and Sheorey (1999) argue that the muddle caused by the profusion of titles of degrees offered in TESOL is further aggravated by the staggering diversity in the course units (with over 800 titles) offered by TESOL programmes in the US, a large number of which he thinks are only marginally or doubtfully relevant. Data collected as part of this project seem to suggest that redundant TESOL subjects also exist within Australian universities.

This study argues that this diversity has roots in a deliberately and elaborately articulated marketing strategy of the West, in which embedded, taken-for-granted power relations are being exploited to the convenience of explicitly market-oriented universities. These redundant courses, in other words, appear to be an indicator of the ways in which power relations are embedded in the marketing of education. By analysing the multifarious operations of power and knowledge within international education markets, this study examines how power and knowledge jointly work in promotional discourses in shaping particular constructions (what is 'sayable') of both international education and student subjectivity.

How do discourses of international education perceive and construct the 'international student'? More specifically, how are the subjectivities and identities of international TESOL students constructed by both the university and by students themselves? Along with these questions, this thesis also discusses how, through their marketing and promotion of international education, universities respond to globalisation and looks at the discursive practices that define the Australian 'brand' of international education.

This chapter firstly situates the research by discussing how the international student identity has been traditionally conceptualised. This is followed by an introduction to the two key discourses which are intimately related to the identity formation of international students: the discourse of international education and the discourse of markets. I present these by providing a brief historical overview of international education - from its colonial beginnings to its contemporary manifestation as a spatially dispersed enterprise of markets with discernible nodes working within circuits of demand and supply, as well as its links with globalisation and its history in

Australia. Third, I present a brief autobiographical account of my history and its impact on my standpoint as a researcher in this study. This chapter concludes with the research questions the study proposes to investigate and a brief reference to methodological considerations.

### 1.1 The Research Problem

In the literature of the past two decades (see 2.2.3) the international student has been seen to embody three distinct subjectivities: a passive 'other' willing to be tutored into the ways of the West; an elite 'other' whose allegiances are to be cultivated; and a competitive 'economic subject' who holds a pragmatic orientation to education. Placing the discursive practices of some Australian universities under the light of examination, I argue that the academic welfare, teaching and learning processes of the university show little awareness of the fluidity of race, culture and language or hybridity of its international students, whose diversity is ignored and homogenised in popular rhetoric. A consequence of this myopic vision of the university is that students are subjected to constricting, divisive and exclusionary discursive practices that fail to properly acknowledge their complex histories, subjectivities and professional aspirations. An identity is thus created for them that is not only superficial but also inaccurate.

This situation is further complicated by another parallel phenomenon that increasingly appears to be occurring. The identities of international TESOL students are not only problematic in their multiple roles of student/customer/consumer, but they are also exploited to consolidate and normalise the commercial interests of institutions. In the process of the universities' marketing, international students are not only institutionally and discursively patronised but they paradoxically play a part in the consolidation of a vicious circle. The lure of international TESOL education in today's world is the anticipated product of a vast network of advertisements in academia, both in the media and in EFL and ESL discourses. It is also a by-product of the power relations projected by the recipient members of this education system. On the one hand English is commodified as a product in a market where demand for it is always on the rise, and on the other, consumers, acting as secondary agents, further legitimise and normalise this demand through an unconscious, spontaneous adoption of its discursive maxims. This is part of Althusser's (1970) point about the nature of interpellation, where international students actively play a role in the perpetuation of the TESOL industry, as well as globalisation and internationalisation. From data analysed as part of this study, it appears that as much as the ranking and popularity of certain Australian universities plays an important role, students themselves fare prominently in the creation of an artificial preference order and a ranking hierarchy of academic institutes. During (1993) argued that the culture industry uses its own 'sophisticated ethnographic techniques' (p. 23)

to mediate the concept of the 'popular' between producers and consumers. But it also simultaneously generates public desire by marketing its products 'as if they were *already* popular' (p. 23). In this system, it is convenient for individuals (international students, in this case) to desire polysemic assimilation by entering the 'symbolic order' of dominant ideologies, ascribing power to themselves and giving themselves a sense of the world. This begs investigation into the discourses of popularity and ranking of universities, which I discuss in the next three chapters.

It is necessary to step out of this vicious circle and to investigate both the appropriateness of these programmes and the extent to which they embed cultural and political assumptions. It is equally important to investigate the extent to which international students appropriate, resist or reconstitute the dominant discourse exercised in such education. A Foucauldian as well as a postcolonial analytic can inform the inquiry by explaining the nature of power and hegemonic control in the discourse of international education as discussed in Chapters Two, Three and Four.

In his discussion of the cultural politics of difference, West (1990) traces the history of 'the ubiquitous commodification of culture in the global village' (cited in During 1993, p. 13), while scholars like Adorno and Horkheimer (1990) have defined the culture industry as 'culture organised from afar', such as in state-run educational systems (cited in During, 1993, p. 4). To that extent TESOL education (and TESOL as an institute and its related marketing) can and has been viewed as a cultural product in this study. This study thus conceptualises TESOL as a subject which institutions and their clientele *jointly* enact, driven both by students' desires (as they emerge in the course of their education) and the logic of commodification and the market. Neoliberal markets presuppose a certain 'construction' of people as 'individuals' who make consumer 'choices' which, in turn, legitimises such operations on a global scale.

As the purpose of this research is to explicate students' perceptions of identity formation in TESOL education, I have adopted a Foucauldian power relations analytic as an informing orientation for the current study. This perspective asserts that it is through power that voices are silenced but it is also through power that voices manifest most effectively. The study adopts Foucault's definition of 'power' as systemic which manifests in multiple social relations. The principles of power operate not so much in an individual as in a certain network of bodies and agencies forming an arrangement whose internal mechanisms produce the relation in which individuals are inevitably caught up. Theorisations reflecting on the relationship between knowledge, power, language and education have yielded bases on which to contrast and establish the current investigation of power

as a mutually enacted phenomenon. The constitution of 'power' in these contexts is contingent upon its relativity to definitions of 'power' defined by the group in power.

## 1.2 The Discourses of International Education

The term 'international education' is fraught with so much meaning that in itself, decontextualised, it means nothing at all. As this study suggests, what is 'thinkable' and 'sayable' about international education is ultimately shaped by a complex of power relations. At its most obvious, international education is associated with the recruitment of international students (Bennell & Pearce, 1998). It may also refer to transnational education, the broad range of educational activities that cross national borders (Clyne, Marginson & Woock, 2001, p. 111). However, international education is most commonly perceived as a global business consisting of spatially dispersed networks of institutions, academics (both teachers and students) and administrators. A university's 'international' status is determined by its ability to generate income from international sources such as international student fees, franchises, overseas and domestic branch campuses and aid and donations from overseas alumni. An international university's marketing staff traverse potential hotspots all over the world to engage with prospective students and offer on-the-spot placements offering international education in the politically neutral language of the 'market'. As well as selling on-campus full-fee programmes, it also caters 'dot.edu' online 'virtual' courses. In other words, the international university is a business, whose students albeit rational and choice-exercising, in the end are interpellated by the market and can safely be seen as 'customers', who are the same the whole world round.

In Australia today, media releases, policy documents and institutional reports celebrate international education as the third largest service industry, in which full-fee paying international students contribute \$7.5 billion a year to the Australian economy (Fullerton, 2005). The Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) estimated about 1.5 million students worldwide who were undertaking tertiary studies outside their home countries in 1994-95. Van Damme (2001) predicts that by 2010, this figure will increase to a staggering 2.8 million students. In Australia, this growth of international students is widely considered as a success story and is associated with economic contributions of full-fee paying international students bringing in billions of dollars.

So why do so many students choose international education? As Sidhu (2005) notes, a number of both 'push' and 'pull' factors are responsible for current consumption trends (p. 23). While

reduced capacity of local universities in the 'sending countries' work as 'push' factors, the marketing and promotional activities of universities in producer countries work as 'pull' factors, producing the desire in an affluent middle class to consume a 'western' commodity (Davies, 1997, in Sidhu 2003, p. 23). In the politically neutral language of the market, agency is seen to reside firmly in the 'sending' countries and autonomous choosing consumers. There is no distinction drawn between 'push' and 'pull' factors within consumption sites, where this is simply and conveniently constituted as 'demand'. The increasingly upward trend of international education can also be attributed to other factors influencing student choices of study destinations such as 'the absorptive capacities of higher education systems of receiving countries' (Cummings, 1991, p. 118) and the flexibility of admissions policies and immigration regulations (ibid., pp. 117-119). Examples of such factors appear recurrently in student responses in the later chapters of this study (see 6.3, for example).

### **1.2.1 International Education's Discursive Links with Colonisation**

Looking back, several theorists have discussed education's involvement with the enterprise of empire (Loomba, 1998; Nandy, 1983; Willinsky, 1998). In the past when educational exchanges took place against the shadow of European colonisation and imperialism, education was exported by colonial centres to their colonies and was normatively seen as an investment to consolidate colonial power (Willinsky, 1998, p. 89). The celebrated Macaulay Minute declared its rationale for education in the colonies with an imperial certitude - 'to create a class of persons Indian in looks and colour but English in tastes and opinions, in morals and intellects' (Macaulay, in Loomba, 1998, p. 85). Education was thus meant to be a key discursive site for social engineering, a goal which would retain its legitimacy post-independence, as the former colonies plunged headlong into 'development' and modernisation (Sidhu, 2003). Discursively packaged as a gift to be transmitted from the educated, civilised coloniser to culturally and educationally 'deficient' colonised subject, colonial education's professed function was to serve as a political investment. The consequences for both giver and receiver were unanticipated and ambiguous, resulting in political independence and at same time, the continuation of a colonised imagination. However, some of the advocates of such internalisation can be driven by other, more 'humane' motives than simply economic ones. These developments can be read as examples of a continuing colonisation of the mind and imaginations of international students which the neocoloniser would fail to see as a kind of symbolic violence that extends the colonial project.

Nandy (1983) identifies two distinct phases of colonisation. The first wave, associated with unfettered economic and human exploitation, is the era of 'bandit kings'. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this

was replaced by the second wave – the era of ‘philosopher kings’ which saw the ‘colonisation of the educated mind’ (pp. *x-xi*). Nandy argues that it is this second wave of colonisation which survived the demise of empires and the inauguration of independent political states. Both Nandy and Hall (1996) discuss the prevalence of multiplicity, contradiction and disjuncture within transcultural encounters in education. They caution against the use of simple, reductionist binaries, arguing that doing so will involve falling back into the discursive logic of the colonial project, with its ritualised binaries and its essentialisation of difference, an issue contemporary postcolonial theorists such as Bhabha (1985, 1987) and Spivak (1988) have further problematised. It is therefore necessary to consider international students’ identity formation processes keeping in mind that ‘truths’ are discursive constructions that are often taken for granted.

### 1.2.2 International Education and Globalisation

Despite the large claims in favour of the ‘importance’ of globalisation, some critics have seen in such initiatives an extension of many of the practices and assumptions of European colonialism and imperialism. In academic scholarship, globalisation has long been considered to be one of the *raisons d’etre* of international education. Although there is no consensus on what these new realities are, still less on ways of tackling them, in response to ‘new realities’ of globalisation almost every Australian university claims to be ‘international’ (Sidhu, 2003, p. 15). One position is to steer the international university towards meeting the needs of the New Economy for which the international university is being exhorted to be ‘internationally competitive’ (ibid., p. 43). Post 9/11, the term ‘international education’ connotatively expanded its possibilities with the Vice-Chancellor of one Australian university declaring:

I can think of no better antidote to international terrorism as international education. It helps us to develop the international perspective and cross cultural sensitivity that are essential attributes of the effective citizen of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, and which gives us the skills and personal capacity to respond positively to globalization.

in Sidhu, 2005, p. 1

As discussed in the next chapter, the power/knowledge that intertwines the dominance of English as a global language (Crystal, 1997; Pennycook, 1994, 1998) also interweaves globalisation and subjectivity and involves multiple domains such as the economic and the social. In turn this dominance affects both local and national understandings of international education. As a result, international education is now commonly seen as part of the complex phenomenon known as globalisation. In the next section, I briefly outline the history of international education in Australia.

### 1.2.3 International Education in Australia: the Beginning

The Colombo Plan of 1950 can be seen as a key milestone in Australia's first major engagement with international students. It is through a complex configuration of political, economic, national and ideological interests that policy initiatives such as the Colombo Plan were produced. An initiative of seven Commonwealth donors, including Australia and Britain, and a number of non-Commonwealth donors (such as the United States and Japan), this Plan was an attempt to foster regional stability and curtail the spread of communism among the newly independent Asian countries. Sidhu shows how the Plan assumed that successful students would return home to constitute a scholarly and administrative elite, effectively a Westernised middle-class intelligentsia, supportive of their western benefactors (Alexander & Rizvi, 1993; Auletta, 2000; Rizvi, 1997; Wicks, 1972, in Sidhu, 2003). The Plan was part of a broader ethnocentric and instrumentalist discursive machinery aimed at goals that took precedence over the educational needs of the region (Alexander & Rizvi, 1993, in Sidhu, 2006, p. 10). Even at the explicit level, there was a gradual move in some sections of the Australian bureaucracy to link aid with 'free' access to regional markets, as Auletta (2000) has shown.

By the time the Plan was subsumed into the present development cooperation programmes, an estimated 300,000 students from 26 different countries had been educated under its aegis (Brown, 1993, in Sidhu, 2005, p. 10). The outcomes that emerged through educational experiences offered by such aid programmes were typically ambivalent and uncertain, with a mix of benefits and costs. Although official accounts widely espoused the success of the Colombo Plan, there was some disquiet about the extent of its success in contributing to the economic development of recipient countries. Rather than referring to the presence of a Western-educated middle and professional class as the cause of national economic success, its critics pointed to the availability of cheap labour (Alexander & Rizvi, 1993). In addition, a 1968 study showed that besides the 'deficits' of the scholarship recipients, there were other concerns about the appropriateness of international educational exchange programmes:

The training of young Asians outside their cultural context... is in many cases irrelevant... and opposed to conditions in their own environment. Education outside is at best only half an education... it leads to possible emasculation of those involved.

Tregonning 1967, in Sidhu, 2005, p. 10

The Plan was also held responsible for a 'brain drain' by reducing the critical mass of skilled professionals in the newly independent countries as well as a 'brain overflow' whereby qualified returnees left their home countries after failing to find jobs suited to their qualifications (Rao, 1979, in Sidhu, 2005, p. 10). This raised questions about the spatialisation of power/knowledge

networks, pointing out that the Plan thus sought to educate the 'other' in an Australian image. To the extent that the Plan was motivated by a national anxiety of the 'other', it was discursively allied to a xenophobic and racist discourse (Alexander & Rizvi, 1993, p. 17). Sidhu discusses how, for example, the discourse of a 'White Australia with its assumptions of ethnocultural superiority was not only hugely influential for the first fifty years of Australian statehood; it has also shown itself to be resilient by reappearing periodically in community attitudes'(p. 11). In Chapter Four (see 4.1) I will discuss these issues in more detail.

### **1.3 The Discourse of Markets**

A second ensemble of discourses which has been influential in shaping the discursive field of international education is the discourse of markets. The way markets are conceptualised is a function of the ideological paradigms used to understand them. In the following sections, I discuss international education within the material context of markets and how education is viewed as a commodity within such a context.

#### **1.3.1 International Education and the Apotheosis of Markets**

Sidhu (2005) shows how in the past two decades the trust invested in the 'market' by politicians and policy makers alike has effectively seen its objectification to an almost 'sage-like status' (p. 13). It is depicted as having emotions and feelings evident in descriptors such as 'the market is nervous, excited, bullish, energetic' (Henry et al., 1999, in Sidhu, 2005, p. 13). Markets are also discursively constructed as mediators and managers and it is common for financial journalists to personify the market with such comments as 'the markets will reward/punish this move'. Markets are embedded in sociocultural and political fabrics of nations or, as Ball (1994) puts it, 'markets are neither natural nor neutral phenomena, they are socially and politically constructed' (p. 111) and can be best understood as a set of behavioural relations rather than as concrete structures with predictable processes and outcomes (Marginson, 1997a, pp. 29-30).

This discourse is fraught with internal inconsistencies where one set of views equates international education with export profits, while another sees educational 'products' sold in the global marketplace as a vast improvement on the limp and posturing colonial pedagogy offered to the colonised elites in the 'aid' era of international education. This second view considers educational markets as having facilitated a clean break from neocolonial impulses of modernity. Where its predecessor, the modern university, was noted for its service to the ideological and imperialising

imperatives of the nation state, this position considers the contemporary international university *itself* as a dynamic agent of a postcolonial form of globalisation (Scott, 1998, pp.123; 126-127).

Another view sees international education markets as a form of 'multinationalisation of education' where the profit motive subordinates attempts to remove traces of neocolonialism from educational products (Altbach, 1999). Given this divergence in views, a brief discussion of education markets is necessary to understand how international education markets, through their conceptualisation of international students as customers, have introduced alternative discursive practices to earlier colonial practices.

### 1.3.2 Education as Commodity

Using the discipline of classical economics as an informing and legitimising paradigm, the normative approach by governments and policymakers is to conceptualise education as a commodity. However, critics of this approach use a Marxist political economy perspective to argue that educational commodities are profoundly complex and their 'use values' must be explored, in addition to the 'exchange values' already identified and privileged by a classical economics framework (Marginson, 1997a, pp. 27-36). As Marginson discusses, a wider approach has been adopted to conceptualise the commodities produced by education markets which identifies two distinct commodities: student goods and knowledge goods. Student goods include self goods and training goods, which are purchased by employers to 'value-add' to their employees' skills and potential (ibid., pp. 46-47). On the other hand, self goods are 'positional' goods, aimed towards social advantage (ibid., p. 38) - for example securing a place in a prestigious university, which constitutes a valued positional good. Knowledge goods on the other hand take the form of tradeable intellectual property (for example, software, international aid consultancies, etc.), the production of which is assumed to take on a more important profile in the knowledge-based economy (ibid., pp. 48-49). Self goods, such as education credentials, are most relevant to international students who can see it as an investment for a better job. Universities' promotional discourses to recruit international students seek to build a *desire* for international education around self goods while, concurrently, in order to embellish the university's positional status within the highly competitive international education market, they also point to the types of knowledge goods produced by these universities. The international university's positional status is thus effectively 'airbrushed' with references to the types of knowledge goods it produces as seen in the following chapters.

How do markets conceptualise educational goods? The commodity approach to education is criticised for its failure to fully acknowledge 'public good' considerations. In Australia, over the last two decades, developments in higher education policy have promoted a user-pays philosophy and have taken a largely reductionist view by focusing entirely on exchange values. Accordingly, while its public good function has largely been ignored, education has been portrayed as a private good, to be paid for by the student consumer. Producers, i.e. universities, are motivated to ensure capital accumulation which in most cases is undertaken by increasing production at the lowest unit cost, resulting in a form of mass production. This phenomenon is understandably different with 'elite' universities, such as the Group of Eight (see 3.5), which remain 'secure' in their status as producers of positional goods and can easily 'rationalise' production to target a selective customer niche. In doing so, they simultaneously ensure capital accumulation while safeguarding their elite status (Marginson, 1997a, pp. 45-46).

It is important to acknowledge that international education's outputs yield different understandings when analysed through different ideological and disciplinary discourses. A Marxist political economy perspective takes a more complex view of educational goods by embracing education's use and exchange (market) values. Conventional accounting instruments such as cost-benefit analyses and productivity measurements cannot quantify use values (Marginson 1997a, pp. 27-28). It is because of this problem, precisely, that attempts to quantify non-pecuniary benefits of international education, for example, the development of intercultural awareness and goodwill, have been deemed 'too difficult' (see Baker, McCreedy & Johnson, 1996).

#### **1.4 Manufacturing the Self: Researcher Standpoint**

In his autobiography *Out of Place* (1999), one of the issues Said attempted to explore was the 'hold' of his early experiences and why their hold persists - 'a record of an essentially lost or forgotten world... a subjective account of the life' (p. xi) he lived in the past. It is widely-accepted by researchers, especially in poststructuralist and feminist work, that because research practices are not isolated but coloured by specific worldviews of the researched, the origin, generation and subsequent investigation of the research problem and its analysis cannot be a disinterested undertaking. Said writes about 'gaining an identity forming my consciousness of myself and of others' (1999, p. xiv). Individual history, subjectivities and positionings of class, gender, ethnicity and geographical spatiality shape and form how researchers receive, interpret, appropriate and transmit discourse. I wish to offer an account of my own English education as a postcolonial subject as a supplementary context to my study by situating some of the concerns enunciated in the opening pages as well as the factors that have made me susceptible to TESOL marketing. In

part, this theoretical position is anchored in my personal history of spending my childhood in a place (East Africa) and environment I was not otherwise meant to be in. Some of these factors in my early life yielded productive synergies while at other times they produced complexities that would have implications later in my life both, as an individual and as learner/researcher. I therefore present, in a purely illustrative way, a brief autobiographical note to outline my standpoint on the acquisition, learning and teaching of English, both as local and international student, and how these subsequently shaped my life as learner, teacher and researcher. As well as a way for the reader to understand some aspects of my life - as an example of the forces that have shaped me - my biography positions me as a case and an object of inquiry within this study and acts as a motivation for me to pursue this research.

My primary education began in 1976 in East Africa - in Kenya and Uganda where my young, Bangladeshi physician parents were posted in jobs as part of a long-term government medical exchange program. As newly independent former British colonies, these two countries offered me a primarily British education system where I spent the first five years of my schooling. My first introduction to English study beyond the school curriculum was probably the 36 illustrated books in the Ladybird series. In my primary school years Tintin, Archie, Asterisk and Obelisk and the Marvel comics played a major role in building up my imagination of an 'other' world beyond my daily mundane life. In my family, in true cosmopolitan fashion, we were encouraged to have friends from all religious and ethnocultural groups. My parents' close and intimate friends were similarly drawn from different communities many of whom were migrants from Asia. As children, we moved in and out of each other's homes, enjoying an easy intimacy with friends from different backgrounds in an environment where my conservative parents saw the promise of a good international education. With a precocious good grasp of English and only a perfunctorily conversational competence in Bangla, my first language, little did I know about its implications in my future choice of study and profession. By age 10 I was fluent alike in Bangla, English and Swahili while home schooling meant that I could also read a little bit of Arabic. We all spoke Bangla at home even though my parents, as recipients of a postcolonial education system, were well conversant in English.

My father had an almost academic interest in all branches of knowledge. As an avid reader and accomplished scholar, he always encouraged reading and writing beyond the demands and requirements of school. He was also the absolute patriarch of the family who ruled with an iron hand - decisions as to what language we children should speak, what we should learn, how much religious instruction we would have to take were entirely his. His thirst for knowledge led us to

visit more than 10 countries by the time I was 10. The complex and contradictory politics of transcultural borrowings and identity building surrounding our movements and travel around the globe in various unacknowledged ways shaped my future choice of study as well as profession.

Back home in Bangladesh at the age of 10, my East African education worked a miracle where all that English speaking eventually 'paid off'. We three brothers found it difficult to adjust to schooling where everyone spoke in Bangla. Our markedly different Bangla accent with a mix of English words drew looks and inspired whispers among fellow students. We mechanically learnt to take on the 'identity' which we thought would give us the best chance of surviving the curiosity generated by 'difference'. This was a time in my life when to be like 'others', indistinct and common, was a virtue (see 8.1.1). However, any lack of competence in the vernacular Bangla was made up by my precocious competence in English. I got admission to one of the best schools in Mymensingh even when I could hardly write in Bangla. I remember my very first class one sultry afternoon in a small classroom full of students giving me strange looks because of my outlandish Bangla accent. We were given an excerpt from W. H. Longfellow's *Hiawatha* in *The Radiant Way*. A common rote practice in schools in Bangladesh, the task was to memorise two stanzas and come prepared to recite it in front of the class the following week.

*Then the little Hiawatha  
Learned of every bird its language,  
Learned their names and all their secrets,  
How they built their nests in Summer,  
Where they hid themselves in Winter,  
Talked with them whene'er he met them,  
Called them "Hiawatha's Chickens".*

*Of all beasts he learned the language,  
Learned their names and all their secrets,  
How the beavers built their lodges,  
Where the squirrels hid their acorns,  
How the reindeer ran so swiftly,  
Why the rabbit was so timid,  
Talked with them whene'er he met them,  
Called them "Hiawatha's Brothers".*

For some reason I did not understand that the task was due in a week and memorised the entire poem in that class – then and there. When I asked a fellow student when we would be called to recite and that I had already memorised it, it did not take long for the news to spread – first across the class, then around the entire school. From then on I was called *Ingrejir jahaaj* – 'Ship of English' – an expression of approval common in schools in recognition of one's 'mastery' over a particular

subject. For any problem solving in English, I was called. Be it spelling or vocabulary, a verb-tense problem or just translation, I was the one who had 'all the answers'. For the first time in my life, at age 10, I realised English can be very, very special.

At this point it might be relevant to talk about the status of English in Bangladesh. The position of English in Bangladesh as either a foreign (EFL) or a second (ESL) language is problematic. On one hand there are the obvious aftershocks of the colonial era and on the other there is an equally powerful historical sentimentality at work balancing any conspicuous favouritism for English. In 1947, when India finally became independent from the British colonisers, it split into India and Pakistan. Pakistan itself consisted of two geographically and culturally severed units based only on the unity of the religion of Islam - West Pakistan and East Pakistan (now Bangladesh). While Urdu was the main language in the former, Bengali or 'Bangla' was the vernacular of the latter. In a unique historical movement on 21 February 1952 which in fact triggered the whole movement for liberation that led to the independence in 1971, student protesters demonstrated against West Pakistan's bid to formalise Urdu as the one national language for both Pakistans. A number of protestors, mostly students from the University of Dhaka (DU) were shot dead by the police. The attempt of the Government to establish Urdu in East Pakistan failed and Bangla prevailed. Every year from then on, 21 February is celebrated amid mourning and jubilation. In recognition, what used to be Bangladesh's national Language Martyr's Day (*ekushey* or the 'twenty-first') was in 1999 declared International Mother Tongue day by the United Nations.

The history of 21 February marks in all Bangladeshis a strong, rather sentimental preference and support for Bangla, even to the extent of an equally strong neglect of English. Due to its long colonial association, English still bears the weight of its colonial past and for a long period was a much-hated language in the popular sentiment (Chowdhury & Farooqui, 2008). Unlike for most Asian countries, however, in Bangladesh English is a compulsory subject from Year 1 to Year 12. While the importance of learning English is hardly an issue of debate, there is a dichotomy among intellectuals, some of whom have always strongly opposed the use of English in government offices and workplace. *Ekushey* is marked as the proudest moment of our modern history, second only to the War of Independence and Liberation against Pakistan in 1971, and language still plays a very sentimental role in Bangladeshis' daily lives.

In 1984, when I was in year seven, I was admitted to a Cadet College to study for the next six years. Cadet colleges are modelled around strict military regimentation and are reputed as consistently the best seats of secondary education in the country. While the medium of instruction

is still Bangla as in any other college, there is a heavy emphasis on the use of English, both in and out of the classroom. Weekly debates and stage competitions, wall magazines and poetry competitions, spelling bees and current affairs displays – all extra-curricular events are conducted in English. The difference this system made to my personality and education was conspicuous when I compared it with my friends who studied in other colleges. My Cadet College study not only gave a boost to my English education, it generated in me a desire to excel in all subjects alike. I graduated from Cadet College in 1990.

By now expectations from others for me, even before I consciously realised it, whether from my parents, relatives, friends or acquaintances, were centred around my proficiency in English – that I must be an English professor someday, or in a profession requiring ‘a lot of English’. I did not know what it meant at that time. While my parents insisted I study medical science to further their own family traditions, after my high school finals, I chose to study English instead. The following year saw me in the undergraduate class in the Department of English at the University of Dhaka. Established in 1921 by the British and once considered the ‘Oxford of the East’, it is arguably the top university of the country. Rather than any particular reason associated with a future profession and its benefits, it was primarily my confidence in my English and more specifically my love for English literature that drove me to choose to study English. Even though the title of the degree was ‘BA in English’, most of the study was in fact English literature, with very little emphasis on language and linguistics. I could not have been happier to have it this way. I enjoyed my classes and topped in all the exams. My primary education in East Africa, it seemed, came this far in making me the *Ingrejir jahaaj*. In my Masters, the choice was obvious when I had the option of choosing between English Literature and Linguistics and ELT. Throughout my undergraduate years I marvelled at the personalities of the ‘elite’ teachers of my department. A number of teachers in the department commanded international repute holding positions such as the Commonwealth and Booker prize regional jury and editors of major international publishing houses. They influenced me enormously. I wanted to be ‘one of them’.

Because of my results, both in the BA and MA exams, I was made to believe, explicitly and meaningfully, by my teachers that I would one day become their colleague - as if no other option existed, or should exist, as if this was too obvious to be otherwise. And with time I got used to it to the point of the exclusion of other career possibilities. What could be better than to be part of the workforce considered as the most powerful *buddhijeebi shomaj* – the intellectual community? Only later would I see the subtle ways in which I was gradually being interpellated into subject positions not of my own choosing.

So strong and obvious were others' expectations, that in 1997, just months after my MA results were out, when I was asked to join the English Department at DU as a part-time Lecturer, I was not surprised at all. The proposal came as an obvious welcome, with the thrill of teaching at an institution where I had been a student only weeks earlier, and having my teachers as colleagues. This is of course not to say that I reacted indifferently or with even the slightest degree of reluctance, because I knew this was my entry into the 'elite' of the society: this was the 'turning point' of my life. In retrospect I cannot recall thinking of any other career option at that time.

As in most other countries, teachers in public universities in Bangladesh are poorly paid. However, when in 1990 the Private Universities Act was passed by the parliament, there was a sudden mushroom growth of universities in the private sector offering lucrative packages for part-time and full-time appointments alike. While these universities invariably offered the same market-demanding subjects such as Information Technology and Business Administration, the need for English was strongly felt. Even if not offering degrees in English, every university had to have an English Department to provide language support to the other Departments. This meant a boost in part-time employment opportunities for English teachers from established public universities like DU. With little or no restriction from the administration, teachers would teach at as many as three or four universities at a time. I joined one such private university in 1997. By 2004 I had taught at as many as five, with three at one single time.

I first came to Australia on an AusAID scholarship in early 2000 to study for an MEd in TESOL at Monash University. At that time I had not heard of Monash but when I was awarded the scholarship and I had to choose a university, Monash seemed to be most awardees' favourite choice. It seemed that most awardees already knew that, in terms of international student population, it was Australia's 'largest' university, while it 'ranked about 3rd or 4th in Australia', and was a member of the 'Group of Eight'. The first time I made a choice, I had originally chosen Deakin University, for the sole reason that my colleague and friend was already there on the previous year's AusAID scholarship. I was asked by the AusAID official whether I would reconsider studying at Monash instead because they offered the same TESOL course over three semesters (Deakin's was a one-year, two-semester TESOL program). I could see the obvious point. Why not spend *more* time studying in Australia on a full-scholarship? Eventually I chose Monash and studied there for the next 20 months. Years later as I interviewed participants for the purpose of this study, I would find out I was acting very 'normally' - now I know that a lot of students' choices of universities for international education appear 'arbitrary', made for sentimental,

romantic, rather than practical reasons. I would not see my choice as a result of responding to strong discursive pointers that I had been given over a long period of time till much later. This is an issue I pursue in Chapter Six (see 6.3).

Other than purely personal matters, when I recall my stay and study at Monash, I can think of my unexpected surprise at the way classes were conducted, indeed the whole 'culture' of teaching and learning. Instead of a lecture-type 'frontal approach', one I was used to both as student and teacher, I was in a class that was emphatically labelled 'communicative'. Here is where I first learnt of communicative language teaching (CLT) and the communicative classroom. Indeed the emphasis on anything communicative in pedagogy seemed to have placed an equally strong dismissal of anything that was 'not communicative'. Our teachers moved physically amongst students in the classes, in which seats were arranged rather randomly. Students could put their legs up in chairs and tables and wear almost anything but sleepwear. In apparent irreverence you could call the teacher by his or her first name, chew gum in the class and bring in a whole box of tissues if you caught cold. Students would also talk a lot more than the teachers. I observed these details with amusement and slow acceptance until a time came when I took them for granted. My other recollection of the evening TESOL classes was the multinational mix of students. On one hand we had the international group of young but experienced teacher-students. On the other we had comparatively older 'local' students, experienced but also mature both in age and classroom 'wisdom'. With the use of multimedia and OHPs, plenty of handouts and weekly reading lists, these classes felt not only informal but in a way relaxed, albeit demanding.

In August 2001, I graduated with an MEd TESOL from Monash University. On my return to Bangladesh, my prospects for part-time employment had increased, with a 'foreign degree' under my belt. I also started looking at certain aspects of teaching in a new light. Issues such as a learner-centred curriculum and the use of (available) logistics are important aspects of that MEd program that have shaped my teaching ever since. I have personally taken my students to cyber cafes to show them how to use the Internet to access study materials. I have brought materials downloaded from the Internet to the class and directed them to useful websites. My enthusiasm touched most students, many of whom have emailed me since. However, I have been deeply aware of the sensitivity of translating, adopting and adapting pedagogical knowledge, an area I pursued in my Masters thesis and I have always seen learning cultures as unique and self-contained.

By constructing this autobiography, I have attempted to capture the way I am situated, interrogating the determinants of my own experience. In retrospect I feel that despite the 'hold' of

my own agency in choosing what I wanted to be, I have been acted upon by forces that have, throughout my life, compelled me to making certain 'choices'. I feel that what I am today has mostly been determined by forces that have intersected in my life at different points and in different permutations and combinations. I have attempted to portray the various versions of myself which still constitute me – not in a way which suggests a consistent self, but rather in the form of conflicts and contradictions with which I am still grappling, much in the same manner as the participants in this study. The friction, tensions and contradictions, as well as the doubts and misgivings among and between my several roles and selves, have shaped, reshaped and reconstituted the inconsistent, fractured me over the years. I have no doubt that over a whole lifetime, but more so in my formative years, English has in various ways enabled me to extend this plurality and complexity of my positioning in the world.

The way I have studied is integrally bound up with my own autobiography or, more specifically – my own interpellation as a subject. In the current study, my own biography provides invaluable and unique insights into the formation of the conceptual tools to research the issue of identity formation. My autobiography in a sense thus traces key moments in my interpellation, in the construction and metamorphosis of Raqib. My history, context and location have been integral to how I have approached this study, from formulating the 'problem' to be investigated, to the selection of theoretical and methodological frameworks. By constructing this autobiography, I have also attempted to capture the way I am currently situated, interrogating the determinants of my experience. As a TESOL student and a TESOL professional myself, I have approached globalisation and international TESOL education as a set of intensely social and political processes which, within a smaller canvas, I can personally relate to.

### **1.5 Research Questions**

The inquiries this study pursues can be broadly divided into three parts:

#### Formation of Identity

One of the main purposes of this study is to analyse and explicate the personal and professional identity formation processes that occur among international TESOL students, during and after their study. Another is to characterise students' analyses of power relations and their own position within these relations. This study therefore attempts to find how the power relations that inform and inspire international education are linked with contemporary processes of globalisation. To this end, I pose the following questions:

How do discourses of international education perceive and construct the 'international student'? More specifically, in the context of globalisation, how are the subjectivities and identities of international TESOL students constructed by both the university and by the students themselves? How and to what extent do TESOL professionals appropriate, resist and reconstitute the discourses of Western TESOL education? How do international TESOL students conceptualise power relations in terms of anticipated professional identity formation?

### Formation of Choices

A very important aspect of this project is to critically investigate the process of choice formation of prospective international students: What are the underlying reasons for students to have specifically chosen (i) Australia, (ii) their university, and (iii) TESOL? It therefore focuses on the ways in which individuals are being guided or interpellated in powerful ways and given strong pointers as to the path they *should* be following. In other words, this study looks at how desires are created, desires that include images and ways of imagining self as fitting into a discourse, and of recognising self as part of a discourse.

### TESOL and Marketing

This thesis investigates the commodification of TESOL programmes in some Australian universities and what impact this has on international TESOL students in the formation of their choices and subsequent professional decision-making. It further investigates how students conceptualise the 'TESOL professional' identity itself, before, during and after the course. More generally, the study asks: is it possible to see the enterprise of TESOL in practice to be unconsciously endorsed by notions of an Orientalist discourse?

The intellectual foundation for this study is established firstly in the conceptualisation of the research questions and secondly, by the selection of appropriate methodological procedures. As a starting point I accept the view that concepts and research problems are not just descriptive tools but are powerfully constitutive in themselves. In the next three chapters, I use two key theories to inform this study. Firstly, I use Foucault's theories on discourse to examine how power/knowledge constellations within international education field have established a repertoire of defining concepts and issues and how they identify 'objects' of knowledge including particular meanings about the international student. Such power/knowledge constellations potentially normalise particular subject positions and shape the development of selective regimes of truth. Secondly, I supplement Foucault's work with current writings on globalisation

specifically in relation to the marketing of international education. This view allows the study to draw on the local, national as well as global forces at work in the dynamic two-way process of the identity formation of international students.

As mentioned earlier, this study analyses international education as a spatially dispersed collection of markets, policy ensembles, institutions, transactions and social relations, which span local, national and global registers. Several 'sets' of data are analysed in this study: interviews, written text, image, and promotional materials (such as handbooks, brochures and internet websites). Through interviews with the participants and documentary analysis, the discursive practices of university sites are examined. So too are the subjectivities of students as they become involved in the various activities of the institution.

### **1.6 Concluding Comments and Summary of Ensuing Chapters**

To summarise, in this chapter I have highlighted the complexity surrounding international education and have identified and briefly discussed the discourse of markets which has influenced international education. This discursive formation is not monolithic and points to particular constellations of power and knowledge which privileges particular politico-economic and cultural formations and articulates different educational visions and different global imaginaries.

This chapter has identified the complex ways in which international students are interpellated by international education, texts as well as other resources in which they engage and by the market itself, constructing them as individual consumers who are the same the whole world over. At the cost of neglecting certain issues, other TESOL-related issues, such as the cultural incompatibility certain pedagogical practices (CLT, for example) in 'non-native' settings, have gained prominence in academic writing in the past decade (see Alptekin & Alptekin, 1984; Auerbach, 1995; Chowdhury, 2003; Edge, 1996; Liu, 1998; Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992, for example). Indeed, critical scholarship is crowded with work on the relative importance of English in the postcolonial era, and whether its spread is benign or malignant. However, education in general, Salzman (1989) points out is a field marked in the past by theoretic naivety and haphazard variety by the metropolitan mediators of cultures.

In playing with the conflict between the versions of my 'self', established, sustained and promoted by an English education, and my various other 'selves' as the products of competing discourses, my own autobiography sought to explore myself as a hybrid being acting as well as being acted

upon by external forces. In this study I attempt to see how and to what extent it is possible to move beyond the current discursive representations of students which revolve around 'dualisms', 'binaries', 'us' and the 'other', and foster educational and institutional practices that recognise students' hybridity.

The interest of this thesis lies in the intersection of TESOL and the knowledge/power/identity grid. I am curious in investigating if TESOL, as an institute and enterprise, is apathetic to target settings due to the power structure it embodies. I also propose to see if Foucauldian theories can explain the way in which TESOL is commercialised. Further, the study also explores how the institution fails to benefit fully from the presence of international students because of its current reductionist discussions of them. This study provides a critique of institutional discourses that are informed by race, culture and identity, learning constraints and particular constructions of English as a language and offers ways of thinking that enable a movement beyond into the arena of multiplicity and complexity. It points to the benefits of examining through a postcolonial lens the discursive practices of the institution alongside the subjectivities of students.

This study does not seek to find if international educational markets are 'good' or 'bad', that is, whether, on the balance, they deliver more benefits than disadvantages to individual international students. What interests me is the subjectification processes that are produced by international education discourses and how they shape the identities of international students. This study therefore also attempts to find how the power relations that inform and inspire international education are linked with contemporary processes of globalisation. My aim is to problematise the notion of international education as a trade-in-education service. It examines international education as a network of markets, producers, consumers, governments, universities, education brokers and students. How is power distributed within these networks; what types of discourses are emerging from each of the nodal points; what types of subjectification processes are in place; and what do they tell us about the power/knowledge regimes within international education markets?

Chapter Two outlines the ways in which discourses are produced, how the multiplicity of identities is intersected by knowledge/power grids, and how the three Foucauldian spaces of resistance further problematise the operation of such networks. We see how postcolonial theories, in particular the works of Said, provide a useful pathway to exploring the discursive representation of international students.

Chapter Three provides a discussion on international education in the context of globalisation and how, despite being poorly theorised and analysed, the latter concept works as a legitimising metaphor to justify policies and practices of its market mode of operation, especially in relation to international education. The discussion reveals several researchers' observation that globalisation itself has become a form of governmentality within international education, where the hyperglobalising trends of global alliances and higher education fraternity groups conspicuously affect the marketing, recruitment, placing and positioning of international students.

Chapter Four provides a reading of the different stages in the development of Australia's national policy in international education. We see that the trajectory of international student policy clearly shows the adoption of an economic discourse in these shifts leading to an ambivalence surrounding international student policy in Australia and the extent to which the presence of international students hinges on the national politics of Australia. It also looks at the way both the government at the federal level and the university at the institutional level position themselves in relation to policy, and comments on how this may have undesirable results for both the institution and its international students. Mindful of an overemphasis on the written word and speech at the cost of neglecting other 'texts', I also examine promotional images and 'spatial scripts' in this chapter, since these constitute the materialities in physical spaces which also 'tell a story'. By focusing on the micropractices of some universities and education brokers, this chapter compares the discursive practices that define the Australian 'brand' of international education.

Chapter Five outlines the research design chosen for the study by discussing the research orientation of the study as well as the approaches and tools used for data collection and interpretation. The strategies and methods for conducting the study as well as the various sources of data, selection of participants and other data collection procedures are described. Of particular importance are the demographic variables that were taken into consideration in the recruitment of the participants, which Chapters Six, Seven and Eight retrospectively validate.

The first of the three chapters presenting data obtained from the interviews, Chapter Six presents storylines about participants' first contact with English and the many ways in which they personally, socially and academically related to English as they grew up. Despite initial dislike, fear, scepticism, pure uncertainty or even religious bias, all participants retrospectively viewed their choice as practical and useful, if not relevant. A core part of this chapter discusses the theme of 'desire' and the choice formation of participants. It also describes how, in their perceptions, international students represent their own self and how they feel this self is represented by

universities and agents. The sheer complexity of such experiences opens up truths that counteract and deconstruct the essentialising and stereotyping of international students, which dominant discourses have always harboured.

Chapter Seven draws on themes of conflict and development participants experienced during and after their study in Australia. Read along with the themes discussed in Chapter Two, this chapter shows that despite the diversity of their learning thresholds, their varying levels of competence in English, as well as their rich but differing professional experiences and aptitudes, international students are still viewed as a homogeneous group, who are all in need of the same level of help. An interesting array of responses is elicited to the question regarding the 'ownership' of English and the 'English culture'. Participants also discuss the commercialism and profit-making mode of universities which they seemed to be well aware of. The multiple roles of education brokers, both overt and covert, seemed to have determined their choice formation which participants, some happily, realise only retrospectively. The popular truths surrounding the ranking of universities is demythologised when participants talk about the 'business comes first' attitude of universities, where as long as one can pay, one can come in to study.

Participants also talk about their expectations and disappointments in relation to their current TESOL studies. While some participants can finally vindicate the active role of agents in their choice making process through a carefully chosen pathway to permanent residency in Australia, others complain about the disappointment at the 'knowledge level' of their studies as well as issues of lack of choice and curricular redundancy. The image of the TESOL professional and the TESOL industry is demythologised through such accounts where students talk about the disparity between what was promised and what they received. This chapter also discusses the current status and future plans of participants, some of whom have already completed their studies and have returned home.

Chapter Eight sees the exclusive portrayal of Rika, whose gradual development as a user of English to an international student and finally a TESOL professional gives us the story of an identity in conflict in terms of her struggle to be 'different' both in her own country as well as in Australia. We trace an identity in crisis and the subtle vulnerabilities of one who refuses to see herself as naïve yet would not accept an identity imposed by others. In her 'spotlight of difference' she continually struggles to keep herself distinct, yet with a conspicuously spelled out Japanese identity. In many ways she embodies the ways in which the forces of globalisation and the power/knowledge vectors have quintessentially impacted on the individual.

The next three chapters establish the epistemological foundations of the theories used in this study, in the light of which I will interpret, analyse and understand the participants' stories in subsequent chapters.

## CHAPTER TWO

### **Discourses and the Construction of Identity: 'Truths' and Theory**

This chapter, along with the next two, maps the theoretical and epistemological space in which this thesis is located. A substantial part of the chapter is devoted to discussing how Foucault's work on power relations can be used to analyse the discursive constructions of the international student and the subjectivities implied by them. I also consider what Foucault has to offer with respect to the relationship between theory and methodology, in order to provide a rationale for the design of the study. In addition, I discuss selective works of Said, Althusser and Bhabha which provide theoretical frameworks for the issues which unfold as international students speak out in the later chapters of this thesis.

In this chapter I introduce and discuss Foucault's work in four areas: discourse (and knowledge), power, desire and subjectivity. Using his work and that of some other theorists, I formulate my central argument: that it is through complex articulations of power and discourse that our ways of 'seeing' the international student ultimately materialise. Power not only initiates, creates, and sustains objects of discourse within the field of international education but also produces webs of administrators, scholars, technicians and 'apparatuses of government'. Power influences the formation and deployment of policy and practices. It is by, and through, a set of differentially powerful discursive practices that the international student is constructed as an object to be recruited, educated and invested in. Key Foucauldian strategies - such as recognising that discourses construct the object of knowledge rather than simply reflecting it - and postcolonial concepts suggestive of how we act in response to these discourses, namely, appropriation, negotiation and resistance - enable us to reconceptualise international education, and by implication, the TESOL industry.

Two general questions this chapter asks are:

1. What are the conditions that shape the emergence and consolidation of particular discourses about international education and international students?
2. What are the regimes of truth about international students in academic scholarship and promotional discourses? How do these regimes define subjectivity?

Firstly I examine the various ways in which discourses are seen to be working and in particular look at the spaces of acceptance and resistance that open up in these various descriptions. In this chapter I also combine looking at how some theoretical constructions around the ideas of knowledge and power can be related to aspects of international education, and how they have filtered down into literature about international education. I discuss Foucault with his analysis on the grids and clusters of power relations and how this has been developed in literature about international students in the examples of silencing alternative voices - in this case international student voices. Inside these grids and clusters are the spaces of the 'not-said', which emerge in the later chapters presenting students' personal histories.

Secondly I discuss how power affects subjectivity and thus identity formation and how, through the mechanism of power, international students have been discursively constructed in academic scholarship. Academic literature that has been constructed about international education is woven through the theoretical discussion. My aim in this chapter is not only to problematise conventional ways of doing research on international education but also to map a theoretical and methodological framework for an alternative way of studying international education. I also discuss Foucault's archaeological methodology to analyse the promotional discourses used in international student recruitment. Finally I discuss the themes of appropriation, negotiation and resistance, as well as shifting subject positions and the possibility of dissent.

Several key points are made in this chapter. First, the production and sustaining of discourse is solely dependent on the reciprocal relationship between power and knowledge. As I show, a series of rules, all underpinned by power relations, influence the production, accumulation, circulation, functioning and institutionalisation of discourse. Just as particular socio-cultural and historically situated power/knowledge constellations have attributed to the international student the subject position of 'passive', 'uncritical' learner, certain constellations of power/knowledge have institutionalised international educational markets and subjectified the international student as 'customer' and 'consumer'. Second, with emphasis on both the descending and ascending modalities of power, Foucault's theorisation of power relations is pivotal in throwing light on subject and identity formation processes. Such a power analytic also has methodological consequences as it requires attending to the role of the state in the formation of subjectivity.

The next section begins with an overview of Foucault's work on discourse and his conceptualisation of power, knowledge and government, especially with respect to understanding the complexity of the international education machine and the way it produces subjects.

## **2.1 Foucault and the Production of Knowledge**

The emergence of poststructuralism in the 1960s and in particular the work of Foucault ushered in a new sensibility in research with two distinct premises underpinning this sensibility. The first of these is a Nietzschean logic which unsettles the Enlightenment assumptions of human consciousness as the original subject of all knowledge (Foucault, 1972, p. 12). Foucault argues that discourse emerges from 'an anonymous and polymorphous will to knowledge, capable of transformations and caught up in an identifiable play of dependence' (Foucault, 1994, p. 12), rather than from a 'transcendental subject of knowledge' which was thought to invent discourse. Importantly, Foucault talks of the dimension and scope of the 'positive unconscious' in the production of discourse and, by extension, the production of knowledge itself. In other words, he argues that the 'rules' which shape discourses tend to elude the consciousness of the practitioners of these discourses (McNay, 1994, in Sidhu, 2005, p. 27). In this manner, new theoretical frameworks of understanding the links between knowledge, power and governance have emerged from the transgressive imperatives of Foucault's work. With that we see the emergence of the concepts of appropriation and resistance offered by theorists such as Bhabha and Spivak working from the 'post' paradigms of postcolonialism and poststructuralism.

Together, these theoretical frameworks offer new possibilities for understanding international education discourses. For example, in the Australian context, the assumptions of continuity, development and progress implied by the notion of 'from aid to trade to internationalisation' are unsettled if we use a Foucauldian analytic. Through a Foucauldian analytic this study examines how power relations are spatially expressed within the various nodes of supply and demand in global education markets. Further, a Foucauldian archaeological reading of micropractices uncovers the 'regimes of truth' underpinning 'internationalisation' and in doing so illustrates the interrelatedness of power, the discourses of international education and subject and identity formation of international students.

The next sections discuss the key Foucauldian concepts of discourse, power and knowledge which form the core of the theoretical framework of this study.

### **2.1.1 Discourse and the Plurality of Meanings**

Even though commonly held interpretations of the term 'discourse' tend to restrict it to 'systems' of texts, vocabularies, thoughts or sayings, Foucault's interpretation of 'discourse' is broad and inclusive. In his interpretation, the scope of discourse moves beyond language and 'signs' or

signifiers supposedly reflecting reality and refers to practices which exhibit a regularity or 'systematicity':

Discourse... is not a consciousness that embodies its project in the external form of language; it is not a language plus a subject to speak it. It is a practice that has its own forms of sequence and succession.

Foucault, 1972, p. 169

Rather than reflecting 'reality', discourse is constitutive of 'reality', colouring and constraining the imagination and social practices:

Discourses are practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak... discourses are not about objects, they don't identify objects, they constitute them and in doing so, they conceal their own invention.

Ibid., p. 49

Foucault thus understands discourse as premised on a notion of a 'systematicity' in which rules govern *both* the selection and the exclusion of objects, concepts, norms and theories - effectively everything that can be 'thought' and 'said'. The description of these rules is the basis of doing what Foucault calls archaeology, which I discuss later:

Discursive practices [have] a type of systematicity which is neither logical nor linguistic... [They] are characterised by the demarcation of a field of objects, by the definition of a legitimate perspective for a subject of knowledge, by the setting of norms for elaborating concepts and theories. Hence each of them presupposes a play of prescriptions that govern exclusions and selections.

Foucault, 1994, p. 11

Foucault (1972) argues that in a discourse multiple meanings are possible, by which he means that potentially a discourse 'contains the power to say something other than what it actually says, and thus to embrace a plurality of meanings' (p. 118). He explains that for individuals, this plurality of meanings has the potential to relate the way they construct their subjectivities. Foucault also says that 'one and the same individual may occupy in turn, in the same series of statements, different positions and assume the role of different subjects' (p. 94). The possibilities that are made available to individuals (international students, in this case) are therefore multiple.

The connections between ways of viewing the world and individual ways of talking about the world and the self within it are complex. Within postmodern theories these connections can be analysed by looking at the discourses within which these are located. The works of Foucault have comprehensively established the notion that human interactions, whether between individuals, institutions and subjects, governments and populations, are multiple, contradictory and perpetually changing. Foucault thus describes discourse as a way of 'constituting knowledge...

social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and the relations between them' (Weedon, 1987, p. 108). Through his analysis of the history of discourses, Foucault has shown that considerable change has been made in the ways in which groups of people over history are understood by, and relate to society (Foucault, 1981). However, because discourses are historically developed and produced, individuals and groups may contest the discourse and develop new ways of constituting knowledge over time.

Such historical changes in discourse bring changes in language, which in turn provide a clue to 'the discontinuities and thresholds that appear' (Foucault 1972, p. 41) in a discourse. They 'map the first surfaces of their emergence' - the emergence of a new discourse (p. 41). In relation to international education, for example, Humfreys (1999) notices how, over time, perceptions change and how the 'change in terminology' is reflected in 'the change in attitude': 'those who were in the 1970s described as *foreign* students were the *overseas* students in the 1980s and the *international* students of the present decade' (p. 154). Changes in such namings provide a new way of constituting knowledge, and can explain the link between constructions of power and subjectivity.

In short, discourses shape the world and are simultaneously shaped by social and material practices. They can be perhaps best understood as an ensemble of social practices through which 'reality' is made comprehensible. Since discourses have a 'situated' character, they can subsequently produce partial, situated knowledges vulnerable to contestation and negotiation. Understanding and resolving the tensions within these negotiations requires, minimally, an engagement with power which I discuss in the next section.

### **2.1.2 Power and 'the rules of the game'**

Foucault was keen to refrain from providing an absolute theory of power because the notion of a 'theory' or definition suggested a context free, value-neutral and ahistorical view of the exercise, effects and outcomes of power (Sidhu, 2005, p. 29). In place of theory, he provides an 'analytic' of power which, he argues, is capable of accommodating the contextualisation and situatedness of power - including its historical contingencies, its amorphous expressions across time, spaces and places, across institutions including academic disciplines and across cultures (Foucault, 1982, p. 184). While recognising that sovereign power does exist, Foucault argues that it is not the only type of power in circulation (Foucault 1980, p. 88, 93-96). Instead he offers a set of alternative propositions, which I discuss next.

Foucault (1980) reconceptualises 'power' and shows its omnipresence beyond the reductive binary assumption of oppressor/oppressed. His notion of power involves three important observations. First, power is a complex strategic situation in a particular society, not imposed but working as a network or 'web' or 'chain' of relations in which individuals alternate in between, simultaneously exercising *and* being subject to power – both as agents and targets (Foucault, 1980, p. 98, see also Ashcroft, 1995, p. 427). Foucault explains that there are no seats of power or places of oppression – power, therefore, is not possessed but exercised. Second, power arises from the bottom up. If power is strategised by specific groups such as 'men' or 'capital', or 'bisexuals', then the groups themselves are not stable in history. Power is not something that is acquired, seized, or shared but something that can simultaneously operate from innumerable points. Third, Foucault suggests that looking for *who* has power is futile; *how* power works is what really matters. He contends that in colonised countries power permeated all levels of the society and allowed the coloniser to utilise the "native's" resources as a site for the articulation and retention of power (Mills, 2003, p. 35). Power is diffused at multiple sites or nodes within networks – such as universities and the physical places in which universities are located. The socioeconomic profiles of these places, as well as the broader educational spaces which feature brokers, marketing instrumentalities and consumer markets, are considered in more detail in the next two chapters.

Central to Foucauldian power is the notion that the analysis of power should not be directed at the 'regulated and legitimate forms of power in their central locations but with power at its extremities... at those points where it becomes capillary' (Foucault, 1982, p. 96). Understanding power's day-to-day operations, its participants and its effects requires attending to 'micropractices or political technologies' (Foucault, 1982, p. 185), which provides the focus of Chapter Four. According to Foucault, the analysis of power should refrain from focusing entirely on the conscious intentions and motivations of individuals. Questions such as who has power and what is their aim are redundant. The more important question is how power installs itself, how power acquires the status of 'truth' and importantly, how power induces 'truth regimes', such as those in international education, which collaborate to produce particular subject positions (at the cost of neglecting others, see 2.2.3) and both dominant and subjugated knowledges. Foucault's work prompts the researcher to analyse how power is exercised. He argues that power is employed and exercised through

a net-like organisation... individuals are [thus] the vehicles of power, not its point of application. Individuals are not passive, inert entities who are simply at the receiving end of power... power is never localised, here or there, never in anybody's hands, never appropriated as a commodity or piece of wealth.

Foucault, 1980, p. 98

In Chapters Three and Four I show how the dynamic and ever-shifting nature of power permeates through networks of the local, national and the global, all the way through to the individual. In the context of the present study, which seeks to explore perceived power relations of international students, it is important to analyse how power operates within discourses. Seen from the perspective of multiplicity and materiality of discourses as discussed above, a field such as international education can be understood as a plurality of competing discourses, spanning different disciplines, featuring different actors and producing different meanings which are just as likely to change over time and across geographical spaces. An international education discourse may make references to 'language proficiencies', 'academic skills', 'critical analysis', 'plagiarism' and 'originality' as we see later in this chapter. Sidhu (2005) shows how an education discourse places the international student in the position of a learner who is willing to be educated into the norms of a Western academic culture (p. 28). The question of which discourses are institutionalised and which assume dominance for governments and universities implies ever-shifting and uneven power relations, and is of central interest to this study. Many Australian universities, for example, discursively construct themselves as public institutions, committed to public good within Australia and argue that their involvement within the higher education export industry is intended to support this public good role.

How does power relate to discourses, knowledge and subjectivity? Foucault's work on discourse links the material and the discursive in the sense that discourse cannot be constructed, transmitted and validated in isolation of material or non-discursive forces. Equally, as they are not simply free-floating and independent entities, discourses have significant material effects. Foucault's work has very importantly identified a 'dual subjection' in the production, circulation and transmission of discourse in the way of summarising the symbiotic links between power and knowledge. Foucault recognises that power has a productive quality which allows it to be self-sustaining:

[power] traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression.

Foucault, 1980, p. 119

On the other hand, discourses can be used as 'technologies' to govern, and, in this capacity, discursive practices themselves can also be seen as an instrument of power:

Discursive practices... take shape in technical ensembles, in institutions, in behavioural schemes, in types of transmission and dissemination, in pedagogical forms that both impose and maintain them.

Foucault, 1984, p. 12

Foucault's understanding of discourse is therefore one intricately embedded in social systems, and because of its transformative abilities, discourse can be conceptualised as a window to a partial and situated 'reality', rather than as 'fixed', essentialised entities. At any one time, therefore, there will be a multiplicity of discourses at work, either in competing or reinforcing relationships with one another. For Foucault, discourse is both an instrument and object of power - it subjects at the same time as it is subjected. It is this multiplicity which opens spaces for resistance. We must make allowances for the complex and unstable processes whereby discourse can also be

a hindrance, a stumbling block, a point of resistance and a starting point for an opposing strategy. Discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it but also undermines it and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it.

Foucault, 1982, p. 101

In the Foucauldian concept, in other words, any discursive practice is both a means of oppressing and means of resistance. In this sense, English, as well as being a language of international capitalism and imperialism, can also be used for the purposes of protest. Foucault (1982) discusses the sterility of power in isolation - without any element of friction and challenge. Power exists 'only when it is put into action' (p. 219), and newer power relations are created from the juxtaposition of opposites:

There is no relationship of power without the means of escape or possible flight. Every power relationship implies, at least in *potentia*, a strategy of struggle, in which the two forces are not superimposed, do not lose their specific nature, or do not finally become confused. Each constitutes for the other a kind of permanent limit, a point of possible reversal.

Foucault, 1982, p. 225

In his earlier works, which includes *Archaeology of Knowledge* (1969), Foucault understands the subject to be largely 'scripted' by social forces such as institutions and discursive formations - what he calls 'disciplinary knowledges'. Although he has been criticised for taking a rather deterministic perspective on the subject, Foucault's later work on technologies of the self outlined ways in which subjects could negotiate and 'craft' their identities, and engage in practices of freedom (Mansfield, 2000, pp. 54-59).

In relation to such forms of resistance, or what Foucault calls subjugated discourses, Gramsci (1999) argued much earlier that there is always a counter-ideology or counter-hegemony (see also Kubota, 2001), the process through which people attempt to gain dominant power by countering, co-opting or compromising the dominant culture. This process is usually composed of the subordinate class that opposes the dominant ideology or hegemony. Ideology, then, is essentially a site of antithetical struggle allowing for the possibilities of resistance. Gramsci shows how cultural

hegemony works through consent in the civil society and by domination in the political, with certain cultural forms predominating over others. Hegemony is the indispensable concept for understanding cultural life in the industrial West and it is from this cultural hegemony that Said's notion of Orientalism gets its durability and strength. To that extent, this study also explores the processes of hegemony and counterhegemony as international students voice the possibility of counterhegemony or dissent through a conscious appropriation of available discourses. This issue will be discussed later in this chapter and illustrated in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, when international students voice their struggles in the Australian international education context.

According to Foucault, power is not only manifest in discourses, but it is here that power is hardest to identify. He argues that discourses bury everything that relates to power and knowledge, including his own work, which he called a discourse on discourses. In order to explain how discourses are produced and changed, Foucault teased out the relationships between knowledge (or 'truth') and power, stating that every discourse is 'part of a discursive complex... locked in an intricate web of practices' (Kendall & Wickham 1999, p. 41). Much of the academic world and the way it operates is 'taken for granted'. For example, in education, these are the normalising practices at work in universities through course descriptions, assessment and academic writing styles (Ninnes, 1999). Foucault shows that such a taken-for-granted reality - the things that we see as being-in-the-world - enables the 'recognition that meanings are central to the constitution of social life as a complex set of petty and ignoble power relations' (Haugaard 1997, p. 43). Practices and beliefs that are assumed to be "'normal", from a Foucauldian perspective... are far from natural; rather, they are the result of very specific historical conjuncture and a set of important, although ultimately contingent, cultural transformations' (Kendall & Wickham 1999, p. 131). Once something is accepted as 'normal', even inevitable, it becomes an accepted 'truth' that is hard to question. In international education, for example, such a form of power is often used by teachers, which encourages normalising constructions of self such as 'student', or valued member of society.

Fundamental to the interests of this thesis is the way 'truths' are created about international students in literature, government bodies and the media. We have seen how Foucault's work problematises 'truth'. Further, in his seminal book *Orientalism* Said (1978) argues that the 'principal product' of the exteriority upon which Orientalism is premised is representation as opposed to 'truth'. He argues that, 'in any instance of at least written language, there is no such thing as delivered presence, but a *re-presence* or representation' (p. 21). According to Said, a text containing knowledge about something actual *creates* not only knowledge but also the very reality it appears

to describe. In time such knowledge and reality produce a tradition, or what, as we have seen, Foucault calls a discourse, 'whose material presence or weight, not the originality of a given author, is really responsible for the texts produced out of it. This kind of text is composed out of... pre-existing units of information' (1978, p. 95). Orientalism in this way became a convenient tradition and discourse of the West for writing about and dealing with the Orient. In the context of the current study, Orientalism is about the construction of subjects in that it privileges certain forms of subjectivity and marginalises other ways of being.

More recently, and in a similar manner, Marginson (2002b) argues that many aspects of international education are not being questioned any more. For instance 'if globalisation [is viewed] as relatively neutral... we reduce our capacity to analyse contemporary relations of global power in education' (p. 3), including the cultural imperialism of the English language and 'Anglo-American practice' (p. 14). This can be felt as power by individuals and sometimes as petty power relations. Koehne (2006) reports how in a faculty post-graduate research committee at Monash, for example, the issue of this power, especially through assessment and the way it impacts on students, was raised. Several international students complained that their Masters thesis mostly had comments about English expression and grammar, and almost no feedback about the content and argument. Koehne (2006) argues that complexity and contradiction arise from a slippage between two different kinds of normalising power: the first is that of following taken-for-granted Western academic styles and the second of following taken-for-granted Confucian-heritage academic respect for the teacher, generally attributed to Asian students. This complex movement within and between two different academic systems makes the search for a self-performing voice difficult and limited by culturally specific expectations. Students develop agency and autonomy in their reflexive understandings of these differences and in their desire to retain certain aspects of both ways of writing. Similar complex movements between different ways of talking about ideas such as 'critical thinking' (see 7.1.1), or even scientific knowledge (Fergusson et al., 1995), unsettle taken-for-granted Western understandings (see also Kubota, 2001).

Such academic knowledge - the 'rules of the game' - is connected to power. As Read, Francis and Robson (2001) argue, the 'use of power in the construction and legitimation of these situated discourses [is] seen to reflect and reproduce social inequalities of power such as those centred on class, gender or ethnicity' (p. 390). There are times where oppositional ways of understanding are developed, where the 'not-said' is named, and in turn subdued. Power relations can also be absorbed by individuals through self-discipline and self-reflection. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault argues that 'modern power is so insidious because its power relations no longer operate

openly' but at a deeper, normative level, examples of which are presented in the following two chapters.

Foucault's work on power is useful in the context of a study of international education. It helps researchers understand how power relations produce, disseminate, legitimise and consolidate particular discourses or bodies of knowledge. For Foucault, knowledge, like language, is neither neutral nor impartial and is inevitably caught up in relations of power. Accordingly, not everything is apparent and 'sayable'; rather a 'set of rules' determines what can be said, written, communicated and legitimised as knowledge and as 'truth'. These rules are outlined in his archaeological method, which I use to inform and examine promotional materials used by some Australian universities and educational brokers to recruit international students.

### **2.1.3 Power and Knowledge: the Construction of Subjectivity**

While Foucault's work has primarily been on the nature of power in society, his particular concern has been with power's relationship to the discursive formations in society that make knowledge possible. Foucault's theories on governmentality discuss the way power relations infiltrate the lives of individuals, shape their identities and the desires (what they want to become) and provide places within discourses wherein they recognise themselves. Foucault sees power as a network extending all the way up to every action of the individual:

In thinking about the mechanisms of power, I am thinking rather of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaches into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and every day lives.

Foucault 1980, p. 39

Foucault (1980) acknowledges that individuals are not merely passive receivers of discourses and discursive subject positions, but that there are

practices by which individuals were led to focus attention to themselves, to decipher, recognise and acknowledge themselves as subjects of desire, bringing into play between themselves and themselves a certain relationship that allows them to discover, in desire, the truth of their being.

Foucault, 1980, p. 5

As they are interpellated - a theme we discuss in some detail later - individuals effectively are also capable of accepting and rejecting, constructing and deconstructing, using and manipulating discourses. This way of talking about the ways power/knowledge construct subjectivity is complex and problematic. In later chapters of this thesis I discuss the ways in which international

students do this through the reconstruction of their storylines about self, placing themselves into more powerful storylines that have opened up for them.

The relationship of power and subjectivity also refers to the inevitable oscillation between multiple discourses. Said (1978) tended to talk about a uni-directional power through which those with knowledge talk about the Orient, essentialising knowledge through description, normalising a view of the Other for the sole purpose that the Other could be dominated and ruled. Colonial power constructed knowledge about those colonised in order to control them, often naming and essentialising groups and group characteristics. Appadurai (1996) describes processes of gathering knowledge, for example, through censuses, which he saw as a means of such surveillance, with a strong labelling and essentialising aspect. It had the normalising and 'truth-making' result of changing 'imagined communities' into 'enumerated communities', communities that were flattened out, and 'fossilised' (p. 132). Other scholars, such as Bhabha (1987), talk about a more complex displacing and interactive process at work in postcolonial societies and the ambivalence of the colonial civilising and reforming 'mission' developing a 'subject of a difference that is almost the same, but not quite' (p. 322) - a subject that mimics, but in a way that is often inappropriate. The gaze of such surveillance and domination from the colonisers is turned back on them as 'the displacing gaze of the disciplined' (p. 321) creating spaces - 'a discourse uttered between the lines' (p. 322). Similarly, Hall (1990) discusses this power to speak of postcolonial subjectivity, where the dominant colonial power spoke about who it was, but also about who the colonial subjects were.

As far as this current study is concerned, two characteristic features of Foucault's theorisation on power are particularly pertinent. Firstly, that power's distribution extends all the way across and within the social body: 'power [is] distributed in homogeneous circuits capable of operating anywhere, in a continuous way, down to the finest grain of the social body' (Foucault, 1975, p. 80). Secondly, even if international education is embedded in neocolonial constructs, as many theorists have claimed, it can still be recognised as capable of delivering potentially positive outcomes for its recipients. Such outcomes can be variable and could include a western credential which has cultural capital within the global labour market and a heightened insight and awareness of the links between power and knowledge on the parts of individual students. This in turn could translate into an ability to reject or refuse particular subject positions. As revealed in later chapters, the data collected as part of this study strongly seem to suggest that this has often been the case.

### 2.1.4 Analysing Discourses: Foucauldian Archaeology

Having discussed Foucault's theorisations of discourse and power, I now very briefly consider Foucault's archaeological method, which I use as an analytical tool to deconstruct the promotional discourses employed by international education markets in Australia. An archaeological reading reveals how power and knowledge come together in the formation of discourses in international TESOL education. A good starting point in analysing discourse might be to pose the classic Foucauldian question:

Given the multiple possibilities of what can be written or said at any particular time, how is it possible that particular utterances are made?

Unlike critical analysis, archaeology is not concerned with interpreting 'intended' or 'hidden meanings'. Instead, it is premised on the principle of exteriority. Archaeology is an analysis of discontinuous discourse,

an enquiry whose aim is to rediscover on what basis knowledge and theory became possible; within what space of order knowledge is constituted... Such an enterprise is not so much a history, in the traditional meaning of the word, as an 'archaeology'.

Foucault, 1970, pp. *xxi-xxii*

By analysing discourse, this method is capable of discovering the discontinuities in the conditions of *episteme* or human knowledge. It is a 'systematic rejection' of historical analysis... postulates and procedures' (1972, p. 138) which aims to focus on the specificity of statements within particular discourses.

It designates the general theme of a description that questions the already-said at the level of its existence: of the enunciative function that operates within it, of the discursive formation, and the general archive system to which it belongs. Archaeology describes discourses as practices specified in the element of the archive.

Foucault, 1972, p. 131

Foucault explains that 'discourses are transparent; they need no interpretation... no one to assign them a meaning' (Foucault, 1988, p. 115). Deleuze (1988, in Sidhu 2005) identifies two tasks of archaeology: first, to open up words, phrases, propositions and to extract from them the statements corresponding to each stratum; second, to uncover the thresholds that statements cross so as to move beyond the status of 'self-evidence' unique to each stratum. Archaeology therefore is unconcerned with probing authorial intent, in uncovering the consciousness of speaking subjects (Foucault, 1991, p. 59). The emphasis rather is on extracting the *rules* which influence 'the limits and forms of what is sayable' and those which establish 'the limits and forms of conservation' - in other words, utterances that are 'destined to enter human memory, ritual, pedagogy, publicity,

circulation' (Foucault, 1971, pp. 12-13). The emphasis is also on *which* utterances disappear and re-appear, how these are put to work, circulated, by which groups and, very importantly, to what ends. Crucially for the current study, archaeology also identifies which statements are repressed and censored and by which authorities. By differentiating between statements which are valid, invalid or foreign, abandoned and excluded as foreign, it also establishes the 'limits and forms of memory' as they appear in different discursive formations, which is a central concern of the current study.

## 2.2 Linguistic Production and the Discourses of Identity

It is important at this point to consider that the postcolonial concept of identity is tied up with linguistic production, an issue that resurfaces in the storylines of international students presented in later chapters (see, for example, 7.2 and 7.3). Structuralists have shown how the universal wisdom of canonical texts embed a discursive power structure and demonstrate subjective beliefs and value judgments of the society that produces them, rendering the authenticity of 'modern' and efficient learning debatable. Foucault has shown how discourse through history has been controlled by the ruling elite for its own purposes. However, Bakhtin's (1981) emphasis on the social nature of language problematises this further, asserting that meaning does not reside with the individual, as the traditionalists believe, but in our *collective* exchanges of dialogue. Drawing on several schools of thought, postcolonial theorists claim that the crisis of identity stems from exchanges of language – the colonised's speaking and writing in the imperial language leading to what Bhabha (1992) calls the 'colonial mimicry' (1992). In retrospective critique I find several examples of such mimicry in my own life, some of which have been outlined in my autobiography in Chapter One (see 1.4).

In the previous sections I discussed how the production of knowledge is selectively determined by the histories of words and texts. This section looks at the complex reciprocity of the construction of meaning through language and how in the process meaning is contested and negotiated. Despite Foucault's analysis of discourse and his explanation of the way it positions subjects, subjects can resist the ways they are positioned. Indeed Foucault himself opened up the possibility of counter discourses. Other theorists, such as Bhabha, have taken this further in their analyses, specifically of the situation of colonised people. In order to demonstrate the complex ways in which international students themselves engage with the subject positions available to them, I briefly draw on Bakhtin's understanding of language and discourse. The appropriation of English can be explained by Bakhtin's (1981) notion of heteroglossia. Bakhtin celebrates complexity by providing a useful alternative model of how language works, opening the possibility of the ownership of

language. While he does not talk about power and resistance in the manner of Foucault or Said, he explains how to see the textured patterns of voices and emphasises the peril of essentialising and dichotomising language.

Bakhtin views language as a social phenomenon involved in social ideology and a material construct which facilitates the articulation of ideology (Allen, 2003, p. 80), neither neutral nor objective. In his notion of dialogism, Bakhtin rules out the legitimacy of the single voice of the author, stressing instead the numerous social contexts within which language is used and the dialogic manifestation of truth through a multiplicity of consciousnesses. Bakhtin's theory of language assumes that since language is a social and historical construct and a material production of time and place, it shapes and is in turn shaped by historical and cultural formations and essentially embodies the world-view of the speaker. Heteroglossia is the proper medium, offering necessary demystification and oppositional thoughts, through which language can express meaning most comprehensively:

[A]t any given moment of its historical existence, language is heteroglot from top to bottom: it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past and between different socio-ideological groups in the present... [It is] the base condition governing the operation of meaning in any utterance. It is that which insures the primacy of context over text. At any given time, in any given place, there will be a set of conditions that will ensure that a word uttered in that place and at that time will have a meaning different than it would have under any other conditions; all utterances are heteroglot...

Bakhtin, 1981, p. 428

Central to Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia, therefore, is the notion that linguistic production is essentially 'dialogic', formed in the process of social interaction and the interaction of different social values spontaneously imbibed in the speech of others. He argues that because language is not a neutral medium, it cannot freely pass into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is indeed 'overpopulated with the intentions of others' (Hirschkop & Shepherd, 1991, p. 27). Language can manifest itself fully only through contextualised social interaction and, because it is personally and socially situated, it invariably carries as part of it the viewpoints, assumptions and experiences of its speakers. In Foucauldian terms, therefore, people speak through pre-'set' discourses. It is not an abstract system or a mere structure but is inherently ideological and always historically located. Other scholars like Hall (1997) have shown how language operates as a 'representational system' (p. 1) in order to produce meaning.

Bhabha (1994) writes about the coloniser's attempt to promote a civilising mission by creating 'mimic men', people who mimic the colonisers' culture – their languages as well as their attitudes, manners, and values. They are recognisable 'others' who are 'almost the same, but not quite' (p.

86). But the ambivalence of 'same'/'not quite' is exploitable: mimicry easily serves as a disguise for menace or mockery, with the native threatening to deny his/her master's desire for recognition or imitation. Instead of viewing the colonised's mimicking of their masters and the identity produced thereby as merely passive reflex, Bhabha sees it as their ability to 'hybridize' with the colonisers in a constant state of flux. They are not simply enacting Orientalism and unwittingly allowing themselves to be willing victims of the colonial enterprise. Such identity formation entails both resemblance and difference and hence defeats the integrity of the discourse itself. Bhabha argues that the appropriation of the coloniser's language is not a means of resistance but an unavoidable result of the colonial impact. When the colonised use the coloniser's language, their identities become split and ambivalent. The colonised actively engage and live in the interface of cultural practices and therefore those operating within Orientalism do not *just* accept them uncritically. There is space for critical reflection allowing for the possibility of counter-discourse. I discuss the possibilities of such resistance, or what Foucault calls 'subversive discourses', later in this chapter.

### 2.2.1 Orientalism and the Construction of Identity

In *Orientalism* (1978), Said further develops Foucault's understanding of power paving the way to a newer understanding of how the imperialists' mechanism for retaining power relations worked. He also provides invaluable insight into the questions of difference and the politics of difference. Said (1978) calls this mechanism 'Orientalism' or a 'Western style for dominating, restructuring and having authority over the Orient' (p. 3). Like Foucault, he argues that Orientalism creates a power structure or network, comprising complementary institutions and establishments, enforcing and sustaining the political power of the imperialists. After *Orientalism*, scholars in the humanities and the social sciences could no longer ignore questions of difference and the politics of difference. It gave scholars and academics the possibility of 'writing back', of giving voice to their experiences silenced by the cultural hegemony of the West.

Said defines *Orientalism* as a 'profound study', a discourse on the 'manufacture of the other...*the very other*' (Hamon, 2003) and explains how the knowledge disseminated in and internalised by the West perpetuated the dichotomy between the superiority of the West over non-Western peoples and cultures and how the West in this process gained in strength. The 'Orient' was shaped by a 'battery of desires, repressions, investments, and projections... shot through with doctrines of European superiority' (Said, 1978, p. 8). The East was rebuilt as a straightforward entity and assigned a spatio-temporally frozen and timeless state of stereotypical features such as 'static', 'backward', 'mystical', 'erotic' and 'feminine'. By accepting the label of being 'backward', the colonised regarded developed countries as the centre, with characteristics diametrically opposed

to those assigned to the East. The hegemonic control of former colonisers over developing countries in the contemporary world is thus conducted through the logic of Orientalism, creating an artificial hierarchical order in which the centre has control over the periphery in all aspects of life, not the least of which is education.

Said (1978) uses the Foucauldian concept of discourse to argue that Orientalism helped produce European imperialism and explains how, in its academic and scholarly form, Orientalism, an essentially political doctrine, fraught with unacknowledged and culturally specific assumptions, became a 'veridic discourse' about the Orient (p. 6), and thus showing the inevitable intersection between knowledge and power. However, in the light of Foucauldian theories, putting power in a binary relation is reductive - to say men oppress women (or the West oppresses the Orient, for that matter) is to give these categories a monolithic quality and ignore intersections such as race and class. In the context of international education, such reductive binary attribution overlooks other intersecting factors such as history and cultural heritage. An archaeological reading of the discourses of international education is therefore helpful in exploring such taken-for-granted factors and the truths that have become occluded by virtue of being habitual and commonplace.

Since identity is not fixed but unstable and continual (or an 'ongoing project', as I discuss later), the attempt of colonial power to set the colonised in the timelessness of Orientalist discourse is problematic. Pratt (1992) calls the space of colonial encounter, the 'contact zone': the space of, and the physical setting, where geographically and historically separated peoples come into spatio-temporal contact with each other and interact and establish ongoing relations involving 'conditions of coercion, radical inequality and intractable conflict' (p. 6) - such as in the discourses of international education. This allows the powerful to set up their culture as the 'centre' and exercise their signifying practice over the weak. Both conflicts and resolutions are amplified by communication in the contact zone; through transculturation subjugated people resolve rather than exacerbate the imposition of the dominant culture. This contact zone becomes the site where the distinctions of the Anglocentric Self and the colonial Other are blurred. Education then establishes a convenient site where the 'dominant' discourse intersects with the 'inferior' discourse and replaces the latter. While the friction of these discourses operates covertly, dominant discourses are often assimilated in individual subjectivities as normative, taken-for-granted behaviour.

### 2.2.2 Interpellation: the Generation and Sustenance of Desire

As well as ways of talking about the world, we have seen that discourses are also about social relations and the power inherent in such relations. How, then, are such structures accessed by an individual? In other words, how do individuals relate to and find a place for themselves in such structures? Foucault discusses how individuals access discourses through their 'desire'. The ways in which 'choices' are made depends on 'the function the discourse must carry out in a field of non-discursive practices... the rules and processes for the appropriation of discourse... the possible positions of desire in relation to discourse' (Foucault 1972, p. 68). However, Foucault notes that individuals are 'allocated' a number of 'positions of desire' within a discourse, and to that extent such choices or desires are also limited in scope. There is a network of power and knowledge in such positions of desire which informs, shapes and contradicts the other. For Foucault, such linking of power and knowledge with desire profoundly impacts the individual, albeit in a manner in which the individual is unaware. Yet individuals accept and use such links to construct stories (thus, 'produce language') about their identities and how they 'should' act. Despite such positions of desire being limited within a discourse, the possibility of choice making is widened when one considers that individuals simultaneously inhabit multiple discourses.

Desire is one additional 'unsettling' thread that links together the net of meanings which construct subjectivity, and which has to be considered in relation to the linking of power-knowledge-subjectivity. I examine this thread in the later chapters of the thesis in relation to students' voices on how desires are created in the marketing of international education and how in turn desire affects the ways international students position themselves within discursive statements about international education (see 6.3). Desire has the power to create faultlines as it is the way individuals insert themselves into discourses and discursive positions. This is a point of tension, a pushing against and into discourses in ways that refuse to fit. It creates spaces of agency and autonomy when power is pushed aside and knowledge is changed or reconstructed in subtle ways. This is also a site where there is no closure, but constant movement, examples of which I present in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Further to this, in the context of globalisation, it is useful to use Appadurai's (1996) analyses of the metaphors and 'scripts' that have acquired importance through global media in creating desire, such as the desire to position oneself into the narrative of a discourse. For example, he talks about how global media provide 'resources for experiments in self-making... scripts for possible lives to be imbricated with the glamour of film stars' (p. 3). Appadurai (1999) sees these as global landscapes which individuals are a part of and talks about how individuals use images to access

and insert themselves into dominant discourses through what he calls the 'fetishism of the consumer' (in During, 1999, p. 229). Through a negotiation of the diversity of meanings available within such discourses, in particular, those that encourage them to construct culturally and historically different lives, individuals attain agency. More specifically, 'mediascapes' contain

large and complex repertoires of images, narratives and ethnoscapas to viewers throughout the world... what they offer to those who experience and transform them is a series of elements (such as characters, plots, and textual forms) out of which scripts can be formed of imagined lives, their own as well as those of people living in other places.

Appadurai, 1996, p. 35

As seen in Chapter Four, the marketing of international education produces images and narratives of 'possible lives' (see Singh, 2005) and individuals can link these images and storylines with other global images of success or 'glamour' to develop 'scripts... of imagined lives'. In this process of linking desire with discourse (or accessing discourse through desire), several theorists have talked about the recognition of self within a discourse, and of being 'interpellated' or 'hailed' by the discourse. Foucault (1971) talks about it as 'the endlessly repeated play of dominations' which produces 'a body totally imprinted by history' (p. 83) - a history albeit dynamic and not inevitable. In the context of this study, the way in which a body is imprinted with history is achieved through the normalising discursive practices of international education. By contrast, Davies (1990) talks about the problem of desire in relation to interpellation - that by accepting certain ways of talking about self, individuals lose sight of the power of the words they use and the knowledges they contain:

What it means to be an individual person in the 'modern' world means taking on as our own the very discursive practices through which we are constituted. Rather than seeing these discursive practices as external and coercive, we take ourselves up as speaking subjects, claiming authorship of the texts we speak, and thus fail to recognise the constitutive and coercive force of the very words we speak.

Davies, 1990, p. 506

Interpellation is the mechanism by which pre-existing structures ('texts' such as printed matter, images, metaphors, arguments, advertisements or the mass media) 'constitute' or construct the human subject. When we recognise that we are being spoken to, we not only engage with the 'text' but also accept the social role (for example, the status of the 'international student', the 'TESOL professional' or the 'permanent resident') being offered to us. It is the process by which ideology addresses the abstract, pre-ideological individual, producing him or her as subject proper. Althusser (1971) argues that, since the situation always precedes the individual subject, a subject is always *already* interpellated. Like Foucault after him, he insists on the secondary status of the subject as the mere effect of social relations, rather than the other way round. In this act of

announcing through which we seek the attention and recognition of others - such as Althusser puts it, 'the most commonplace everyday... hailing: "Hey, you there!"'(in Davies 1990, p. 507) - individual subjects do not realise their subjection. Rather they believe that in order to be people who independently act on their own, they are merely participating in social practices. To interpellate, therefore, is to identify with a particular idea or identity, a concept particularly helpful which provides an understanding of the power of the media and the extent to which media 'texts' speak to viewers, listeners and readers by addressing them and making them a part of their emotional appeal.

According to Althusser, interpellation begins with hailing - a heralding to join in on the proposition in hand and inviting one into a subject position of subjugation. However, in order for this to work, one must recognise and accept this subject position. This process of recognition thus creates an identity. Althusser explains this using Lacan's mirror phase - that the person-as-subject is defined by the other and recognises him/herself as an image of the Other, and at the cost of subjugation to the Other the person claims the quality of the Other. In other words, to deny the Other, is to deny one's own existence.

While Foucault critiqued the notion of ideology as implying false ideas in comparison with the 'truth', there are connections between Althusser's understanding of 'interpellation' and Foucault's understanding of the way subjects are constructed through discourse. Foucault's notion of subjectivation (or subjectification) can be seen as similar to the Althusserian concept of interpellation, whereby the state (or capitalism) bring subjects into being through hailing. However, distinct from Althusser, Foucault maintains that subjectivation is not entirely oppressive, but that it also encompasses one's own production of themselves in relation to institutions. Thus, subjectivation might also be enabling of resistance to capital, or the state, in the same breath as it is understood to be a technique of either. Subjectivation is a technique of power which forms subjects who are able to think of themselves as autonomous individuals, but simultaneously produces subjection. This technique of power

applies itself to immediate everyday life which categorizes the individual, marks him by his own individuality, attaches him to his own identity, imposes a law of truth on him which he must recognize and which others have to recognize in him.

Foucault, 1982, p. 781

In the context of this thesis, as we discuss in Chapters Four and Six, advertisements with the promise of the product (international education in general and TESOL in particular) aim to imbue the purchaser (the international student) with special and socially recognised qualities - the envy

of others, the promise of lucrative employment as well as power (see 6.2.2, 6.3.2, 6.4.3, 6.4.4, 7.5.1). In other words, the hailing of such advertisements works to recruit subjects into its dominant system by, first of all, gathering and consolidating their attention and interest, and eventually through their total acceptance of the ideological proposition. The international student is thus subjectified and interpellated into the ideological system which is international education. As already mentioned, interpellated subjects do not realise their subjection and believe that they have 'freely' chosen to become an essential part of the dominant ideology. Yet, as I discuss in later chapters my own interviewees show that they had become conscious of their positioning as 'international students'.

The many competing facets of subjectivity - contexts, discourses that have power to speak what subjectivities are available and the element of desire to become - are somehow developed into a more or less coherent storyline of self. Hall (1996) likens this process of appropriating all these pieces, or strands, to that of 'suturing' or sewing together. He talks about identity as a

point of suture, between on the one hand the discourses and discursive practices which attempt to 'interpellate', speak to us or hail us into place as the social subjects of particular discourses, and on the other hand, the processes which produce subjectivities and construct us as subjects which can be 'spoken'.

Hall, 1996, p. 5-6

With the aim not to essentialise or create a false sense of a unified subjectivity, Hall sees these sutures as 'points of temporary attachment'. Interpellation, however, is not a simple process of the dominant proscribing thoughts and acts of the subjected, but a dynamic, ideological process perpetually reproducing and reconstituting itself. Neither does it deny the possibility of resistance or appropriation. Indeed, those interpellated *still* have the freedom to either follow the ideology or choose to oppose its messages. In other words, there is a space between the subject positions that are offered and those through which individuals are constructed and spoken to. Implicit in this distinction is the ability of the subject to sort, accept, take for granted, or even reject certain subject positionings. Althusser points out that such refusal or nonconformity or the act of following oppositional ideologies has consequences - subjects are punished through mainstream social ostracism. In the stories of the participants in this study, there are examples of such ostracism (see 7.5.1) where, failing to accept certain positions, students are denied certain benefits.

### 2.2.3 Constructing the 'truths' of International Student Subjectivities

Foucault's work on discourse is useful to illuminate certain features of the discourse of education to reveal some of the 'truths' surrounding international education and the international student in this marketised era of international education. At the beginning of this chapter (see 2.1) as well as in Chapter One, I noted that an area of emphasis in this study is how dominant discourses of international education construct identities and subject positions for the international student. As has been observed by various researchers, in this discourse Western learning styles are taken for granted and therefore privileged, and (therefore) 'other' ways of learning are constructed as deficiencies that need to be remedied (Ballard, 1987; Bradley & Bradley, 1984). A number of earlier studies on international students have portrayed them as 'passive' rote learners, devoid of critical thinking, and having problems with language and expression.

Foucault discusses the ways in which power relations silence other voices – it was 'as if... we felt a particular repugnance of conceiving of difference, to describing separations and dispersions... As if we were afraid to conceive of the Other in the time of our own thought' (Foucault 1972, p. 12). In this site of struggle, power works through taken-for-granted knowledge and impacts on individuals' identity, forcing on them an identity created for them. Seen differently, behind such marginalising of international student voices is the power/knowledge discourse which claims Western academic discursive practices to be the 'norm', while any other forms of constructing and disseminating knowledge are seen as inferior, or 'deficient'.

The extent to which academic scholarship and commentary both influence and are shaped by the political economy of the academy is an important issue in the identity formation of international students. Such 'linguistic production' plays an important role in establishing the conditions of possibility of contemporary and future scholarly work by constructing and distinguishing dominant and subordinate knowledges. This is particularly noteworthy in the current era where particular notions of performativity have assumed dominance (Ball, 2000; Broadhead & Howard, 1998). Furthermore, as argued in this section, academic commentary has favoured particular scholars and (therefore) ignored others in the past decade or at least so as far as international students are concerned. In this process, particular domains of research, policy and practice have gained prominence over others, thereby establishing particular 'regimes of truth' (Sidhu, 2005, p. 38) about, for example, the learning abilities and subject positions of the international student.

As discussed earlier, power and knowledge can be disseminated in a variety of ways, working in a capillary action down into the lives of individuals as it constructs international education, and

especially as it constructs international students. Koehne (2006) shows three distinct ways in which the international student is constructed. The first way that power works in scholarship on the subjectivities of international students is through the expectation that they will be assimilated into the Western university. In this process pastoral power plays an important role in the normalising assimilation process. The second way power works is through constructing international students as 'Other', changing their storylines about the self. The third aspect of how power works is through enumeration, constructing knowledge about the other as a form of naming and of control. Examples of these are illustrated in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

Over the past several decades the convenience of stereotyping and generalisations hid the dynamic of the international student's engagement. This section shows the illusions of grand generalisations which Foucault talks of puncturing. As early as 1972, McAdam noted that:

The overseas student is... a convenient stereotype... they are characterised by considerable heterogeneity. Not only do most overseas students come from plural societies, each of which embraces a wide range of cultures and religions, but, in addition each national and racial group diverges markedly in its customs, goals and values from every other.

McAdam 1972, p. 97

In an article on the nature of the existing dichotomy of US and Asian classrooms, Kubota (2002) recurrently argues that, despite actual similarity, the discourse of applied linguistics has projected a dichotomous image of US and Asian classrooms, and this binary image is in fact the result of assumed 'predetermined cultural differences' (p. 88). While unequal relations of power between cultures create and conveniently sustain these differences, they remain unquestioned in critical scholarship. Kubota discusses the effects of the essentialisation of cultures on students and teachers and emphasises the necessity of what she calls an 'alternative cultural critique':

Othering, essentializing, and dichotomizing the culture of the Self and the Other, and viewing the culture of the Self as the norm, produce and reflect a particular knowledge of cultural differences and power relations between the subject and the object of cultural representations. It is possible to view this knowledge as united in discourses of colonialism.

Kubota, 2002, p. 25

Kubota contends that concepts such as critical thinking and analytical writing are not universal but are cultural practices specific to Western traditions (Ramanathan & Atkinson, 1999, in Kubota, 2002). She explains how discourses produce and exploit such competing claims in legitimising certain knowledge as 'truth'. In *Orientalism*, Said explained his methodological approach to be to study the author's way of describing his position in a text (the 'strategic location') and of analysing the relationship of texts (the 'strategic formation') thereby not exposing the 'truth' about the

Orient. In the same line of argument, Kubota (2002) insists that the images of US classrooms are discursively constructed, 'reflecting and legitimating a certain political and ideological position from which the researcher speaks' (p. 23).

Critical scholarship in the same way tends to conceal the power relations between the researcher (Self) and the researched (Other) (Canagarajah, 1995, in Kubota, 2001, p. 27). Weedon (1987, in Kubota 2001, p. 10) asserts that the ways in which we conceive of a particular culture are not mirror reflections of objective truths but are constructed by discourses - ways of constituting knowledge, along with social practices, forms of subjectivity and power relations which inhere in such knowledges and the relations between them. Culture, argues Kubota (2002), is essentially a discursive product at the intersection of power and knowledge - the 'site of discursive struggle in which various political and ideological positions compete with each other to promote a certain cultural representation as the truth' (p. 11). She stresses the importance of the underlying ideologies and the social, cultural and educational consequences of perpetuating the commonplace notion of cultural differences. As suggested earlier (see 2.2.3), using Foucault's archaeological method, this study unveils the construction of such ideologies and looks at how 'truths' have been constructed.

The Othering of students by essentialising their culture and language, *presupposes* the existence of the unproblematic Self as a monolithic, normative category. Because of its essentialist nature, for example, Said (1978) has shown how Orientalism produced a discourse of a false description of Arabs and the Islamic culture through its belief that it was possible, in the first place, to define the qualities of Arab peoples and Islamic culture or any other people or culture for that matter. Where this approach first goes wrong, Said contends, is in its very belief that there could be such a thing as a distinct 'Arab mind', an 'Islamic society' or an 'Oriental psyche'. Kubota proposes the argument that the images of US classrooms should not be reduced to a single, neutral, objective truth but are in fact constructed by discourses as a necessary convenience that exploit various notions to serve their own interests. The dominant tradition favours containing and assimilating cultural differences rather than treating students as bearers of diverse social memories with a right to speak and represent themselves in the quest for learning and self-determination.

Specifically targeted at the prospective (or new) student from Asia planning to study in Australia, Ballard and Clancy's *Study Abroad: A Manual for Asian Students* (1984) is one of the most cited works in discussions about international students in Australia. The book claims to be offering such international students assistance in developing adequate and necessary skills in critical learning

with parts of it specifically directed at teachers of international students. Even though such studies operate on essentialisms and binary thinking with the informing preoccupation to 'prove' that there are culturally-specific issues at the foundation of Asian students' learning difficulties, over the years, *Study Abroad* has been elevated to the position of an authoritative text by the practices of citation in dominant discourses:

an exclusion so thoroughly buried it goes virtually unnoticed, almost unread... Institutions of higher learning appeared to tell those previously excluded... 'Come in, sit down, shut up. You're welcome here as long as you conform to our norms'.

Michaelson & Johnson 1997, p. 23

Through examples and citations, authors Ballard and Clancy - in many ways the modern day Macaulay - establish their view that due to existing cultural variations, Asian students bring in an uncritical and reproductive approach to learning. They claim that through a primarily knowledge-conserving orientation these students uncritically accept both the written texts and the teachers' authority. As such, a disjunction occurs between the goals of an Australian university education and the education expectations of these international students stemming from their attitude to knowledge, authority and learning. Ballard's paper, 'Academic Adjustment: The Other Side of The Export Dollar' (1987), and her two books co-authored with Clancy, *Study Abroad* (1984) and *Teaching International Students* (1997), in the same way construct an Asian subjectivity which is passive, dependent and uncritical in learning. Sidhu (2005) shows how, through the practices of citation, this deficit subjectivity as constituted in these texts, has assumed significance, even dominance, among many academics in the past decade or so. These texts clearly construct particular subject positions for the Asian student resonant with an earlier imperialising ethos.

In 'Academic Adjustment' (1987), Ballard compares a monochromatic Western and an equally singular and essentialised 'Asian culture', the latter being one in which the authority of the teacher allows little curiosity among students who would follow the teacher's explanations unquestioningly (Sidhu, 2005, p. 34). 'In Western education... the ideal model of the teacher is Socrates and the Socratic method the ideal teaching style', whereas, 'in Asia, knowledge is not open to challenge and extension... the Zen master is no argumentative Socrates... Questioning analysis, criticism are not part of the learning process, nor are they allowed for in the teaching style' (Ballard, 1987, p. 114). Even though Ballard acknowledges that developing countries have significant material and economic problems, she is of the opinion that the cause of the problem is 'these cultural attitudes to the process of teaching and learning' (ibid., pp. 113-114). She goes to the extent of describing the 'reciprocal expectations and obligations' between teachers and their students in Asian culture by quoting from a 1960 text which describes the teacher-student relations

in a Burmese village school. Asian students' cultural image of their teachers absolves them of accepting responsibility for their academic performance and the only attributes expected of intellectually inferior Asian learners are passivity, dependence, and irresponsibility.

Thus subjectivities are created and imposed upon international students who need to negotiate multiple subject positions. Normatively dismissed as a university practice, the silencing of alternative voices is part of the socialisation of students as they begin university. On the other hand, references to alien 'courtesies' are suggestive of a set of sinister motives by a subject who is dishonest and greedy. The 'insular and democratic Australian lecturer' has few options but to 'misread' these courtesies as 'bribery', 'crawling' or 'blackmail' (Ballard, 1987, pp. 113-114). These statements reflect a discursive continuity with colonial ideologies and function to position the 'other' not only as intellectually inferior but also duplicitous.

This paper elsewhere refers to 'long suffering supervisors', who 'no matter how well disposed they feel towards overseas students resent spending time... editing the English of written assignments and coping with inarticulate tutorial participants' (p. 116). The subject position accorded to the international student is that of an 'oppressor' who causes suffering and dissipates the goodwill of teachers, due to poor English language and academic skills. While providing practical suggestions for institutional changes, Ballard's (1987) text nevertheless reproduces a discursive logic that is entrenched in the classic colonial discourse. Premised on 'othering' and simple essentialisations between 'Asian' and 'Western', as Sidhu (2003) argues, Ballard offers few insights into the multiplicities contained within these very categories.

In 1997 Ballard and Clancy published *A Brief Guide for Learners and Supervisors*. This book still constructed the binary between Western and Asian 'attitudes to knowledge', albeit in a less strident tone. They claimed that 'Asian cultures' had a conserving orientation, while the traditions of Western education were firmly premised on an extended approach to knowledge. A reproductive style associated with Asian learners is thus identified with primary school education in the West. Sidhu (2005) asks - How has this discourse remained so resilient given the progressive impulses of internationalisation? What does its dissemination tell us about power/knowledge relations in international education? In later chapters of this thesis, some of these questions are pursued.

A similar approach is taken by Samuelowicz's (1987) study of teachers of international students, yielding mostly similar conclusions. Like Ballard and Clancy, she collapses the highly

differentiated mass of cultures, languages and intellectual traditions into a single homogeneous category of 'Asian'. In her study, Sidhu (2005) demonstrates that, while Ballard and Clancy were using a culturally essentialist text to construct a passive 'Asian' subjectivity, scholars such as Bradley and Bradley (1984) had problematised the situational context. However, it is Ballard and Clancy's work that has assumed the status of 'dominant discourse' while the Bradleys' work has been relegated to a 'subjugated' status over the last two decades.

Overall, many of these studies share similarities in that they operate on taken-for-granted essentialisms and binaries. In this manner such discursive practices aim to resurrect a colonial discourse. Sidhu (2003) points out how these studies fail to provide researcher introspection and how the small sample size of students studied renders the generalisability of such research questionable. Such 'common sense' knowledges constructed by some researchers saw the prevalence of certain regimes of truth over the decades. A raft of statements were produced as part of the discourse on the Asian learner which had an intertextual resonance with the civilising imperatives of colonial modernity. The function of these statements was to legitimise a view of an underdeveloped world seeking tutelage from the developed Western world. In Chapter Four we see traces of this discourse in the promotional materials of some Australian universities.

Research into the learning approaches of international students assumed greater sophistication in the 1990s when researchers such as Biggs and Watkins (1996), Volet and Renshaw (1995), Volet, Renshaw and Tietzel (1994) and Niles (1995) challenged the construction of the stereotype of the passive, surface-learning 'Asian' student. Collectively these studies addressed how learning behaviours can be impacted on by teaching contexts. Their findings were similar and concluded that students' own perceptions of course requirements had a greater influence on their learning than their cultural backgrounds. In certain situations, 'surface' learning was found to exist in both Australian and international students. As well as demythologising the intellectually inferior international student, these findings also highlighted the importance of undertaking longitudinal studies. One such study, by Pearson and Beasley's (1997), trialled an integrative learning paradigm over a period of four years. It found that the ability of international students was significantly improved with their engagement in the creation of 'safe' contexts where they were encouraged to take greater personal responsibility without experiencing personal humiliation.

Nines (1999) examined the institutional use of certain disciplinary techniques (such as normalising judgement, examination and hierarchical observation) and the types of changes in student learning

that subsequently arise. His study concluded that Australian universities utilise a variety of technologies to maintain hegemonic knowledge relations, namely, a dominant knowledge system which serves the interests of international business and capitalism. This discursive structure is presumed also to be in the interest of 'choosing autonomous customers' - the international students, an issue I take up in the next two chapters.

### 2.3 Agency and Autonomy: Appropriation, Negotiation and Resistance

A power relationship can only be articulated on the basis of two elements which are each indispensable if it is to really be a power relationship: that the 'other' (the one over whom power is exercised) be thoroughly recognised and maintained to the very end as a person who acts; and that, faced with a relationship of power, a whole field of responses, reactions, results and possible interventions may open up.

Foucault 1982, p. 220

What is interesting is the range of thinking about how discourses of Orientalism have given rise to the notions of resistance and appropriating them for international students' own ends. 'One of the most significant forms of power of the weak is the refusal to accept the definition of oneself that is put forward by the powerful' (hooks, 2000, p. 92). This opens up the possibility of changing the way one is positioned or as we have seen, 'interpellated', to change meaning and storylines. Barker (1998) argues that Foucault 'constantly forces us to encounter ourselves in the production of knowledge about ourselves' so that 'in the already said of Foucault we can encounter ourselves as new surfaces, new lines and new meanings' (p. 127). For hooks (2000) this is the recognition of the necessity of the other as a person who acts, gives power even to the marginalised and the 'weak'.

In the discussion of the relationship between desire and the appropriation of discourses, there is a complex movement between being 'hailed' by a discursive position, recognising the Self in a discourse, and the ways in which individuals manipulate discursive positionings, accepting, rejecting and simultaneously taking up multiple and contradictory positions. In it there is a space for agency - for individuals to push back discursive positions until they create a new space where they can develop something new. As such, along with discourses, and the power/knowledge interface, identity formation is also shaped by notions of appropriation and resistance (Pennycook, 2001), as well as negotiation. The notion of appropriation conveys the twin ideas of resistance and reconstitution operating in a complex way in which both these are constituted. Canagarajah (1999) talks about the 'resistance perspective', which

provide(s) for the possibility that, in everyday life, the powerless in postcolonial communities may find ways to negotiate, alter and oppose political structures, and reconstruct their languages,

cultures and identities to their advantage. The intention is not to reject English, but to reconstitute it in more inclusive, ethical and democratic terms.

cited in Pennycook 2001, p. 65

In other words, if we measure against the gauge of appropriation, negotiation exists at every point of the gauge. Such a complex understanding allows the Other to use the Self's language and beliefs to turn against its own Self. Appropriation thus accommodates the possibility of change and opens up spaces for the Other to develop positively. In the context of this study, appropriation specifically relates to the question of how the Other (the international students) actively use international education and the TESOL credential for their own good (see 7.5.1). Pennycook (2001), however, also points out that appropriation only begins with such 'apolitical relativism' (p. 71) where it asserts itself by perpetually creating 'third cultures' or 'third spaces' as suggested by Kramsch (1993, cited in Pennycook 2001, p. 71).

### **2.3.1 Hybridity and the Construction of Identity**

In the complex tapestry of multiple discourses about international education - from the global through the national and institutional, to the way individuals create desire in order to construct stories about becoming international students - there are a number of factors which in varying degrees impact on the way individuals construct and reconstruct their storyline about who they are. While some theorists would say they become 'hybrid', others explain that they move into a 'Third Space'. Still others say that they can be simply characterised as 'cosmopolitan'. Despite the complexity of such labels, they are in different ways inadequate, and cannot fully explain the complex processes that occur in the changing lives of international students, as they move in and out of languages and cultures and negotiate different discourses and discursive positionings.

Relating to the identity formation of different groups of people, communities and nations, the notion of 'hybridity' has become a very useful tool in recent postcolonial studies. This notion, developed and theorised by Bhabha (1990), however, embodies complex, even contradictory definitions. As Hallward (2001, p. 24) puts it, hybridity 'is a difference "within", a difference without binary terms'. It questions the authenticity of claims made by existing canons of knowledge, especially those that talk about culture, representation, nationalism and resistance and calls for a critical rethinking of such notions from a psychoanalytical point of view. Like Anderson (2006), Bhabha sees nations as contrived by 'narrative' constructions which originate from the "'hybrid" interaction of contending cultural constituencies' (Graves, 1998). Bhabha's argument for the rethinking of these notions 'stresses the "ambivalence" or "hybridity" that characterises the site of colonial contestation, a "liminal" space in which cultural differences articulate and... actually

produce imagined “constructions” of cultural and national identity’ (Graves, 1998). The works of Bhabha show how the myths of colonial stereotyping and the production of work resulting from the appropriation of discourses in the end reflect back on the dominating people showing that it is ambivalent, contradictory and deeply flawed. Bhabha asserts that the foundation and quintessential characteristic of colonial culture is its inherent hybridity, or in-betweenness, and that colonial culture cannot sufficiently be explained in the binary terms of the colonising and the colonised.

Along with the notion of hybridity, Bhabha (1994) also talks about the ‘Third Space’ (p. 36). He argues that, ‘the act of interpretation is never simply an act of communication between the I and the You designated in the statement’. Instead, the prerequisite to the production of meaning is that these two places (the I and the You) be mobilised in the passage through a ‘Third Space’, which suggests an ‘ambivalence in the act of interpretation’ (p. 36). Such intervention of the Third Space of enunciation, Bhabha argues, ‘challenges our sense of the historical identity of culture as a homogenizing, unifying force, authenticated by the originary Past, kept alive in the national tradition of the People’ (Bhabha, 1994, p. 37). In addition to signifying the colonised’s active resistance to discrimination and oppression in postcolonial times, the notion of hybridity also signifies their agency to affirm themselves to be recognised, which, according to Bhabha, the colonised achieve through strategically drawing on their cultures.

Despite the complexity of the notion of ‘hybridity’, it is often simplified (and thus misinterpreted) as merely the ‘mixing’ of two cultures or two languages. Hall (1992) points out that in hybridity individuals ‘learn to inhabit two identities, to speak two cultural languages, to translate and negotiate between them’ (p. 310). But ‘the... hybrid is not only double-voiced and double-accented ... but it is also double-linguaged; for in it there are not only (and not even so much) two individual consciousnesses, two voices, two accents’ (Hall & duGay 1996, p. 58). However, quite often there are more than two accents. As seen in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight, some international students say that they feel as though they are more aware of their national identities in Australia than in their own home countries (see 7.2.2 and 8.2 for examples). They are able to see themselves as part of the collective body of ‘international students’, an identification which does violence to their sense of identity and one they are often reluctant to accept (Kumar, 2003). In such understandings of hybridity in terms of language and identity we can see a more intense complexity that goes beyond two identities simply overlapping, assimilating with and contradicting each other.

Such complexities allow a different, more complex understanding of hybridity and recognise the process of identity construction as a complex and multiple one, especially in a multicultural setting. By contrast, Bakhtin (1981) talks about hybridity in terms of language as well as the way in which individuals construct their identities. For Bakhtin:

Language is not a neutral medium that passes freely and easily into the private property of the speaker's intentions; it is populated - overpopulated with the intentions of others. Expropriating it, forcing it to submit to one's own intentions and accents, is a difficult and complicated process.

Holquist et al., 1981, p. 294

Bakhtin's theory of language assumes that since language is a material production of time and place, it shapes and is in turn shaped by historical and cultural formations and that it essentially embodies the world-view of the speaker. While 'monoglossia' obscures or obstructs experience by obliterating all 'external' experience and perspective, heteroglossia is the proper medium, offering necessary demystification and oppositional thoughts, through which language can express most comprehensively. As an essentially material practice, language is inherently ideological and always historically located - a means through which ideologies get articulated. To that end, one can think *only* what one's language *allows* one to think. Words are understood by being taken into the listener's own conceptual system. All speech is thus oriented towards the conceptual horizon of the listener. Every spoken word is dialogically saturated, embodying with it all the dialogues it has ever been used in and is 'dialogically oriented' to the word to which it responds.

Werbner (1997) talks about hybridity as a problematic concept that operates in two domains. The first of these consists of groups differentiated by power relations and knowledge; and the other, of individuals themselves. Hybridity is to him primarily a 'constant process of differentiation and exchange between the centre and the periphery and between different peripheries' as well as a 'metaphor for the form of identity that is being produced from these conjunctions' (p. 274). Hybridity is created, therefore, not through the process of involvement across two cultural spaces, but through contacts with multiple spaces, as well as with the 'centre'.

Despite explanations such as Werbner's, hybridity has been criticised for being a normalising term that blurs the dimension of power relations in individual identities. Sidhu (2005) sees hybridity as a 'dematerialised and depoliticised' term which ignores the histories and geographies of groups and individuals, and covers up the fact that dominant groups do not 'abandon some of their own central cultural symbols and practices of hegemony' (in Koehne, 2006). In other words, we expect (and, thus, take for granted) that in the 'production of self', hybridity will be one of the dominant traits of the self, but it will also be a hybridity which is constructed by the discourses of the

dominant power/knowledge cultures. In Spivak's (1988) explanation, since dominant cultures as well as languages render hybridities more complex, making them unequal, people are not all equal hybrids. Spivak (1988) further problematises this by suggesting that the marginalised or 'the subaltern cannot speak' (in Werbner, 1997, p. 227). She explains that the subaltern women are 'doubly colonised', firstly as women in the domestic patriarchal sphere, and secondly as women in the colonial patriarchal sphere. Young (1995) shows how Spivak argues that, 'taken always as an object of knowledge... the subaltern woman is written, argued about, even legislated for, but allowed no discursive position from which to speak herself' (p. 162). In the context of this study international students are denied positions from which they can access the discourses of the production of meaning.

However, as Bhabha (1987) also shows, the acceptance of the complex constructions of self as talked about by the West can also be an unsettling and displacing construction. He talks about this as 'mimicry', which, as in all copying, is not quite the same as the original - each time the colonial construction is internalised, it is changed slightly, so that it presents an out-of-focus, distorted image or even an unsettling caricature:

It is from this area between mimicry and mockery, where the reforming, civilising mission is threatened by the displacing gaze of its disciplinary double, that my instances of colonial imitation come. What they all share is a discursive process by which the excess or slippage produced by the ambivalence of mimicry (almost the same, but not quite) does not merely 'rupture' the discourse, but becomes transformed into an uncertainty which fixes the colonial subject as a 'partial' presence. By 'partial', I mean both 'incomplete' and 'virtual'.

Bhabha, 1987, p. 319

Bhabha (1987) sees this as a 'splitting' of the colonial discourse and of identity. The 'ambivalence of mimicry - almost but not quite... What I have called its "identity" effects, are always crucially split' (p. 323). This 'doubling' or a 'double vision' creates an imperfect image, as well as the returning displacing gaze of the colonial subject - displacing, because the image returned is different, even 'menacing'. In addition to this blurring, there is a 'doubling' or displacing effect as what is returned is only partial copy, an inappropriate image which does not fit properly. Such a two-way backward and forward gaze of surveillance has an effect on the identity of both the colonial subject and the coloniser. In a similar way, both Pennycook (1998) and Papastergiadis (1997) talk about the way the colonised were disfigured by their positioning within colonial discourse. This positioning developed a sense of racial superiority on the part of the colonisers and the returning unsettling gaze of those they governed disturbed their own positioning as bringers of enlightenment and civilisation.

### 2.3.2 The Three Foucauldian Spaces of Resistance

In this section, the discussion returns to Foucault with attention to how he talks about resistance. In addition (and related) to the effect of colonial discourse on identity, Bhabha (1988) has also talked about the uncertainty within discourses and the aspects that are hidden within it - what Foucault refers to as counter-discourse or subversive discourse. Bhabha teases out the notions of the 'already said', the 'never said' and the 'not said' as silent underpinnings of a discourse. The 'already said' can be conceptualised as memory, fantasy and myth which unsettles the colonial discourse by providing a disjunctive strand that cannot be penetrated or understood. Nor can it be translated because, by definition, it is 'not said'. This gives a blurred and fuzzy edge to the discourse, an unclear vision or understanding, or, in Foucault's image, a 'hollow' that undermines the discourse, a faultline that causes slippage in meaning, in a sense not discoverable but on the edges of one's vision. As Foucault explains:

all manifest discourse is secretly based on an 'already-said'; and that this 'already-said' is not merely a phrase that has already been spoken, or a text that has already been written, but a 'never-said', an incorporeal discourse, a voice as silent as a breath, a writing that is merely the hollow of its own mark. It is supposed therefore that everything that is already formulated in discourse was already articulated in the semi-silence that precedes it, which continues to run obstinately beneath it, but which he covers and silences. The manifest discourse, therefore is really no more than the repressive presence of what it does not say; and this 'not-said' is a hollow that undermines from within all that is said.

Foucault, 1972, p. 25

In Foucault's web of power relations, constructed through discourses and discursive practices, there are spaces for resistance. Foucault talks about three kinds of spaces. The first kind are the spaces of the 'unthought'. Since discursive practices accommodate many aspects that are not 'thought' about yet 'accepted', a space is created to think about the 'unthought' - to name it and to question it. Foucault named one such unthought 'power'. In the construction of knowledge, '[p]ower permeates knowledge as the latter's unthought since the acquisition of knowledge is traditionally assumed to be undistorted by power relations (Hoy 1988, p. 20). Because different power relations operate in different ways in the construction of knowledge, there are multiple 'unthoughts' which extend to how human subjects are constructed. Foucault analysed 'how human subjects and their historically variant subjectivities are constituted by unthought social practices and discourses or by not completely thought out ethical self-fashionings' (Hoy, 1988, p. 27). In discussing the literature and in the analysis of international student's constructions of international education, examples of the naming of 'unthought' are considered in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

The second of these spaces possible in discourse is that of the plurality or multiplicity of meanings. Foucault argues that 'each discourse contains the power to say something other than what it

actually says, and thus to embrace a plurality of meanings' (Foucault 1972, p. 118). The way individuals construct their subjectivity can be explained by this discursive space of multiplicity of meanings. As Foucault (1972) argues: 'one and the same individual may occupy in turn, in the same series of statements, different positions and assume the role of different subjects (p. 94). The possibilities that are made available to individuals are therefore infinite.

Different from the idea of the 'unthought', and related to the suppression of ways of talking about a subject, as well as closing spaces from which people can speak, the third of these spaces is the space of the 'not-said'. Rather than look for hidden meanings within discourses, and so try to find the 'unsaid', Foucault looks at statements within discourses and,

questions them as to their mode of existence, what it means to them to have come into existence, to have left traces, and perhaps to remain there, awaiting the moment when they might be of use once more; what it means to then to have appeared when and where they did - they and no others.

Foucault 1972, p. 109

For example, the dominant discourse of international education as trade-in-education services is 'hidden' under normative, taken-for-granted statements about international education as important for world peace and brotherhood. In spite of this, traces are left, and hidden statements have the possibility of re-emergence, thus opening up a closed space once again and creating new discourses. The not-said also has the effect of leading to the silencing or subduing of voices that may be different and marginalised, such as those of the international students, or may have other ways of constructing knowledge and power.

The linking together of desire, power and knowledge thus creates a complex site for the construction of individual identities within a multiplicity of discourses. Global narratives and images as those discussed in the following chapters are accessed through the media and have a powerful influence on the thought processes of individuals. They create the desire to be mobile, to change and to develop storylines that are made possible through international education.

## **2.4 Concluding Comments**

As seen in this chapter, power, knowledge, subjectivity and desire are intertwined into webs of meaning - 'an interlacing, a weaving or a web, which would allow the different threads and different lines of sense or force to separate again as well as being ready to bind others together' (Derrida, 1982, in Rivkin & Ryan 2004, p. 280). These webs undergrid the dominant discourses that construct international education, especially those that are used to construct the international

student. Techniques of discourse, subjectification and government are all interrelated. Some of the ways these techniques have been used in writings about international education have also been discussed in this chapter. As discourses about international education are constructed in many different sites, the way international education is talked about within the discourses of globalisation is discussed in the next chapter.

This chapter introduced Foucault's theoretical tools which are used in later chapters to detect, map and examine the plural statements that decide what one knows and can say about international education. Subsequent chapters employ Foucault's conceptual tools to analyse what is 'visible' and 'sayable' about international education at the sites of production and consumption. From this basis of identifying 'objects' of knowledge in public discourses about international education, I am able to identify regimes of truth about international education and the international student.

This chapter has asked: how can one change the social conditions in which one finds themselves, and imagine alternative forms of society or community, when they themselves are the products of those conditions? One is confronted with the classic Foucauldian dilemma: How is there any possibility for agency when the forms of subjectivity available to us are not of our own choosing? Similarly, Althusser talks about this issue in his essay *Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses* presenting it as a conundrum, posing social change as a paradox, involving a rupture or division.

In this chapter I have also illustrated the types of statements that have emerged and were circulated over a period of time, up to present expressions of international education. Although the selection of comments is not exhaustive, it is useful in mapping the various subjectivities attributed to the international student. As such, it provides a historical 'grid' against which to assess contemporary subjectifications of international students, which is the focus of much of this thesis.

Since globalisation has been discursively associated with the internationalisation of Australia's universities, in the next chapter I discuss globalisation in order to understand international education. Taking globalisation itself as a 'discourse', my intention is to examine how writings on globalisation construct and/or privilege particular 'objects' of knowledge, including normalising particular understandings about the nation-state and social relations, as well as sustaining particular subjectification processes ahead of others.

## CHAPTER THREE

### **Globalisation and International Education: a Changing Policy Environment**

Waters (1995) explains globalisation as a conceptual construct which captures the transition of human society into the third millennium. However, there is a need for an analytic which can sufficiently explain globalisation's historical and longer-term impacts, as well as its spatial implications. There have been an increasing number of calls for theorists to go beyond merely accepting that globalisation yields a multiplicity of different discourses and subjectivities (Appadurai, 2000, pp. 3-6; Sassen, 2000, p. 163; Singh, Pandian & Kell, 2002; Slater, 1998, pp. 647-649; Tikly, 2001, p. 152). Sidhu (2005), for example, asks: Who are the agents of theoretical knowledge within globalisation, what are the objects of their investigations, which spatialities do they theorise from and what subjectivities do they presume and produce? Like other branches of social theory, globalisation theory must also engage with 'a vocabulary of space' (Foucault, 1980, p. 68). In this chapter I explore and draw upon current literature on globalisation to reveal how the TESOL enterprise is underpinned by the notion of education as commodity.

As seen in Chapter Two, the power/knowledge that intertwines the dominance and hegemonic nature of English as a global language also interweaves the discourses of globalisation (Crystal, 1997; Pennycook, 1994, 1998). This dominance affects both local (institute-based) and national (government-level) understandings of international education. While for individuals it creates the desire to be competent (possessing 'power' and 'prestige') in English, it also impacts the ways in which international education is talked about at the national level. The global dominance of English has often been talked about as a form of neo-colonialism in itself. Koehne (2006) and Alam (2003), for example, show how one can see issues of hegemonic dominance and power in relation to maintaining the dominance of English through the worldwide operations of the British Council. It is therefore important to, firstly, critically analyse the relations between globalisation and international education and secondly, to find out which discursive strands have emerged as privileged from existing literature on globalisation and education in the discursive constructions of international education.

The aim of this chapter is to undertake an archaeological analysis of the principal theoretical discourses which inform globalisation and to examine how international education is influenced and sustained by contemporary processes of globalisation. It discusses the complexity of how

globalisation and the internationalisation of English have given rise to the international education market, and how this in turn operates to promote globalisation in neo-liberal or market terms. Read in terms of the theories of Foucault presented in Chapter Two, a Foucauldian analysis can explain the discursive structures and discourses that have produced the 'reality' or 'truth' of globalisation and deduce its power in the manner in which they affect individual subjectivities.

To achieve this aim, the chapter engages with the theoretical discourses of globalisation to understand contemporary expressions of international education. It starts with a critical reading of globalisation discourses to reveal the context surrounding their emergence and the sites from which they are produced, circulated and disseminated. The major focus is international education as part of the global market. In particular, I discuss the general impact of globalisation on education and the state of higher education in Australia with regard to international students. I critically explore the changing nature of education in Australia. I also explore how the professional discourses of education have normalised commodification where the English language is a desirable global product for career advancement and English language teaching has been transformed into the fee-paying means to gain this product. Further I discuss the regimes of truth that have acquired dominance in globalisation debates and their implications for international education.

Following Appadurai (1996) and Kayatekin and Ruccio (1998), I am interested in examining globalisation's links with subjectivity and identity formation in relation to international students. To achieve this aim, I discuss the effect of globalisation on the construction of (student) 'identity' or subjectivity, with attention to the market forces contesting the identity of the international student. Even though it is doubtful whether globalising English is a deliberate process, there is no doubt that the commodification of education has unmistakably been reconstituted as part of a wider business discourse system. At the end of the chapter, I look at some of the faultlines that have opened up within the various ways of talking about international education within discourses about globalisation.

### **3.1 The Globalisation Debates**

'Globalisation' is a word 'often heard, rarely clearly understood' (During, 1999, p. 23). Even though it is a term uttered by many, it is not as though people mean the same thing by it (see Apple, Kenway & Singh, 2005). In fact, for all its currency, it is a slippery concept. The practices of definition are always interested and therefore there is a conflict of opinion in the literature on

globalisation. However, the very fact that we use this word suggests that we are naming phenomena that are having an increasing impact on our lives. For some people globalisation is often associated with great achievements thought to elevate humanity into a new phase of civilisation. It is highly regarded for its so-called role in eliminating borders between societies and cultures, galvanising new social movements and new sites of political activism, and for creating a global market economy anticipated to bring peace, prosperity and freedom (Martin, 2000; Wolf, 2000). For some people, globalisation is a 'good news' story – this is the way the marketers of TESOL, for example, speak about it. However, another powerful school of thought has accused globalisation of fragmenting communities and of exacerbating class and gender stratifications through the reinforcement of older hierarchies of advantage and power (Scholte, 2000). Thus for some, the good new story conceals other stories that are less positive. For academics, of course, the challenge is to see beyond such accounts and to trace wider networks or forces that produce present understandings of globalisation and argue that such conceptualisations can only be understood by thinking relationally.

It is easy to reify globalisation, attributing certain phenomena that are thought to embody the process and avoiding the question of how such phenomena can meaningfully be said to reflect the same object. It is also easy to confuse globalisation with internationalisation, terms that are sometimes used interchangeably. Taylor, Rizvi, Lingard and Henry (1997) warn that these two terms have different meanings. While on the one hand, 'internationalisation' describes interactions *between* nation-states, the processes underlying globalisation go beyond national boundaries (Taylor et al., 1997, p. 56), involving supra-territorial consequences which transcend national boundaries. In the context of the present study, processes such as international student flows can be said to mirror globalisation. Even though globalisation has been seen as a 'phenomenon', the most useful view seems to be the one which sees it as a complex, yet interconnected set of changing processes.

In academic scholarship, globalisation has been discursively constructed as cultural hybridisation and thereby associated with the end of modernity's logic of uniformity and the end of Eurocentrism (Sidhu, 2005, p. 47). It is considered to produce a greater appreciation of difference, heterogeneity and reflexivity. However, Sidhu (2005) argues that contemporary conceptualisations of globalisation have failed to recognise the interrelation of power and knowledge, which a Foucauldian reading of globalisation discourses can yield. Appadurai (2000) has criticised globalisation theorists urging them to extend their academic imagination through an epistemological engagement with the emancipatory politics of globalisation. He talks about three

'optical peculiarities' (p. 4) in the way globalisation is perceived today. Firstly, there is a 'growing disjuncture between the globalization of knowledge and the knowledge of globalization'; secondly, there is an 'inherent temporal lag between the processes of globalization and our efforts to contain them conceptually'; and finally, as an 'uneven economic process', 'globalization... creates a fragmented and uneven distribution of just those resources for learning, teaching, and cultural criticism that are most vital for the formation of democratic research communities that could produce a global view of globalization' (p. 4). In other words, globalisation refuses to accept the forms of collaboration which might make it easier to understand. Kayatekin and Ruccio (1998) sound a similar warning observing that globalisation discourses have a political character, and to this end, interpretations of the global are often put to work in the government of others and of the self (p. 76). It is therefore necessary to 're-narrativise' globalisation through an understanding of how power relations inform and influence transcultural and transnational flows.

### **3.2 Reading Discourses of Globalisation**

Globalisation has been seen as a single entity, an infinite set of fragments or a construct that explains transitions. As these views are all explorations, it is still problematic to characterise globalisation fully. Despite its ubiquitous usage among academics, governments, institutions, businesses and the media, there is no universal agreement about the definition of globalisation. Indeed, there is considerable difference between academic debates and popular media constructions of the realities enacted by globalisation. Robertson and Khondaker (1998) note that researchers have broadly acknowledged that the chaotic use of the term 'globalisation' has significantly reduced its analytical utility (p. 6). It is thus dangerous to reify globalisation as a 'thing/event' as well as to take it as a series of discursive practices, which immediately unsettles the notion that it is inevitable and evolutionary. In this study I see it as more convenient to consider it as an analytic category that explains complex phenomena and this is the way I have used it in my study.

Keeping in mind that 'practices of definition and usage are never innocent' (Bartelson, 2000, p. 182), the term 'globalisation', as used in the current study, accommodates multiple connotations. We can say that globalisation manifests in the ways in which people grapple with issues of identity and the ways in which the local identity interacts with the global identity. However, globalisation is not apparent only at these levels but impacts on the lives of individuals and shapes the ways they think and act. In this study globalisation shows individual life as part of a larger complex network – the society at large. I use the term as a cover concept for a wide range of processes. As Kellner (1998) points out, such terms are never innocent nor neutral in their uses and often serve to

replace older discourses like 'imperialism' and 'modernization' (Kellner, 1998). Appadurai (1990, 1996) confirms that in globalisation discourses, exchanges and flows are likely to give rise to a series of ambivalent outcomes by rejecting essentialised thinking, along with notions of an unsullied, pure culture being ravaged by 'western' commodity capitalism. How transnational 'products' are consumed is a function of a highly differentiated set of factors including local, national, cultural, political and individual factors. Accordingly, different nations, societies, communities and individuals all have their own idiosyncratic ideas of tradition and indigenisation, westernisation or liberalisation. As far as this study is concerned and as seen in later chapters, the experience of the consumption of international education will necessarily vary across the spectrum of 'international students' depending on their situatedness, and upon their national, geographic, linguistic and gender positionings.

### **3.2.1 Globalisation and International Education: Hyperglobalising Opportunities**

Despite popular rhetoric, which often posits globalisation as a 'natural' force (see Giddens, 2000, Muller, 2004, for example), this discourse operates to support globalisation. It mediates participation in globalisation and increasingly views higher education as an individual, rather than social benefit in an anti-neoliberal manner. Higher education institutions can now act like corporate institutions with a disregard for the quality and relevance of education to the market and an amorphous internationalisation of academic disciplines. Today universities offer more flexible curricula which emphasise a greater variety between institutions, mission specificity and customisation. In this study, I use the situation of international students to provide a small window on internationalisation and globalisation. This situation embeds within it links with power/knowledge and subjectivity and involves multiple domains such as the economic and the social. Despite the risk of overgeneralising and the futility of definitions, globalisation can be usefully described as:

A process (or set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organisation of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power.

Held et al., 1999, p. 16

Even though it has gained currency in recent literature, a word such as 'flows' in this context tends to naturalise socio-economic forces of great complexity (see for example, Castells, 1996). A key strategy in this chapter is to tease out the question of how the universities' focus on the international market is a function of the commodification of education. We have seen in Chapter

Two Foucault's (1980) discussion of how the exercise of power is distributed through ordinary and seemingly unimportant practices – but practices that are still imbued with the processes of dominant global discourses. Not only is there no 'outside' to power, but power cannot be associated with any individual or institution. Rather, it comes from below, from the microcosms of society, and flows throughout the discursive framework with both productive and restrictive effects. This study traces the power inherent in the combined discursive formations that also articulate constructions of globalisation.

The normalisation of such discourses was gradually enabled by what Foucault (1986) called the micro-mechanisms of power. Such normalisation is facilitated when these mechanisms 'at a given moment, in a precise conjuncture and by means of a certain number of transformations, have begun to become economically advantageous and politically useful' (Foucault, 1980, p. 101). Globalisation can be seen as part of one of these complex mechanisms of power filtering down into minute normalising practices, for example, those which are disseminated through mass media (Appadurai, 1996; Held, McGrew, Goldblatt, & Perraton, 1999). Similarly, it can be seen through global understandings about English as a beneficial language, seen as economically advantageous and politically useful, particularly by dominant world powers, who see globalisation as a means of maintaining dominance (Held & Koenig-Archibugi, 2003).

At the beginning of their comprehensive discussion of globalisation and the transformations it has effected, Held et al. (1999) confront this question of whether Western capitalism and institutions are the drivers of globalisation: 'at stake in this debate is a rather fundamental issue: whether globalisation today has to be understood as something more than simply the expanding reach of Western power and influence. No cogent analysis can avoid confronting this issue' (p. 12). The complex nature of globalisation involves many actors in the form of nations, government bodies and multi-national companies. The normalisation process that makes globalisation an accepted 'truth' and an inevitable force/power, cannot therefore simply be constructed as a form of Western domination.

Sidhu (2005) notes that recent literature on globalisation has largely focused on national education systems and domestic educational markets, rather than on international education. These analyses have largely ignored the challenges and opportunities facing international education in today's world. Various researchers in education have debated whether or not globalisation will produce an increased convergence in education systems. Currently the conclusion is that, despite similarities at the levels of policy rhetoric and policy objectives, there is little evidence of

convergence in systems (Dale, 1999; Green, 1999; Selwyn & Brown, 2000). Within university contexts, the criticism directed at the entrepreneurialism of universities has singularly targeted international education, where the recruitment of significant numbers of international students has been associated with the university's desire to function as a competitive business, a development also associated in some quarters with declining academic standards (Pratt & Poole, 2000; Spring, 1998).

In addition, and ironically, in focus and analysis, a significant amount of the theorising on education and globalisation has hardly been global. A great deal of work has been authored by, and has focused, on the western, industrialised countries or the more 'significant' Asian 'Tiger' or 'Dragon' economies (Sidhu, 2005, p. 231). This is why it is important to critically analyse the relations between globalisation and international education and to find out which discursive strands have emerged from the existing literature on globalisation and education, as privileged in discursive constructions of international education. In other words, in what ways is international education both a product of and contributor to globalisation? Those involved in the development of international education as a service industry are driven by their own motives and understandings of what they are doing. As I argue in the next section, the complexity of the relationship between globalisation and international education has often been under-theorised, resulting in an overemphasis on the power of the global economic market.

### **3.2.2 International Education in Globalisation Discourses: Legitimising the Market Mode of Operation**

Put plainly, the relationship of globalisation and international education is two-way – while on the one hand globalisation has created the possibilities for international education, on the other, international education, in its outcomes, has (re)constructed globalisation:

International education itself is an expression of the forces of globalisation that are now reshaping people's identities, their social imagination, in which the notion of travelling overseas to receive one's education holds an important place.

Rizvi & Walsh 1998, p. 10

However, there are tensions and contradictions at work and the notion of international education as an 'openness of outlook, encouraging a freedom to move across borders and boundaries in an exploration of new senses of self and other' (Rizvi & Walsh, 1998, p. 10) has to be counter-balanced by the discourse of the global market in education. Despite the apparent dominance of the market,

both within universities and in the talk of international students, other discourses emerge that also need to be taken into account.

In Australia a new discourse of internationalisation of higher education has been evolving (Rizvi, 2004, p. 37) within the discursive practices of which international education has increasingly come to be constructed as part of the global market. Within this discourse, globalisation is talked about in an Australian government policy statement about international education as a 'trade in education services' (Nelson & Downer, 2003) (see 4.3.2). Despite the apparent simplicity in this relation, the interaction of globalisation and international education is not a one-way process of market control, but has numerous complex sites of interaction involving a multiplicity of institutions and actors. There are levels of power and influence, different ways of talking about international education, and places and factors that facilitate the emergence of newer discourses.

International education is discursively constructed to be a provider of opportunity, access and equity to international students. The interrelatedness between globalisation and international education has often been conceptualised in terms of an open global market where consumers have the option to choose which educational product best suits their needs. In other words, the way international education positions and interpellates international students as consumers is a complex ideological work that conflicts with other ways in which such students might see themselves – the various selves they are.

Within this view, universities have traditionally constructed themselves to become global providers of education credentials and are driven to be globally competitive, self-reliant and financially independent of the nation-state. The internationally-ambitious university must develop 'products' which have 'market-appeal'. A market-world practicality of 'what will sell in a market' *allows* the university to remove its traditional responsibility of producing and transmitting knowledges that lack utilitarian market value. It is commonly understood that power relations inspired by profits are less likely to produce counterhegemonic knowledges such as those which reflect feminist, Indigenous and ecological perspectives (Halliday, 1999; Marginson, 2000b; Marginson & Mollis, 2001). Rather, those which have immediate market-relevance are the preferred knowledges. The limitations of such a market-based approach is made evident by Halliday's (1999) observation that a predominantly market-based approach would never have enabled human rights, environmental science and gender studies to feature in the university's curricula and research agendas (p. 102).

Because the discourse of the selective customer has been held up as a signifier that international education has been a huge success, the 'success story' of international education is narrowly defined in terms of rising levels of demand (Hamilton, 1998). In accordance with this discursive logic, markets are constructed as operating on consumer choice principles, subsequently translated as an index for ensuring producer accountability. As customers, international students are constructed as choice-exercising consumers. However, assumptions of consumer autonomy and producer accountability are flawed in their failure to recognise the highly differentiated terrain of power which engulfs international education markets (Sidhu, 2005). I argue that this discursive logic has enabled the autonomous, choice-exercising, utility-maximising international student to *co-exist* in promotional discourses, with the international student as an inferior 'other'.

In any case, the increasingly powerful discourse of international education as a market is evident in recent scholarly literature. Marginson (2001), for example, notes that 'a commercial form of international education has become increasingly important in the UK and Australia where since the 1980s the respective national governments have allowed individual universities to charge full-cost fees and retain the revenues' (p. 4). He argues that:

this kind of international education constitutes a 'global market' in the twin sense that it functions as an identifiable economic market with competition between producers, commodity relations etc. and in the sense that it is global in its expansionist, economic bias and hegemonic character. It is taught in English, and often implicated in the values and practices of globally oriented Anglo-American business.

Marginson, 2001, p. 4

Situated within this market is a network of dominance and power, in which some players have more influence than others, so that the market reinforces and strengthens the power relations that exist in other spheres as well, such as military power (Held et al., 1999), or power through knowledge production (Altbach & Kelly, 1984). The latter is reflected in a government policy statement (Nelson & Downer, 2003). This statement, written in market language, recognises the indispensable importance of the global market as an 'open global economy presents many opportunities for trade in services' (ibid., p. 15) and talks about promoting the 'Study in Australia brand' (ibid., p. 19), visually represented by a kangaroo as part of the logo (see *Figure 4.1, 4.2* in 4.3.2). The marketing language also allows this government statement to talk about 'trade-offs between student volumes, study durations and service prices' and studying 'directions the Australian industry might pursue in different countries to achieve the best position and returns' (ibid., p. 14), as well as the 'need to include high value niche markets' (ibid., p. 16).

However, in the academic world, there is resistance to the dominance of the market discourse. A number of academics have criticised the movement of the higher education sector into the global market place and away from the concept of education as a 'public good'. Koehne (2006) reports how recent journal articles talk about how pervasive the market notion of education has become in recent times. In measuring the quality variables which international students rated as most important to them, one such article by Gatfield, Barker and Graham (1999) showed that "'academic instruction" was perceived to be highly important to students compared with other quality factors', concluding that, 'clearly the study has implications for marketing practices in higher education' (in Koehne, 2006). The second article, by Poole (2001), looked at international education activities purely from the view of how good the business management practices of the universities studied were to achieve optimal financial outcomes, with 'high volume, low cost' 'franchising' and international 'entrepreneurism' seen 'as a means to the end of providing the resources for the university to pursue and achieve its regional mission' (in Koehne, 2006).

Such linking of higher education with the market and the economy is normatively seen as a global phenomenon. In his analysis of a speech by the Chief Executive of the Special Hong Kong Administrative Region, Flowerdew (2002) notes that education 'is seen purely in terms of what it can do for the economy' (in Koehne, 2006). In the speech, 'globalisation is discursively constructed as immutable and... the role of the government [is] to manage the changes that are made necessary by the new global economy' (ibid., p. 209). By contrast, Marginson (2002) summarises the work of the Australian university evident in the discourse of 'public good'. It is characterised as including:

a primary orientation to the production, circulation and transmission of knowledge; the pastoral approach to the formation of personality; preparation for work in a broad intellectual setting where student exploration is encouraged; a longer term and critical eye towards social developments; and an explicit role in building national institutions and identity.

Marginson, 2002, p. 423

True, these tensions exist within national education systems, but they can also be seen as a function of the integration of national economies within global markets. In a similar study on the University of Melbourne, Cain and Hewitt (2004, 2004b) criticised the marketisation of education for its impact on students as well as on the design of courses and their content. They identify the 'great flaw in seeing students as customers in that this presupposes knowledge as a mere commodity to be marketed to the right people; as a service delivered by knowledge workers (academics)' (Cain & Hewitt, 2004, p. 102). It has resulted in 'creative packaging of subjects in order to imply relevance to prospective students... [their] vocational aspirations rather than a desire for liberal learning' and fewer teaching contact hours and larger classes (ibid., p. 102). They

worry that education is being commodified, students turned into customers and the process of education itself becoming 'commodified' as a 'series of discreet learning events' (ibid., p. 102).

Foucault talks about how at the junction of specific historical forces interacting with each other, new discourses emerge. In the creation of the global marketplace, the discourses of globalisation have created current understandings of international education. This global marketplace is now a felt reality - one that impacts even those who are far removed from the source of the market: 'sites of power and the subjects of power may be literally, as well as metaphorically, oceans apart' (Held et al., 1999, p. 8). However, all discourses accommodate and sustain the possibility of change, of manipulation, of weaving together contradictory understanding and various forms of resistance. Despite this, as Burchell, Gordon and Miller (1991) argue: 'it becomes the ambition of neoliberalism to implicate the individual citizen, as partner and player, into this market game' (p. 36). Human agency has the capacity to resist what is not acceptable, to accept aspects of the global game that fulfil desires, to play with the game, and to move in and out of the game at different times and in different contexts. Agency thus unsettles and changes discourses as it engages with multiple discourses and discursive positionings at one and the same time. International students talk about such possibilities in the later chapters of this study.

### **3.3 Globalisation and the Commodification of Education**

Academics and practitioners have long produced a wealth of conflicting discourses on what education should be. There is the traditional notion of education as a civilising process of cultural enrichment. This notion contrasts with a more influential pragmatic discourse which sees it as a service industry, knowledge as a 'popular' consumer product with skills transferable to the job market, and students, paying 'consumers' of these products (Anderson, 2005). In pursuit of profit and in the guise of higher education, international education in general and TESOL in particular, are essentially entrenched in corporate business within a system where the commodity is idealised and romanticised. Like the word education, the word commodification is ambiguous. Most educational offerings, although divided into units of credit and exchanged for tuition, are fictitious commodities in the sense that they are not created by the educator strictly with this purpose in mind. I use the term 'commodity' not in this fictitious sense but rather in its classical sense, to mean something expressly created for market exchange. The commodification of international education, then, refers to the deliberate transformation of the educational process into commodity form, for the purpose of commercial transaction.

The concept of 'commodification' originates from Adam Smith's deep ambivalence about the moral implications of markets and competition. However, Marx's notion of 'commodity fetishism' or the 'mystery of the commodity form' is the 'simplest and most universal example of the way in which the economic forms of capital conceal underlying social relations' (Ball, 2005, p. 5). Marx's concept of the reification of commodities, especially the distinction between such a mindset and an understanding of the processes or social relationships that reification conceals, is of particular interest in this study. Marketisation, on the other hand, derives from critical discourse analysis, education and social sciences and embodies 'the colonization of the public domain by the practices of the public domain' or the 'appropriation of private domain practices by the public domain... which are needed in post-traditional public settings' (Fairclough 1995, p. 138).

The activities and products of the commodification of education gain value in terms of their ability to be translated into cash rather than knowledge that is important or relevant to the needs (and 'goods') of others. In higher education, this process has resulted in education becoming valued for technological innovations that create new, saleable products or for providing skills that a worker can sell in the marketplace. The commodification of education presupposes the interruption of the fundamental educational process and the disintegration of the educational experience into discrete and ultimately saleable items.

Noble (2002) outlines how education is commodified, step-by-step, in this process. Attention is first diverted from the experience of the people involved in the educational process to the production and inventorying of an assortment of fragmented course materials (syllabi, lectures, lessons, and exams) which 'lend an illusion of order and predictability' to what is, at its best, an essentially unscripted and undetermined process. The curriculum is then reorganised as a sequence of knowledge bits which can be transferred as 'credits' and combined in novel ways with no guarantee of internal coherence – a cut and paste higher education curriculum. Second, in the most critical step in commodification, these fragments are 'alienated' from their original context, the actual educational process itself, and from their producers, the teachers, and assembled as 'courses', which take on an existence independent of those who created them. The alienation of ownership of and control over course material is crucial to this step. Finally, the assembled 'courses' are exchanged for a profit on the market, which determines their value, by their 'owners', who may or may not have any relationship to the original creators and participants in the educational process. At the expense of the original integrity of the educational process, instruction is transformed into a set of deliverable commodities, and the end of education has become not self-knowledge but the making of money (Noble, 2002). In the wake of this transformation, universities

become commodity producers and deliverers, subject to the familiar regime of commodity production in any other industry, while students become consumers of yet more commodities. The relationship between university and student is thus re-established, in an alienated mode, through the medium of the market, and the buying and selling of commodities take on the appearance of education.

### **3.3.1 Commodification and the TESOL industry**

Within the broader discourses of education, the case of TESOL is a curious one. Education, Salzman (1989) points out, is a field marked in the past by theoretical naivety and haphazard variety by the metropolitan mediators of cultures. Anderson (2005) argues that one of the earliest, and now most fully developed, examples of commodification occurred not within mainstream state education but in the development of TESOL in the English-speaking West. A host of educationists and social scientists have critiqued the development of commodification in education in general (Anderson, 2005; Ball, 2005; Crang, 2003; Marginson, 2001), while as already suggested some have claimed that it was specifically in TESOL that early signs of commodification could first be seen (Shin, 2006). The Britain-Australia-North America sector spread globally as an educational 'industry', supported intellectually by academic disciplines such as ELT/ESL/EFL, TESOL, English Studies and Applied Linguistics, and through the state, via organisations such as the British Council (Alam, 2003). English has been constructed as a commodity and pedagogically reduced to an efficient means of information transfer in this process. Institutions of higher education now operate as if they were ordinary businesses competing to sell their products to consumers. They make major organisational changes which accord with a market mode of operation, such as introducing an 'internal' market in which departments are made to be more financially autonomous. To achieve this they use 'managerial' approaches in, for example, staff appraisal and training, introducing institutional planning, and giving much more attention to marketing (Anderson, 2002, in Anderson, 2005). Consequently there have been conspicuous tensions and conflicts between the teachers' educational ideals and the management's actions determined by the status of the unit as a business. There has also been a pressure for academics to see students as 'customers' and to devote more of their energies to teaching and developing learner-centred methods of teaching (Fairclough 1995, p. 141) constructed as 'popular'.

Such a market mode of operation implies a discipline within organisations to increase their attractiveness and efficiency following a vertical demand and horizontal supply schedule, enticing students into the market through price mechanisms. Generally speaking, education is increasingly spoken of within policy in terms of its economic value and its contribution to international market

competitiveness. Cowen (1996) writes about this as the 'astonishing displacement of "society" within the late modern educational pattern' (p. 167). Education is increasingly subject to 'the normative assumptions and prescriptions' of 'economism', and 'the kind of "culture" the school is and can be' (Lingard et al., 1998, p. 84). Although inherently educational in character, English language schools and so-called EFL feeder schools (such as ELICOS centres) exist in a competitive environment and, if viewed from a commercial perspective, would be designated service operations, since, as Walker (2001) has observed, they exhibit classical service characteristics. Their English language 'product', for instance, is intangible and heterogeneous and there is considerable customer involvement in its production (Walker, 1998, in Walker, 2001).

The continued global demand for such English language courses has thus seen the enterprise of TESOL grow into a powerful and successful global industry. Auerbach (1995) claims that TESOL programs are often controlled not by the structure or objective of the program but by the specific and sometimes incidental interests of the faculty. In addition, researchers such as Walker (2001) have claimed that TESOL institutions, although inherently educational in character, are essentially 'service operations' where commercial success may depend on the word-of-mouth recommendations of satisfied clients, numerous examples of which we see in Chapters Six and Seven.

Such a marketing orientation of educational institutes has seen the coinage of new terms in scholarship. Ritzer (2004; see also Altbach, 2004) describes 'McDonaldization' as the process by which the principles of the fast-food restaurant are coming to dominate more and more sectors of American society as well as the rest of the world (p. 1). This is a development of Weber's notion of rationalisation, whereby an institution such as a school is organised on the basis of efficiency, calculability, predictability and control. 'McCommunication' (Block, 2001) is the 'framing of communication as a rational activity devoted to the transfer of information between and among individuals' (p. 121) in a calculable and controllable way through language, understood strictly in linguistic terms. Anderson (2005) refers to the commercial aspect of the TESOL industry as a 'rationalised, efficient means of producing teachers with a rationalised efficient method that is universally appropriate': McTeachers with McQualifications. Elsewhere he refers to such teachers as 'deskilled technicians' and TESOL as a 'relatively easily obtainable qualification (ideally by a native speaker)' and a 'highly permeable profession with a high staff turnover', hence calling it 'McTESOL'. In the next section I briefly discuss how such commodities interpellate the international student through discursive constructions of what is 'popular'.

### 3.3.2 Popularity and Fetishism

Appadurai (1999) suggests that in this late modern era of globalisation, Marx's notion of the fetishism of commodities has been replaced by 'two mutually supportive descendents' - the 'production fetishism' and the 'fetishism of the consumer' (in During, 1999, p. 229). Production fetishism is an 'illusion' created by 'contemporary transnational production loci', which makes 'translocal capital, transnational earning flows, global management... in the idiom and spectacle of local control and national productivity'. Here 'production itself has become a fetish, masking not social relations as such but the relations of production' (ibid., p. 229). Such fetishism Appadurai claims, generates alienation. The 'fetishism of the consumer', on the other hand, refers to the 'transformation of the consumer' through 'commodity flows' (such as advertising) into a 'sign' - 'global advertising is the key technology for the worldwide dissemination of a plethora of creative, and culturally well-chosen, ideas of consumer agency' (in During, 1999, p. 229). In such processes, individuals are subjectified by networks of interpellation and desire.

In order to conceptualise how international education is constructed in popular discourse, as a starting point, I briefly consider three interrelated ways of viewing culture, keeping in mind that TESOL can be viewed as a cultural product (see 1.1). According to Said, culture is 'a battleground... a system of discriminations and evaluations... and exclusions' (1983, p. 11). He also says:

Culture must be seen as much for what it is not and what it triumphs over when it is consecrated by the State as for what it positively is. This means that culture is a system of discriminations and evaluations... for a particular class in the State to identify with it; and it also means that culture is a system of exclusions legislated from above but enacted throughout its polity.

Said, 1983, p. 11

Foucault views culture as a 'form of governmentality: neither an end in itself nor the product of autonomous agents, but a "mechanism" for transmitting forms of governmentality, for ordering how we act, think and live as a means to produce conforming or docile citizens, most of all through the education system' (in During, 1993, p. 19). Similarly Kubota (2001) views culture as a discursive product at the intersection of power and knowledge - the 'site of discursive struggle in which various political and ideological positions compete with each other to promote a certain cultural representation as the truth' (p. 11).

In relation to international students and their subjectivities, dominant discourses can therefore accommodate (and sustain) multiple forms of truth through the mechanisms of cultures. In this study I am referring to the 'cohesive behaviour' of aspiring TESOL international students, after

Holliday's (1999) notion of the 'small culture view', which he uses as an interpretive device for understanding emergent behaviour, rather than seeking to explain prescribed ethnic, national or international difference.

Under the marketing discourse social justice issues remain hidden. During (1999) argues that one of the central interests of cultural studies has been in how 'groups with the least power practically develop their own readings of, and uses for, cultural products - in fun, in resistance, or to articulate their own identity' (p. 6) - and that 'those most vulnerable to market forces respond most positively to its cultural products' (ibid. p. 8). The culture industry uses its own 'sophisticated ethnographic techniques' (ibid., p. 19) to mediate the concept of the 'popular' between producers and consumers. But it also simultaneously generates public desire by marketing its products 'as if they were *already* popular' (ibid., p. 23). In this system, it is convenient for individuals to desire a polysemic assimilation by entering the 'symbolic order' of dominant ideologies, ascribing power to themselves and giving themselves a sense of the world. One could say that international TESOL studies interpellate students into a recognisable professional and social identity through the construction of the popular and through the artificial hierarchy of ranking of educational institutes (see 6.5.1). In Chapters Six, Seven and Eight there are numerous examples of such hailing from participant narratives.

### 3.3.3 The Merchantilisation of Knowledge

Bernstein (1996) argues that 'the contemporary dislocation disconnects inner from outer, as a precondition for constituting the outer and its practice, according to the market principles of the New Right' (p. 87). This is the precondition of the knowledge economy, or what Lyotard (1984) calls 'the merchantilization of knowledge' (p. 51). Rather than being legitimated through 'grand narratives of speculation and emancipation' (p. 38), in the pragmatics of 'optimization', knowledge is created for skills or profit rather than ideals. It is therefore economism that defines the resultant purpose and potential of education. Even though Lyotard does not advocate a return to these grand narratives, these are not simply 'abstract concerns about academic freedom but relate closely to practical matters enmeshed in the clash between business principles and purposes and academic principles' (Ball, 2004, p. 18). They are implicated in the closing down of the space of possibility for being a public intellectual, researching or speaking against the imperatives of economic necessity and against the 'useful' and the 'efficient'. There is a fundamental challenge to the possibility of 'really useful knowledge' or to simply retaining a sense of independence that serves both indirectly and directly the public good rather than institutional advantage.

Through a hyperglobalist orientation, evidenced by the search for new markets, and the desire to provide 'borderless' education, the current model of international education aims at making universities financially independent of governments. In Australia's highly marketised higher education system, 'international' universities operate in a discursive space where they sell education to international students. Part of the normalising mechanisms of the power of globalisation discussed earlier is achieved through constructing globalisation as global economics, or the global marketplace, and this would appear to be another taken-for-granted 'truth' about globalisation (Held & Koenig-Archbugi 2003). This would not surprise Foucault, who in his studies of governmentality looked at new ways of governing that turned economic governance into the centre of the state's activities, which, in the process, constructs the individual as an economic being. This view involves a

global redescription of the social as a form of the economic... Economics thus becomes an 'approach' capable in principle of addressing the totality of human behaviour, and consequently, of envisaging a coherent, purely economic method of programming the totality of governmental action.

Burchell, Miller & Gordon 1991, p. 43

Such placement of the economic being at the centre of governance and self-governance affects the life of the individual and constructs him/her in a new way, as an economic being. 'The idea of one's life as the enterprise of oneself implies that there is a sense in which one remains always continuously employed in (at least) that one enterprise, and that it is a part of the continuous business of living to make adequate provision for the preservation, reproduction and reconstruction of one's own human capital' (Burchell et al., 1991, p. 44). In this process, other constructions of the enterprise of oneself, as a spiritual being, or a social, family member, are devalued (Koehne, 2006). A person thus comes to be valued by what they do, what they earn and how well they contribute to the economic well being of all.

### **3.4 Globalisation and Identity**

This section discusses the theme of identity as a site of conflicting forces under globalising discourses. I first talk about the various ways in which identity has been conceptualised in contemporary literature. I then move on to locating the constructions of identity within the context of globalisation.

### 3.4.1 Identity: a Work in Progress

People do not simply *have* 'selves' and 'identities' in an unproblematic manner. In modern literature, there is any number of ways of understanding 'self', or 'identity', making it a highly problematic construct. According to Holstein and Gubrium:

The self is an increasingly complex project of daily reading. It is an entity that now ubiquitously embodies our subjectivity; in the course of everyday interpretive activity, we are more actively engaged in constructing the self than ever before.

Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. iii

Holstein and Gubrium (2000) talk about the ubiquitous presence of the self in the contemporary world: 'In a postmodern world of instantaneous communication, hyperkinetic consumerism, and electronically mediated imagery... the self is everywhere, and thus no where in particular - fleeting, evanescent, a mere shadow of what it used to be' (p. 3). One way of understanding identity is to view it as a social phenomenon which allows us to have social identities against the social groups we belong to or into which we are placed (Tajfel, 1982). In such positioning, we automatically internalise the views of ourselves due to our conformity to membership of these social groups. Constructions of the self are also conditioned by the 'working senses of what we should be' at particular times and places. As 'creatures of everyday life', our diversity and inventiveness are always 'tamed' by social arrangements within which selves are considered (p. 3). The media and the numerous contexts of our lives interpellate us with the multiple social identities we ascribe to, which provide 'endless possibilities for who we are and what we can be' (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 3). In other words, the self can be seen as saturated (Gergen, 1991) and filled to the threshold, thereby losing any sense of one distinct 'identity'.

For the purposes of my study I adopt this last view of the self - as one playing multiple and simultaneous roles and impacted upon by multiple discourses simultaneously. I also consider the self as an ongoing project of social construction where the self is not just 'what we are', nor just a construct imposed by social institutions, but an actively and momentarily constructed concept. Individuals engage in 'identity work' (Loseke, 2000, p. 108), in which 'selves are crafted out of the "messy" details of actual lives', albeit within the conditions of possibility allowed by specific discursive environments (Gubrium & Holstein, 2000, p. 17). Holstein and Gubrium (2000) present the social self as variegated but nevertheless unquestionably present - an individual, cultural, interpretive and moral project of everyday life. They argue that 'self interpretation is more prevalent in today's world than ever before' (p. 81) and the social self is the 'hallmark structure of contemporary interpretive practice' (p. 100).

Holstein and Gubrium (2000) also argue that the self is narratively constructed and 'ubiquitously communicated', providing 'endless possibilities' of who we are and what we can be (p. 3). Individuals draw upon their biographical particulars and cultural knowledge to demonstrate different versions of themselves in specific social circumstances in order to narrate their stories. By managing their different performances of self in order to create versions of social identity for particular audiences and social situations, individuals 'bring selves into view' (ibid., p. 187). Even though individuals can and do 'manage' identity in social interaction, the strategies they employ for it are not merely embedded in those particular social situations but are crucially consequential for how the group to which they belong is regarded in society.

As something that needs to be accomplished, category membership is also able to be contested. Like identities, 'categories' are dynamic and ongoing reality projects, subject to perpetual negotiation and open to contestation. And again, like identities, categories are non-existent when separate from our use of them and beyond their use in social situations. In addition, 'categories' do not correspond to the real world in an obvious straightforward manner but are constituted through interaction and exist only by virtue of their application to specific cases. When claiming category membership, individuals also make claims about the categories themselves which then take on the meanings because of the ways they are *used* in social interaction.

Aware of the possibility of reifying and oversimplifying a complex construct, I favour the 'definition' of identity proposed by Antaki, Condor and Levine (1996) to build my argument as well as discuss participant data in later chapters. According to these researchers, 'to speak of someone's social identity is to speak, at the very least, of what attaches to them by virtue of their membership in a category, usually a category constituted by social consensus or imposition' (p. 473). In other words, it is through the use of 'categories' (such as 'international students') - both those people seek to put themselves into and those imposed upon them - that identities are constructed. However, Antaki et al. do not consider identities as static entities. Membership in categories is not an 'immutable property of persons' (Rapley, Kiernan, & Antaki, 1998, p. 810) and identity is a 'matter of people's situated and interested descriptions of themselves and each other' (Antaki et al., 1996, p. 488). Through the invocation of different categories at different moments, we make 'claims' about who and what we are in ongoing social interaction. Whether actively sought by individuals or simply imposed upon them, social identities are invoked to address the exigencies of particular conversational interactions and are asserted in social interaction. As such, even within the course of a single interaction, self-categorisations can be very dynamic and fluid. This way we can view identity as something that is accomplished over and over again and that is perpetually negotiated and maintained through communicative practices.

In the context of this study, it has been challenging to trace the way people engage in the situations in which they find themselves, to recognise the primacy of human relationships vis-à-vis the fetishisation of the commodity of 'international education'. Such a fetish in effect erases social values and marginalises significant social relationships in which people are involved. Under such conditions, the international student is rendered an active consumer but also a passive learner (Cloete et al., 2001). Whereas colonial identity is fixed and fossilised, cultural identity is shifting, versatile and changeable. Students do not come in as 'customers' - this is not a role which they naturally assume - but they are explicitly constituted as customers, a development that further reinforces the idea that a degree is 'a commodity that can be exchanged for a job rather than a liberal education that prepares students for life' (Willmott 1995, in Ball, 2004). Ball (2004) discusses how the notion of a student as an individual, as a citizen or at least as a depository and carrier of culturally valued knowledge, becomes substituted by a 'preoccupation with commercialisation which will increase its exchange value in terms of the resources that flow, directly or indirectly, from a strong performance on the measures of research output and teaching quality' (p. 5). As part of seeking new 'markets' and the re-orientation to the customer, new forms of 'delivery' and consumption of international education are being created which can result in learning becoming increasingly fragmented. I discuss examples of such fragmentation in Chapters Six, Seven and Eight.

### 3.4.2 Globalising Identity

Globalisation is not only about flows but also entails constant efforts towards closure and fixing at all levels. In combination with the notion of identity, it raises important questions about who creates new boundaries and securities by which to live, why these are created, and against or with whom - in short, how attempts are made to maintain the illusion that the world does indeed consist of 'nameable groups', bound to certain territories from time immemorial.

Meyer & Geshiere 1999, p. 14

I have so far discussed the impacts of globalisation on trade and business and international education. The interest of this study lies in the analysis of situations and processes in which identities are formed as people move in and out of groups and communities, cultures and social conditions. Alcoff and Mendieta (2003) feel that the 'massive increase in immigrations and migrations, both within and between continents' has ushered us into a 'new era of racial and ethnic hybridization' which 'unsettles... national identities'. This relationship of the global, the national and the local, however, is problematic. By inserting individuals in this grid, Campbell and Rew (1999) are interested in how the construction of their identities is impacted on by these three interconnected levels of social organisation. They ask:

How do the intensely felt emotions aroused within individuals by their participation in the intimate cultures of family and locality feed into the experience of shared social identity at local, regional and national levels; and how are the trials, processes and experiences of individual life projects and identity structured and fragmented under radically different social conditions?

Campbell & Rew, 1999, p. xi

Radhakrishnan (2003) argues that 'heterogeneity or even hybridity is written into the postcolonial experience and that there is a relationship of historical continuity, however problematic, between colonialism and nationalism, and between nationalism and its significant Other, the diaspora' (p. 314). Hall (1996) would argue that 'modern nations are all cultural hybrids', but national cultures are constructed as a 'discursive device which represents difference as unity or identity' (p. 617). Although one could argue, as Mateo (2003) does, when talking about the people of the Amazon, that 'all identities are nowadays made in transnationally and internationally linked social fields' (p. 285), closures also accompany global flows. In the field of international education, 'groups' are constructed and named, simplified and homogenised to conveniently manage, control and sustain the differences. The attendant uncertainties of globalisation lead to a newer realisation of attitudes regarding who belongs, and who does not, which can lead to 'forms of bodily violence and the relationship of purity to identity' (Meyer & Geshiere 1999, p. 14). In this situation, some will try to 'reconstruct purified identities, to restore coherence, 'closure' and tradition in the face of hybridity and diversity' (Hall & Gieben, 1992, p. 311). Because of the possibility that globalisation offers for identities to be 'shared' through the global media, a kind of closure and homogenisation exists in globalisation:

Cultural flows and global consumerism create the possibilities of 'shared identities' – as 'customers' for the same goods, 'clients' for the same services, 'audiences' for the same messages and images – between people who are far removed from one another in time and space... 'identities' become detached – disembedded – from specific times, places, histories and traditions, and appear 'free-floating.

Hall 1992, pp. 302-303

Often subject to the suturing together of hybrid identities, international students vacillate between these 'flows' and closures and the inclusions and exclusions. In Chapters Six, Seven and Eight we see how, in the face of globalisation discourses, international students have undergone a complex process in which their identities have shifted in constructing themselves.

In an increasingly globalised world, mutually complimentary fraternities have developed among 'single interest groups'. Diverse as these groups may be, they have shared interests in making profit. In the next section I discuss one such group in Australia which increasingly claims to bring the best of higher education to students through their alliance of partners.

### 3.5 Hyperglobalist Alliances: Partners-in-Trade in a Globalising World

Most publicly funded universities in the West today have alliances with both public and private higher education institutions in the non-western world as well as with private suppliers, financial and management consultants, educational traders, commercial businesses, and 'knowledge companies' (McLaren & Farahmandpur, 2001, pp. 140-141) in the same countries. Sidhu (2003) sees such mutually complementary relationships as having a 'hyperglobalist' orientation, clearly evident in the rationales offered by some university alliances worldwide. The actors in such alliances and affiliations range from: producer networks such as corporations like multinational media, such as News Ltd.; 'knowledge companies', such as Arthur Anderson and Peat Marwick; publishing houses such as the Thompson Corporation; and the 'virtual' American 'university', Cardean University (see Sidhu, 2005, p. 67, 69). Another class of higher academic institutes operate in the form of the American 'diploma mill universities' (Noble, 2002) - the small universities with a poor domestic reputation which expand overseas, usually in a developing country - which then become solid earners of income revenue (Morrow & Torres, 2000, p. 42).

In addition, there are 'mega-varsity projects' or 'global university consortia' (Rizvi, 2004, p. 37), which aim to facilitate increased cooperation in student exchange as well as the development of joint research and teaching programmes. Such alliances, such as the Global University Alliance (GUA) and the Universitas 21 (and U21Global), whose 'core underlying principles' include a 'global focus and perspective', a 'determination to achieve added value' (Universitas21, 2007), embodies a hyperglobalist orientation to international education operating as a virtual education space in the form of an 'e-university'. This last project provides sophisticated and costly information and communication technologies often beyond the means of state funded universities (with 'collective budgets' of over US\$13bn and an annual research grant income of over US\$3bn, Universitas 21, 2007). In the language used in their website, Sidhu (2003) finds resonance with a Fordist discourse, discursively constructing a giant 'knowledge factory':

The network's purpose is to facilitate collaboration and cooperation between the member universities and to create opportunities for them on a scale that none of them would be able to achieve operating independently or through traditional bilateral alliances.

Universitas 21, 2007

In Australia, the Group of Eight (Go8) is one such group. It 'represents Australia's leading universities' - the University of Adelaide, the Australian National University, the University of Melbourne, Monash University, the University of New South Wales, the University of Queensland, the University of Sydney and the University of Western Australia. The Go8's stated objective is 'building the intellectual, social, cultural and economic excellence of Australia's future' (Go8, 2008)

and it has been working as an ‘informal network of vice-chancellors’ since 1994. This group, ‘Australia’s most *powerful* block of universities’ (my italics, Iling, 2007), which according to a Wikipedia entry consists of ‘the oldest and most prestigious universities’, now has a total enrolment of 275,000 students, consisting of more than one-third of national university enrolments (Iling, 2007). It ‘works to ensure a consistent and sustainable policy environment which maximizes the wide-ranging economic, social and cultural benefits to the Australian community of higher education and which ensures Australian universities are recognised as among the best in the world’ (Go8, 2008). The Go8 aims to ‘strengthen Australia’s capacity to engage in and benefit from global developments’ and to ‘expand opportunities for Australian students, regardless of background, to participate in world class higher education’. It also claims to ‘excel in giving their graduates world-class training and they are consistently the first choice of the majority of highest qualified Australian school leavers’ (Go8, 2008).

The Go8 online homepage invites both Australian and international prospective students to see why these eight universities are ‘so special’ by highlighting the group’s distinctive features. The Group of Eight universities:

- Were all ranked in the top 100 universities in the world by the *Times Higher Education Supplement 2005*;
- Are located in Australia's capital cities (Adelaide, Brisbane, Canberra, Melbourne, Perth and Sydney);
- Offer much better than average staff student ratios;
- Provide a wide range of scholarships for domestic and international students;
- Have nurtured every Nobel Prize winner educated at an Australian university;
- Receive an above-average share of national teaching awards;
- Enrol over 50% of postgraduate research students;
- Are home to approximately 30% of all Australian and international students;
- Provide excellent orientation programs, academic advice sessions, sporting and health facilities and ongoing support services to all students;
- Count among their alumni over 80 per cent of Australia's Rhodes scholars;
- Produce graduates who find full-time employment sooner, begin on higher salaries, and are more likely to move on to postgraduate studies than graduates from other Australian universities.

Go8, 2008

While the quantifiers are clearly statistical in nature, phrases such as ‘much better than average’, ‘above-average’ and ‘wide range’ are situated within the language of broader hyperglobalist discourses. In addition, the Go8 Credit Transfer Agreement, which assumes a ‘comparable and transferable’ assessment regime in all eight universities, encourages ‘mobility of students between them’. However, the Equity and Merit Scholarship which was regularly awarded to students discontinued from 2006 when the Go8 vice-chancellors decided to discontinue the scheme for new recipients.

Such hyperglobalist orientation is also evident in accounts like the following, by an authoritative source in the Australian higher education sector, on the potential of 'any time, any place' education:

Thus, the Berliner who enrolls for a degree through a truly globalised provider will not know that the multilingual person who takes the initial inquiry is at a call centre in the Philippines and that the academic moderators for the on-line chat groups in Accounting 101 are in Pakistan, and that the high quality printed text materials that arrive at the doorstep have been authored in regional Australia, modified to German accounting standards through a world-wide contract with KPMG to localise the material for all markets, printed in Indonesia and dispatched to Berlin via a Chinese air-carrier: each element in this process determined by a quality and cost-efficiency matrix. At every point the student is making contact with the seamless surface of a single-provider.

Chipman, 1998, in Sidhu, 2003

Mutual needs and shared interests in this manner link all concerned parties. With quality and cost-efficiency the primary measure of relativisation, such relationships can be read as an example of 'glocalisation' where the global is conveniently localised. The subject in this relationship is the rational consumer driven by the prime consideration of 'value for money'. Such 'global templates', informing hybrid educational products, is embedded in predominantly American educational norms, as Marginson and Mollis (2001, p. 582) point out. As we shall see in the later chapters of this thesis, international students are caught up in a premeditated network of such relationships in which their roles range from the alien student, to 'customer' and 'consumer'.

Research in the international education field has strongly indicated that educational visions and pedagogical practices continue to be strongly influenced by such marketised and hyperglobalist orientations (Singh, Pandian & Kell, 2002). For example, Clyne, Marginson and Woock's (2001) study of Australian universities found little in the way of 'discursive noise' within universities to critically examine the links between globalisation and international education. This study concluded that, as far as the recruitment of full fee paying international students was concerned, international education continued to be narrowly conceived. While some university staff displayed enthusiasm about the entrepreneurial track records of their institutions, others viewed these developments with less enthusiasm, considering them as part of a general shift towards reducing education to the status of a traded commodity good and the university to a service industry.

### 3.6 Concluding Comments

In this chapter I have shown that far from being a monolithic, omnipotent discourse, globalisation is impacted on by a host of local and national institutions, agencies as well as bodies of knowledge, which in turn affect the local and the national. Featherstone (2003) can see globalisation creating

spaces which allows plurality and multi-directionality to lead to a multiplicity of voices and knowledges being heard:

One effect then of the globalisation process... is to lead to a clashing of a plurality of different interpretations of the meaning of the world formulated from the perspective of different national and civilisational traditions. The density and multi-directionality of the talk which takes place on the global stage necessarily demands that nation-states take up a position as they increasingly find it impossible to silence the other voices or consider opting out.

Featherstone, 2003, p. 349

In spite of the discursive complexity of international education, as it appears within discourses of globalisation and is impacted on by the power/knowledge of the global hegemony of English and its production and dissemination of knowledge, the discourses have been dominated by notions of international education as part of the global market. In this chapter I have discussed how international students are both actively and passively involved in the process of constructing and reconstructing their identity against the backdrop of globalisation and its forces. The creation of spaces for new complex identities is inevitable in the different phases through which international students struggle, resist, manipulate and partly weave into their sense of self the international education that they come to receive.

In the next chapter I discuss how national ways of talking about international education is impacted on by discourses about international education within the global context. I consider how the Australian government looks into the development of international education policies and how 'national interest' weaves different strands into the net of discourses about international education.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### **Learning Supermarkets in the National Interest: International Education and the Australian Government**

This study is a construction, an intellectual work that applies Foucauldian categories to understand the complexities of globalisation and international education. Within this framework, I explore the Australian landscape of international education, providing the discursive background from which to situate the micropractices of promotion. I also explore the different meanings surrounding international education by analysing selected Australian public discourses. I examine the different interpretations of international education made by some bodies and institutes - the public 'truths' they produce and circulate, which provide the discursive grounding from which to understand how the power relations which inform international education are associated with contemporary processes of globalisation. More specifically, I examine how nation-state instrumentalities are interpreting and negotiating the forces and processes of globalisation, through their international education policies and practices. I also explore what is 'thinkable' and 'sayable' about international education and consider how the international student is discursively crafted by these statements. By identifying defining themes and rationales, i.e., the visible 'objects' of discourse, this chapter identifies some of the key authorities responsible for legitimising particular interpretations and expressions of internationalisation. This chapter thus evokes the context within which the participants of this study experienced and explained their perspectives.

In order to map how some forms of knowledge about globalisation and internationalisation gain dominance and are repeated, I look briefly at the ways dominant knowledges are developed and communicated within government policy documents. I also examine promotional materials to extract 'statements' used to construct and promote international education. My intention is to capture the *changes* in discourse relating to international education in Australia. In order to explain the network of the links required to understand the clusters of power relations involved with the production and sustenance of discourses I am drawing on methods and assumptions which Foucault labelled 'genealogy' as distinct from archaeology. Genealogy is useful and indispensable in analysing the power relations and taken-for-granted assumptions operating in international education and within the university, which intersect with the individual to create identities such as those of international students.

Genealogy focuses on subjectivity - 'how power manufactures a particular subjectivity that is internalized and made the truth about oneself' (Prado 1995, p. 85). Often these knowledges are taken-for-granted assumptions about what is 'normal', or 'natural'. However, unlike Foucault I am not simply offering a neutral description of the changes in the policy or discourses relating to international education. My own situation as an international student means that my analysis has a situated character and it is inevitable that I am going to engage in the question of what these policies are saying about me and the way they construct me as an international student. Although there are numerous contradictions about what 'truths' are, in the analysis of government and university texts, the 'truth' and knowledge that globalisation and internationalisation are inevitable and important is taken-for-granted. It can be contested, for example, whether globalisation is predominantly about the global market or something more diverse; whether, in a national sense, internationalisation in education is just about bringing in international students or is something far richer and multi-layered.

In this chapter, my purpose is to trace the main themes of the current phase of marketisation. The objective of looking at ways discourses position international students (with their acquiescence) is to reveal taken-for-granted assumptions that are taken as normal. I consider the *mechanisms* through which these discourses have taken prominence. The local players in the field of international education are involved in the histories of the perennial construction and reconstruction of intertwining global, national and local discourses (see Singh, 2005). A further purpose is to show how 'local' initiatives intersect with global trends, whatever the intentions of the players might be. I examine what others have said by looking at documents that set a tone for people's participation in international education and consider how this tone is set. The context is shaped by words used about international education.

By illustrating the complex shifts in the discourses relating to international education in Australia, I try to answer the following questions: What are the 'truths' purveyed by such policies? And how do these differ from 'marketisation'? What world view and assumptions are implied by the notion of internationalisation? How is the world, and specifically the situation of international students, constructed by market discourses? I do not seek to undertake a comprehensive analysis of principal Australian education policies - a task clearly exceeding the scope of this thesis. Instead, my intention is to offer an analysis of key policy documents relating to international education through an analysis of the micro-practices of promotion used by different stakeholders of international education in Australia. I offer a selective discussion of the key policy developments in Australia which have influenced the policies and practices of internationalisation in the past

decade or so. To do this, I have selected two key texts from the ones available. I begin by outlining international education in Australia, tracing some of its historical 'milestones' and corresponding discursive shifts. I then analyse the two Ministerial Statements that have so far been produced on international education. To conclude, I look at three institutes all related to the marketing of international education, including a university and two government bodies. I also briefly analyse a few visual texts that have been used in the promotion of international education.

#### **4.1 International Education in Australia: From Aid to Trade to Internationalisation**

The argument in this study seeks to present a nuanced reading of international education, one that allows 'aid *and* trade', so as to provide a critical and informed account of the issues under investigation. Currently both the Australian Government and universities offer substantial scholarship schemes for international students. For instance, the Australian Leadership Awards (ALA) scholarships are a component of a regional program that aims to develop leadership and build partnerships and linkages within the Asia-Pacific. In addition, there are the Australian Development Scholarships (ADS) which are a bilateral program that aims to contribute to the long term development needs of Australia's partner countries to promote growth and stability. I came to Australia in 2000 on one such scholarship. The Endeavour Awards are the Australian Government's internationally competitive, merit-based scholarships providing opportunities for citizens of the Asia-Pacific, Middle East, Europe and the Americas to undertake study, research and professional development in Australia. In addition to these, individual universities offer their own scholarships (centrally and through departmental units) to international students. In the account of one participant (Rahman) who was on a government scholarship, references are made such programs for international students (see 6.3.5, 6.5.3, 7.4.4).

Since, with the exception of two, all 38 universities in Australia are publicly funded, government policy documents often provide the framework based on which universities develop their policies and practices. The emergence of new discourses involves power relations and, as discourses emerge, certain authorities develop and maintain power. The local players in the field of international education are involved in the histories of the perennial construction and reconstruction of intertwining global, national and local discourses. The global market and the 'knowledge economy' that it encompasses and manipulates therefore impacts on the ways international education is talked about, both at the national and the institute level. Concepts of 'globalisation' and 'international competition' are often invoked by governments as the rationale for their (selective) borrowing of policy initiatives. Similarly, both universities and agents

(education brokers) routinely undertake research to investigate the marketing innovations of international competitors.

The previous chapter noted that globalisation is conceptually contested and that different discourses accord different emphases to its material, cognitive and socio-temporal dimensions. Globalisation thus presents the possibilities of several types of engagements with other national contexts, ostensibly both superficial and deep (Marginson & Mollis, 2000, p. 53). We have also seen that there is considerable tension between the discourses of globalisation and those about love, peace, understanding, democracy and the welfare of developing countries, and trade in education services. In this current phase of marketing, expanding markets and making money is the new way of keeping Australian universities financially viable. This financial contribution was acknowledged by the Vice-Chancellor of Monash University<sup>2</sup>, in one of his first public presentations after his appointment, under the heading, 'Some Common Misconceptions'. One of the misconceptions he mentions is that 'Domestic students subsidise the international activities - the opposite is true' (2004, p. 8). However, a number of critics (Koehne, 2006; Rizvi, 2004; Sidhu, 2005) have reported how, compared to other countries, the Australian government has played a more pronounced role in its aggressive marketing of international education. In the last decade or so, several policy statements on international education have been made by the government, while government institutions such as IDP Education and Australian Education International (AEI) have been set up specifically to market international education.

Australia has been an international education provider for over 56 years, beginning with the inception of the Colombo Plan in 1950. There are three distinct phases in its history - the Colombo Plan era (1950-1989), the AusAID era (the 90s) and finally the commercialised global education market era. Australia's engagement with significant numbers of international students commenced with the Colombo Plan. The Plan's rationale accommodated a convenient blend of political self-interest and humanitarian concerns (Alexander & Rizvi, 1993, p. 17-18; Auletta, 2000, pp. 47-51; Rizvi, 1997, p. 17). Indeed, the role of the Colombo Plan in facilitating the conditions that resulted in subsequent policies of the internationalisation of Australian universities cannot be emphasised enough (Rizvi, 2004). It was primarily conceptualised as a foreign aid programme and highlighted Australia's commitment to improve economic distress in Asia (Oakman, 2005, in Rizvi, 2004, p. 35). Within this Plan, scholarships were provided for 'foreign' students to enable them to attend Australian universities in a specified range of academic areas. Since then education has seen a

---

<sup>2</sup> Larkins, R. 2004 *Monash University- the Next 5 Years* Downloaded from <http://www.monash.edu.au/news/internal/> 5 April, 2004

massive increase, no longer working within an education-as-aid paradigm but within the dictates of the mainstream global education market. In so doing, it has compromised its traditional role (Altbach, 2004; Marginson, 2002, 2001, 2000), making full use of the shifting dynamics of a more decentralised world network of global education. While the post-Colombo Plan discourses have attempted to define ways in which universities were required to engage with the emerging issues of globalisation, they have also emphasised the urgency of recognising the need to respond to the commercial opportunities offered by the increasing movement of people, capital and ideas (Rizvi, 2004, p. 35). Since then internationalisation in Australian higher education has become dominated by a market logic, to the extent that this system now measures its "success" largely in commercial rather than educational terms' (Rizvi, 2004, p. 41).

In the latter half of the 1980s, major shifts in higher education policy designed to reduce reliance on government funding led to the introduction of what Rizvi (2004) calls 'full cost-recovery fees' (p. 35) for international students. With this, an earlier quota which capped the number of international students in Australia was removed along with a country quota which governed the numbers from sending countries. This resulted in the collapse of the prevailing 'aid' discourse giving way to concerns about the private benefits that international students were receiving. This shift in policy also led to the new discourse of 'trade' (Sidhu, 2005, Koehne, 2006) and an overwhelming increase in international student numbers. In just five years, a market-driven industry was grafted onto a publicly funded system which, up to then, could be seen as one that mainly catered for local rather than international students.

Rizvi (2004) notes the 'widespread perception' (p. 37) in Asia that Australia is cheaper than both the US and the UK in terms of tuition fees and living costs. Australia is also generally perceived to be 'safer and more friendly' and is geographically closer to Asia. Additionally, in terms of getting permanent residency and immigration, Australia is known to offer easier options and better prospects (Rizvi, 2004, p. 38) (see 7.5.3, 7.5.5). Such widespread beliefs are also acknowledged in the Ministerial Statements I discuss in the next section: 'Australia is highly regarded as a safe and friendly destination with a reputation for quality and reliability... Australia is now the third most popular English speaking destination for international students' (Nelson & Downer, 2003b).

Such status has ushered Australia into an unprecedented era of aggressive marketing and unbridled competition. Currently international education contributes \$11.3 billion (2006/7) to the Australian economy through a total of 380,000 international students across all educational sectors. Of these 45 per cent are enrolled in higher education. However, in an interview given to ABC's

*Four Corners* in 2005, Fullerton reported that between 1996 and 2000, government funding for universities in Australia had fallen by 22 per cent, with 10 out of a total of 38 universities reporting losses in 2003. The reasons can be traced back to when Australian universities underwent considerable reform during the 1990s. Among the changes was a substantial economic cut-back by a conservative federal government in higher education from 1996 onwards, which Meadmore (1998) calls the 'unkindest cut of all'. This prompted further changes which saw the university become conspicuously marketised and globalised.

In a new environment where choice and positional advantage were integral to market logic, the deregulated higher education sector switched to a new orientation of a 'busnocratica rationality' (Meadmore, 1998). Universities had to respond rapidly to such fiscal stringency through the adoption of tactics and strategies which appropriated the operation of business for the governance of university culture. This situation forced universities to come up with a new agenda for financial survival, aptly called 'educational Darwinism' (Cooper, in Fullerton, 2005), as universities engaged themselves in the search for a new market – full-fee paying international students. The presence of international students has since that time virtually changed the demography of Australian campuses. With as much as 30 per cent of the total revenue of many Australian universities coming from international students, it is almost impossible to think of the financial sustainability of universities without this source of income (Rizvi, 2004, p. 33, 35). Currently comprising about 30 per cent of all Australian university enrolments, this group is virtually keeping the universities alive. 'Education has replaced tourism as Australia's biggest services export and become the country's third top export overall, increasing by 21 per cent in 2007 to \$12.5 billion', reported *The Australian* (5 February, 2008). This comparison with tourism is intriguing, as we will see later in this chapter, in that the language of policy related to international education closely resembles that of a tourist discourse.

A host of educationists see this as a phenomenon that has turned students into 'clients' and degrees into 'commodities' (Anderson, 2005, 2006; Baas, 2006; Ball, 2004, 2005; Rizvi, 2004). In what the then Minister for Education Dr. Nelson termed 'shopfront education' (Mares, 2006), universities are said to be taking unscrupulous measures to ensure a market they need to thrive (Fullerton, 2005). In the ensuing situation, universities across Australia have even been accused of becoming 'degree factories' (Fullerton, 2005), with accusations of a tolerance for plagiarism, soft marking and undeserved degrees. While on one hand, the post-9/11 xenophobia in the West has seen major changes in stricter immigration and consular policies around the world, international students seem to have received newer incentives (such as the lure of permanent residency) for

overseas studies in pursuit of the much-coveted Western degree. According to the AEI monthly summary of April 2006, international student enrolments for the first four months of the year alone was 230,000, exceeding the total number of enrolled students in any previous full year, with 143,000 studying in higher education.

Each year the media reports a spectacular rise in the number of international students, often at the cost of overlooking crucial issues such as the capacity of Australian universities to provide them with an appropriate and promised educational experiences (Rizvi, 2004, p. 36). Clearly there is a disparity between the desperation with which Australian universities seek to recruit as many international students as they can and institutional commitment to ensure quality education and value for money, which both policy documents and promotional materials promise. The next section looks at two such government discourses which comment on international education and international students.

#### **4.2 Ministerial Statements about International Education in Australia**

If we see policy discourses as part of a broader intellectual machinery, we can say that the language within policy statements, the meanings they convey, the underlying motivations they are inspired from and the knowledge they constitute are indicative of what is 'sayable' in the terrain of government. Individuals employ particular 'technologies of self' in order to move towards particular subject positions. In a similar manner, policy discourses are central to understanding the exercise of influence and power in institutional settings. Ball (1998), defines policy making as 'a process of bricolage' and policies as 'ramshackle, compromise and hit and miss affairs' (p. 126) and alerts us to the power relations underpinning the production and dissemination of policy. In international education, policies not only produce and sustain institutional practices, but also, very crucially, constitute the subjectivities of students.

Policy documents on international (and higher) education in Australia come from a particular discursive governmental framework. In Australia, two major government policy statements have been made specifically about international education, both by the Ministers of Education at the time (Kim Beazley in 1992 and Brendan Nelson in 2003). Major changes had taken place in international education during the ten years between these statements. By quantitative measures, the number of international students had increased dramatically from 34,076 in 1992 to 185,058 in 2002<sup>3</sup> while, interestingly, public funding for universities had fallen from 64 per cent of total

---

3 Figures retrieved from DEEWR Publications - Higher Education Statistics Collections:

university income in 1992 to 45 per cent in 2002 (see Meadmore, 1998). Several researchers (Caruana, Ramaseshan & Ewing, 1998; Harman, 2002; Koehne, 2006; Rizvi, 2004; Sidhu, 2005) analysed these two policy statements to unearth themes that have been repeated, as well as ideas that are dominant, thereby investigating the changes in discourse that had taken place over this period. For example, as a tool for finding the 'materiality' or reproducibility of themes, Sidhu (2003) used the 'emergence and reemergence of objects of discourse including the reappearance of particular subject positions' as a way to find dominant discourses. With repetition, such themes become normalised 'truths' and individuals begin to recognise and construct themselves within these 'truths'. In my own reading of these two Statements I analyse them to uncover the ways in which the complexities of international education have come to be dominated by the idea of 'trade in education services'.

#### **4.2.1 'International Education in Australia through the 1990s' (1992)**

This was the first government Ministerial Statement on international education in Australia which in many ways is symbolic of a government move to articulate officially a wider interpretation of, and commitment to, international education. This Statement declares to have been designed to 'reassure' and to 'regulate' – to reassure the Australian public that the increase in international student recruitment will not be disadvantageous to local students. There would not be lowered standards or the diversion of resources towards international students (the second section in the document discusses 'Safeguards for Australian Students'). Also, international education would be regulated to minimise the risk of institutional failures to international students.

The opening paragraph of the Statement attempts to 're-focus' the meaning of international education by diverting attention away from the commercial focus which followed the 'free market' phase towards the end of the 1980s. The internationalisation of education in Australia was expected to endow students with a 'globally portable' education enabling them to participate in an increasingly globalising economy. This Statement seemed to acknowledge criticisms of the 'trade' phase of international education, despite also blaming it to private providers. The taken-for-granted idea about international education in the document is that it meant bringing international students to Australia for their education and charging them the full cost of their course. In the Statement, higher education is said to have improved: bright international students raise academic standards but also encourage the improvement of teaching methods, courses and services.

---

[http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/higher\\_education/publications\\_resources/statistics/publications\\_higher\\_education\\_statistics\\_collections.htm#Selected%20Higher%20Education%20Statistics%20series](http://www.dest.gov.au/sectors/higher_education/publications_resources/statistics/publications_higher_education_statistics_collections.htm#Selected%20Higher%20Education%20Statistics%20series). Retrieved 12 August 2007

This way of talking about international education clearly positions international students as materially 'valuable' actors who can bring a range of benefits to the university with their greatest value seen as coming through cultural interaction and understanding, and engagement with the 'other'. One could argue, however, that when this 'other' is homogenised as a distinct 'group', interaction becomes limited. The Statement also implies that international students are an important part of the power relation as 'consumers' (Beazley, 1992, p. 10), as though more importance is to be attached to support services. There is minimal reference to teaching and learning, and the value of university academics as researchers and professionals. The dominant way of talking about international education is in market and immigration terms. As we have seen in the previous chapter, globalisation itself and the need to be internationally competitive are often used as rationales for developing the international education industry in a country. This Statement incorporates into its discourse a distinct marketing language in talking about international education:

The reputation and popularity of Australian education institutions among international students led many in Australia to recognise the marketability of our educational resources and their potential to earn export revenue.

Beazley, 1992, p. 7

This Statement also emphasises that international education should be recognised as an active component in international relations. In it the 'self' presented as important to the national interest is no longer merely the economic being, but the global, international economic being, and 'success in exporting our education services' is considered as a key measure for showing that Australian education is truly 'international'. This public Statement addresses all the stakeholders of international education, including universities, their affiliates, recruiting institutes and students. However, the language has a business discourse orientation and seems to target primarily the further expansion of education as trade. This document further expands the discourses about what the roles of a university are by including internationalisation of education which values both international students and intercultural interaction.

#### **4.2.2 'Engaging the World through Education, 14 October 2003' (2003)**

Ten years later, in 2003, another international education policy was produced, this time jointly by Brendan Nelson, Minister for Education, Science and Training, and Alexander Downer, the Minister for Foreign Affairs. With markets, trade, export and the global economy now becoming even more dominant, and reciprocity and cultural interaction subsumed, this second Statement

displayed a tone and a position quite different in a number of ways from the first. It seemed to be in favour of the economic dimensions of globalisation and attempted to discursively link the internationalisation of education with the emerging processes of globalisation. For example, by emphasising Australia's geographical links and proximity to the Asia-Pacific region, the Statement attempted to re-spatialise Australia's identity.

This Statement declares that 'international education is making a significant contribution to Australia's engagement with the world, socially, culturally, intellectually and economically' (Nelson & Downer, 2003). However, the relative importance accorded to economic engagement in this Statement soon becomes clear with the recurrence of phrases such as 'the business of international education' and 'trade in education', which objectify the international student, who is meant to be at the centre of such a declaration. The framework of this Statement provides

the basis for expanding the international education experience for students, developing education cooperation with other countries, and supporting sustainable growth in trade in education services. The Government is committed to quality Australian education and the protection of educational standards.

Nelson & Downer, 2003b

Unlike in the 1992 Statement, the dominant discourse of this Statement appears to be education as 'trade in education services' with the major portion of the document discussing the marketisation of education. Sidhu (2005) notes that the firmly entrenched trade discourse is made visible in a style of language more familiar to the world of agriculture and mineral export commodities than learning and higher education (p. 189). For example, it declares a commitment 'to engineer' and maintain 'a high quality, high yield sustainable export sector delivering services in Australia and in other countries' (Nelson & Downer, 2003, p. 16). In fact, the opening in effect is an invitation to become an entrepreneur in the marketing of education: 'success in the business of international education comes from providers responding to needs, recognising opportunities, investing their resources and taking the risks necessary to develop innovative solutions' (ibid., p. 1). The Statement also claims that 'education is the ultimate renewable resource' (ibid., p. 4) and even though it needs to be managed in a sustainable way, it also represents a way that achieves 'the best position and returns' (ibid., p. 14). Market competition, the fact that 'Australia is narrowly positioned at present' (ibid., p. 14), and sustaining 'Australia's reputation for quality' (ibid., p. 15), are both seen as problems that have to be addressed to maintain Australia's share of the market. There is particular emphasis in the words that 'the scale and shape of the industry is market driven' (ibid., p. 15), and 'Australia will benefit most if our international education works towards 'high value niche markets' (ibid., 2003, p. 16).

We are told quite early about 'success in the business of international education', 'recognising opportunities', 'investing... resources' and 'taking the risks necessary to develop innovative solutions' (ibid., p. 1). Elsewhere reference is made to the 'business of international education' (ibid., p. 12) which will be 'driven by market opportunities in a competitive environment' (p. 15). However, interestingly, the online webpage which outlines the summary of this Statement (which presumably is all most people will know about it) does not give the impression that the 'business' of education, and 'trade in education and services' are dominant in the document.

The Statement also strongly argues that international education brings economic, trade as well as diplomatic benefits to Australia and to developing countries at both the individual and institutional levels: 'trade in education also contributes to... strengthening institutional viability... education institutions are strengthened through the pressure of student consumers on service responsiveness and value for money' (ibid., p. 5). The Statement declares that trade in education services helps students in such cases 'where their own countries have insufficient capacity to meet demand' (p. 5). Indeed the suggestion is made that it is somehow *fairer* to have trade because it enables greater access to education than aid, almost as if aid is passed through the filter of national interest and comes out as trade (Koehne, 2006):

To diversify the international student cohort in Australia we need to make Australia a preferred choice of quality students. This will be facilitated by: improving access to information on the Australian education and training system; providing information to guide student admissions; and continually modifying visa entry processes to meet the needs of students and providers, as well as Australia's immigration objectives.

Nelson & Downer, 2003b

In this excerpt, three suggestions are proposed to recruit 'quality' students from overseas, the first two of which relate to the access of information. However, even though there is a proposal to modify visa formalities to 'meet the needs of students', they are also in the best interests of Australia's 'immigration objectives', thereby being *selective*. And even though it states that 'we will seek to remove barriers to trade in education services' (Nelson & Downer, 2003b), only 'quality' students are encouraged to apply. Despite assurances of the Australian 'standard' of education, again, there is no mention of quality or the learning process.

In relation to the marketing of international education, Rizvi (2004) writes about the importance of 'establishing brand recognition' (p. 37). This second Statement ushered Australia into the period of

detailed and well-researched marketing strategies and the development of the 'Study in Australia' brand,

an internationally recognisable quality badge developed to assure customers that the courses are quality assured. The brand and badge will aid marketing and promotion, as will the five Centres of Excellence to be set up by the Government to 'promote Australia as a sophisticated, technologically advanced society.

Nelson & Downer, 2003, p. 33

Such phrasing positions the student as the 'customer' who has to be 'assured' of a quality education by means of a symbol which is internationally recognisable. Even though this 'symbol' is said to represent 'quality', it is designed to promote 'marketing and promotion' and students are again unmentioned here.



Figure 4.1 Study in Australia

In the fiercely competitive international education market, such branding is seen as central to establishing 'an edge' or a distinctive identity that would immediately arrest the minds of consumers / viewers. The 'Study in Australia' brand<sup>4</sup> (Figure 4.1) was the result of comprehensive market research which comprised interviews with stakeholders, including students across twenty countries. Significantly, it was conceived about two years after the UK launched its 'Education UK' brand when AEI designed to create a distinctive Australian education brand that would differentiate it from its major competitors.

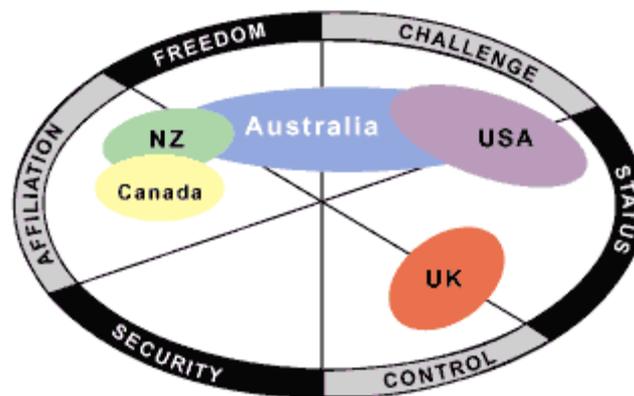


Figure 4.2<sup>5</sup> 'Australian Made' Logos

<sup>4</sup> <http://aei.dest.gov.au/AEI/OffshoreSupport/StudyInAustraliaBrand/BrandResearch/Default.htm>

<sup>5</sup> <http://www.australianmade.com.au/australianmade>

In the same AEI research, six main needs 'that students seek to fulfil in an international education' were identified: Freedom, Challenge, Status, Control, Security and Affiliation (*Figure 4.3*). Compared to other countries, such as the US, UK, Canada and New Zealand, Australia fits into meeting the needs of freedom and challenge but none of the countries in the diagram met 'security'. It is not a coincidence that recent marketing initiatives have relied heavily on the language of a tourist discourse in the promotion of Australian international education. This logo, along with the omnipresent commodity 'Australian Made' logos (*Figure 4.2*), the 'famous green and gold trade mark' launched in 1986, are now ubiquitous and instantly recognisable, used in a variety of ways in promotional materials for groceries and education alike, as ready tools of interpellation.



*Figure 4.3 AEI Research*

In this Statement a further discourse used to establish a claim to 'truth' and to normalise international education as a way to engage with the world, is that of the 'national interest'. The concerns for a *national* interest, pursued within a purportedly *global* context or framework, is paradoxical. It shows how the language of internationalisation serves national interests which are still conceived in a fairly traditional way, including the stereotypical image of Australia evoked by the kangaroo. The Statement stresses that Australia gains 'significant benefits' (direct and indirect economic benefits) from its 'international engagement in education' (Nelson & Downer, 2003, p. 3). Presumably enhanced by international education, it has even been argued that 'national security is dependent on international and cross-cultural awareness on the part of Australian citizens' (*ibid.*, p. 3). Also within the Statement is the belief that, politically speaking, foreign relations will benefit from international education, through a network of graduates, especially 'quality students from

the premium end of markets', who will provide 'more influential diplomatic and business ties' (ibid., p. 12). Of particular interest to this study is this linking of education and foreign affairs. Unlike the first Statement, reference is made to Australia's international relations with other countries: 'these kinds of links are vital for furthering Australia's interests in the region. They help build confidence and understanding between Australia and its neighbours' (Nelson & Downer, 2003a).

This Statement contains intriguing nuances in the ways multiple subject positions are made available to international students. While some ascribe 'power', with references to benefit, value and merit in their roles as consumers, others are those of dependents who are in need of support and counselling. Students are thus positioned in conveniently clear-cut identities. Of these, one fits into the market discourse - the 'student consumers' (Nelson & Downer, 2003, p. 5). They are also positioned as potential and prospective migrants and skilled workers of benefit (ibid., p. 30-31): 'assets' who will aid the expansion of both foreign policy and trade objectives. What is common in all these positionings is that they are made from the point of view of benefit to Australia, Australian universities and institutes and local students.

Overall this second Ministerial Statement is strongly based within the discourse of international education as part of the global market, and within this, a discourse of the importance of international education to Australia's national and economic interests. Even though there might be tensions between the global and national demands, the dominant way of talking about international education is clearly, as we have seen, in market, tourist and immigration terms.

#### **4.2.3 'Bigger than wool and close to wheat': Ministerial Statements as Discourse**

An analysis of each Statement's language, syntax and vocabulary reveals the kind of ideological work these texts are performing. We have seen the many ways in which they construct subject positions for international students and how they construct 'reality'. The 'truth' that emerges from both these government policy documents is that international education, even as it is constructed as 'trade in education services', is good for Australia. Even though the first Statement talks about the marketing of international education: 'the marketability of our educational resources and their potential to earn export revenue' (p. 7) - unlike the second Statement, the discourse is not dominant. As a vital export - the third largest service export - 'bigger than wool and close to wheat' (Nelson & Downer, 2003b), it is good for the economic well being of Australia as well as for foreign relations. On the other hand, as a source of revenue and in its role in making universities players in the global market, and global knowledge economy, it is good for the universities. As far

as the Australian community and 'local' students are concerned, again, it is good as it makes them more 'tolerant' and 'international' in their outlook. Such arguments are overwhelming and clearly the 'winner' is Australia and its citizens.

However, the sense of actual university teaching and learning, which is what actually happens to the students after marketing has worked and they arrive at an Australian university, is lost in these documents. The second Statement talks about Universities as 'providers' of a service supported by the government as partners-in-trade, rather than educators. Koehne (2006) reports that the profits of trade in education are sold to universities in a number of ways. First of all it contributes to a growth in revenue, thereby making the university more viable, able to provide a diversity of courses. It also enables universities 'to operate in the world market, learning new skills, working to higher standards, and adopting new technologies' (Nelson & Downer, 2003, p. 4). In addition, such trade strengthens universities 'through the pressure of student consumers on service responsiveness and value for money, and through the additional revenue that flows for additional investment in facilities and service' (ibid., p. 5).

We can see the contradictory nature of such discourses trying to accommodate the provision of a service yet with the desire to make money. Again in this document there is no discussion of teaching and learning and the only education activity mentioned is an instrumental one - 'skills formation', and sales of educational materials are part of the trade package. In both Statements students are an unmentioned subject, except when they are being offered subject positions. What is most important with regard to the two Statements, as far as this study is concerned, are their underlying motivations - the hidden threads that tie the policies together. In it we see the neo-liberal agenda of the government in favour of market forces. In effect, Australian universities are 'persuaded' to accept this agenda and participate in the marketing of education - not because it is 'good' for them, but because as far as revenue is concerned they do not have any alternative sources. In other words, this is the only option the universities could choose from.

#### **4.3 Specific Institutes: Tantalising with the 'Real Australia'**

In the context of these two key policy statements that construct international education and its place in a globalising world, the discussion now turns to three institutes involved in various ways with the production, marketing and selling of international education in Australia. Assuming that through an analysis of the materialities of particular statements, and the extent to which they appear and re-appear, it is possible to determine the authority of statements policy documents and

their impact on power relations within institutions, I briefly consider the discursive constructions of international education by a university (Monash) and two institutions directly related to the promotion of international education in Australia (IDP Education Australia and Study in Australia). By looking at selective promotional materials (constituting the micropractices of promotion) and activities of these institutes, in this section, I identify how written and visual discourse constructs particular knowledges about international education in Australia. This section will not provide a detailed semiotic analysis of visual texts. Its objective is to situate international education within the material context of marketing and promotion.

### 4.3.1 Monash University

In *The Monash Plan 1998–2002*, the university states as its mission ‘to be one of the finest and most innovative modern universities in the world and to lead the way in higher education in Australia’. Comprising 28 per cent of its total student population, Monash University has a total of 13,828 international students (2007). The university operates through its eight campuses, including one in Malaysia (established in 1987) and one in South Africa (established in 2001), accommodating about 6,000 students, and its European ‘Centres’ in London and Prato. The remainder are enrolled in the university’s six Australian campuses, and its English language and foundation programmes, all in Victoria.

Monash University’s revenue from international student fees is estimated at A\$100 million with its primary markets in Malaysia, China, Singapore, Hong Kong and Indonesia, from which it draws some 80 per cent of its international students<sup>6</sup>. While local factors prompted Monash to ‘re-invent’ itself by locating production in strategically located sites (in this case in developing countries), in order to attract a critical mass of consumers, a series of intricate local forces in the form of national government policies forced greater internal competition between Monash and its rival citybased universities and led to an ambitious offshore expansion project. In a changed scenario, regional campuses grew in popularity with incentives for permanent residency for its international students.

In its recruitment drives, Monash University uses agents who are responsible for about 30-35 per cent of its students, while nearly 40 per cent of its international student intake is from students enrolled in Australian high schools and English language centres. Capital expenditure for its

---

<sup>6</sup> All Monash statistics retrieved from Monash University Pocket Statistics 2007. [http://ups.monash.edu.au/statistics/summary/Pocket/PocketStats7\\_11-07.pdf](http://ups.monash.edu.au/statistics/summary/Pocket/PocketStats7_11-07.pdf). Retrieved 12 November 2007

promotional activities, conducted by the university's commercial arm, Monash International Pty Ltd., is estimated at A\$6 million, of which about A\$500,000 is spent on producing and transporting promotional materials alone.

Even a perfunctory browse through Australian university websites will reveal how unambiguously universities have invested in strategies to attract students from overseas. One of the many ways universities do this is through the lure of permanent residency (PR) in Australia. Rizvi (2004) noted that the Australian government policies now view international students as potential immigrants in areas of skills shortage (p. 41). Similarly, Baas (2006, in Macnamara, 2006) reports that universities 'keep close track of changes on the migrant occupation on demand list and are becoming little more than 'PR factories' - with especially low-ranking universities offering cheaper degrees. Compared to other countries, Baas shows, Australia seems to be more popular because it offers lower fees and student loans, and is the easiest in getting visas. While IDP is not allowed to provide assistance on immigration, in the guise of education agents many registered agencies are widely known to operate as immigration agents. In my conversation with the participants, this appeared to be a very common phenomenon in overseas locations (see 7.4.1, 7.4.3).

Indeed, Bob Birrell, Director of the Centre for Population and Urban Research at Monash University, and one of three experts commissioned by the then Immigration minister Senator Vanstone to evaluate Australia's skilled migration categories, fears that some universities in Australia are churning out foreign graduates with qualifications aimed at securing permanent residency in Australia (Mares, 2006). Birrell is concerned about the way in which the immigration department has been reviewing policies in the last five to six years with the 'big change' in 1999 (and the introduction of the 'Onshore' student visas in 2001) giving incentives of 'bonus points' to overseas students who come here with the intention of no return and complete their training in Australia to get PR. What has happened since then is that universities have been very flexible in offering courses tailored to meet the demands of students who appear to have priorities other than obtaining a degree.

These changes resulted in a rapidly escalating number of international student enrolments and have caused severe difficulties from the point of view of the overall integrity of the school migration programme. Because some students seeking PR wish to obtain it at the cheapest cost and in the shortest period of time, the student market has moved to address their needs primarily in short masters courses. The emergence of customised regional campuses from metropolitan

universities, such as the Gippsland campus of Monash University, set up to cater the demands for those courses, largely reflect the ease of getting PR (Mares, 2006). As we see in Chapter Six, in choosing universities, often students have little interest in the quality of education they are receiving (see 6.3.2, for example). Baas' study (2006) found that international students who were either enrolled in such colleges or universities themselves, or had friends studying there, would often refer to these institutions as 'PR factories', places that had little to do with education and much to do with migration. Of those international students who completed their course in 2003, 33 per cent obtained a permanent residence visa under the onshore overseas student visa subclasses (Birrell, 2005).

Examples of universities offering such incentives are omnipresent. In *Your Guide to Studying at CQU*, for example, a section entitled 'Immigration bonus points' reads:

A new federal program provides international students who study for 2 years in regional locations the opportunity of additional immigration points if they wish to apply for permanent residency. These recent changes to immigration regulations provide an added bonus to studying at CQU's campuses in Rockhampton, Gladstone, Bundaberg or Mackay. (p. 44)

Monash is no exception to this. The university's Gippsland campus homepage<sup>7</sup> (Figure 4.4) contains a separate link to 'Extra points towards permanent residency for international students' which links to a new page outlining the benefits of studying at a regional campus - 'Monash University Gippsland campus and permanent residency - your questions answered'. It says that it offers 'two major advantages', both relating to PR. While PR might not have been the reason for setting up campuses in such strategic locations, there is no doubt specific PR-worthy courses do make the regional campuses profitable.

---

<sup>7</sup> <http://www.gippsland.monash.edu.au/future/> (since revised. Last seen on 14 March 2006)



Figure 4.4 Monash Gippsland Homepage

Monash’s marketing message is aimed at constructing itself as a provider of positional goods. The romanticised passport-format invitation (Figure 4.5) to international students is another example which can be seen as an attempt to hail or interpellate the prospective student into a position that secures not only quality education, but comfort, security and access.

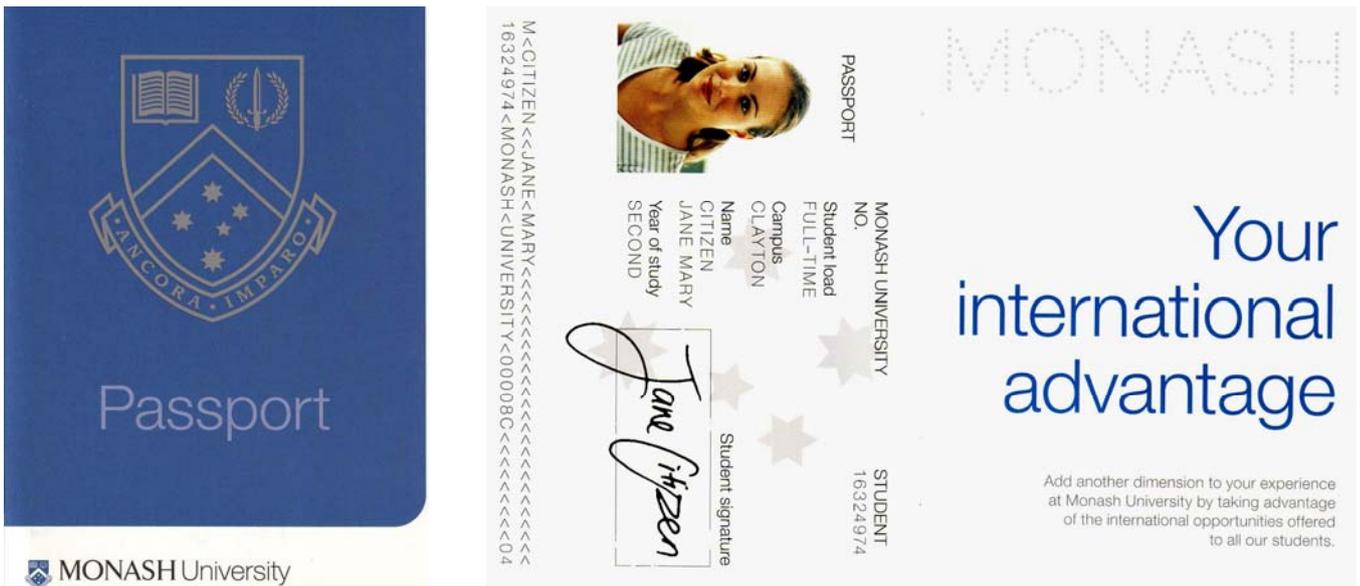


Figure 4.5 Passport to Monash

As a member of the Group of Eight, and a prolific actor in the Australian international education scene, Monash University describes itself as 'a truly diverse teaching and research institution'. Monash's declared goal is 'an educational network that spans the globe'. In the *Monash Brand Guidelines Update* (November, 2007), the university's aims are stated as: 'By 2008 we will be in the top 3 universities in Australia in education and research. By 2025 we will be one of the world's greatest universities'<sup>8</sup>.

Within Monash University's organisational culture, Monash International Pty. Ltd., its international arm, is a significant instrumentality, responsible for the recruitment and support of international students and student exchange programs, as well as general administrative matters relating to the university's vast population of international students. This organisation's logo lacks any sign of its status as an academic institution, presumably, a strategic move aimed at increasing the university's flexibility and manoeuvrability in a commercial world. Sidhu (2003) reads the logo as one that positions Monash at the end of a horizon, crowned by a shining star to signify its enduring quality or 'star status'. The typeface of the word 'Monash' is several times greater than 'International', suggesting an institutional aspiration to be instantly recognised' (Sidhu, 2005).

#### **4.3.2 IDP Education Australia**

Established by Australian universities in 1969, IDP Education Australia is Australia's independent international education organisation and describes itself as 'a leading participant in Australian international education' and 'the independent guide to Australian study opportunities'. It is the biggest recruiter for Australian universities, a not-for-profit company owned by all the Australian universities together. IDP is not allowed to provide information on immigration to prospective students and thus its role is different from most overseas educational agents. IDP is recognised for its expertise in research, providing quality, practitioner-oriented research that builds and invests in the knowledge base and advancement of international education.

With a network of over 75 student service centres in 29 countries, IDP places more international students in Australian educational institutions than any other single organisation. Through its majority-owned subsidiary IELTS Australia, IDP Education is a major shareholder in the IELTS English language proficiency test and conducts IELTS (International English Language Testing System) tests in 36 countries. Its declared mission is to 'assist in making the teaching, consultancy, and research services of Australian education and training institutions available to overseas countries, institutions and individuals' (IDP Education Australia, 2008).

---

<sup>8</sup> From <http://www.adm.monash.edu.au/advancement/marketing/brand/pdfs-06/brand-guidelines-update.pdf> (restricted access). Retrieved 12 February 2008

However, IDP's core business is the promotion of Australian education, as noted in the main caption on its online homepage: 'Bringing international students and Australian education institutions together'. It is funded by membership contributions and revenue raised from consultancies, English language training and testing (including IELTS) and event management such as the organisation of conferences and education related fairs. On this homepage it claims to offer the 'most popular enrolment service used by international students who study in Australia' and highlights the answers to the question: 'Why are we number one?' Key points include:

- IDP has a bigger range of information about courses and educational institutions in Australia than any other education adviser.
- Nobody else assists as many students to get an Australian education as we do.
- IDP can also assist with other things – such as visas and accommodation – which students need when they study in Australia.
- IDP has been operating since 1969. It was set up to channel Australian assistance to universities in South East Asia and was previously called the International Development Program. Now our name has been shortened to IDP.

(IDP website, 2008)

IDP Education's Global Student Mobility (GSM) Brochure for October 2007 forecasts international student numbers in Australia's Higher education sector through to 2025. Key findings include: global demand for international higher education will grow from 2.173 million in 2005 to 3.720 million in 2025 – a growth of 71 per cent over 20 years or a compound growth of 2.7 per cent per year (IDP, 2008). More specifically, demand for Australian international higher education will grow from 163,345 in 2005 to 290,848 in 2025 (at the rate of 4.25% per year up to 2010 and then, onwards at the rate of 3%). This report also claims that 'the Australian university system has the appetite and capacity to provide 268,156 international student places, on campus in Australia, by 2025'. It also points out that 'demand will exceed supply' in 2020. The CEO of IDP Education claimed that 'the number of international students seeking Australian university education will almost double in the next two decades, challenging universities' ability to deal with demand'. Clearly, research conducted by IDP Education Australia takes into prime consideration the national economy and is nationwide in its operational inclusiveness.

IDP's promotional materials allocate significant discursive space towards building an image of a dynamic, multicultural and cosmopolitan society, devoted to lifestyle issues presented in the style of a tourist discourse with emphasis on sport (e.g. the Commonwealth Games), outdoor living and nature. Some space is also devoted to highlighting the comparative advantages of studying in Australia, with the primary focus being the cheaper costs of studying in Australia in comparison to

the UK and the US (see 6.3.1, 6.3.4, for examples). IDP welcomes international students to 'Real Australia' (Figure 4.6), a slogan also used by the UK-based Tourism, Western Australia (Figure 4.7).

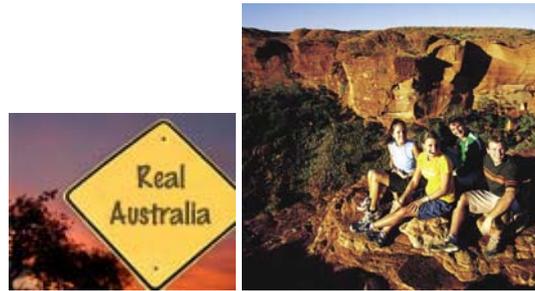


Figure 4.6<sup>9</sup> IDP Real Australia



Figure 4.7<sup>10</sup> Western Australia, the Real Australia

This notion of the 'real Australia' is problematic, used here as an unambiguous tool of interpellation. Indeed, this notion of the 'real' Australia can be offensive to many people born here. It reflects a homogenising discourse which assumes that 'nations' and 'nationalities' can be reduced to essences and cultural symbols. It reflects an essentialising discourse which clearly includes and excludes. There is therefore the paradox of promotional material in a globalising world that is retailing essentialist notions of nations and national identity.

### 4.3.3 Study in Australia

Written in a similar tourist discourse, below is an extract from the multilingual interface of the Study in Australia online homepage:

Welcome to the official Australian Government site for studying in Australia.  
If you're anything like most people, every day you rise at the same time, eat the same breakfast, catch the same bus to school or work and sit in the same classroom or office. You're stuck in a routine. It's time to add some excitement to your life and journey to a place where things are different. Studying in Australia promotes an educational experience like no other – one that fosters innovative, creative and independent thinking. This site is the starting point for information about...

The use of the second person here is an example of positioning the prospective student. Further, the use of contractions and colloquial expressions ('anything like') give it a casual, inviting tone.

<sup>9</sup> From IDP website, which its worldwide sister global sites refer to as "real Australia website"

<sup>10</sup> From the UK-based Western Australia tourism website: <http://www.therealaustralia.co.uk/>

The recurrence of 'same' emphasises boredom, contrasted effectively with the 'experience' of studying as a 'journey' which provides 'excitement'.

In all these promotional materials, what has been left unsaid? The gaps and silences in a text can be identified through an analysis of what it is saying and actually doing - through the language that is available. Significantly, what has been left unsaid are the risks attendant to a market-based income shift. Typically market-orientations create complexities comparable to the pressures associated with a sole reliance on state funding and are also vulnerable to censure and, in many cases as suggested earlier, favour some disciplines ahead of others, resulting in a narrowing of educational options and the scope for institutional diversity (Marginson & Considine, 2000, pp. 214-215). Conveniently, these issues have been omitted in all the instances of promotion discussed above.

Another government body is the Australian Education International (AEI) which is a part of the Department of Education, Employment and Workplace Relations (DEEWR) integrating the development of international government relations with support for the commercial activities of Australia's education community. To this end, AEI liaises with all sectors of the education and training industry and all levels of government. The Nelson-Downer report mentions it as the 'Australian Government's International Education Network' with representatives attached to 'Australian diplomatic missions in many *Asian* [italics mine] countries'.

This discussion goes some way to uncovering the regimes of truth generated by promotional practices about the international student and international education. It is these regimes of truth, and their subsequent acquisition of authority, which provide understandings of the power relations that define and produce meanings and knowledges about international education in the Australian context. As I have shown, it is through an understanding of the meanings and knowledges underpinning international education that its links with globalisation and the production of identity of international students can be best understood. In the final chapters of this study, international students speak out on some of the themes discussed. The themes and issues unfolded in this chapter, along with those in the previous two, highlight the friction of 'what is said' and 'what is not said' when it comes to international education and international students.

#### 4.4 Concluding Comments

fuck that shit. uni here is not cheap frist off all international student pay a lot more plus no fees support for us i am an international student and i am paying 22000\$ per year only for tuition fees i also have to spend 15000\$ more for living expenses a year thats for engineering i came here because i perferd the weather to england and belive the people were better dont prove me wrong.

The above is from a blog entry<sup>11</sup> in response to Baas' article (2006) which shows how an international student angrily reacted at not getting his money's worth. There is a sense of alienation and a feeling of being neglected. Despite the government and university level policy rhetoric, the international student feels excluded and essentialised. The commercial orientation of universities fails to see the student as an individual and a depository of culturally valued knowledge. This situation becomes further ironical when we consider how they are being offered student positions not of their own choosing, examples of which we will see in Chapters Six and Seven.

In this chapter I have relied on Foucauldian genealogical analysis to examine policy documents because it is concerned with mapping 'all disciplines with their accepted concepts, legitimized subjects, taken-for-granted objects, and preferred strategies, which yield justified truth claims' (Dreyfus & Rabinow 1983, p. *xxiv*). By examining how key nation-state instrumentalities (such as the government and other affiliated institutes) interpret and negotiate the numerous forces of globalisation, I have provided a brief description and analysis of international education in Australia. In my analysis I have shown how related texts construct 'macro-contexts' without positing them as 'outside the text'. I have shown that 'national interest' considerations have intersected with policies which have shaped international education in Australia at numerous points, thereby propelling it into the role of earning export revenue. I have also shown that international education is discursively constructed as one of the most tradeable export commodities in Australia. Read along with Foucauldian understandings of power/knowledge, and the notion of interpellation and hailing, one can see how various policy, academic and media discourses come together to construct the international student as a 'customer' seeking privileges as well as an 'uneducated other' having an insatiable demand for western commodities.

---

<sup>11</sup> from: <http://community.boredofstudies.org/586/general-university-discussion/107155/unis-seen-entry-factories.html>. Retrieved 15 June 2007

Within international education, the emerging discourse of national interest has played a key role in influencing power/knowledge relations, while institutional reforms have been undertaken for the sake of national competitiveness, producing the higher education export industry as the dominant expression of international education in Australia today. As historically contingent institutions, universities will respond to the challenges and opportunities of globalisation by improvising from an available arsenal of knowledges and techniques, confirmed by the examination of how universities have perceived international education contained in this chapter. What has emerged from this analysis of promotional discourses is that universities such as Monash are dedicated to producing subjects that can compete in a global job market. The trend towards the corporatisation of universities and their engagements with internationalisation are interrelated. Also, the subjectification of the international student as 'human capital' who is seeking self goods and positional advantages, is likely to subordinate the role of more complex issues confronting the educated subject of the 21<sup>st</sup> century.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### Epistemology and Research Design

*Research is a systematic attempt to re-see the everyday, partly by stripping away from our observations the typifications made available by our culture, and, in turn, by treating those typifications as crucial aspects of everyday experience itself – available for analysis.*

Freebody, 2003, p. 42

In Chapter Four I analysed a variety of texts, including government policy statements, mission statements from university fraternity groups and university plans for internationalisation. However, the most important tool I have used to capture the understandings of international education in all its multiplicity are the interviews with international students. Six international student participants from Japan, China, Taiwan and Indonesia from three universities in Victoria, Australia, were interviewed. I was concerned to find out how these members of the TESOL international community understood things, the meanings they attached to happenings and the way they perceived their reality. My aim was to gradually construct knowledge and meanings about international education and simultaneously enable a plurality of voices to be heard. In this chapter I discuss the significance of the interviews for this study as well as their main features.

Within the context of international education and TESOL, this study investigates the processes of choice and identity formation of a group of international students who were studying TESOL in Australian universities at the time of the interviews. I aimed at theorising these two processes by showing how the interviewees identified themselves as students and as individuals in both local and global contexts. Given their spatio-temporal development between studying in Australia and teaching in their home countries, both before and after their study in Australia, the ways in which their identities are perceived are important. This study aimed to capture these elements in all their complexity and richness. I discuss the students' thoughts, perceptions and feelings of themselves as international students in the larger context of globalisation and the commodification of international education. My own positioning as researcher in this study meant that I actively engaged in these interviews, interacting with the participants, using a 'somewhat loosely constructed model' (Wiersma 1995, p. 212) for the interviews, in the spirit of much qualitative research.

This chapter outlines the research design chosen for this study. The first section presents my own position as researcher and TESOL professional in the context of this study. The second section explains why and how this study is located within a qualitative case study paradigm. As well as

rationalising the choices I made with regard to selecting my research orientation, this section also defines the cases as I have used them in this study. The third section looks at interviews, the principal tool for data collection, and how an inquiry can be conducted and knowledge constructed using this tool. The sections that follow outline the processes of participant selection and present their group and individual profiles. In relation to the TESOL international student, I also discuss the problematic notion of the 'community'. Section five provides a description of the strategies and methods I used in this study: data collection procedures, methods used for data analysis, interpretation and presentation. The final section discusses ethical issues relating to the collection and interpretation of data.

### 5.1 Situating the Self

Several scholars have talked about the importance of the notion of 'self' in the research process:

We can only make sense of the world in a way that we have learnt to do using conceptual tools which are based on our own culture and our own experiences. We have no way of standing outside these to reach some objective and neutral vantage point from which to view things 'as they really are'.

Denscombe, 1998, p. 73

Being an international student at an Australian university and a multilingual and widely travelled person in general, I have chosen to present myself as an insider. Indeed, I was able to conduct the study at this level because I have had similar, often almost identical, experiences to those of my participants. I understand that such positioning is not flawless and could conceal 'hidden rocks' in this partially ethnographic study of the TESOL community. In fact, talking in relation to 'accuracy' or 'correctness' of the understanding of the cultural and attitudinal processes of people, Canagarajah (1999, p. 54) talks about how these cannot be guaranteed by merely being an insider. Denscombe (1998, p. 208-209) describes two opposite positions of a researcher:

1. Researchers know that their self is intertwined with their research activity, but proceed on the basis that they can exercise sufficient control over their normal attitudes to allow them to operate in a detached manner, so that their investigation is not clouded by personal prejudices;
2. The researcher's identity, values and beliefs play a role in the production and analysis of qualitative data and therefore researchers should come clean about the way their research agenda has been shaped by personal experiences and social backgrounds.

Glaser and Strauss (1967) stress that researchers can cultivate crucial insights not only from their research but from their own personal experiences (p. 252). I believe that my own experience as an international TESOL student has equipped me with an insight into the nature of identity

formation processes under such circumstances. This is why I considered myself as the 'primary instrument for data collection and analysis' (Merriam, 1998, p. 6). As a researcher I am expected to be perpetually thinking about data and know a lot about the area under study. However, my orientation towards the data should also allow me to be sufficiently detached; to be 'puzzled' or disturbed about some feature of those data or about their interpretations, so that questions and answers will be raised and sought:

Although knowledgeable about data and theory, the investigator somehow has to escape the very features of his or her work that may otherwise block the new perspective inherent in the sudden hunch, the flash of insight, the brilliant idea, or the profoundly different theoretical formulation.

Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 29

Such conflicting yet simultaneous roles are difficult to maintain, especially in cases where I myself feel involved in the process as a subject of inquiry. Also, issues of mutual rapport and trust are inevitable while conducting qualitative research. These notions are problematic because my goal as the researcher is to provide not only descriptions, but also to identify issues, problems, or questions that arise from the objectives of my study. Fontana and Frey (2000) caution that: 'although a close rapport with the respondents opens the doors to more informed research, it may create problems as the researcher may become a spokesperson for the group studied, losing his or her distance and objectivity'. They also maintain that 'gaining trust is essential to the success of the interviews and, once gained, can still be very fragile' (p. 655).

The fact that I have been a former TESOL student, a teacher of English, as well as a researcher for several years allowed me to feel entitled to be called a 'participant observer' of the TESOL community, an issue of importance in this study. My experience positions me as both insider, in that I share many of the experiences of those who participated in the study, and outsider as I consider these experiences through the lens of research. Such positioning also results in a series of ethical and other dilemmas, which I discuss later. I was aware, however, that, despite my intention to stay 'professionally detached', my own perceptions and beliefs shaped my work as a researcher. Because educational activities typically involve perpetual social interaction, be they verbal, written or electronic, educational practices are fundamentally about social relationships and this has ethical implications for the researcher. Due to the diversity and fluidity of such practices, the burden on the qualitative researcher is to be objective, empirical and rigorous to stress the soundness and credibility of the research. As an insider I proposed to provide and utilise an emic perspective both in gathering and analysing data. In order to construct more accessible,

less conclusive and open-ended versions of participants' lives, I presented the data exactly as they appeared in the interviews.

## 5.2 The Qualitative Case Study

My study is located within a qualitative research paradigm, involving individual and in-depth interviews and a survey of related texts. More specifically, this is a descriptive case study (Merriam, 1998) aimed at the production of rich and thick description of the phenomena under examination. This approach enabled me as researcher to be flexible in developing an understanding of the complexities of social interaction and the power and knowledge implicated in social relationships in the construction of identities. In the next sections I discuss the ways in which I conducted this study within the framework of a qualitative case study and how this choice facilitated my inquiries.

### 5.2.1 The Qualitative Research Paradigm

At its bluntest, qualitative research is a type of research that 'describes phenomena in words instead of numbers or measures' (Krathwohl, 1993, in Wiersma 1995, p. 12). Such research attempts to 'capture people's meanings, definitions and descriptions of events' (Minichiello et al., 1990, p. 5). Merriam (1998, pp. 6-8) talks about the researcher's interest in understanding the meaning people have constructed and the phenomenon of interest from the participants' (*emic*, or insider's) perspective. According to Freebody (2003), education and educational research are cultural and social practices and therefore have implications for the way we 'navigate our way through the various forms of inquiry informing education and how we appreciate the theoretical perspectives that are related to these forms of inquiry' (p. 17). By recognising the fundamentally social and cultural nature of educational practice, researchers can connect educational practice in progress along with the changing cultural formations it supports. A qualitative design enabled me 'to engage with the identity of the other in a process of deep comparison' (p. 604). Wiersma (1995) outlines the major principles which inform qualitative research:

- Phenomena are viewed holistically, and complex phenomena are not reduced to fragmented, disconnected factors or partitioned into independent entities;
- The perceptions of those being studied are considered more important. These are captured in order to obtain an accurate 'measure' of reality;
- In favour of post hoc conclusions, a priori assumptions and a priori conclusions are to be avoided.

(adapted from Wiersma 1995, pp. 211-212)

Qualitative research also 'imagines reality in terms of non-linear events and profound discontinuities in real life phenomena' and is achieved through 'multiple checks and balances throughout the research process, multiple intersubjective exchanges among researchers and populations studied' (Marginson & Mollis 2001, p. 610). In the light of the discussion of the previous section, I attempted to facilitate intersubjective exchanges in the interviews and in the way I located myself in relation to my participants. I discuss this issue later in the chapter.

Even though not 'ethnographic' in the strictest sense of the term, I have drawn on methods and approaches characteristic of ethnographic research. The chief impulse behind the deeply situated character of the research was to capture and do justice to the lived experiences of the participants with whom I could identify as an international student. As a form of inquiry, ethnography produces accounts about the 'ways of life of the writer and those written about' (Silverman, 1997, in Freebody, 2003, p. xi). It is a hybrid approach characterised by two demands on researchers: observing a setting and gathering data as researcher, and getting *directly* involved in the study setting, thereby researchers themselves being included as objects of inquiry. While I did not 'live' among the participants, I shared spaces with them by positioning myself as a case. As an international student I have tried to move beyond sociological objectivity and the large claims that sociologists make – about issues such as globalisation and internationalisation – and access the experiences of individuals caught up in these social movements.

The primary source of data in this study was semi-structured interviews which were used to uncover the complexities of the participants' understandings and conceptualisations of international education and related issues. In addition to these interviews, I also analysed 'texts' about international education produced by the government, universities and other stakeholders of international education (see 4.2, 4.3).

### 5.2.2 The Case Study

A qualitative orientation is usually achieved through tools such as interviews, case studies or through ethnographic research. Denscombe (1998) talks about the value of a case study approach which is that it has the 'potential to deal with the subtleties and intricacies of complex social situations' (p. 31). A case study allows the deployment of a variety of empirical materials: personal experience, sources, introspection, life stories, interviews, observations and historical, interactional and visual texts and a variety of types of data and research methods as part of the investigation. Stake (1995) maintains that 'case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what to be

studied' (p. 35). In this study I chose interviewing as the main method for collecting data because such an approach focuses on 'discovery, insight, and understanding from the perspectives of those being studied' (Merriam, 1998, p. 2). The ways in which I used the data collecting methods renders the participants' perspectives of their experiences available to the reader and thus extends 'the reader's experience of what is known' (p. 11).

Since part of my research focuses on the processes of identity formation, it is essential to understand thoroughly how the students participating in this study experienced the different roles and 'selves', given their movement in time and space. Also, as I needed to observe these processes of identity formation over a period of time, on different occasions, and in diverse manners, a case study approach appeared to best satisfy these requirements. The interviews provided my participants with opportunities to present versions of themselves. Just as they constituted a personal/intellectual/professional journey for me, I engaged with them and reflexively considered my own education and the conditions of my own making. Indeed, such introspection helped me question certain events in my own past in relation to my education and the choices I made in my study of English which prompted further interview questions.

### 5.2.3 Defining the Cases

At this point, my task is to specify what *kind* of case study this project involved. As an intrinsically 'bounded system' (Smith, 1978, in Merriam, 1998, p. 27), the case study implies a rather specific topic, particular time frames and context. I therefore had to carefully choose the items within and without the system of my inquiry. Freebody (2003) distinguishes two kinds of case studies (see also Stake, 2006). *Intrinsic* case studies draw the researcher toward an understanding of what is important about that case within its own world, not so much within the world of researchers and theorists. In contrast, *instrumental* case studies draw the researcher toward illustrating how the concerns of researchers and theorists are manifest in the case. I decided that I would adopt an intrinsic case study orientation in my study since my interest lay in the understandings and conceptualisations of certain concepts (such as identity, globalisation, the popularity of certain degrees and universities etc.) *in situ*, that is, within the worlds of my participants. However, while my approach follows the intrinsic orientation, it does not preclude a theoretical perspective that moves beyond the terms in which the interviewees talk about their experiences.

The key factors in understanding and defining a case is also in its being a 'bounded' and 'integrated' system in which the parts do not have to be working well, and the purposes may be 'irrational', with, however, a patterned behaviour in which sequence is prominent (Freebody,

2003, p. 236). However, the case is not an artificially generated situation (Denscombe, 1998, p. 31), but a study of an already existing phenomenon. In this study, there are two cases under 'interrogation' - in other words, the cases in my study are composed of two (intrinsic) components. One is the 'individual' case, comprising individuals (TESOL students) and the sensitivity with which they engage with, confront, appropriate, negotiate, resist and interact with the formation of their choices and negotiations of identities. In addition, intersecting issues such as the role of marketing agents, the written curriculum, the marketing and advertising documentation are attendant issues which, along with the institute itself (such as the university), provide the context of the cases. These have been considered as *institutional* cases, with respect to each university, rather than international education as a national policy environment.

Because a 'case' is 'a particular instance of a phenomenon', a case study is conducted to shed light on a phenomenon (Gall, Borg & Gall, 1996). Since this study investigates the processes of identity formation of a group of international TESOL students, this aim fits in well with Gall et al.'s definition of a case study. Yin (1994) insists that case study is in *itself* a research strategy - an observation of particular importance for this study as it gives case study an independent position in relation to other research methods. Indeed, Bassey (1999) contends that case study research 'has no specific methods of data collection or of analysis which are unique to it as a method of inquiry' (p. 69). He maintains that a researcher should use what appears to be not only appropriate and practical but also ethical in particular circumstances. Yin further specifies that case studies are the 'preferred strategy' when 'how' or 'why' questions are being posed (p. 1). These discussions strongly support my decision to pursue case study research, particularly because the study set out to find answers to 'how' and 'why' questions which I discuss later in this chapter.

### **5.3 Interviews: the Joint Construction of Knowledge**

In research, interviewing is one of the most powerful ways in which we try to learn more about others. Among the many advantages of the use of interviews as a research method, flexibility allows the researcher to produce detailed data, based on informants' priorities, opinions and ideas. However, interviews should not be used merely as a tool for collecting data, assuming that information is readily available at the researcher's disposal. Nor should the interviewees be seen as repositories of 'readymade' stories. In my commitment to exploring the identities of my interviewees, as well as allowing them to use the interviews as an opportunity to do identity work and construct a 'self', I felt that narratives were an important tool for my data collection. This section discusses narratives as a way of constructing the self, and how truths are constructed and contested within interviews.

### 5.3.1 Narratives: Textualising the Self

The 'self' has been one of the most problematic notions of all the constructs of the modern era. While theorists such as Gergen (1991) invite us to reflect upon our 'romanticized notions' of a coherent self, a new trend in favour of the narrative has gained endorsement from contemporary critics. In this view, the self is construed as a story which we not only tell, but also live as part of our *modus operandi*. Narrative understandings of self open up a compelling view of lives lived in a flow of constructed meaning. Importantly for this study, such a narrative view also allows lives to be understood and appreciated in historically intelligible ways.

One of the many ways in which one establishes identity is through narratives, complete with settings, scenes, characters, plots, and themes, in which one tells stories about one's own selves (Giddens, 1991; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; Kerby, 1991; Rosenwald & Ochberg, 1992). As Kerby puts it: 'the self is delineated and embodied primarily in narrative constructions or stories' (1991, p. 1). Similarly, Giddens (1991) views the self as a 'reflexive project' (p. 32) through which individuals perpetually construct and reconstruct themselves, while also connecting their personal biographies to a larger social history. This is done reflexively through constructing internalised and evolving autobiographical narratives of the self. As Giddens explains:

a person's identity is not to be found in behaviour, nor - important though this is - in the reactions of others, but in the capacity to keep a particular narrative going. The individual's biography... must continually integrate events that occur in the external world and sort them into the ongoing 'story' about the self.

Giddens, 1999, p. 54

Postmodern theories often talk about the fragmentation of identity in which the internalised self is absent or missing. However, instead of accepting the notion of the self as a fragmented entity in a postmodern world, Giddens (1999) sees the construction of identity as an *ongoing* process involving integration, in which 'a person with a reasonably stable sense of self identity has a feeling of biographical continuity which she is able to grasp reflexively, and, to a greater or lesser degree, communicate to other people' (p. 54). In this study the challenge was not to see whether my participants maintained a 'coherent' narrative of self in the face of the overwhelming barrage of identity possibilities provided by modern life, but to see *how* they tried to acknowledge and explain the apparently fragmented bits of their life stories. Holstein and Gubrium (2000) locate 'self' as stories we perform in our different social contexts - as stories we create in social intercourse. Consistent with Foucault's historical views, they envisage a self constructed by telling the story of self at the crossroads of narrative, social interaction, culture and institutional life.

Such life stories situate people within particular interpersonal, ideological, social and cultural niches in the world and provide their lives with a degree of unity and 'purpose'. However, such stories also continue to evolve over a lifetime, accommodating changing developmental agendas and a wide range of influences in the social ecology of everyday life (McAdams, 1996). In this sense, people's life stories are windows on human individualities and, along with personality traits and motivational concerns, they constitute important and ever-changing aspects of the human personality. Life stories are as much about the social world as they are about the self.

Contemporary circumstances ask for a new kind of story line which takes account of the self both as a 'familiar beacon of everyday life' and as a 'light that is itself differently illuminated as it moves from place to place in a socially variegated environment' (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 4). In other words, the self is to be seen as a part of ordinary, everyday existence as well as infinitely idiosyncratic in its dynamic possibilities for change.

### 5.3.2 Constructing 'Truths'

The first four chapters included some discussion of constructions of 'truth' in relation to the construction of discourses. In the light of those discussions, how then do 'truths' emerge from the data collected for this study? The question of constructing and interpreting 'truth' has been a highly sensitive and crucial concern in this study. In Chapters Two and Four, I discussed Foucault in relation to looking at texts, with the understanding that a given text or policy statement is a construct developed through several stages of drafting, with compromises made until a consensus, however temporary, has been reached.

A Foucauldian style of textual criticism would analyse a text with the following questions in mind: what are its effects; why this collection of statements and not others; what subject positions does it open up; what political interests does it serve; what role does it play in the politics of truth; what specific speakers' benefit can be attributed to it; what are its modes of existence, distribution and circulation.

Barker 1998, pp. 13-14

In collecting and analysing data for this study, I needed to pay attention to the interviewees' accounts of the world – especially the categories they used to carve up social experience and the descriptive and moral implications of those categories. This could be done by paying attention to the complexities of human behaviour and perceptions prompted by my questions to participants, instead of merely taking participant responses as straightforward, complete, spatio-temporally fixed and simple answers. Freebody (2003) argues that interviews should be seen as a data-

generating rather than merely as a data-gathering method. Because educational practices operate in and with continuously changing cultural configurations, there is a 'deceptive complexity' (p. 132) in the administration and use of interviews. He considers interviews as specialised, distinctive talk and coordinated interactions (see also Mishler, 1986). Sacks (1992, in Freebody, 2003) talks about the usually unremarked but highly remarkable ways in which people conduct their everyday business through *talk*. In pursuing that interest, he develops 'the distinctive and utterly critical recognition... that the talk can be examined as an object in its own right, and not merely as a screen on which are projected other processes' (Schegloff, 1995, in Freebody, 2003, p. x) – indeed as a linguistic event with a protocol.

Unlike other tools of data collection, the unique feature of an interview is that it allows supreme flexibility. As an event constructed at a certain time in a certain place, it is also 'impermanent'. Interviews provide a set of observations that are not only individual but never to be repeated, therefore unique, constructed by individuals who have their unique cultural histories and experiences. In this study I have been particularly conscious of interviews as a site wherein knowledge is jointly constructed by participants' own experiences of being international students and my own experience of the same. Knowledge is not exclusively based on the researcher's interpretation of participants' talk, but is established on *mutual agreement* of the researcher and participant by 'shared strategies': 'The intent of... dialogue is not to discover absolutes, or "the truth", but to scrutinize normative "truths" that are embedded in a specific historical and cultural context' (Gitlin & Russell, 1994, in Freebody, 2003, p. 59).

I was therefore conscious that the interviews were not only conducted at a specific time and place, but also at specific moments within the lives of the interviewees, and (more generally speaking) at a particular historical moment in the ongoing development of the discourses of international education and the globalisation of English. My goal therefore has been to capture that spatio-temporal specificity, and to trace the ways in which larger social movements (such as globalisation and the internationalisation of English) intersected with and shaped the lives of my interviewees.

Interviews allow the participants 'to demonstrate their own unique way of looking at the world' (Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2000, p. 121). As the interviews happen, the 'interactions and meanings are a shifting carnival of ambiguous complexity, a moving feast of interrupting differences' (Scheurich, 1997, p. 62) in which spaces open up for participants to interrupt, clarify, or even to move away from the topic (see, for example, 7.5.2). Interviews are therefore a valuable research tool as a site for the joint construction of knowledge (Mercer, 2000), especially when there

is 'openness to qualitative diversity, to the multiplicity of meanings in local contexts' (Kvale, 1996). Kvale outlines a number of features of the interview which throw light on the ways these aspects were part of my research:

1. *Knowledge as conversation.* Similar to other data collection tools, interviews are a particular kind of discourse, one which focuses on the negotiation of meaning. In my interviews I met students from diverse socio-cultural backgrounds and, despite my position as a TESOL 'insider', I was equally a 'cultural stranger'. The advantage of being a 'cultural stranger' is that it enabled me to ask the 'very basic questions' (p. 143). Fluidity, open-endedness and the impossibility of finding the 'truth', of fixing meanings, are all characteristics of the reciprocal dialogue that is part of knowledge as conversation.
2. *Knowledge as narrative.* Interviews often consist of narrative units where people tell 'stories' about their lives and their experiences. When analysed, such narratives show the contradictions, silences and discontinuities in discourses and discursive practices. I felt this may have occurred a number of times in the interviews as students veered off onto a path that I had not anticipated (see 7.5.2, for example).
3. *Knowledge as language.* The importance postmodernism places on language puts emphasis on the text of the knowledge created in the interview and moves the focus away from objective reality and the individual subject. This spoken text thus becomes a written text and then part of a text written by one of the participants. In an interview this is changed and a constant deferral of meaning occurs. In the process of both conducting and transcribing the interviews, I attempted to keep the text created as multi-voiced as possible in contextual shifts and analysis.
4. *Knowledge as context.* Knowledge created in interviews is local and non repeatable. It is important to understand that interview narratives are fragmented and incomplete, told at a specific time and place. The translation of oral language to written language in transcription is an important contextual shift where it can be looked at by a number of readers, each developing multiple meanings of it, based on their own understandings and experience. At this stage the scope of the knowledge transcends the dialogue that occurred at a specific time in a specific place. In my follow-up interviews, I tried to constantly allude to participants' past responses, thereby not only prompting a reinterpretation but allowing the context to be foregrounded in the discussion.

The interview process is thus complex, fluid, contingent and able to be presented as text in a variety of ways where knowledge is actively constructed by the interviewer and the respondent. Kasper (2000) notes that interviews 'tap respondents' long term memories of generalized knowledge states, attitudes, or past events' (p. 334), thereby providing an effective technique to investigate diverse phenomena from different perspectives. Interviewees' responses are not taken to be the complete truth; rather they provide respondents' perceptions of the reality, in this case, of the community of TESOL students.

While interviewing my participants, gaps and spaces opened up and participants repeated things to either emphasise or create new meaning (see, for example, 6.2.2). They also told their stories of their previous history where something that was important to them was thrust into the conversation which then developed at length. With that there were moments of doubt and misunderstanding, not in relation to the question but in the form of the participants' own retrospective evaluation of past incidents (see, for example, 7.4.1). My interviews were semi-structured and unstructured, allowing participants to use their own words and develop their own thoughts. In my commitment to exploring the identities of my participants I was conscious of allowing them to use the interviews as an opportunity to do identity work and thereby construct 'selves'.

#### **5.4 Selection of Participants: Demographic Variables**

In the selection of participants I attempted to take into account a wide range of contextual features. The participants had different cultural and linguistic backgrounds and a variety of experiences as far as their study as well as their teaching of English were concerned. Out of a total of eight universities in Victoria, six offer TESOL or related study (see *Appendix I*). Ideally my plan was to select two students from each of at least four universities who were studying Masters in TESOL (either by coursework or research). Preference would be given to students who had already completed an overseas degree and may have gone home to teach for a while before returning. This was a matter of particular importance to this project since it was important to see how post-training professional identity formation occurs and how cultural and political tension is realised by recipients of international education in their native settings.

However, I experienced considerable difficulty in recruiting participants for this study, due to the nature of selection and the inclusion criteria - eight international TESOL students, from four universities in metropolitan Melbourne - and due to timing. In line with the methodology outlined in the Research Proposal, all ways of communicating with academic staff and students from other

universities (through emails, public notices – see *Appendix 2* - and personal networks) were tried, but were met with limited success. While there was little difficulty finding participants from Monash, it took a long time to locate suitable candidates from the other universities. In addition, the Ethics Approval for this project came at a time (October 2005) when universities were at the end of their teaching periods with students either preparing for exams or writing up theses and assignments. In the following four months (November 2005 – February 2006) most international students were either back home for holidays or working elsewhere. However, in March 2006, with the start of the new semester, I managed to get three more participants (two from University of Melbourne and one from La Trobe University).

Despite the wide diversity in the social, cultural and academic backgrounds of the participants, they were all studying TESOL at different universities in Victoria at the time of the first interview. Since the interests of this project were in personally significant data such as participants' conceptualisations of the factors relating to their educational choice, the formation of their identities and their affective responses to the marketing of universities, I considered the following when recruiting the participants:

- *Duration of teaching experience* – to allow investigation of their degree of responsiveness to any conceived appropriation of Western/international and academic/TESOL discourse in terms of the professional experience they have;
- *Long term personal and professional goals of teachers* – interest in investigating if future plans of teachers might influence the way they respond to immediate needs and also if this shaped choices made in the initial selection of international education;
- *Duration of stay in Australia* – as was conspicuously observed, there were significant changes in attitude in students over a period of time during overseas study, and on return;
- *Enrolment status* (whether on scholarship or self-financed) - to investigate if the degree of professional expectations and commitment, and subsequent plans, is related to the enrolment status of students;
- *Whether they form the elite or politically favoured 'groups'* – to see how students identify themselves socioeconomically in their home countries. This may have implications for the formation of choices and subsequent acquired attitudes to international education.

In addition to the interviews, one key way in which I constructed a sense of the policy environment in which my interviewees were working was to analyse policy texts and publicly available documents (see Chapter Four).

#### **5.4.1 Participants' Group Profile: the International TESOL Student**

The six participants, all international students in Australia, came from four countries – Japan (two), China (two), Indonesia and Taiwan. The participants' ages ranged from 25 to 41. There were two male and four female participants, all of whom had at least one degree (in English, ELT, Applied Linguistics etc.) from their home countries, which they earned prior to their arrival in Australia. As TESOL students, their general proficiency in English was very high and their obvious success in both learning and using English was evident in all of the interviews.

#### **5.4.2 Participants as Members of a 'Community'**

In this study I take international TESOL students as belonging to a particular 'community'. Throughout the data analysis I raised questions about the extent to which this notion of 'community' is like-minded, for example in sharing 'subjective' knowledge, as this was crucial to explaining the interview situation. The term 'community' is often seen as a set of people, or agents who share similarities in some elements. Brutt-Griffler (2002) argues that any community is 'rooted in shared subjective knowledge' (p. 142). The 'shared element' in this case is the participants' knowledge of and interest in the English language and their experience of its use in teaching and learning. In addition, they all belong to the international student 'community' in Australia. Despite differences in cultural and academic identities and backgrounds, participants in this study also shared similarities in their common interest in the study and teaching of English language. For these TESOL students, such shared subjective knowledge is represented by some knowledge of the politics of English, ways in which universities operate in the context of globalisation and their familiarity with personal and discursive spaces.

However, the notion of such a 'community' cannot simply be taken for granted. Scholars such as Anderson (2006) have problematised it saying that a nation is nothing but a socially constructed community imagined by people who perceive themselves as part of that group. He goes on to say that 'communities are to be distinguished, not by their falsity/genuineness, but by the style in which they are imagined' (p. 6). Talking about the construction of nations, he argues that true communities exist and can be advantageously juxtaposed to nations. This TESOL 'community' provided me with a context for my exchanges with the participants in the study. It was an important dimension for understanding the way I both individually and collectively constructed meaning. As a researcher, I have spent considerable time in the TESOL community, in the dual capacities of student and teacher. My study in this sense is a 'journey of discovery' (Denscombe, 1998, p. 68), which can be understood as an extended time spent in the community which is studied. I have tried to understand 'things from the point of view of those involved' (Denscombe,

1998, p. 69). My experience as a TESOL student and English teacher has shaped my understanding of the TESOL community, the notion of which of course is still a construction. The emphasis on commonalities in the experiences of its members does not preclude a recognition of significant differences. In this study I am therefore as alert to the difference as I am to the sameness.

While some of the participants had lived in Australia for more than two years at the time of the interviews, some had just arrived and were still adjusting themselves to the new place. Two of the participants were widely travelled and made frequent comparisons with their earlier experiences. Although participants' backgrounds played an important role in their understanding of international education, I understand that participants' references to their cultural and linguistic backgrounds are individual and therefore the description of each participant's cultural views cannot be generalised to represent those of the whole nation of origin. All participants were interviewed on their home campuses.

#### **5.4.3 Participants' Individual Profile: Faces to Names**

Short profiles for all six participants are provided below. This has been done in order to put faces to the names, in no particular order. Further details of the participants, such as their educational background and professional experiences and foreign languages spoken (other than first language and English) are included in *Appendix 3*. The data were collected in the period from December, 2005 to June, 2007.

##### **Nobu**

Japanese, 41. He had no teaching experience and had graduated from Yanguang University, Tokyo. Oldest among the participants, Nobu had studied English for more than 20 years, since he was 13. He graduated from high school in 1983 and got into 'pay work situation' immediately after, a phenomenon quite common in metropolitan areas in Japan when he joined the computer company Fujitsu. He had previously studied computer science in the company school for three years while working, then enrolled in Aoyama Gakuin University in Tokyo for a BA English Literature (1996) and an MA in English Education (1997). He also had a Teaching Certificate in English (1997) from the same university. At that time his plans were to teach in a junior high school. He came to Monash in July 2005 to do an MEd TESOL International and was at the end of his first semester when I had my first interview with him. The second interview took place 13 months later when he had just submitted his thesis and was about to return to Japan. Shy, but

strong in his opinions, Nobu was very cooperative in his responses and I contacted him twice after he had left for Japan and was teaching in a school.

### **Ning**

Taiwanese, 26. Ning was one of two participants who had no experience in teaching English. She had a Bachelors degree in Nursing from the National Taipei College of Nursing (NTCN) in Taiwan and worked as a research assistant in Nursing for over three years prior to coming to Australia. She was a qualified medical research assistant - a registered nursing specialist or a Clinical Research Associate (CRA) in Taiwan and was doing her MEd TESOL International at Monash University. It was a rather roundabout way in which Ning eventually chose to study TESOL, long after she had first arrived in Australia. Among the participants, Ning alone came from an entirely different academic background. She was also the only participant who, upon completion of her TESOL studies, joined a non-teaching profession, yet was making good use of her TESOL education.

### **Xia**

Chinese, 26. Originally from Taiyuan city in the Shanxi province in northern China, Xia had never been overseas before and was in Australia for about one year when I conducted my first interview with her. She had already finished her Master of TESOL at the University of Melbourne and was working on another degree, Master of Education (thesis only) at the time of the first interview. Earlier she completed her Bachelors degree in English Literature at Wuhan Foreign Language University in China and had taught English for two years in South China Normal University in Guang Dong, before she arrived in Australia. By the time of the second interview she had already handed in her thesis and was awaiting results. Her study in a foreign language high school and foreign language university clearly influenced her views on English and TESOL as seen in the next two chapters.

### **Rahman**

Indonesian, 25. Youngest among participants, Rahman graduated BA in English Education from the Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Syiah Kuala University, Aceh, Indonesia in 2004 and had been teaching for about three years. He was on an Australian Partnership Scholarship (APS) doing a Graduate Diploma TESOL at La Trobe University and planned to continue with an MEd TESOL. He arrived in Australia just two months before the first interview was conducted, before which he was teaching at a vocational school, while also studying. Ambitious and confident, Rahman's story gives us an insight into a self always in restless conflict with a hybrid set of values, both at home and in Australia.

**Yun**

Chinese, 27. Yun graduated with a BA in English Education from Tianjin Normal University in China in 2001 and had four years teaching experience (2001-2005) as a Teaching Assistant to first year and second year students at Tianjin Polytechnic University. She also worked as a Chinese tutor, English home tutor and interpreter. She was doing an MA TESOL at the University of Melbourne when the first interview was conducted. By the time of the second interview she had already completed her studies and was enrolled in another Education program at the University. At once traditionalist, with values deeply rooted in her family education, and at the same time confidently innovative, Yun's determination and diligence in planning her career had brought her this far.

**Rika**

Japanese, 27. Having spent the first four years of her life in Australia, Rika was deeply conscious of this influence later in her life in Japan. She was enrolled in an MEd TESOL International at Monash University when the first interview was conducted. Previously she completed a BA in English Literature at Japan Women's University in Tokyo and had three years teaching experience. She displayed a frankly confident and self-conscious articulation of identity, which evidently grew quite early in her life due to personal circumstances. Throughout the conversations there was a carefully drawn out self-other distinction which gave me invaluable insights into her struggles to cope with what she called the 'spotlight of difference'. Chapter Eight focuses exclusively on Rika's story.

**5.5 Research Design**

In this section I present the strategies of inquiry employed in this study, how I framed the questions, how I collected data and how I analysed and finally represented it in this study. Freebody (2003) notes that for researchers, 'methods need to be generative of significant reflection, not just equipment for producing conclusions' (p. x) and therefore it is important to inform data with theories and critical reflection. Within the case study approach, I drew on a few methods of data collection:

- Semi-structured and open-ended individual interviews;
- email correspondence;
- Online chat;
- Examination of publicly available policy, advertising and marketing documentation (site documents)

While the emphasis in the interviews was mostly on the views of TESOL students, site documents provided the context and have been considered as institutional cases within the larger case comprising TESOL students.

As the study explored the marketing of international education with regard to TESOL in the context of globalisation and how this plays a part in the formation of choices as well as formation of identities of the international student, I sought to explore the following areas (see *Appendices 4* and *6* for corresponding interview prompts):

- participants' contact with English as a foreign language and their affective responses, especially in the early years of contact
- the formation of their choices with regard to international education: country, university and subject (TESOL) and factors affecting such choices
- the usefulness and applicability of what they were currently studying
- how they (speculatively) plan to use TESOL back home
- their impressions of the marketing discourse and how they might have felt positioned (interpellated) by such discourses at different stages of their choice making and study

### 5.5.1 First and Second Round Interviews

There were three major stages in the data collection process. The first set of data was generated in individual, face-to-face semi-structured interviews - conversations with the six international students of TESOL (see *Appendix 4*). As well as eliciting general biographical and academic information, this set of data provided insights into the above-mentioned topics. Before the first interview I asked the participants to complete a short form which included questions about their contact details, their age and educational background (see *Appendix 5*).

Participants were not restricted to the discussion of the questions presented above and those outlined in the appendices. Often they had different issues they wanted to talk about; there were also answers such as 'I have never thought about it' that changed the direction of the conversation. Sometimes participants dwelt at length on certain questions in a manner I had not anticipated. I always tried to make the participants feel comfortable and relaxed and encouraged them to talk about whatever they considered relevant or important, irrespective of whether I thought otherwise at that time. Allowing interviewees to 'speak their minds' helped reveal complex issues. In the context of this study, the first round of data collection allowed identification of the major discussion trends and issues which demanded further probing in the follow-up interviews.

Assuming that over a period of time participants may report significant difference in their perception of the various aspects of their international education and their TESOL study and the way they position themselves in relation to these, I called for another round of individual interviews. Participants were invited to a second individual interview somewhere between six months and more than a year after the first interview.

The second and third data collection rounds were carried out after preliminary analysis of the data, as dictated by the methodological approach of this study. This second set of data comprised a series of more elaborate interviews with the same participants who agreed to continue their involvement in my project. These interviews explored further participants' earlier comments in the first interview as well as to some email correspondence which some of them responded to during the period between the two interviews. The second-round interviews took at least an hour each, and some of the questions and topics were as follows (see *Appendix 6*):

- *I would like to know your current status – study, work, personal matters. Have you finished studies or got enrolled in a new course?*
- *In general, have your views/impressions changed over the past year with regard to TESOL, teaching English, your study here (in terms of quality/expenses)? Is there anything you are concerned/worried/frustrated about that you were not earlier?*
- *How do you conceptualise the 'TESOL professional' identity? What implications does this identity have for the way you think you are expected to perform back home?*
- *Hypothetically, if you were not on scholarship, would you have made a different choice in your selection of university and subject ?, or*
- *Hypothetically, if you were to make another choice/if you were given another chance, would you have made a different choice in your selection of university and subject?*

In addition to supplementary and more detailed information, this round provided another valuable set of data. I also used several non-face-to-face data collection methods, such as email correspondence and online chat, which I discuss later. The next section looks at how I looked at themes related to identity, one of the central concerns of the study.

### **5.5.2 Complementary Methods**

At the later stages of data collection, I preferred electronic correspondence to face-to-face interviews as they seemed to be more practical, manageable and, most importantly, in some ways

more data generative. As students (in some cases with part-time work commitments) most of my participants were happier to be contacted by email rather than attend an hour-long interview. A third (and in two cases, a fourth) response was elicited through email correspondence with participants back in their home countries on completion of their studies in Australia. On the whole, interviews in these final rounds were more structured and the focus was on clarification and elaboration of the information gained during the first two interviews. Even though I had a list of issues to be addressed, I was flexible and accommodating with the order of their coverage and the degree of deviation from the 'expected' responses. In one case (Rika), I conducted an hour-long real-time online chat interview as the participant was overseas and could not be contacted otherwise. Emails allowed participants to take their time and think through their responses, which the face-to-face interviews did not allow. However, there are issues in regard to the electronic form of interviewing. Such methods with no face-to-face interaction may have some disadvantages because there is no possibility 'for both interviewer and respondent, of reading non-verbal behaviour or of cuing from gender, race, age, class, and other personal characteristics' (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 666). In this study, however, I felt I could avoid such problems because I knew the participants from the first two rounds of individual interviews. Indeed, because most questions in these rounds were prompted by their earlier responses, in the emails I attached relevant excerpts of the transcribed text from earlier interviews so that they could refer to them. In two cases (Yun and Rahman) I also provided them with the digitally recorded interview audio, on request.

In addition, following my first interview with him, I invited Rahman to come to Monash for an informal interview - what I called 'an out-of-context interaction' - a social interaction to explore 'Rahman the person' rather than 'Rahman the TESOL Professional' or 'Rahman the Student' or 'Rahman the Colleague' (see *Appendix 9* for this email). Mishler (1986) suggests that interviewers provide respondents with the opportunity to convey stories to them on the respondent's own terms rather than deploy predesignated categories or other structured formats for doing so. This, Mishler claims, empowers respondents. I therefore planned to spend several hours with Rahman on the campus, with the interview taking just one hour, but flanked by casual conversations and lunch when we could discuss anything that would come up naturally - such as food, politics or the weather. I reminded Rahman that these casual conversations would be off-the-record and would help me understand his personality in greater depth. I assured him that he would not feel 'studied' or 'observed' in any way. I asked him to see this event as 'two colleagues or friends talking casually'. At this point I was considering a narrative inquiry framework for my analysis and had planned to develop an entire chapter on Rahman's story. However, this plan did not

materialise, since Rahman failed to respond to my repeated emails and eventually when he did, he said he could not come to Monash. This plan was subsequently replaced by a second round of email interviews in which he responded quite enthusiastically. My plan for the chapter-length study transferred to Rika.

### 5.5.3 Data Analysis

This section describes the processes through which I analysed my data: how I 'treated' data and arrived at major 'themes'; how I analysed certain key concerns of my study (such as 'identity') in the transcripts and how I committed as researcher to enabling my participants' voices to be heard. Even though the discursive forces at work in their lives constitute their 'voices', I wanted the participants' voices to be heard beyond my own reading of what they had to offer me. According to Maykut and Morehouse (1994), qualitative research attempts to investigate patterns emerging after completed observation through thorough and thoughtful analysis. Within this approach the researcher's dual role is of the active and interactive insider, someone who is free both to move aside to analyse and to sense the experiences shared by participants.

The nature of my research, and more specifically my focus on the identities participants constructed in the interviews meant that I saw the analysis of the data as a complex, interpretative exercise. This study was conducted within a circular rather than linear manner in which the data collection and data interpretation procedures were closely linked. The interviews were conducted in alternating stages, where the already collected data was analysed in order to identify what further data should be collected. Data analysis in a qualitative research approach is often linked to the notion of 'thick description' (Geertz, 1977) which enables the production of complex situations in sufficient detail for readers to judge for themselves to what extent, if at all, the researcher's interpretation of the phenomenon is justifiable and relevant for other circumstances.

Since identity construction was one of the major concerns of my study, I chose to devise an analytic framework which would enable me to investigate the several ways in which my participants felt they constructed their identities. The process of self-construction and the selves that are constructed out of it are mutually constitutive. Therefore analysis does not necessarily begin or end with either of these. Practically, to configure their identities, we begin analysis where people are physically located. However, neither the experientially 'real' nor its construction has priority over the other because the interplay within interpretive practice also requires that we move back and forth between these leading components of the process (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 98). In my study I did not consider the participants' biographies as just historically located

but also as spatially and temporally dispersed. Given the 'open-ended' and ultimately idiosyncratic nature of social life, events do not always conform to universal rules and therefore much that is 'real' is 'suppressed from view' (Marginson & Mollis 2001, p. 595). Also, whereas traditional theorists have stripped both interview questions and responses from the rules of speech and cultural understandings of interaction and thereby see interviews as just verbal behaviour, Mishler (1986) argues that people organise talk into systematic forms based on normative rules. Words and expressions take on meaning throughout the text and are dependent upon the situational context – *who* is speaking and how the question is framed. An important issue is the role of the interviewer:

Research on interviewing has demonstrated fairly conclusively that people respond differently depending on how they perceive the person asking the questions... It is not, strictly speaking, the identity in its own right that affects the data, but what the researcher's identity means as far as the person being interviewed is concerned.

Denscombe, 1998, p. 116

As Masters students, I felt that the participants were well schooled in interview processes and had an informed appreciation of the 'game' being played, raising certain ethical issues which I discuss later (see 5.6.1). In addition, the topic of the discussion also has an impact on the relationship between an interviewer and interviewee. My position both as a researcher and a TESOL person allowed a better coverage of a broad spectrum of relevant issues during the interviews. Talking to the participants, I often presented myself as one of them (see 7.4.2, 8.6) and this encouraged a lively discussion and a relaxed atmosphere. I used a sense of humour and did not pursue topics which appeared to cause discomfort to the participants. Ethical issues related to such positioning are discussed in the last section of this chapter. Throughout an interview, through the reformulation of questions, the interviewer and interviewee struggle for common meaning. The interview itself is a type of discourse and a speech event (Mishler, 1986). As the joint product of the interviewee and the interviewer, it takes into account the interview as a social interaction.

Within a qualitative and case study enquiry, I felt that due to the densely biographical nature of some of the accounts of the participants (especially in the first interview), a non-linear, achronological storyline approach would serve the inquiry best. Sacks (1992, in Freebody, 2003) has pointed out that the apparent untidiness, disorderliness and disarray of ordinary everyday interaction not only can be, but should be studied systematically. Since life is made up of stories (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990; Kerby; 1991; Toolan, 2001), researchers can usefully ask respondents to construct a narrative of their life in response to the context at the time of interview. It aims to document the participants' various ways of life on their own terms through a discreet observation

of people, events and interactions. In this study I sought to produce rich descriptions of people and interactions *as they exist* and unfold in their natural habitat (Holstein & Gubrium 1994, p. 63), looking to 'track down relationships' (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 112) keeping in mind the 'local, variable, contingent and multiple nature of cultural, social and institutional practices' (Freebody, 2003, p. 35). I viewed the messiness and complexity of each case as incomplete and temporal.

Significantly, for a case study the analysis of interpretive practice requires a tolerance for such 'messiness' of the explanatory indeterminacy of social life (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 99). Rather than predictably cause us or others to become who or what we are, discourses of the self only mediate interpretive practice. 'Members' of particular 'groups' or 'categories' selectively invoke and make use of the language games available to them in producing their subjectivities. However, in the process they specify meanings locally and contingently. Storying the self is therefore actively rendered and locally conditioned (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 103). The identities members use, apply and produce in constructing who they are do not originate out of nowhere. Rather, culturally recognisable discourses are invoked and individuals select from what is available and tailor it to the interpretive task at hand: 'The self we live by is not fully determined, but discernibly slips about in the interplay of discursive practice and discourse-in-practice' (ibid., p. 99).

Stories we tell about ourselves are not merely accounts of our life's 'facts'. Rather, they are contrived and artful constructions which draw on life experiences as well as on culturally available discourses to cast our lives and ourselves in particular ways (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000). Such stories manage, organise and arrange experience, and by telling stories, individuals assert the meaning of the stories for particular situations and audiences. Just as the participants' lives can virtually offer any number of events which they could use as raw material or building blocks for their identity construction, their culture offers infinite resources and discourses which also make it possible for them to frame their stories. However, both life experience and culture are available only as resources, rather than as determining factors in one's stories. Any particular 'fact' of one's life therefore may or may not be relevant in a given story produced in a specific social interaction. In other words, individuals construct selves from the biographical material they *choose* to employ. In this way, in the interviews, participants are always actively involved in choosing which stories and which selves to convey to others as well as how to formulate such constructions.

According to Denscombe (1998, p. 36), despite the relevant uniqueness of each case, 'it is also a single example of a broader class of things'. Some researchers talk about 'the paradox' of case

study: 'Living with paradox is crucial to understanding. The tension between the study of the unique and the need to generalise is necessary to reveal both the *unique* and the *universal* and the *unity* of that understanding (Simons, 1996, in Bassey, 1999, p. 36)

In this study I also attempted to understand phenomena such as the internationalisation and globalisation of English from an insider's perspective. However, I did not treat the participants' narratives as straightforward and accurate representations (as though there could be any such thing) but as stories people tell about themselves in order to present a certain version of identity. To that extent, I do not have any reservations about my data. But at times it seemed that my participants may have wished to highlight certain aspects of their identity and backgrounds. Whenever I felt this might be the case, I kept in mind that construction of identity is an ongoing process and therefore my objective was not too see if the stories were 'coherent' or 'organised. I looked for statements and metaphors containing 'I'/'me', shifts of pronouns, for example, from the first to the third person and the nature of these shifts (whether for example they appeared to be consistent or arbitrary) and words and phrases of emphasis. We see examples of these in the next three chapters.

The transcription process was completed over a staged process. First I transcribed the digitally recorded interviews non-selectively, without leaving out any parts that I deemed irrelevant to my research inquiries. When I finished the transcriptions of the first six interviews, I set aside time to read and re-read them, first individually, then in comparison with each other. I then identified major themes that emerged by annotating the individual transcripts. Before collating the major themes from all participants, I revisited the audio recordings for a second time, sometimes playing them in the car audio system while driving and at other times when I was not focused on checking the transcripts. When revisiting the transcripts I realised I was frequently and instinctively making comparisons with my own experience as an international student, often asking myself questions such as - 'did I feel this way too?', or, 'why didn't I feel this way?'. I tried to feel the affective dimensions of the participants' statements and narrations, attempting to capture the dynamic of the moments.

Such empathic observations helped me not only to understand their views more holistically and in context, but to frame further questions for subsequent interviews. In relation to their identities, for example, participants gave me highly complex responses, some of which were contradictory. Often I came across moments when participants talked in confidence or in doubt, used self-correction, returned to something they mentioned earlier with a new or additional explanation.

These were then noted in the transcripts. I realised that every revisit to the transcripts (and the audio recordings) yielded something new, each time developing my understanding of the participants' stories and statements. I also came across situations where participants seemed to be giving differing, even contradictory opinions, on certain issues (see 6.3.2, 7.5.5, 8.1, 8.6.2). The individual transcripts were all line-numbered, and in the process of collating themes from all the participants, I could reference them with corresponding line/page numbers along with participant initial to enable revisiting original transcripts later, if necessary. This helped me rearrange, sort, merge, separate and compare themes over time without losing track of the original context wherein they occurred, as well as helping me frame questions for subsequent interviews.

The focus of my research was on the way my participants viewed their world. I was therefore aware of my commitment as researcher to enabling the participants' voices to be heard, beyond the identities ascribed to them by the marketing of international education, an issue which raised epistemological, interpretive and, crucially, ethical issues. Mishler (1986) recommends an egalitarian interview, bringing the interviewees into the analytic process and offering them to criticise the written reports - 'to restructure the interviewee-interviewer relationship so as to empower respondents... to encourage them to find and speak in their own voices' (Mishler, 1986, p. 118). In pointing to the political potential of the narrative, Mishler also talks about ownership: 'to be empowered is not only to speak in one's own voice and to tell one's own story but to apply the understanding arrived at to action in accord with one's own interests' (p. 119). I was careful not to pre-empt answers, or to 'lead' participants to saying what I wanted to hear. My questions therefore were not only open-ended but also encouraged the complexities and contradictions that participants might feel while responding. Examples of such encouragement can be seen in the email in *Appendix 10*.

At the same time, I was aware that my participants could not be taken as mere repositories of information, opinions and sentiments. The pitfall in a narrative is that interviewees can be taken as straightforward 'mouthpieces' of past biographies. Storytellers are not mere narrative puppets of their actions (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 103) and therefore I did not take my participants as having unmediated access to experience. Experience is no longer regarded as something that can be conveyed in a pristine or authentic form separate from the institutions and events of the day. Therefore in the analysis of their stories I placed equal emphasis on both the *ways* in which both the storytellers and the conditions of storytelling shaped what is conveyed and also on the *content* of those stories and what they reveal about the participants' various selves.

#### 5.5.4 Data Presentation

As seen in the next three chapters, a large part of the participants' own accounts in the interviews were narrative in nature involving autobiographical content and life stories. Indeed, in my exploration of student identities I found it useful to consider how they narratively constructed their different selves. However, even though my participants told 'stories', narrative inquiry was not a framework for my analysis. In the manner of narrative inquiry I have not used complementary anecdotal material (such as field notes, journals, letters, autobiographies) beyond those conveyed in the interviews. Instead, the numerous quotes in the following three chapters convey a sense of chronological continuity, despite the frequent spatio-temporal shifts in the participants' narration.

Since the focus of this study was on participants' conceptualisations of international education, and the politics and power relations with regard to their education, a qualitative case study approach gave scope to take account of the subjective, descriptive-narrative and personally significant data in context. This research attempted to tell the stories with the help of the participants' words. Embodying the numerous ways in which identities and choices are formed, the numerous quotes from the interviews and written communication in the following chapters represent an essential part of the data presentation.

During (1997) implies that those who are most vulnerable to market forces respond most positively to its products. But they also find the most creative ways to appropriate and use these resources. In other words, they do not simply allow themselves to be interpellated but respond to being 'hailed' on their *own* terms. One of the central interests of my study has been to see how 'groups' with the least power practically develop their own readings of and uses for international education – in fun, in resistance, or to articulate their own identity. Therefore 'stories' relating to the choices made by participants were of crucial importance to a study in which I considered a biographical case study approach to be most data generative as it allows participants to creatively reconstruct the self by capturing personal affective experiences. In order to convey the authentic voices of the participants, I transcribed the interviews exactly as the participants spoke and emails are quoted exactly as the participants wrote. No alterations have been made to lexis, grammar or syntax. Because all interviews were conducted in English, no translation was required. As students (and in some cases, teachers) of English, participants were generally competent in English.

## 5.6 Ethical Issues

Given the nature of the qualitative research process, there are several ethical issues I encountered. As well as my own position in terms of power relations, academic fraternity and the role of the interviewer, issues such as the interpretive process as well as the privacy and confidentiality of the participants pose problems that the researcher not only has to be aware of, but must take into account in the building of the research. In addition, and more importantly, I was aware of respecting participants' words and wanted to avoid appropriating what they had to offer me and recognise that they were still richer and multilayered than my reading of them.

### 5.6.1 Position of the Researcher

One of the critical methodological challenges in this project was that there were implicit and subtle assumptions of power relations at work. Indeed, the impact, manifestation and effect of power lie in its invisibility. The challenge, therefore, was to capture its manifestations concretely in their contextual specificity without trivialising them in any manner. The position of the researcher within the context of the research process has been problematised by postmodern and poststructuralist theories. The researcher is not seen as culturally neutral, but one who has a distinct discursive position. Bové (1992) criticises the philosopher Toulmin, because he 'makes no effort to understand his own position within the regime of truth, in other words, the space within which he practices is taken for granted, assumed to have natural status within the discourses of truth and judgement' (p. 166).

In the process of designing the data collection procedures, I was concerned with the question of how to present myself, or my 'presentational self' (Fontana & Frey, 2000, p. 654). How should I situate myself within this project? Was I an academic studying subjects? Could the interview be seen as a casual discussion with peers? Issues of power and control are inevitably embedded in all research, from the framing of questions, to turn-taking and interlocution in interviews, to the analysis that is made of the interviews. The power inherent in the researcher's position in relation to the participants needs to be recognised, especially when dealing with personally sensitive issues. During the interviews, a number of times participants seemed to have carved out a space of their own, moving on to issues that they were either passionate about or experiences that had a profound effect on them. I observed this when their sense of who they were and how they could be as international students was challenged. These carved out places were spaces that unsettled the 'truths' about international students, and provided knowledges that as a researcher I had neither experienced nor expected.

On the other hand, there is also resistance in interviews, both to the 'power' of the researcher and the questions asked and to the discursive constructions they contain. As Scheurich (1997) explains:

interviewees are not just the subject of researcher dominance; they are also active resisters of such dominance... I find that interviewees carve out a space of their own, that they can often control some or part of the interview that they push against or resist my goals, my intentions, my questionings, my meanings.

Scheurich, 1997, p. 71

I acknowledge that, to a certain degree, the processes of data collection and interpretation may have been influenced by my own background and beliefs. However, I believe that the awareness of this connection allowed me to remain sufficiently distanced and, to the extent that this is possible, 'objective', during the processes of data collection and analysis. Since this study has elements of ethnography, I provided an account of my background and experiences as a lifelong learner of English, in the form of a 'mini-autobiography' in Chapter One, in the form of a 'public account of self' (Denscombe, 1998, p. 74).

At the end of the transcription of every interview, participants were asked to read the transcript and check if there were issues which they did not want to form part of the thesis. However, with the exception of one (Yun), no participant expressed the desire to read the reports. Williams (1996, p. 46) maintains that a joint discussion may be the right move. He argues that such negotiation and collaborative behaviour among qualitative researchers and their participants is very important. Unfortunately, at the time of writing the reports, participants neither had time for reading the transcripts nor were available for extended discussions. Several participants said they trusted me with the correct representation of their words. They also said that they would be interested in reading the whole thesis or publications of the findings some time in the future.

### **5.6.2 Methodological Challenges of the Study**

Like any other form of social inquiry, educational research is essentially a political pursuit, used to inform, advance, or obstruct policy and practice in education (Freebody, 2003). Thus researchers and the 'objects' of their efforts can be both 'objective' (making objects for discussion) and, to some, perhaps, even be 'objectionable' (make trouble for discussion) (p. 20). Unlike many other forms of inquiry, educational research goes beyond the academic dimension and has implications that are political in nature. Moreover, education research is intended and tends to have an

influence on policy and therefore the research approach is critical and disturbs taken-for-granted assumptions (Freebody, 2003, p. *viii*).

Having said that, qualitative research approaches are interested *both* in intended as well as unintended consequences. Qualitative research insists on the 'inevitability of the unintended consequences of interventions into a shifting environment and, moreover, of the unforeseeable nature of some of these consequences' (Freebody, 2003, p. 41). As data collection proceeded, necessary changes were accommodated in methods in order to re-orientate the ongoing investigation as seen in the following three chapters.

Safeguarding the privacy and confidentiality of the participants was another principal ethical issue of this study. Prior to the interviews, all research participants read the Explanatory Statement (see *Appendix 7*) and read and signed the informed Consent Forms (see *Appendix 8*) assuring confidentiality with their names replaced by pseudonyms. However, with regard to the documents analysed (see Chapter Four), the study used *publicly* available (institute-specific) marketing documentation and was unlikely to involve sensitive information.

### 5.6.3 Generalisation Debates

Throughout the processes of framing the research questions, planning the interviews and conducting them, and analysing the transcript data, my aim was to explore the complexity and boundedness of the cases rather than attempting to produce consistency and generalisability. Indeed, my study aimed to unveil the generalising and homogenising 'truths' made about international students in policy and discursive practice. Therefore I tried to optimise my understanding of the individual cases rather than generate generalisation. However, in this study I was aware of recognising particular 'variables' and the concept of 'fuzzy generalisations' (Bassey, 1999, p. 52) which allowed for the flexibility of interpretation by the reader. Indeed, according to Denscombe, the reader of the qualitative case study has 'some responsibility' in internalising findings:

The reader of the findings will use the information to make some assessment of how far the findings have implications across the board for all others of the type, or how far they are restricted to just the case study example. The reader, though, must be provided with the necessary information on which to make an informed judgement on this matter.

Denscombe, 1998, p. 37

My study therefore draws on the reader's judgement and interpretation as far as the analysis is concerned and that a decisive conclusiveness might not be the best way of exploring issues, such as the personally sensitive notions of identity. I have tried to give my cases an 'open-ended' quality, even as I have also subjected them to analysis and attempted to draw out conclusions relating to globalisation and the internationalisation of education.

### **5.7 Concluding Comments**

This chapter has described the research design of the study. Intrinsic to the design is a refusal to engage in broad generalisations characteristic of some quantitative and scientific studies. Rather, the study focuses on the unique experiences of participants. I did not seek to find if the experiences of my participants matched the experiences of every international student in Australia. This would have been in conflict with the main impulse of the study, which was to focus on the dissonant accounts my participants told me. Indeed this study aimed to critique and demythologise the generalisations made about them by the discourses of international education. The inquiries I made in the project were sociocultural in nature, probing deep into the social lives of students. Using an instrumental case study approach therefore helped me by providing the wider context against which these questions were posed to build the case in sufficient descriptive narrative. The case study approach was particularly helpful because it allowed researcher reflexivity and provided me with an emic perspective. Such case studies provide strong empirical bases allowing subsequent theorising on the internationalisation and marketing of English and exploring dichotomies associated with the international English language teaching business.

I conclude by returning to the opening epigraph of this chapter. In this study I have tried to go beyond the large claims made about international education, international students, globalisation and the good of students, in order to tap into the 'everyday' as it is being experienced by the participants. The challenge for me was to attend to what they had to say and then in my analysis and interpretation to move beyond the accepted constructions of international students. The focus is people who, like myself, have been subjected to the hegemony of English and international education. Chapter Six, along with Chapters Seven and Eight present my conversations with the participants of this study and identify the concerns of the study foregrounded in Chapter One.

## CHAPTER SIX

### The Fabric of Relations: Desire and the Formation of Choices

*The self now materializes in myriad nooks and crannies of everyday life, reflecting one sense of who we are in one site, turning a second option for personal definition in another one. If the story is now complex and socially dispersed, the self isn't lost in a 'wilderness of mirrors'. Rather, the many looking glasses we peer into themselves are built into the experiential projects of endless going concerns with narrative auspices of their own, providing discernible circumstances for assembling identity.*

Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 215

Liotard (1984) argues that the sites within which subjectivity is constructed inform us and present the self with 'a fabric of relations that are now more complex and mobile than ever before' (cited in Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 81). My main concern in this chapter is to conceptualise this complexity and mobility – how to think about the processes by which the questions of who and what we are can be interpreted and to apply the answers to individual experience. In the previous chapter I discussed how theories can be used to interpret data, and thus draw out the latter's wider significance, while at the same time allowing the data to 'speak back' to theories, and, if necessary, modify it. In other words, it is not simply about reading data *within* a theoretical framework, but allowing data to prompt reflection and modification of theoretical frameworks. As a researcher, I am thus being reflexive by recognising the interactive nature of data analysis. In line with Holstein and Gubrium (2000, p. 81), I also seek to find out how the complex social apparatus of everyday life articulates the language games for the selves that we take each other to be, which, in turn, we assume to be the identities underlying our actions.

This chapter focuses on the participants' views of their experience of English and the choice formation of destination, subjects and universities in their pathways to international education. In exploring these perceptions I analyse the narratives the interviewees presented to me, the kind of identity work they did in the interviews and the connections between their personal stories and the larger meta-narratives of internationalisation and the globalisation of English. I also focus on the generation of desire as a way of accessing available discourses, and the 'fabric of relations' in which their different selves get involved.

We can see ourselves through the eyes of others and peoples' choices and desires to a degree are influenced by others' attitudes, incidents and events. My own biography has therefore been

integral to the analysis and I revisited my own narrative in order to establish my presence as an interlocutor throughout the account of the interviews. For me, the 'fabric of relations' that generated desire and shaped my identity was so tightly woven into my education and personal experiences that English itself and the desire for English have always been a part of my identity. My own desire for English was shaped through my early interpellation to the status of *Ingrejir jahaaj* ('ship of English', see 1.4) as a site of peer regard, which inexorably seemed to draw me towards English. However, this did not appear to be the case with my participants. While my early experience of English reveals myriad sites of influence that were tightly interwoven to produce in me a strong and tangible desire not only to learn English but to take it up as a profession, for my participants, the fabric of relations that formed sites of influence was loosely woven, often stemming from chance factors and arbitrary choices and seemed to be generated in less coherent and more fragmented ways. The participants' initial experience of English was not as clearly related as mine to the ways in which English formed part of their identity later in their lives.

In his later writings on the genealogy of subjectivity, Foucault shifted his emphasis from the discursive subject to the self-reflexive being. While not as concerned about the 'self' as he was with the 'technologies' of the body, through the formulation of the subject and his conceptualisation of subjectivity as 'bio-power', Foucault's writings help us understand discourse as a system of representation which constitutes subjectivities. Foucault talks about discourses as neither owned by anyone nor 'centred' in formal authority. Instead, as a power/knowledge continuum, it operates through language at work and is put into effect by all concerned. The categories of available discourses are articulated in practice, realising available selves according to the ongoing work of self construction. Foucault argued that the notion of the centred presence was a discursive formation, part of a historical set of 'language games' which articulated the discourse of the present subjectivity on several fronts (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 79). As Holstein and Gubrium (2000) explain, Foucault's approach focuses on the 'historical or cultural *whats*' rather than on the 'present time *hows*' (p. 93) of social practice, and his aim is neither to formulate a priori definitions of subjectivity nor to theorise social conditioning. Instead his analytic attempts to historically identify the variable social constructions of the subject.

As such, I recognise that I am not a passive player in this process of analysis; I am a part of this study as much as the participants are. We have seen how universities and the government have positioned the international student. This does not preclude me from locating their argument of identity, from reading their experiences as symptomatic of these expressions. This chapter presents narratives from participants' pasts - their first contact with English, growing up with English, the various factors that led to their eventual choice of university and subject (TESOL) and what

implications these choices would have or have had in their sense of their individual and professional futures. My aim in interviewing the students was to bring out their uniqueness and individuality by talking to them and appreciating the specificity of their experiences.

This chapter does not simply focus on the 'choices' participants made. Indeed, 'desire' is not just about personal preferences but the pathways that lead to them, as well as how they are shaped by sites of influence, such as social, economic and educational settings. This chapter therefore focuses on the ways in which individuals were guided or interpellated in powerful ways and given very strong pointers as to the path they *should* be following. In other words, this chapter looks into how desires are created - desires that include images and ways of imagining self as fitting into a discourse and recognising self as part of a discourse.

Case studies are constructions, and therefore they cannot be read as a direct reflection of the experiences and views of the participants concerned. In the process of analysis, I am making selections and presenting 'characters', as much as my participants are choosing from their narrative inventories to present their different selves to me. I have therefore attempted to convey a sense of their individual perspectives and experiences.

The key themes in this chapter are identity, choice and the formation of desire. In the first section, I discuss the participants' early contact with English, the various ways in which they experienced it and the advantages English has given them. The second and third sections look at the different sites of influence that shaped the formation of their choices with regard to international education - first choosing destination and institute and then TESOL itself. Finally I consider other factors that came into play in the students' choice formation.

### **6.1 First Contact: English and Identity Formation**

Central to any understanding of people's identities and the way they negotiate a pathway in an English language environment is the various accounts of their encounters with English. Anyone who has learnt another language knows that this is not simply a matter of acquiring a vocabulary in order to 'name' things differently, but also a matter of stepping into another world, another way of thought and feeling. This section discusses participants' early contacts and then perceptions of advantages and choice making by constructing the sites of influence in which the participants first experienced English. It looks specifically at the first and second research questions which ask how people's desires for English are generated, how the formation of their personal and professional identities takes place and how they position themselves within these relations.

### 6.1.1 Nobu: English 'defining life'

Nobu first learnt English at the age of 13 when he was in junior high school, an experience he describes as his 'very first time to meet English'. He worked for Fujitsu as an Electrical Engineer for 20 years before coming to Monash in July 2005 and was at the end of his first semester when the first interview was conducted. Unlike his compatriot Rika, in the high school years Nobu saw himself as in the situation of an average learner of that age group:

I don't know how much percentage it is said in Japan but after we have summer vacation in August, there are two groups - successful learners and unsuccessful learners. I was in the second group (laughs)... I was a poor student... Of course, every student, I think including me, really looking forward to learning English, studying English but word order are different from Japanese grammar so I became unsuccessful longer. I didn't like English.

His initial feeling of dislike and uncertainty gave way to acceptance in a 'gradual' manner when he first joined Fujitsu and found himself in a role that 'required English'. Later, in 1990, he was living in the company dormitory sharing with some overseas colleagues - 'foreign students' - '10 native English speakers' from the US, Canada and Britain. At that time he was motivated by an American colleague who said that studying in the US would 'define (his) life'. In a later interview he reiterates this by saying - 'his word *redefined* my life. I don't want to think I'm still working at the company'. He explains:

So one of them was Yale University student so he has quite interesting person and funny person. One day he asked me if I wanted to study in the United States because I had already worked for Fujitsu for 10 years by that time so he said it's odd case for the Americans so American universities like so you might be able to get enrolled in American universities if I apply so I thought about going to the university in the United States but my financial budget did not allow to do that. So instead, anyway, I was able to speak to them in any case. So I was interested in English itself.

Nobu points out that this conversation with his US colleague was his first site of influence that led him to consider studying English. In reference to his long affiliation of 20 years with Fujitsu, common in Japan, he was intrigued by his colleague's remark that it was unusual for one 'to work in the same company for such a long period of time' and this in fact first led him to think of overseas study. He tells me about his motivation for studying in the US at that time:

This is maybe ah... extrinsic, no intrinsic motivation but there was also extrinsic motivation in the workplace. I was applied to multimedia projects which required us I mean the Engineers to converse something with American Engineers in English so it really urged me to study and learn English by myself. So these two things happened to me on one time so I studied English.

Primarily due to 'financial matters' ('it was very expensive for me'), he discarded the idea of studying in the US in 1994, while he was doing his second year BA at university. He recurrently emphasised this factor, even in the second interview, as if to justify his eventual choice to study in

Australia. I felt that at this point it was the 'odd' nature of his long affiliation with Fujitsu which eventually led him to think of studying English. Nobu alone among the participants did not tell me stories of his childhood in relation to learning English, possibly because he did not have any English education before the age of 13.

### 6.1.2 Ning: 'Touching English - I was in the other world'

It is curious that Ning, a qualified Clinical Research Associate (CRA) in Taiwan, had chosen to study TESOL in Australia. In her role as CRA her responsibility was to 'monitor clinical trials and ensure compliance with the clinical trial protocol, check clinical site activities, make on-site visits, review Case Report Forms (CRFs) and communicate with clinical research investigators' (Protech, 2007). She was also required to have a degree in Life Sciences with a good knowledge of clinical practice and local regulations (Protech, 2007) - a role that does not mention ability in either speaking or written English. Yet she was here at Monash University doing a Masters in TESOL International. She explained the reasons by revisiting her past. Ning first started learning English when she was about 12 years old:

in the age of first language has established, therefore, I couldn't acquire this language naturally in daily life. Besides, the English teachers were Taiwanese that mostly emphasised English grammar part rather than other macro-skills.

Even though in Taiwan English is compulsory from the first year in high school, it is mostly grammar-based - 'it's very, very simple' and 'very, very basic', with no speaking or listening. It was also 'hard to be understood'. Due to her choice of a double degree (general course and nursing) in high school, she had a heavier dose of English ('vocabulary' and 'general English') than others in her class. The nursing part of her study involved 'a lot of experience or lessons about vocabulary in medical terms'. She described this as the first time she came to 'learn English or to touch English.'

She divided her first impressions of English into two parts - first with vocabulary, by which she referred to 'medical terms and vocabulary'; she said: 'that was horrible, I mean the worst, the words were long and the spelling, oh! I don't have any idea of how to write that. We just have to recite it again and again'. The other part was General English: 'I thought it was like I was in the other world because I don't use it. And you know it's just like normal subject that I have to take'. Ning had this added emphasis on English due to her nursing course, an issue she retrospectively saw as a benefit. Ning used 'normal' a number of times in both interviews to imply what was common practice.

Curiously, like Nobu, Ning recalls that the 'big change' came with her contact with an American teacher when she was in second year at university - a time she recalls first getting 'interested in English, because it was not only a subject for me but that was a way for me to communicate with my American English teacher and to know something else in other world'. In view of her future career, this was the first time she started thinking of studying English seriously. It was also from this teacher that she first heard of TESOL. She recalled that she had to pass an exam in order to be in that English class:

When I was in that class, I was told to speak as much English as possible. I was a bit different from other students by that time, and after I decided to go to overseas, I found that I was somewhere in the middle not very like some other Taiwanese students normally and not very... how do you say that, international. Somewhere in the middle - a bit different. And I'm just a person who can speak English that's the difference from others.

At this time Ning seemed to be sufficiently competent in English to be 'seen' as 'different' from others, even though it was also a period when she was unsure of her identity. Her relative competence in English gave her a status distinct from others, yet one that was not sufficiently developed to label her 'international'. Her use of 'just' gave me a sense of implying a resigned acceptance of this distinctiveness, as it did not seem she attached much importance to this 'skill' at that time.

### **6.1.3 Xia: English and the Othering of Foreign Language Schools**

In Xia's case, parental choice appeared to be a major influence in her learning of English. In China, Foreign Language Schools (FLSs) are part of a parallel schooling system sharing the same curricula as mainstream schools but with an emphasis on a particular foreign language - not in the sense of a bilingual education or medium of instruction - but because of the teaching materials used. Xia studied at one such distinctive English junior high school but had no passion for English; it was solely due to "parents' wish". She recalls the importance her parents attached to English in her childhood: 'both my parents say good things about English'. She knew students from FLSs would later be offered places in Foreign Language universities (FLUs) without college entrance exams. She chose English literature for practical reasons, not because she loved the 'subject'.

As an elite student of an FLS, Xia saw that she was always meant to have chosen a path less trodden. There was a clear othering of 'us' and 'them' in the way Xia related her experiences as an FLS student, when comparing herself with students from 'traditional' schools, a demarcation she

carries on today in her new role of the TESOL professional in Australia. Unlike her compatriot Yun, whose English education began at home when she was six, Xia had been studying English since the first year of junior high school at the age of 12.

While telling me about English in Chinese schools she repeatedly used 'have to', which suggested that she viewed it as a practice imposed upon her. Indeed, in her role as TESOL student and aspiring TESOL professional, Xia made references to her knowledge of teaching in the interviews: 'English is compulsory in China now so we *have to* all learn it as soon as we get into middle school - from year 7 - after 6 years in primary school. So we *have to* learn English'. Unlike most of her friends, she went to a 'quite competitive' FLS, which was the only one in her city. Every capital city had one such FLS, which taught languages such as Russian, English and Japanese. Notwithstanding, Xia understood the relative importance attached to *English* FLSs: 'but English is the most competitive and most of us would choose English because we considered to be more useful. Japanese is also good and Russian, umm, (laughs), the least popular one'. In her comparison of the different languages, Xia made a clear distinction in the relative importance attached to each by members of her 'community' ('us'). Although at this stage in her life, English did not yet seem to be 'important', she displayed an instinctive awareness of the practical value of English.

However, Xia rejected the idea that in the end she chose to study English for practical reasons rather than because she loved it:

I don't think for practical reasons. I didn't love it then but I think it might be interesting because of my little bit of more contact with English... whatever major you study you have to be good at English so I can study English and after I graduate bachelors degree... because I already had a good English, I can do other subjects... I thought if I couldn't get into that university I could get into a *better* university and still study English. So I chose to study English Literature.

At this time she had applied to three universities but succeeded only at Wuhan (foreign language) University where she graduated with a BA in English Literature. Her study in English gave her an opportunity to launch an early career in teaching, even without a 'formal English education' qualification. She taught at a university in China for two years 'because it's not that restrict in China that you have to graduate from Education, I mean English education background to be an English teacher, because like, they think people graduating from English literature would be capable enough to teach so just some, had some pre-service training'. Her use of the third-person (they) here again suggested to me that she felt detached from a practice which her current knowledge did not endorse.

I was curious to know more about the Foreign Language Schools. When asked if the FLSs were different compared to the 'traditional' schools only in that that the medium of instruction was English, she was doubtful: 'They're supposed to... I mean it's all different when it comes to practice, but it is supposed to be different in medium of instruction like the teachers are supposed to be more qualified in teaching English'. She explained that the teaching system was meant to be different, but in practice it was not and that other than an emphasis on English speaking and listening, all FLSs were much the same. Also, these schools had 'different' textbooks compared to the 'traditional' books used in other schools:

Yeah, the other schools they used traditional textbooks but I remember the textbooks I used... And it's a textbook [*Look, Listen and Learn*] published I think in Britain. And they imported the textbook to China and we used that one. It concentrates on listening and speaking more than on grammar... it's quite good.

Later in the second interview she reiterated saying: 'I think the books are very good and they had really cute pictures... and even we didn't use it after a while. I really liked those books' (laughs). The difference she was talking about was in the content and the communicative orientation of the tasks but also because they were 'imported' and had a conspicuously different physical layout. This fascination for eye-pleasing material is similar to the tendency of participants forming strong impressions of universities from websites, as seen later (see 6.6.2). As far as the content was concerned, she talked about 'the everyday living and portraiting' of the books, by which she probably meant real-life situations with which she felt comfortable: 'like I didn't know "jam", and "biscuits" and... very interesting and very cute pictures'. In the 'traditional' textbooks, by contrast, 'the pictures are quite boring, they are very strict and normal pictures'. In this case, imported teaching materials can be seen as another site of influence in the fabric of relations that generates the desire to access available discourses.

Indeed, throughout the conversation it was apparent that the FLS and FLU in which she studied exerted a great influence in the subsequent decisions she made in her life as far as her study and career were concerned. Despite her early indifference, the fact that she studied in an FLS deeply influenced her perception of English and the values she attached to it. At the beginning it was because of her "parents' want" that she first studied at an FLS:

They wanted me, they think if I studied English, I will have, like, a better job and better opportunities. So they chose me, they enrolled me for the test and then I passed the test and then went to the school. I wasn't that passionate about English.

However, she readily accepted her 'parents' want' without ever thinking otherwise: 'If they say it's good, it's good. I will listen to you, yes... (laughs)'. She was quite amused telling me that her parents thought that 'it's good for girls to study language. They don't think it's good for me to study medicine or like maths' because those subjects were 'too hard'. She also told me that her parents convinced her, a belief she still holds, that 'if I study English, more comfortable and easier life. And I can go overseas, yeah'. Other than that she did not feel anything special about her schooling in a non-traditional school: 'for me [it was] the same. Like, I'm in middle school... I didn't think too much about that... I didn't interest to go to a foreign language school and I didn't think English would be closely, so closely related to my career!' (laughs). Qualifiers such as 'good' and 'comfortable' from her parents recalls Durning's (1999) notion of the 'sophisticated ethnographic techniques' (see 1.1) through which desire for what is 'popular' is constructed in discourses. She reflected that studying at an FLS was 'very hard... because of the way (they) were taught', markedly different from the rote-learning of traditional schools:

normally in other schools we don't have to speak at the very beginning. They just learn the vocabulary and they repeat and they listen to the tapes... But in my school we were forced to. Yes, we didn't learn grammar at the beginning, even vocabulary. Just the teacher asks us to say something. So we started from speaking. And it's very hard because I didn't even know what I was talking about. And I don't even know the words I just did what the teacher asked us to do and it's more about memory and so I think it's very hard.

Even so, she did not 'hate' this system but was 'more afraid of it'. She also said that students of other schools would see them as 'different': 'they think that we can speak better English than them but actually it's...' She seemed to suggest that even though 'other' students would see them in a different light, they actually were not. In fact, she reported that due to the washback effect of the state examination system, in the end teachers of FLSs returned to the grammar-based teaching methods all the same. The other benefit of the FLS was that students had the 'opportunity' of a position in an Foreign Language university without having to sit for the college entrance exam which was 'very difficult' and the preparation of which 'involved lots of pressure'. I felt that Xia was conscious of the distinctiveness her school brought to her identity at this stage of her life. She added that any lack of passion she had for English at that time was due to '*how* the teachers taught the subject'. Even at FLSs,

here is no big difference between the way they taught the subjects and teachers at other schools. So it's quite boring - it's one of the reasons and also because some of my friends they started learning English at primary school but I didn't have any contact with English at primary school so I found it hard... and lots of pressure to go to high school and go to university. I didn't have much interest in English.

Despite her somewhat reluctant acceptance of the added pressures of studying at an FLS, she was aware that the FLSs meant more than just an added emphasis on language to her as far as implications for her future were concerned. Since FLSs were 'arts-oriented', studying there also generally shaped the future direction of study for its students, a situation she quite happily realised much later:

because that school is strong in foreign languages, in arts subjects and rather than science subjects too, so that influenced me in choosing what I would study at university. Because if I were in another school I may have chosen to have studied medicine or something else. But in that school because we are strong in arts, it's better for us to choose arts subject so we get a better chance of entering university.

She also spoke of this in the second interview when she says that her eventual choice of English literature at university was 'directly influenced by the school'. I found Xia's experience of studying at a FLS and FLU similar to my own experience of studying at an 'elite' Cadet College which generated in me desires and aspirations that led to some of the choices I later made (see 1.4). The sense of distinction and benefit of these schools are well-circulated in the discourses of education. Like me, Xia's early interpellation into the role of an 'elite' student implicated her later decision to study TESOL.

#### **6.1.4 Yun: Home Education - 'I didn't choose English, I think English chose me'**

Originally from Tianjin, China, Yun's parents were both teachers – her father was a Chinese language teacher who had passed away and her mother, a former English teacher, retired in 1999, but was still teaching part-time. Yun emphatically said that her mother had always been a 'great influence' in her English education: 'My mum, my mum makes great influence on me'. Yun has been learning English for 18 years, since she was in third grade, at the age of nine. Throughout my conversation with her it appeared that she was very particular with dates and chronology, which helped in the production of an outline of her gradual development as learner and teacher of English over almost two decades.

Similarly to Xia, Yun recalled her first impressions of learning English as an indifferent affair: 'to be honest, I didn't have special feeling with English. So our teacher usually asked us to memorise some words and some short sentences in primary school'. Asked when she made up her mind to take up English as her choice of study she said: 'I didn't choose English, I think English chose me'. When I asked her if this choice was a passive or compromising one, Yun assured me that at that time she was only 18 and 'I wasn't sure, I didn't really know what I wanted to be in the future' and

that she was even 'considering teaching Chinese after graduation (laughs)'. However, she was now happy at having chosen English.

Her choice of studying English was therefore a reluctant one, which in retrospect she saw as the right choice, explaining that she had chosen to study English due to circumstances surrounding her at that time and her chances of admission. In the compulsory National College Entrance Examination, which students have to take in order to get university admission, they have to choose subjects and, like Xia, being relatively 'not good in maths and those science subjects', she was not sure what she 'wanted to be', even though she 'was pretty sure what [she] didn't want to learn' - which was 'science and maths'. Explaining the degree of reluctance in her choice, when she was about to complete her TESOL studies at the University of Melbourne, she said: 'I think if I have other chance to take another subject I would be more active'.

As a teacher and as a student of TESOL, Yun could see the shortcomings of the 'traditional' educational system in China. With a heavy emphasis on grammar, memorisation and repetition, the high school education had the washback effect of an exam-orientation:

I think when I was a student in high school I was good at English. At that time all of the students focused on college entrance examination and English is one of the five compulsory subjects. So we did lots of exercise, repeat different kinds of exercise and examination. So... I don't know the reason why but after you repeat many times, you can learn... you can get a deeper understanding.

In most cases, the participants viewed their own English education system in a new critical light, based on their current 'knowledge' of teaching. The role of aspiring TESOL-qualified teachers gave them the convenient standpoint to retrospectively view their education in such a manner. Despite her criticism of such a system, Yun considered herself to be very lucky due to her home education. She attributed the greatest influence in learning English to her mother - her 'first English teacher' - with whom she started home education in English before learning it at school in Grade 3, a practice she described as rare in China:

Actually my mum is an English teacher, right now she is working at a private school. Umm, so my mom is my first English teacher. When I was six years old she started to teach me some simple words. So you know my mom is over 60 so... actually she started to learn English in the 1960s and 70s so you can understand that there was a shortage of qualified English teachers.

The fact that her mother taught her English at a very early age inspired her to take English as a subject, even though it was not initially one of her favourite subjects. Yun explained that her mother was 'really good at grammar', but 'not good' in listening and could not speak in English at all and that is why 'she wants me to speak fluent English'. When I asked her if her mother used to

tell her anything to 'encourage her to learn English', she immediately linked English language with English culture: 'Umm, actually, I don't think my mum knows a lot about English culture... she did tell me about some interesting short stories... only some simple words simple stories'. However, she recalled that the nature of this home education was limited to vocabulary: 'simple words... no writing... My mum just taught me some simple words such as "apple", "dark"... just simple words'. Several participants spontaneously associated English with a distinct culture, an issue I discuss in the next chapter (see 7.4). Asked if this home education gave her an advantage at school, she said it did: whenever she had questions from school her mother could help her at home. She regretted that her mother could not help her beyond high school except in giving her occasional 'useful suggestions'.

### **6.1.5 Rahman: English as 'the monster and the language of unbelievers'**

Rahman had taught English for two years immediately after graduating with a BA in English Education. At the time of the interviews he was on an Australian Partnership Scholarship studying for a Graduate Diploma in TESOL at La Trobe University, and had planned to continue with an MEd. This was an option carefully chosen: he could have studied Master of TESOL directly, but said: 'actually there is no difference but I see the advantage here when you do two - you get a certificate for Grad Dip and another degree for the Masters. So two certificates and one degree. Even though one is part of another one'. Throughout my conversations with him I felt that he was a person who carefully weighed the pros and cons of any choice he made, thereby maximising his 'advantages'. This confident sense of practicality seemed to shape his choice of study and learning throughout the last five formative years.

There was also a sense of deep conviction in what he said, especially whenever he talked about past decisions. His values were deeply rooted in his social, cultural and often, religious background and yet he seemed to gracefully accommodate changes that arose. Rahman had a clear picture of the future, in part shaped by figures from the past - his school headmaster, a representative from the Education Ministry, his parents and friends. He started learning English when he was 12, in the first year of junior high school, an experience he recalled as 'not intensive', with only two two-hour classes every week. He told me that there were 'so many things at the time' that influenced his study that he could not point his finger at them anymore. However, even though the English classes were 'not discouraging', he felt 'no internal motivation' for English at the beginning:

because you know, like, English is like a monster for us because we come from a rural area, you know rural area, where English is considered as language of unbelievers because our background is Muslim, you know, there is always something like that when you come from a that background, I mean that religious background.

Rahman was frank in his explanation of the deeply religious values of his society in a small town in Indonesia in which he grew up. There were assumptions of sharedness, both with the village folk he grew up among, and with me because of a common religious background. He often used pronouns such as 'we', 'our' and 'us' to describe his shared feelings with his community, even though in the plural form it was not always clear if he was referring to his village folk in general, Muslims, or his immediate family. He used 'you know' (thrice here) more as a discourse marker to connote shared feelings with me rather than as a filler and confided in me about issues arising from assumed shared religious background. Later he said: 'So far it's just OK. Maybe some people in my village might say - Oh! It's no wise going to the unbeliever's country, what are you doing?' Unlike any other participants, his views of English partly came from the fabric of relations of the deeply embedded religious norms of his community.

In the second interview, almost a year and a half later, I asked Rahman to tell me more about the way he used to view English from a religious point of view. This time Rahman seemed to be more conscious of what his earlier comments might have suggested. It seemed that he wanted to clarify what he had said earlier:

I am not quite sure whether I really had that feeling back then, but I know that there were people around us who had that feeling or said something like that which most of the time was for fun. It is true that at that time I saw English just as a compulsory subject that I had to complete and it was so hard that I sometimes thought 'I'll just give up'. When I look back at this feeling I got to say to myself that I am happy that (I) didn't give up'.

This third-person transition from 'us' to 'people' here suggested to me an awareness of his position he hitherto had not considered. Such distancing from his community members, whom he now referred to as 'people', suggested an identity in transition, a self growing out of the values imbibed from his community, trying to negotiate multiple subject positions.

Liberated from the primary unstudied and spontaneous attitude endorsed by his local community, his attitude towards English seemed to change: 'But later on when I entered senior high school which is in the city, I mean the capital of my district, it was a bit competitive and it forced me to compete with other students including in English other than many other subjects. I *had to* like English.' Even though he used 'forced' a number of times, Rahman was quite reluctant to say that he was forced by the 'system'. He saw it as a more deliberate, informed choice: 'not necessarily by

the system but my own automatic fashion I want to be, I mean more than my friends like that so English was one of the subjects so I had to study English seriously I mean as well as many other subjects'. Rahman listed three influences that he believed changed his attitude towards English:

I think that the thing that really changed my attitude towards English at that time is because how other people perceived me, how other people see me when I am a good student, a good speaker compared to other students - that's a really good motivation for me... I mean when people see you - 'oh, he's good at English!' - yes, it's really a matter of how other people see you. So I think that's the real motivation for me other than what I mentioned like my school principal, and the movies.

Such references to popularity among peers and teachers came up a number of times in my conversation with Rahman. The 'peak' of his experience with English came when he was in the third year of senior high school. The school introduced a new program which seemed to have had a decisive influence on his later choice of studying English:

At that time my school opened a new major - a Language Programme. And at that time my headmaster forced me, not forced me but kind of recommended me, he asked me to come to his office and told me - 'I want you to be in this language programme. I want you because I know you are good in English'.

Rahman had originally planned to study in the Natural Science programme because he loved science, but after the headmaster 'persuaded' him, he went to study in the language department. He admitted that it was much easier to study English due to the higher cut-off mark for the Natural Sciences but, at the same time, he also knew that English would mean an earlier career start and 'better money'. However, Rahman explained that even before the new Language Programme was introduced, he had thought of studying English, seeing it as one of many options: 'Yeah, actually before the headmaster called me, my English teacher also always explained to us what we could achieve if we were good at English at that time and other than that I always watched TV and then there are a lot of English movies at that time so it was kind of motivating me to study English more'. In our conversations Rahman pointed out a few times that being competent in English made him 'understand movie on TV', something that earned him high regard in his community, a subject position he embraced in his early years. He added that the first time his choice was a reluctant one:

talking about reluctant... yeah, first time because it was very difficult and when you couldn't understand something and it would get you into kind of frustration point and when you are becoming frustrated at English but then I forced myself, you know it's kind of internal motivation. I forced myself to speak English.

Rahman used the word 'force' twice here as if to express a passive but conscious acceptance. However, in the second interview, Rahman would not quite agree that his choice was reluctant. He

said he did not see himself 'drawn towards English at all', even though 'it is true that (he) had to put enough effort to always get a good mark for English as one of other subjects that (they) learned at school'. He went on to explain: 'When I said "I had to like English" I think that was for my own sake so that I could speak English because I believed that you cannot learn something seriously unless you like it'.

It seemed that in Rahman's case, he valued the way his society positioned him as active incentives for learning English which grew over the years along with his ambitions, especially when he finally came to a big city. Rahman was initially uncertain about the world view of a big city when he was forced to take English, for the sake of 'competition'. Later he accepted English for what he thought it could 'do' for him. He pointed out that he was deeply influenced by Habibi, the Minister of Technology and Engineering in Indonesia at that time, about whom he spoke with a sense of deep admiration:

My ambition was at first time was like I would like to become a technocrat. You know I was very obsessed by the Minister of Technology and Engineering at that time. His name was Habibi who later became the president replacing Suharto.

Such social status, and its attendant power and influence prompted him to consider a pathway that would ensure fame and fortune. I asked him if it was Habibi's 'role in the society' that 'impressed' him. He said:

No, because he was a 'technocrat' you know by which means that - first time who was very intelligent in technology and engineering and he was the minister of engineering and technology... He was the head of the aeroplane factory. He studied in Germany. He was very good and very intelligent.

It was not clear if Rahman meant 'honest' when he said 'good' and whether it was the minister's image of wealth and affluence or his international education that interpellated him into a socially acknowledged and valued subject position. However, such material ambition did not last long as he soon became more 'practical':

But later when I came to the language department in my third year of senior high school, I was thinking of something else... at that point I changed my ambition. I mean being someone like Habibi was something very unachievable, unreachable for me because it's too hard.

His disillusionment came from an admittedly better understanding of reality. At the time of the interviews he had started to 'think something more practical' and realised that:

by being good at English you can do translation and then you can do the guide for tourists. And it makes money. And maybe it's not very important and at that time I planned – well, at least I had to become a teacher – a school teacher at least.

Rahman's first 'English ambitions' were rather humble but changed as he moved toward a life in which the growing importance of English became more and more prominent. However, he seemed to have realistically downgraded his ambitions as he moved on even further, with full knowledge of his abilities and limitations. Despite such transitions, the emphasis was always on English, in making money and in being 'recognised' in some way or another. By the time of the second interview, taken more than a year later, it appeared that Rahman had a more mature, realistic and informed view of the future, in full consideration of his own capabilities as well as practicalities. He sounded like a person more committed to his work and less materially ambitious. I asked him if he still wanted to be a man of recognition in terms of power and money:

No. I no longer want to be a man of recognition in terms of power and money or whatever. What I want now is to be a good and passionate English teacher and help the children in my community have a better look about the world around them. One of other ways to do that is by helping them learn English. I also want to write handbooks that could help them learn. Other than that I just want to be HAPPY. I don't want fame and a lot of money.

Such commitment to professional achievement and a genuine concern for learners, also shared by Nobu and Yun, seemed to outweigh material ambitions as the participants gained life experience overseas.

## **6.2 Advantages of English: Standing Somewhere in the Middle**

Whether choices were reluctant or arbitrary, conscious or unconscious, all participants at some point formed clear ideas about the benefits of learning English. While some saw English as a tool of survival, even purely in economic terms, others pursued study in English because of beliefs about the ways in which it would position them in the community. We also see the play of power as a mutually enacted phenomenon involving the participants, their peers and prospective employers. This section discusses the various ways in which participants experienced the 'value' of English in their personal and professional lives.

### **6.2.1 Xia: 'Opening windows': English for Practicality, not Relevance**

As we have seen, Xia could not recall enjoying the study of English while she was at high school: it was something she did because she 'had to... like the other subjects'. It was only at university when she first felt an affinity with English and started thinking about further studies and a

possible career in English teaching. The reason why she finally chose to study English at university was because she 'didn't quite like arts' and preferred to study science. Even though she did have science subjects, they were 'not strong' at her FLS and 'among other arts subjects I liked English better than the other subjects'.

Thus she chose to study English Literature in reluctant acceptance of what was available to her: as a subject she 'hated' least from among the available arts subjects. But the reason was also a 'mixture' because she thought it was not likely for her to get a 'university offer' had she chosen any science subject: 'in other subject my... school did so poor in teaching other subjects and it's so obvious'. If she chose an arts subject, she would not have had to sit for science subjects in the exams and, put simply, her greatest chance for securing a place at university was to apply for a subject such as English Literature. Other than immediate practical considerations, she also thought that she might grow into liking it: 'my parents somehow persuaded me into believing that it can just open a window... and you study English first and if you want to do something *else* after your bachelor's degree, there is still some opportunity'.

In the first year of her university studies Xia for the first time felt that studying English was important for her: 'I just wanted to study overseas and English can give me, help me to do that. I was still thinking of doing psychology or other subjects... just English could help me'. It was not until she went to university that Xia finally made up her mind. Once this happened, she instinctively chose to position herself against the social 'group' of English speakers by internalising their views of themselves according to the dictates offered by this group.

### **6.2.2 Rahman: 'It's really a matter of how other people see you'**

Referring to two other top students in his class, Rahman said: 'They already know what they can get by majoring in English and later I knew this when I was at my second year of my university, that I could get my job earlier than other people from different major, different department'. He said 'earlier' but not necessarily 'better', even though elsewhere he made references to 'better jobs'. At this point Rahman was considering a fast track to a professional job. Rahman also told me how English skills can make one 'popular':

Yes, yes. Actually, you know every student who had good command in English was kind of popular among teachers because when we conducted a debate among classes and debate in English they would say - oh, he's good at English, no matter if you spoke in broken English. So you are very popular among teacher and among students as well.

Such popularity factors indicated another powerful site of influence in the construction of identity which guided individuals into roles that the society valued most. We have seen that when this occurs, 'tamed' by such social arrangements and expectation, constructions of the self can also be conditioned by desire or the senses of what we want to be and what we should be.

When it came to future plans and career, Rahman displayed a very solid pragmatic and materialistic attitude. He told me twice that all the teaching was done 'just to earn money', as he 'didn't want to depend on (his) parents'. In the second interview I asked him if there were factors other than money that led him to become an English teacher. He saw his teaching experience as a valuable investment and thought that it was 'really valuable and helpful' for his study, because it was 'something that [he could] reflect on' for the purposes of illustration and clarification. He also added: 'Maybe, the thought that "it is the least that I could be/achieve". Other than that, probably the thought that "if you know English you can do jobs other than teaching as well for extra money"'. I asked Rahman what English had done for him in terms of giving advantage and what the implications are of being competent in English. He said: 'Maybe I haven't told you this - the best advantage that I had by having good English is I had a chance to go to the US last year and I spent 2 months there'.

Eighteen months later in the second interview I reminded him of this comment and upon reflecting, he said that the US visit was 'still' one of the benefits of having studied English. He added: 'I have opportunity to study in Australia. It has changed my life to be honest. On the top of that, you can have access to a lot more precious information compared to if you don't know English'. He saw his visit to the US as the best advantage. In this connection, he was proud to tell me that:

I was the representative of the vocational school where I used to teach. It was a program for Indonesian secondary school educators and from Aceh, I mean from my province, the head of education office in my province sent me as their representative to go to the US along with 11 other participants throughout the country... you can imagine when somebody else or other cannot understand movie on TV but you can understand, its something you can be proud of.

Rahman often used a lot of active, if repetitive verbs, for emphasis ('understand'). Later he said: 'When I was still studying, I mean in my last year of university, *I taught* at a vocational school and *I taught* English and then *I taught* in nursing school.... My last job is at my university *I teach* at the language institute of the university'. Such active verbs used recurrently helped him to emphasise the span of his experience but also indicated a person happy with the choices he had made. He taught at the language institute affiliated to the university but with his BA degree alone he was not

qualified to teach in the English department: 'That's why I came here. And then I work in my country and teach in the English department. That's what I want to do'. He told me that on return he wanted to become a full-time lecturer at a university.

### **6.2.3 Ning: 'I could do my practice better than others'**

Even at an early stage Ning's knowledge of English gave her a feeling of distinctiveness, if not superiority: 'I didn't feel a lot about the area. I didn't feel like I am going to somewhere which is very, very different from others I mean like studying overseas and becoming a special person in my country and could be better'.

Ning explained that it was at an international nursing conference in Taipei when for the first time she thought that English was important in itself and it was not something she had to do just because it was there, as she could see the communicative importance with people in her professional area. In that she seemed to have grown herself into liking English as a survival tool: 'And also because we had to do the practice not happy though - so my English was not too bad so I treat like I looked after or was in charge of the international people and that the language mentor and I could do my practice better than others. So English came very important part of my studies'. As she said earlier, even though her main subject was nursing, 'a big part' of the course required them to read texts in English.

### **6.3 Choosing with Care: Desiring Australia and University X:**

Foucault notes that within discourses individuals are given a number of positions of desire so the choices or desires are limited. In such positions of desire there is a network of power and knowledge. For Foucault, such linking of power and knowledge with desire profoundly impacts upon individuals without their knowledge. Individual accept this and indeed use it to construct stories about their identities and how they 'should' act. The possibility of choice making is however widened when we consider that individuals live in multiple discourses simultaneously. A large part of my first interviews with the participants dealt with the narratives related to their choice making. I explored the various ways in which participants were given strong pointers or hints in their choice making by the different stakeholders in international education: education agents, universities and their alumni, and even past and present colleagues at work. Participants were given a standard question-frame, later broken down into different orders, depending on how the conversation went:

*I'd like to know about how you came here. I want to know, first of all, why you chose to come to Australia; secondly, why you chose University X instead of any other university, and finally, why you chose TESOL instead of other similar subjects that you could have studied.*

With regard to the first question, it appeared in most cases Australia was not their first choice. Many tried to go to the US first but had seen their student visa applications denied or delayed. Australia was often a second or even a third choice for them, after also having 'given up' on the UK, a destination which many found to be too expensive for what was being offered. In this section, the analysis focuses on the participants' references to the different sites of influence which came into play in their choices. While in some cases education brokers assumed a direct role in this, often other personal factors such as financial considerations and timing determined where they would go for their international education.

### **6.3.1 Yun: 'If you cannot go to America, you go to Australia'**

In Yun's case, as with three of the other participants, choices made were somewhat 'arbitrary'. After graduation she started teaching at university and signed a contract for five years. At the end of four years she had doubts about whether she wanted to sign another contract for five years or 'just quit the job and come here':

I was considering going abroad when I was a university student. But at that time most of Chinese students wanted to go to America. Australia seemed to be a second choice. But at that time, I'm not quite sure... what I really want to study, actually. So I was considering learning something about education. But at that time I didn't know TESOL.

Despite Yun's arbitrary choice of Australia, she seemed to have thoroughly researched all her options of studying abroad, which unlike some participants, she did by herself. Her determined and confident personality throughout her choice-making phase is apparent from comments such as: 'I did find it myself'; 'I applied alone. No one else', and 'I had to work hard to earn money for my study here'. Accordingly, she sat for IELTS in April, 2004, for Canada and Australia, and TOEFL, for Canada and the US. Applications were then mailed to two Australian universities (University of Melbourne and Monash University) and to five Canadian Universities (Victoria, Simon Fraser, British Columbia, Alberta and Calgary). She offered personal reasons for applying to Canadian universities - her cousin lived there. However, she also added that it 'might' also be 'because it's near America.' I asked her in what ways proximity to America mattered. She explained that in the end, in China people attach greater professional credibility to US degrees than they do to degrees from elsewhere in the West. She explained: 'People usually think

American universities are standard, or if you want to learn English, there are only two choices – British and American.’ Asked if she herself believed this and if there might be perceived differences in degrees from Canada and Australia, in China, she said:

I think it’s related to American economic power. America is the... you know developed country... maybe it’s the number one?... You know, I think most students in China want to go to America, I mean they prefer American universities. Canadian universities are a backup. So, if you cannot go to America or Canada, you go to Australia, or maybe England.

Echoing Xia’s earlier comments on the relative importance attached to the different ‘foreign languages’, Yun seemed to have automatically and instinctively formed her preferences based on the rankings readily available in her discourse community. Her hesitation indicated to me her awareness of views she probably did not have anymore. Yun was thinking of studying in Canada but soon discarded the idea because she wanted to start as soon as possible. In Canada the admission season was in January while the classes started in September the following year. At this point even though she had already secured admission to Simon Fraser University (SFU) in April, she had chosen Australia because she could start a few months earlier. As she pointed out: ‘there is another consideration – for Chinese people it’s easier to get Australian visa than Canadian visa’. This last issue was common with Xia and Ning as well.

However, Yun had come this way all by herself, neither asking help from an agent, nor on any scholarship. In her determination to fulfil her dreams she had always taken a very methodical approach and had been very detailed in her homework. Her well-informed knowledge was reflected throughout the two conversations I had with her. Once she had decided on Australia, Yun originally applied to study at both University of Melbourne and Monash University. Melbourne responded almost immediately (in less than a month) whereas Monash did not reply at all which was ‘quite weird, you know!’. Monash ultimately replied, almost a year later, when she was already here, in October 2005: ‘they told me - oh, we got your application package... And luckily they returned my money order’. She could not remember if Monash offered an explanation for this delay but in the end this late response decided at which university she would study.

Despite her initial preference for Canada, which was mainly based on the consideration of credentials, by the time of the second interview she seemed quite unsure if her chances of getting a better job in China would have increased had she studied at SFU. I reminded her that she had previously said that because of its proximity to the US, she had thought a Canadian degree would have greater credibility with employers. This time she explained:

I think Melbourne (University) is also quite good. It is good at research. I think where you get your degree is very important but your own ability also makes great influence, I mean it's very influential when you're applying for a job... I mean in the job selection interview.

At this point she also said that, the way she saw it, 'I think Melbourne (University) is probably better than Simon Fraser', even though she was not sure as to the relative importance employers in China would attach to these two universities, an issue she now thought very important and seemed to be very concerned about. But even as she was considering all these options, there was yet another reason for her having opted for Australia rather than Canada:

you know, my story is very complicated (apologetically laughs)... actually I checked information on the website and I was told that all of the classes are in the evening in SFU. So I just sent my advising teacher - they assigned me an advising teacher at that time, asking him when the class will be, I mean will end in evening. I was told the classes end at 9 o'clock. So my mum said you know it's too late you don't know where you will live so it's not safe for you to go back home if you cannot live on campus.

She said that ironically it was the same at University of Melbourne even though she came to know of this only when she was here:

When I came here I found that all of the classes are also in the evening. But at that time I didn't realise, you know? Actually in my... according to my education, all of the courses are in the morning or in the afternoon, not in the evening!

This recalls Rahman's account when he said that he had chosen Australia because he thought he would see snow there (see 6.5.4). Yun thought that if she had known earlier that classes were in the evening at University of Melbourne, 'maybe I will try to see if I get Canadian visa first'. At this point she was no longer considering the other factors that she had mentioned earlier as if it came down to this one reason. Later, however, she mentioned yet another reason for choosing Canada: 'You know, I think Australian people have Australian accent... so, maybe Chinese people think that Canadian accent is more close to American accent...(doubtful)'. I was not sure if she meant that an American accent was more acceptable. I asked her this in the second interview when she explained that somehow an American accent is more acceptable at a job interview in China, compared to an English accent from elsewhere:

If I have to get a job in China I have to pass the interview... it's very likely that I will apply for a job as an English teacher so my pronunciation must be quite important... I was wondering maybe it is related to their economic strength? You know America is the... the... number one, the superpower... so I'm thinking maybe that is the reason why I think that.

Yun's hesitant use of qualifiers such as 'number one' and 'superpower', which she gathered from the discourses available to her from her society, indicated a hybrid self, experiencing multiple

discourses at work in the development of her identity. As she explained: 'You know in China when we are talking about western countries we usually talk about America... and European countries'. When I asked her if Australia could be included too, she insisted that it was quite possible but that the usual emphasis was on America (see section 7.1.2). Consistent with her earlier comments, she talked about 'China' and the 'Chinese' without using 'us' or 'we'. Such distancing positioned her in an outsider's role while in Australia, allowing her to comment on such issues with an objective distancing of the self.

Regarding the quality of education, Yun also said: 'Maybe most Chinese people think the quality of education in North America is better than here'. Asked if this was what *she* thought, she said: 'Maybe. I think most people have different kind of opinion. I'm not quite sure'. We have earlier seen that what we see as 'normal' practices, from a Foucauldian perspective are far from natural - they are the result of specific historical conjunctures and a set of important cultural transformations. Yun often used 'people' instead of first person to distance herself and 'maybe' when generalising, which indicated to me frankness in her manner of speaking rather than uncertainty. Later she said: 'I think Melbourne is the most multicultural city in Australia, right? I mean I'm not quite sure but I read an article about that. So, maybe that is one of the reasons I chose here'. Later, at the end of the interview, she also said that she was considering practical issues such as ease of access when deciding on where to study:

You know if you want to go to America you have to take GRE. I didn't... I think it's too difficult - you have to memorise vocabulary, kind of torture you know... But to be honest I don't want to go to America or I want to go to Canada or maybe Australia because some Canadian cities and some Australian cities are ranked among the best places suitable for living, you know (laughs).

At this point Yun shifted from comparing destinations on the basis of ranking and professional credibility to living standards. In this regard she said that in addition to her desire of studying in a 'good place', she also thought that her choice of studying in Melbourne was determined by her 'love of culture' in which she was 'very interested'. Along with that, other chance factors such as one of her ex-colleagues living in Melbourne and the very quick response she got from University of Melbourne in the end determined her decision to opt for Melbourne. She was very confident that the multicultural dimension of Melbourne would strongly contribute to her learning of TESOL and at the same time help her career in China. Talking of her love for multiculturalism, she mentioned the countless 'social activities, festivals, even protests' that happen here 'almost everyday, every week' and also 'free lectures', such as one by primatologist Jane Goodall, of whom she was particularly fond and whose lecture she recently attended: 'the more you are involved the more you will get out of it'. She added:

Learning a language is not learning its ABCs, you know, so I think when I'm teaching English I can tell something interesting like this to arouse their interests – that would be a good topic such as Jane Goodall's lecture.

This recalls Rahman's comment about how important he thought it was for him being able to tell his students stories of both Australia and the US, where he had previously visited (see 6.5.3). Another reason for Yun to have finally chosen Melbourne was a friend and ex-colleague who had immigrated to Melbourne in 2004 and advised her about the two universities she was considering. In addition, she consulted online newsgroups and blogs of Chinese international students studying in Australia to learn about rankings, weather, accommodation etc. She showed a careful and critical reception of opinions saying that not all were positive but 'but actually I think it depends on your perspective'.

### 6.3.2 Nobu: 'Quality doesn't matter'

The primary reason for Nobu, an electrical engineer, to have chosen to study TESOL overseas was to improve his English, even though at first he failed to point to why exactly he had chosen Australia:

Although I finished my main course in Japan I lacked the ability to speak fluently so I was looking forward to going to some country, English speaking country. Then I searched some institutions I mean in the Britain, in the US and Australia... on the Internet. I don't know how I came here.

He was thinking of going to 'some' English speaking country and in his order of countries significantly Australia came last. Nobu attributed his choice of Monash directly to a word-of-mouth recommendation from a teacher in his English conversation class who was a medical doctor from the Alfred Hospital (Melbourne). There was also another Monash alumni among his Japanese teachers who recommended Monash University. Even though he could not recall which subject she was from, he distinctly remembered being told that Monash University was a 'good university'. Such word-of-mouth recommendations often proved to be ironical, especially in Nobu's case since he later described Monash as a 'money-oriented university' (7.4.2) which he would never recommend to prospective international students. Unlike Rahman, he seemed to prefer to be in a university where there was a considerable number of Japanese students.

Another university Nobu considered was the National University of Ireland, an option he soon discarded: 'Ireland was expensive... Euro was too strong', and also because he thought 'Australia was better from another countries. Asked why, his answer was simple and straightforward:

'Because of money'. He seemed to be happy with the simple logic of studying more cheaply, irrespective of the quality of education, which he explained later. In the second interview, 13 months later, I asked him if he had a lot of money, would he still have chosen to come to Australia. He said: 'Still study length - yeah, yeah, I might have chosen university in UK because it is shorter' - even if he had a lot of money, he would still have gone for a shorter course, considering his 'age'. He summed up the factors influencing his choices as contradictory and complicated:

It's contradictory thing. Still I am wary about that. In order to increase language skill I think it's better to stay here longer. But I am also older than other prospective applicants. So money, length, and my age. These factors together.

However, in the end, other than recommendations from colleagues, what ultimately made Nobu choose Monash over other universities were the 'requirements' and the appeal of Melbourne:

You need teaching experience as professional teacher or something like in Melbourne Uni... and English level and someone said, I remember, Perth is very boring... and Queensland is too much attractive to you... like Hawaii, you can't study. The University of Hawaii is very good but you can't study there.

He added somewhat defensively: 'I visited and revisited some universities and... I know Monash is not the best or something like that. But anyway...'. His ultimate choice for Monash was based on both practical as well as personal reasons. It took Nobu about two months to finally choose Monash over other options. This choice was done carefully and through a critical examination of personal interests, even though initially money and entry requirement both seemed to demand equal importance in this choice. He was explicit about the fact that the 'quality' of education did not matter much but if he could afford the tuition fees, 'still English universities or American universities I would have chosen'. Asked about what impression websites had given him of Australian universities, he said:

I didn't care much about the quality of the university. Rather than just in ESL countries, I mean English-speaking countries, I didn't care much... I just hit the website of Monash University and it looked attractive and easier to understand what is told and how the university accepts. I looked at other universities, including Australian universities, I think Monash University's website was better and easier to understand.

'Attractive', 'easier to understand', 'just hit', 'better' - all these words referred to accessibility and ease of information. Such comments attested to the importance of online advertising and the influence they exert which play a role in interpellating the individual as discussed in Chapter Four. I asked him if he thought he contradicted himself, first saying that he did not care about the quality but at the same time choosing Monash as a 'prestigious university'. His answer was simple

and commonsensical: 'Being in English-speaking country in university is minimum requirement and prestigious university is bonus'. However, a second contradiction became apparent when he said he was dissatisfied with the 'knowledge level' of his TESOL studies at Monash. I discuss this in the next chapter (see 7.5.2).

By the time of the second interview Nobu had already spent much time in Australia. I asked him, with his current knowledge and experience of universities, given he had all the requirements met, which university would he have chosen at that time. He seemed unsure but said:

At that time I didn't know but I think Macquarie University. It is also good. Probably Melbourne (university) or Queensland (university). Because those two are recognised, because I picked up those two names from colleagues at Toyama University. So those two. I can't say. Maybe these two.

### 6.3.3 Ning: 'I didn't want to waste my time'

Unlike the other participants, Ning's eventual study of TESOL at Monash University seemed to be not only arbitrary but a very roundabout choice. She had not made up her mind as to what she wanted to study even when she was already in Australia. She came to Australia on a tourist (visitor) visa at the time planning to study Art Therapy at La Trobe University. Due to an inadequate IELTS score, Ning first took an ELICOS (English Language Intensive Course for Overseas Students) course at Hawthorn English Language Centre for four months and then TEFL at the Australian Catholic University for half a year. Finally she chose to study TESOL at Monash University. She had already been in Australia for almost a year when the first interview was conducted.

Despite the roundabout way in which she finally got admission to Monash University, Ning seemed to have conducted rather extensive research on Australian universities before she first arrived, mainly through browsing websites, 'booklets' and information brochures of universities that were readily available at her International Academic Exchange Department in Taipei. However, even as she started her first study in Australia at the Hawthorn Language Centre, she had not yet made up her mind as to whether she would continue her studies beyond the language centre: 'By that time, maybe 10 weeks later, I started thinking, "OK, I want to study here"'. At that time she chose Monash over other universities by equally considering time and entry requirements:

because one of my friends she studied in Monash and she told me this program was not very hard and because it is nice and lecturers are nice and you could get a lot of help and it is only one and half

year of study... there [at La Trobe] the TESOL course is 2 years and it requires IELTS 7 and I only got 6.5 and I didn't want to waste my time.

Her preference for a shorter course was consistent with other self-financed participants (Xia, Yun, Nobu) who wanted to finish their studies at the earliest opportunity. Word-of-mouth recommendation also seemed to have played a major role in her choice of university, even though as she revealed later (and as in Nobu's case), some of her expectations were not met and she was quite disappointed.

#### **6.3.4 Xia: 'I really have a good impression of Australia'**

Like Nobu, Xia did not think of studying elsewhere - either in the US or Canada - and was straightforward in her answer, echoing what Ning and Yun had said:

The people in China going to America is more impossible than going to other countries. It's more difficult I mean. It's more expensive. You go to America you have to go on full scholarship. Otherwise it's... But here even if you don't have scholarship you can still try, you can still manage.

Xia was emphatic in telling me that costs had been a major consideration and that 'because of the higher tuition fees 'few people go there [the US] without scholarship... So America is excluded. And then Australia has better weather, different landscape and the price is cheaper than studying in England'. The comparison to the US and England were unprompted. She seemed to have excluded England at the very beginning because '(the) English doesn't give me a good impression... it's expensive and people are serious'. I asked how on what basis she had formed her impression and she said it was 'just from the media'.

However, despite excluding the option of studying in the US or England due to financial reasons, Xia did not see her choice of coming to Australia for studies as a 'compromise': 'I think choosing University of Melbourne was not a compromise; it was something I'd love to do because of my contact with teachers here... I think I really have a good impression of the country before I came here'. This reference to impressions of Australia can be traced to the tourist discourse we have seen prevalent in the marketing of international education (see 4.3.2). If Xia had to make another choice coming to Australia, with similar circumstances - time, money, her aspirations - and if she had an equal chance of applying to any university, with her current knowledge of Australian universities, she would still choose Melbourne because of the same set of reasons provided above. The only change she might have considered was choosing between coursework and research and scholarship opportunities.

### 6.3.5 Rahman: 'No Australian student at Monash University!'

As an Australian government-funded scholarship awardee, Rahman alone among the participants seemed to have had no difficulty in choosing a university. From the participants' accounts, it appeared that the duration of the course of study played an important role in their choice of university. While on the one hand those on scholarship were either indifferent or wanted to enrol in a longer program, those who were self-financed (with the exception of Rika, whose case we take up in Chapter Eight), not surprisingly wanted to finish their studies as soon as they could and therefore went for a shorter program. This situation however gets complicated when the issue of permanent residency requirements came in, as I discuss in the next chapter (see 7.5.3, 7.5.5).

Even though Rahman chose Melbourne because he had known a lot of students here, when it came to choosing La Trobe University, other than where it stands in 'ranking', the fact that there were fewer students from his home country also represented an important reason for choosing this university, reasons quite different from those stated by Xia and Rika:

It was La Trobe because you know at Monash University and then Melbourne University there are many, lot of Indonesian students. I mean my purpose coming to Australia, I mean English speaking country, generally is to improve my English, not necessarily to study that boring stuff of first year linguistics - psycholinguistics, language teaching, not necessarily... being in an English environment. What happened if I go to Monash University, I will hang around always with my Indonesian friends and speak in my language so that's it. I really need to change my ability.

Rahman saw 'improving his English' and 'studying' in the classroom as if they were completely separate matters. Prior to coming to Australia, he did some research on La Trobe University and his choices seemed to have been carefully considered. He sent emails to an online newsgroup of Indonesian AusAID Alumni intending to get help with accommodation, but instead came across comments about the university. One of the students said, 'Indonesian students at La Trobe you can count it by fingers, I mean it's very little'. I asked Rahman if he were not on a scholarship, whether he would have made a different choice in his selection of University and subject (TESOL). He answered in the negative saying: 'I would probably still choose La Trobe Uni and TESOL because La Trobe (in my perception before I came here) is a good university with a wide variety of international students' and, because there are very few Indonesian students at La Trobe University, he had 'more chance to speak English rather than Indonesian'. As for TESOL, he would choose it 'because that is path that (he has) led years ago'. He was clearly referring to studying English rather than TESOL, as he came to know about the latter more recently.

Yet another reason Rahman stated for having chosen La Trobe was that he had come across a 'booklet' on the university and when he talked about it to one of his lecturers in Indonesia, it

turned out that one of them who had actually studied at La Trobe referred to it as a 'good university'. Rahman explained that this lecturer recommended La Trobe for a number of other reasons:

Yeah, he said it was good because not many Indonesian students there and maybe it's not the best university in Melbourne but it was good if you wanted to improve your English because you will come into the situation with not many Indonesian students and actually yes, I have found... only two Indonesian students here... just the way I wanted. And you know what? Two night ago, in the evening, Friday night, a friend of mine studying at Monash University and we were in the same program in EAP in Jakarta, called me and kind of whining like that, what he found is, is not what he expected... I mean the people. There is no Australian student at all anywhere, (emphatic)! The one that he found there is Indian student. Asian students like Chinese, Japanese, Korean lot of them. Not even one... So it's kind of discouraging for him he said... and two of his lecturers are Asian too... Even teachers!

Rizvi's (2004) reference to the changed demography of Australian universities is evident here. When I first came to Australia in 2000, I had similar impressions of the vast population of international students easily overwhelming those that 'looked' like locals. There were times when I felt I was on the campus of an Asian university. In Rahman's case, this was a situation which would help only if there were fewer students from his own country. To him the definition of international education encompassed a more holistic view of cultural submersion. This view, however, was not shared by all the participants.

In addition to the reasons stated in the previous section, Rahman had another 'big' reason for having chosen La Trobe and one that Rahman saw as 'the most important' one. In common with Rika (see 8.5), albeit for different reasons, the duration of the course at La Trobe was longer than at other universities where he could have studied:

at some other universities they offered Masters degree with one and a half year - 18 months. But here it is 2 years. You know I want to spend longer because it is free, I don't have to pay. But when I see La Trobe University, offers 2 years. Longest. That's one. Maybe that's the most important reason.

Whereas Nobu wanted to finish more quickly due to costs, Rahman considered continuing for as long as possible. With the exception of Rika, this choice was consistent among self-financed and scholarship students.

We have seen how participants' choices of destination and institute were determined by multiple, even contradictory factors involving discourses of the globalising power of English and the marketing of universities. In the next section, I discuss the various sites of influence that led to the participants' choice of TESOL in their international education.

## 6.4 Choosing with Care: Desiring TESOL

Membership to professional (such as 'TESOL') or social ('international students') groups brings along distinctive auspices or 'standpoints' which to a significant degree can shape storytelling (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 105). Such membership also brings along identity implications of being 'embedded in particular relationships for which the categories are practically consequential' (ibid., p. 105). Even though such 'standpoints' are significant for self-storying, analytically it is still important to allow for the standpoints' 'circumstantial realisation' and not to essentialise the narratives that result from them (ibid., p. 105). While the groups and categories are penetrating, they still share experiential space with countless other sources of the multi-dimensional self. This section discusses the various reasons why the participants, some of whom had no teaching experience, nor were 'meant' to study TESOL (such as a nurse and an electrical engineer), eventually chose TESOL. In it we see participants offering various reasons - from instinctive preferences, job prospects to security issues. However, just like their choices of destination and institute, choosing TESOL was predominantly based on both incidental and evoked word-of-mouth recommendations from peers, colleagues, alumni and education agents.

### 6.4.1 Yun: 'Teaching is a stable job for girls'

Yun provides three distinct reasons for choosing English and English education, thus TESOL. The first reason is the highly competitive College Entrance Examination. The second reason is family tradition - both of her parents were teachers. Her third reason - 'why I chose English as my... I mean teaching as my career' was that her mother thought that 'teaching is a stable job for girls' and wanted her to be able to 'communicate with foreigners fluently - that is another reason'. When I asked her when she had chosen to study TESOL, she said:

Umm.. (long gap, doubtful..) my major was English Education and it is related to TESOL so when I was checking the information on the website there were different kinds of courses and subjects, I mean, Master of Education, Master of Applied Linguistics... but I think Linguistics is too complicated. I wanted to have more communication interaction with people, students. So...

Her emphasis on 'communication' was consistent with what she had said earlier in relation to her love for 'culture'. She also had a friend working at another university in Tianjin, whose colleague quit his job and went to the UK to study TESOL. This friend told her about the 'benefits' of studying TESOL. Further, when she registered for IELTS training, a teacher 'mentioned' TESOL. It should be noted that this was the time when she had already decided to go overseas. In her case, we see multiple instances of word-of-mouth recommendations in favour of choosing TESOL.

#### 6.4.2 Ning: 'The main thing would be TESOL'

In Taiwan, TESOL is 'not common', according to Ning, even though she says: 'well, it's getting popular but not much'. She was not sure of an equivalent accredited teacher training course either: 'so far I think we don't have any TESOL program, only English program in the Faculty but we have exam, if you pass it could be an English teacher... a special exam for English teachers'. This test, which is based primarily on the 'four macroskills', is conducted nationally and does not follow an 'official course but of course there are like private course'. A qualified nurse in Taiwan, Ning first heard of TESOL from her American English teacher in Taiwan at NTCN who introduced himself as a TESOL professional. At that time TESOL did not cut an impression on her: 'I think that was just normal. I didn't think I might do it'. Years later, while studying TEFL at Australian Catholic University, she came across TESOL for the second time when her teacher talked to her about the possibility of her studying it. This is when it occurred to her that she could 'do' it. The reason why Ning finally chose to study TESOL was 'practical':

Because of the course I studied. So I made the decision to study TESOL. I know that the main thing would be TESOL... and also because I liked English that's the one reason and I knew that I could find a good job in Taiwan as well. And if I still wanted to do research in nursing area English would be very, very, very helpful.

She seemed at this point to consider not giving up her options and getting back to nursing if necessary. In her second interview she said:

the idea of studying TESOL was made of two reasons, one was for interest, and the other one was for career. For interest reason, I am interested in learning English since I was little and I had never thought I could accomplish the TESOL degree in Australia before I left my hometown for further study. Although English was an essential subject in schools from Grade 7 to University, I however struggled with this subject until I turned to the second year at university.

This is the period she referred to as a 'great time' for her, especially because she 'could really use English to communicate with English speaker not just study grammar or task-books for examination' and particularly because she was taught by an American teacher. It was here that she started learning the 'other part of English', by which she was referring to speaking and listening. In this interview I asked her once again how she gradually formed a preference for TESOL, since she was studying TEFL first:

After consideration, I chose to study TESOL rather than doing the major related to medical area. The reasons are simple, one is I like English itself; and the other reason is I love learning about people. You might think there is nothing in common between medical area and English education. However, from my point of view, because I like doing medical research, so that I believe only if I learnt another (western) culture deeply I could never tell the whole story of a medical research.

As much as equating TESOL to 'English', she was also clearly equating 'English education' with 'another (western) culture', a pattern which we saw with both Yun and Rahman. She seemed to be very sincere in making her point. She assured me of the complicated nature of her reasoning:

It might be difficult to understand for you. I try to explain it in a simpler way. For my 7 years study in medical education, English textbooks were overweighing Chinese textbooks. I (all of us nursing students) was taught that we must regard English research articles as prior references for learning. Because the western medical profession is more advanced than Asians, especially English rational countries. Then, I found there were some culture factors caused bias when we refer western medical finding to oriental groups. And this is what I am interested in TESOL, because the more I learn about western culture the more I could tell the bias between them. Therefore, I can do better research in the future.

When she related English and TESOL to nursing, she tried to link them, unprompted by me. Contacted for the third and last time, she was back in Taiwan, working as a Clinical Research Associate. True to her words, she told me she found her TESOL studies to be very helpful. She had no intention of teaching in the future and seemed content with her experience of international education. In Ning we see someone who had turned her education into a tool and investment for an unrelated job (see 7.5.1). Such appropriation specifically relates to the question of how the Other (international students) actively use international education and the TESOL credential for their own good. Ning, who did not take up TESOL as a choice, in the end made TESOL useful in her role as a nurse.

#### **6.4.3 Nobu: 'TESOL is still sign of professional English teacher'**

While in all cases their own countries did not offer an equivalent degree, it is curious that it was mostly through word-of-mouth that participants came to know about TESOL for the first time. The only exception to this was Nobu, who said:

I wasn't sure about TESOL was recognised even by the representative of local government in Japan in my home town... I think most representatives did not recognise TESOL but one or two representatives from local parliament not government did recognise TESOL so I thought it might be better to obtain a job in Japan.

He later also said: 'TESOL is still sign of professional English teacher in my country and it is recognised by the local government.' He talked about how much importance is attached to a TESOL degree by the local government, a factor he saw as important, since he intended to get hired in a public school in his prefecture. He felt confident that his TESOL degree would give him added advantage, enrich his résumé and get him a better job. I asked him if this was because of the nature of the course he was studying, as it was different from the course in Japan. Even though

earlier in the interview he expressed doubts about the recognition of TESOL by the local government, he now said: 'TESOL is one thing. If you studied and spend some years in an English speaking country it is a good thing... TESOL is still sign of professional English teacher in my country and it is recognised by the local government'. His emphasis was on learning English, rather than being qualified as an English teacher. By the time of the last interview, Nobu was teaching in a secondary school, where he believed his degree gave him an advantage over other colleagues (see 7.5.2).

#### **6.4.4 Xia: 'TESOL is very profitable'**

Even though Xia's background was in English Literature, she had chosen to study TESOL because she had been teaching English for two years and was thinking of doing a Master of Education. She first came across TESOL on the Internet - the University of Melbourne website. However, it was at an education fair in her hometown that she first met Australian 'representatives' of University of Melbourne offering 'instant enrolments' to prospective students. She attended an interview session which eventually led her to study TESOL at Melbourne:

I went to the interview and the professor, the representative, and during the interview I got to know more and also I have heard opinions from other friends and more senior teachers, and like, I don't remember who, but they sometimes gave me opinions like if you're doing TESOL degree it's very profitable, it can help you in your future career... because we don't have many TESOL graduates and teaching English is very profitable in China.

Xia told me that if she had not met the people from Melbourne who interviewed her, on the sole basis of her knowledge of available subjects, she may have chosen some other subject such as (general) Education or Applied Linguistics.

The following year Xia's best friend, based on her recommendation, applied to study at the University of Melbourne and was interviewed by the same person. Such interviews are typically conducted in multiple locations throughout cities in China and they are 'advertised everywhere'. Unlike seminars typical in an education trade fair promoting universities, these interviews are all conducted on a one-to-one basis and each university seemed to have a mutually agreed upon schedule allocated throughout the year for a particular city: 'I looked at the time table, they had schedule for different times for different universities, like ANU, Macquarie - they had different schedules'. By the time of the last interview, two of Xia's friends were also at Melbourne, both studying TESOL.

#### **6.4.5 Rahman: 'I didn't have any other choice'**

The situation was quite different for Rahman who told me that choosing TESOL was obvious to him once he got the scholarship: 'Because of my background. I didn't have any other choice'. At that time he thought of TESOL as 'not very popular' and he was 'not impressed' and 'not very interested in the term of TESOL itself'. The reason for this was that 'maybe it's not a kind of popular term in education itself, I mean in my country and my university it's not as popular as maybe engineering, MBA, Economics'. Like the participants from China, Taiwan and Japan, he thought TESOL remained a degree largely unknown, even among people to whom it should 'matter' most: 'maybe if I ask English teachers what TESOL means I mean in my province no more than 10 per cent will understand what it means', although he thinks it might be more familiar 'just among ELT circle' in the central parts of Indonesia. This is surprising, given that out of a total of 35 teachers in Rahman's English department at university, 12 had TESOL degrees, mostly from the US.

Rahman is sure there are no TESOL courses in Indonesia and the first time he heard of TESOL was when he was in his final year at university, from his lecturers. Some of them talked about their TESOL degree by way of introducing themselves in the class on their first day, one of whom had studied at La Trobe. I asked Rahman how much this particular lecturer personally contributed to his decisions. Rahman thought it was 'almost zero', explaining that they did not discuss it much until after he got admission to La Trobe: 'I told him that I'm going to La Trobe after I was accepted and I got the letter of offer'. He said that rather, the brochures contributed to his decision making much earlier. He explained that he had come across brochures from a number of Australian universities and La Trobe impressed him as 'one of the universities that has most of international students, and it was my chance to know each other, I mean to know people from many different countries and it was true. You know, what I meet here is not only Australian student but also students from Europe, for the US, from Sweden, Scandinavia...'. This was consistent with his desire to study in an international environment where there would be few Indonesians.

In earlier chapters we have seen how individuals recognise and accept subject positions (such as those offered by a TESOL credential) on offer which then create an identity for them. In the case of the participants in the study, this identity of a TESOL professional imbued them as purchasers of international education with socially recognised qualities – the envy of others, the promise of lucrative employment as well as power. In most cases, not only were the participants unaware of the possible 'benefits' of studying TESOL prior to coming to Australia, but in retrospect all of them told me that TESOL was not 'common' in their countries.

## 6.5 Other Factors in Choosing

In addition to the factors mentioned in the previous sections, in some cases participants gave quite different accounts of their choices. These include a confident and comfortable over-reliance on established ranking, the accessibility of information on Internet webpages, whether or not the chosen university had a lot of other students from their home countries, and a sense of escapism from their current lives.

### 6.5.1 Ranking and Popularity of Universities

I have earlier discussed During's explanation of the generation of public desire by marketing products 'as though they were *already* popular' (see 3.3.2). International students are seen to desire assimilation into the symbolic order of dominant ideologies through which they ascribe power to themselves. The ranking of universities appeared to be a strong determinant in the participants' choices of university. It seemed that participants had an instinctive preference for the convenience that a hierarchical order could readily provide. Such knowledge of ranking in some cases stemmed from experiences early in their life. For example, as early as in primary school, Rahman seemed to have had a very clear sense of the distinction of ranking in the class and was very conscious of his own position among peers. When I asked him if he was well-known among teachers, he said: 'yes, in my class I would say yes, I was first rank in my class... there are some of my friends who maybe spoke the same level of English with me at that time'. Elsewhere he talked about another classmate who was 'third rank in the class'.

This internal system of hierarchical order and ranking seemed to subconsciously dominate and endorse participant's later choice making processes. When I asked Rahman why he had finally chosen La Trobe University, he told me: 'I know La Trobe University. It's like it's in the Big 15, I mean...' I asked him which 'Big 15' he was referring to and he said, 'In Australia, and I know Melbourne University is the first one. Actually I know I could have gone there if I want'. While he seemed to have chosen Melbourne on the basis of 'social' reasons, La Trobe University was chosen because of its ranking among other universities in Australia. Rahman was probably referring to the 'Group of Eight' when he talked about 'the Big 15', a non-existent group.

Xia also talked about the ranking of universities in China. She failed to get a place at Shanghai FLU and only then decided to study at Wuhan FLU. In the second interview when I asked her to compare Wuhan FLU and Shanghai FLU, she told me:

If people ask which university you graduated from and if you say Wuhan Foreign Language university, they will say, 'Ah, you must be very good at studying because of entry admission test...'

but if you say you graduated from Shanghai Foreign Language university, they will assume that you have a better language level and you are more proficient in language.

She explained that this was because Shanghai FLU specialised in languages but also 'had good teachers and very good resources', whereas Wuhan FLU specialised in biology, law and media studies.

When Australia appeared as the obvious country choice, Xia went on to form her choice of a university. At this point she wanted to study at 'the best university'. Xia's sources for the ranking came from the Internet through search engines such as Google - 'they were everywhere and still they are everywhere. I just did Google - "Ranking, Australian university" - wherever they come from'. However Xia thought that now she had a more informed opinion of the ranking of universities in Australia. In her new realisation of how the ranking system worked, she told me: 'now I know that they don't have that clear distinction as they have in China - "the best one", "the top three". And they all have different specialised areas but at that moment I thought that Melbourne University or Sydney University - those of the two I *thought* were the best so I wanted to go to those two universities'. She explained further: 'now I know better I think Macquarie is stronger for Education and Applied Linguistics. But back then I didn't know'. This is similar to Rahman's early impressions of La Trobe University, which he thought belonged to 'the Big 15'.

In Yun's case it appeared that she was not only very rank-conscious when it came to the selection of universities, but also very articulate in explaining how and why the knowledge of ranking can contribute to choosing the right university. She told me: 'Ranking is very important you know. Monash University and Melbourne University are rated among the best 5 or the best 8 Australian university'. Asked if University of Melbourne and Monash University had written to her on the same day offering admission, which one she would have chosen, she laughed saying: 'Melbourne. Because the rank of Melbourne [University] is higher than Monash'. This importance Yun attached to ranking is consistent in the third and last interview where she explained why it really matters to study in a top-ranking university:

Rankings show a university's teaching and research quality, although it does not necessarily mean that each teacher in that university is good. Being a member of that community means you have access to leading concepts and quality learning environment. And graduating from a university which is in the top rank might be helpful when you are looking for a job, I think.

Not all participants, however, retained their initial impressions with regard to the ranking system. Xia talked about the 'famous' US universities with 'world wide reputation': 'If you see the ranking, Australian universities are below, after those top universities like they have the best in America'.

In a system where a flurry of information complicates the very process of decision making, Xia 'never' felt like questioning the credibility of the ranking system which she seemed to have taken for granted for the sake of convenience. However, in the second interview when I reminded her that she had earlier said that before she came to Australia, she believed that there was a very clear ranking system here and whether she still agreed to it, she said that now her priorities were quite different in that even if there was a clear ranking system, she would still choose universities based on other considerations:

Like, now if I choose, I wouldn't consider like which university is most famous one that I want to go to, it's more like which one's tuition fee is cheaper to go and practical factors – which majors they have. I think I may still think a little bit of that and I still like it that I am studying at Melbourne University.

She believed that the University of Melbourne is 'good' 'because it is older and known by more people'. However, despite her selective reservation, Xia still thought that in the case of other Chinese students the ranking system played a major role in choice formation:

They still want to go to universities like Melbourne University. I think Monash is relatively new one so they may not know much about it... and I think (University of) NSW, ANU. And I think which university is better according to them is still first concern.

### **6.5.2 Australia on the Web: 'Just too much information!'**

We have seen that in associating themselves with particular views of identity, individuals allow themselves to be spoken to by texts. Media texts such as advertising on the Internet 'speak' to their audience by addressing them and making them a part of their emotional appeal (see 2.2.2). However, not all the participants were 'spoken to' in the same manner. Nobu did not think that the way Australia was represented through these websites was the true picture of Australia: 'No I don't think so... I was an engineer in Fujitsu so I was involved in many business situations, so I didn't regard those websites as the real picture of Australia.' Later he said that the website 'was not so easy to understand'. He complained about the inaccessibility of some university websites which were 'very complicated, very difficult to reach what I want' and as far as the contents were concerned, 'sometimes I failed to get what I wanted'. Talking about his experience of searching for a university using the Internet, he said:

I also checked University of Queensland, the website was not so easy to understand... Websites differ from university to university. Some websites are very... not good for the visitors. Monash University looks very neat but it doesn't mean it is a good university.

For Ning, on the other hand, the Internet was the primary source of information when she was in Taipei, from which she got enough 'introduction and the details'. She would 'summarise down items'. Her teacher would then advise her based on her findings. She also had brochures on Australian universities in her office in Taipei. This is where she first knew about Monash, even though she had not thought of TESOL then.

On the other hand, Xia did not think that websites have much influence in the choice formation of a prospective student and was weary of the wide array of information. Getting the right information was seen as a mammoth task requiring not only patience but also time. The first time she came across the University of Melbourne website, she did not find it very helpful: 'I tried, I got something down but I may have saved to my favorites because I thought this is related but I didn't quite understand.' She added:

I think Melbourne University website has changed over the summer. But still I found it hard to locate information, just too much information, you don't know where to start! I just get tired of reading information so I just go to the agency to ask.

### **6.5.3 Rahman: 'I can tell the story of here'**

In Rahman's case, the first impressions of Monash University were created by word-of-mouth recommendations. One colleague from Syiah Kuala University said that 'Monash University is a very prestigious university in Australia'. He seemed to be quite conscious of the ranking hierarchy of universities in Australia and the US but he did not choose any other high ranking university because 'they are very high English skills required'. He was interested in studying at University of Melbourne but 'I found out the requirement, I didn't check further'. This is quite different from Yun and Xia's comments who said that money can buy a place at University of Melbourne (see 7.4.3).

Financial considerations were as important as ranking to Rahman, who was on an Australian Partnership Scholarship. He spent six weeks in Indonesia doing English for Academic Purposes course after being selected. On completion he had to sit for the IELTS exams and upon scoring the required mark, he sought admission to La Trobe University. Like all other awardees, the entire process of admission was handled by the scholarship provider. He told me about his interest in a scholarship: 'Most of the people want the scholarship because you don't have to pay by yourself and then you can further your study to the further level like master degree after bachelor degree'. Rahman was originally planning to apply for a Fulbright scholarship but due to a delay he did not

make it. I asked him if he had a choice between APS and Fulbright which one he would have taken. His answer emphasised the destination of choice rather than course or university: 'Roughly speaking, between US and Australia, I would have chosen US if I hadn't gone to US but because I had gone to US I would study here'. He explained that even though he had been in Australia for a relatively 'short time' (two months, when the first interview was conducted), 'other than telling the story of the US to my students later on, I can also tell the story of here because... more experience. In addition, I can do my PhD in the US later. And because I was the alumni of the US grant including my program, it will give me a better chance' and because the 'door was open' for him in the US, anyway. He seemed to quantitatively measure experience and it is clear that he was thinking of his future career in terms of where it was best for him to study.

I asked him if other than that, the quality of education or particular universities mattered to him when he made his choice. He gave me examples of some of his friends, who were mostly married, and had secured both Fulbright and APS and had chosen to study in Australia for a completely different reason: because 'APS will grant the expense for you, your wife and children, so that's it. But Fulbright won't do that. You can go and take your wife there and you have to have a lot of money in your account'.

#### **6.5.4 International Education as a Romantic Escape**

We have so far seen participants talk about priorities and considerations based on which they formed their choices. In addition, some participants cited purely personal reasons for their choices. Of these, the desire to relocate to a new space and the fascination for the exotic appear to have been important factors. It is not surprising therefore that universities would go to great lengths in their advertisements, using the tools of a tourist discourse, to appeal to the 'traveller' student (see 4.3.2). As we shall see in Chapter Eight, Rika says that her decision to study overseas was, among other reasons, because she wanted to 'escape' from her immediate reality (see 8.5). Yun's initial response also involved romanticism as well as a fascination for the exotic:

Before I came here, I didn't have a clear expectation. Maybe coming here is a kind of escape you know. I was teaching English for 4 years, you know. At the very beginning you may have a positive... I mean desire or hopes or dreams of something but as time passes by many things have become routine. I think I was repeating the same thing again and again and again so I just want to make a change.

This romantic element that drove Yun and Rika seems to have driven Ning as well, in that she was not exactly thinking of studying a particular subject at that time in relation to her overseas visit.

She confirmed that it was because of the Australian deans, whom she met at the Taipei conference, that she had thought of Australia and was not thinking about that earlier. I asked her if these people made her choose Australia. She said 'half'. The other half she thought about was 'the financial reason and the safety, I don't know but in Taiwan we think Australia is safer'. When asked about this last comment later in the email interview, she said, 'This is a general concept about Australian among Taiwanese. Compare with other English countries, Australia seems to be safer in social security condition' (see 4.1).

Nobu saw his choice of Australia as expanding his travel experience: 'I haven't been to Australia before. I have been to US on Business. So I chose to come to Australia'. As well as financial problems and the duration of stay, earlier (see section 6.3.2), we have seen him talking of choosing universities, even within Australia, on the basis of comparison between Melbourne and other places such as Perth, Queensland and Hawaii.

Similarly Rahman explained that once he secured the scholarship to study in Australia the reasons he chose Melbourne were quite obvious to him:

Because I know a lot of students in Melbourne and I thought at that time, you know I was coming from tropical countries and then I expect at that time that in winter I will see some snow because when I went to the US I didn't see any because it was summer. But unlucky later I realised that there was no snow in Melbourne and in winter you have to go to the mountain. It's kind of not upsetting me particularly...

Such personal choices of social security, the weather, the local 'culture' often shaped the ways in which the participants formed their choices.

## 6.6 Concluding Comments

Desire – both as an instrument which helps affiliation with an imagined community and one that helps construct imagined lives and new images of self - has the capacity to give access to and then unsettle power and knowledge. In the case of the international student participants, desire was often talked about as an instrument for new lives and experiences. Another was the desire for the status of competence in English and steeped in Western knowledge. We have also seen the more mundane desire to experience another culture and begin a new life by using international education to migrate, or construct a new identity. In their desire, students also constructed images of international education, often with a disparity between expectation and experience, resulting in

dissatisfaction and disillusionment. International education can also be a life changing experience changing their storyline of who they are in ways they had not anticipated.

In this chapter I have combined a reading of the stories my interviewees had to offer me with an analysis which teased out their significance in terms of the issues which mattered to me as international student and researcher. Their accounts offered me insights into the tensions students experience as they forge the identities that international education asks of them. Foucault sees power operating in discourse as the other face of knowledge. While discourse translates words into action, constructs perceptions and formulates understanding, it also constitutes the realities that words are taken otherwise to reference and specify (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 93). Deploying a discourse of subjectivity is not simply a matter of representing the subject, but also of simultaneously constituting the subjects that are meaningfully embedded in the discourse itself. Foucault shows the conditions of possibility for these practices as they are embedded in historically or institutionally available discourses which Holstein and Gubrium (2000) term 'discourses-in-practice' (p. 94). Discursive practice and discourses-in-practice are the everyday technologies through which the self gets articulated, constructed and embodied. The social processes through which subjectivity is produced and practised are therefore actively documented. These processes are socially elaborate and institutionally mediated.

As for choices, Foucault insists that a subject's ability to speak is ontologically limited by discourses which his or her subjectivity is constructed through. This process is always determined by the subject's location within specific institutional topographies of social formation. Therefore, if subjectivity is essentially discursive, subjects can only choose tactics they are able to discursively formulate by themselves (Heller, 1996, p. 91). The participants' choice of English changed along with their own personal growth of ambition, desire and often, direction of study and career. Despite initial dislike, fear, scepticism, pure uncertainty or even religious bias, all participants retrospectively viewed their English study as practical and useful, if not relevant.

However, subjects inevitably differ in the *kinds* of tactics they choose. Different discourses enable, or even imply, the formulation of different tactics. Nevertheless, a subject's choice of tactics is never the unconditioned product of a self severed from history and language. Heller (1996) argues that all subjects are equally *unfree* insofar as their choice of tactics is inevitably mediated by an institutionally-determined linguistic tradition over which they have limited control, if any. Their intentionality therefore is never completely their own.

The interviews were an opportunity for the participants to do identity work, wherein they constructed their multiple identities while revisiting the different formative stages of their lives. Even as they engaged in conversation with me, their identities continued to be shaped and reshaped in a perpetual negotiation of values. For example, in the shifts of pronouns, from first-person to third-person, participants often constructed their identities in relation to difference from others. Despite the tensions, contradictions and fragmentation they displayed, which suggested the perennial continuity in their identity formation, their multiple identities held together in the matrix of their shared professional and national identities.

In the next chapter, I discuss how discourses of international education have affected the subjectivities of international students and the ways in which they talk about themselves, as well as the changes it makes to their storylines about who they think they are.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### Brokering Identity

Selves, according to Holstein and Gubrium (2000), are narrative possibilities fashioned and performed in 'geographies of self-definition' (p. 215). There is therefore an element of elasticity in the manner in which narratives are shaped and reshaped so as to construct sameness and difference, depending on the audience and occasion. Holstein and Gubrium (2000) have discussed what it means to speak from the many forms of embeddedness our participation in human cultural institutions offer us. Whether we learn to tailor our narratives to the particularities of 'groups' (such as 'TESOL students') or social institutions (such as universities), the ways we talk ourselves into being in these contexts shape our views of self. Such contextualisation requires particular forms of accountability. However, one's participation in any form of discourse also sets limits to what is and is not appropriate to say or do. Our ability to draw upon practices as well as linguistic resources (such as metaphors and images) from readily available discourses, and to present them 'appropriately' in our discursive contexts, sets the 'narrative horizons' (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000) for story-ing our selves. Our stock of resources for narrating our selves is also supplemented by texts, cultural symbols, physical contexts, material possessions, even body language that lend a sense of 'materiality' to how we construct our selves.

Through a complex capillary action, the discourses of international education work down to the individual, thereby inscribing themselves into their storylines of self. While Foucault describes how power moves to the individual through a chain or network, individuals do not merely circulate between chains of power but are always undergoing and exercising power. During the interviews, the participants were not merely 'reporting' to me, as though what they said can be treated simply as a window on to the 'real' world. Indeed, they were using the interview to engage in the kind of identity work that provides the very topic of my analysis. This chapter takes a look at how international education discourses have been conceptualised and internalised by international students and how they have constructed themselves into ways of talking that include themselves as part of these discourses.

Identity is something that happens in time, crucially intersecting with larger social contexts and institutional settings. It is the interaction between what these settings or situations are telling us about who we are and what we want to be - ranging from the international citizen (at ease with the idea of travel, and negotiating one's way in foreign settings), a 'permanent resident' (a significant

decision vis-à-vis the possibility of returning 'home'), teacher (professional identity, involving a sense of a 'mission', and a set of values and beliefs that inform one's professional life), consumer (seeing the self as exercising 'choice') and as a purchaser of consumer goods (TESOL). Identity is not simply a matter of saying 'who I am', but 'who I want to be', crucially involving a projection into the future. Through the data gathered at different points in time in their experience of international education, I reflect on whether or not they managed to fulfil the expectations they expressed in the first interviews. This chapter analyses data with respect to the theme of brokering identity and develops an account of how my interviewees went about constructing their various identities. For all of them, as for me, identity was a personal project and a work-in-progress.

We have seen in earlier chapters how discourses of international education perceive and construct the 'international student' subjectivity and how in the reductionist popular discussions of the international student their diversity is ignored and homogenised (see 2.2.3). This chapter addresses the following research questions posed in Chapter One: How do discourses of international education perceive and construct the 'international student'? More specifically, in the context of globalisation, how are the subjectivities and identities of international TESOL students constructed by both the university and by the students themselves? How and to what extent do TESOL students appropriate, resist and reconstitute the discourses of international TESOL education?

This chapter discusses the several facets of identity formation and the different ways in which participants have experienced their identities develop conflict, interact and hybridise with other identities throughout the different stages of their choice formation, their study in Australia, and, in some cases, subsequent return to their home countries. In addition, this chapter also discusses the issues of representation, identity and difference and shows the numerous ways in which identity is manifested as multiple, constructed, hybrid and dynamic. I consider how participants identify the self in multiple roles in their attempt to co-construct their professional identities. I also discuss the combined themes, issues, dilemmas, tensions and paradoxes that the participants have experienced as international students in Australia, especially in relation to their perceived interactions with the marketing of international education.

In the first section of this chapter participants reveal how the learning of English had implications for their identities. The next two sections look at the different ways they have conceptualised the ownership and 'culture' of English. The fourth section presents participants' views on the various ways they encountered and experienced marketing in their pathway to international education.

Finally, I talk about the participants' constructions of their education at the end of the study as well as how they foresaw their futures both in terms of personal and professional goals.

## 7.1 English and Identity as a Work in Progress

Identities are formed as people move in and out of groups and communities, cultures and social conditions. By managing the different performances of self for particular audiences and social situations, individuals create selves. While managing their identities, the strategies they employ for it are not merely embedded in particular social situations but are crucially consequential for how the group to which they belong is regarded in society.

Individuals' subscription and membership in social 'categories' are ongoing reality projects, subject to perpetual negotiation and open to contestation. It is therefore difficult to locate the correspondence of such categories to the real world in an obvious manner. These are constituted through interaction and exist only by virtue of their application to specific cases. When claiming category membership, individuals also make claims about the categories themselves which then take on the meanings because of the ways they are *used* in social interaction. As an ongoing project of social construction, the self is not just *who* we are as a construct imposed by social institutions, but an actively constructed concept of what we want to be. Individuals engage in 'identity work' within the conditions of possibility allowed by specific discursive environments. This section discusses the various ways in which English education implicated the personal and professional lives of the participants.

### 7.1.1 Xia: The conflict of Identities - 'chocolate and milk'

Despite her early uncertainties, Xia thought that English was quite an important part of her life, having studied and taught English for a number of years. When I asked her how the learning and teaching of English had 'changed' her, in any sense of the term, and how it may have affected her identity, she said:

First learning English, although that was not my own idea at the very beginning, offered me the opportunity of becoming an English teacher later. And I really enjoyed doing that job. And I love teaching and so that I can improve myself, so I came to Australia and so the whole learning and teaching English actually just changed my life completely. If I have chosen another subject in China, I would be doing something else. But I have chosen this way and that's why I am here.

She later added,

I think it has made me more international, like to be able to understand different cultures and people from different places. So instead of being someone closed I feel myself more open. So that's how I would say about my identity. Yeah.

Xia's account of English changing her life recalls Nobu's earlier account of how he said that English had 'defined' his life (see 6.1.1). In her case, she saw English as an overwhelmingly life-changing experience, one that opened windows of possibilities. Indeed in my conversations with her, talking about the different FLSs, she commented on the relative importance of English in comparison to other languages:

Russian is seldom used and it's just like spoken by only one country and that one country is not doing very well. And Japanese, just a small, small country, and although it's strong in economics but it's just too limited but English is spoken.

Halfway through her talk she appeared to be suddenly conscious of political correctness and stopped to say: 'do you want to know what I'm thinking now or what I was thinking then?' When I assured her she could tell me both, she told me that, given a second chance in choosing an FLS, she would undoubtedly still go for English because 'Japanese people are learning English and some of them are good and can speak well but if I learn Japanese there's not much I can... yeah'.

Xia gave me specific examples about the ways in which she felt she had 'changed' due to her study of TESOL. She talked about her values and 'outlook' and in the way she had grown a degree of tolerance for issues which did not find much acceptability with her before, issues she thought she was now 'free' and 'open' about:

like, on some issues I used to see the same way as my friends. But some of my friends are in China and I am here and now if we talk about the same things again we have different opinions. Such as, like, it goes beyond language, it's more about culture because here there are people from so many cultures. Like, what we think of people from a particular area, we used to have bias? Yes... discrimination against someone. But now getting to know them and changed my thinking and many other issues like education, even how to raise babies... and homosexuality.

Her spontaneous linking of English with an attendant 'culture' came up in my conversations with other participants too, which I discuss later. She added that because of English she had a wider access to newspapers from Canada, America and Britain and,

They all have their books and things printed in English. I think I read those different things and they think differently and I try to understand, try to appreciate those different things. And maybe the same issue from different angles. I think in that case I've got to think more... in different ways, instead of just thinking Chinese and read Chinese newspapers. You know things are portrayed differently in China and in other countries? And... maybe critical thinking? (laughs).

Xia did not think these changes came as part of her education and her experience alone, but because she felt inclined to English. She told me that such critical thinking was not in any way in conflict with her Chinese identity, 'because it happened gradually'. She was comfortable in her interaction with friends who had had similar education in Australia: 'I don't think there is any conflict between us', because they were in a 'different environment and just the situation'. However, in the case of her parents and relatives, 'because of age and because of location', she felt a 'conflict' which she could understand and she 'couldn't talk about a lot of things' and had to 'accommodate' and be selective and conscious about the topics of conversation. Hence, with them she still felt restricted rather than 'free' and 'open'.

When I talk with them I choose the topic that all of us can talk about, and avoid something. If I talk with my friends here, I could say many things here but I if I talked to my mum, lots of things I couldn't describe to her because she wouldn't understand.

Whenever confronted with such conflict, she tried to reconcile these two different worlds of values through an acceptance of their diversity: 'I could understand the difference because for very good reasons, not because who's wrong and who's right. It doesn't matter'. Using a metaphor, she went on to say that her Australian experience did not influence her Chinese identity and that she did not feel any 'confrontation':

I was thinking, like if my Chinese identity is like chocolate, so here (my Australian identity) is like milk. They don't have to like, block - so here is chocolate, here is milk. They just melt... because of me standing and speaking in such a position, so they don't have to conflict. Maybe unconsciously they work out. Maybe this part more Australian, that part more Chinese, depending on things.

This recalls Hall's (1990) statement that hybrid individuals 'learn to inhabit two identities, to speak two cultural languages, to translate and negotiate between them'. They are also 'double-voiced' and 'double-accented' (p. 310) so that they feel more aware of their national identities in Australia than in their own home countries. In such understandings of hybridity in terms of language and identity, we can see a more intense complexity that goes beyond two identities simply overlapping, assimilating with and contradicting each other.

### **7.1.2 Yun: 'The longer I'm studying English, the more that I feel I'm Chinese at the bottom of my heart'**

Yun strongly believed that living in the West does not necessarily westernise people. In fact, students seem to learn more about their own culture rather than Australian culture when in Australia - a very interesting paradox that appeared common among several participants. Yun

saw her competence in English to have changed her significantly and she immediately related it to her cultural knowledge of English which, like in Rika's case (see 8.4), she felt had heightened her own sense of Chinese identity:

I think English gives me international perspective. So, I think the longer I'm studying English, the more that I feel I'm Chinese at the bottom of my heart. So I think English... when I'm learning English, you know, learning a language is not learning its ABC, you have to get cultural background... so, I think it is quite interesting.

This notion of 'using English to be Chinese' brought forward a series of paradoxes and tensions which appeared and reappeared throughout my conversations with her. In the second interview I asked her to give me an example to illustrate this interesting comment regarding her Chinese identity. She explained that compared to other generations, hers had had much more exposure to 'western culture' such as American movies and the Internet, through which they can 'get a lot of information from overseas'. However, all these she dismissed as 'just superficial things, basic, not fundamental understanding of western culture'. She went on to elaborate that before she came here she thought that most Chinese students believed that:

Westerners, you know, when we talk about Western countries we usually refer to America and the European countries... I think most of Chinese students think that the atmosphere of the classroom is very relaxed so students can even sit upon the table and they needn't show much respect to their teacher. They even can chew gum in the classroom in front of the teacher. But actually here in the classroom here I couldn't see that!

In a very meaningful parenthesis in a sentence she did not finish, she said that the Chinese usually associate 'American' with 'westerner'. Regarding the culturally different classroom dynamics, now she knew that students in Australia 'definitely show their respect to their teachers maybe in different ways. They may challenge their teachers but that does not mean that they don't respect their teachers'. She still felt this realisation made her Chinese identity even stronger when she 'feel[s] a little bit, you know, reserved to ask questions in front of other students. Maybe we have different definitions of "respect"! Throughout the interview Yun reminded me that there are different definitions of some basic terms in these two cultures such as - 'education', 'learning' and 'studying'.

### **7.1.3 Nobu: 'I'm away from the United States but I still belong to, I must, I don't know'**

When I asked him if English had changed him in any way, Nobu said, 'Yes, I think one way is I changed my career path - it's very important matter. I quitted a very big company' - referring to his 20 years' association with Fujitsu. But when asked if this also changed him 'personally and

socially', he answered in the negative, albeit a little unsure. In the second interview, however, 13 months later, he explained: 'I don't think that even speaking English can make you sophisticated or... I can't explain. If some one can speak in English and he is good I would say it is nothing to do with English'.

Despite dismissing the idea, Nobu associated English and its study with 'sophistication', in a manner similar to Rika who, as we will see in the next chapter, associated her English skills with 'being cool' (see 8.2.2). Interestingly, Nobu also said, after a brief pause: 'Anyway, I am away from the United States but I still belong to, I must, I don't know. Yes, I feel... English is not my language'. This was an evocative utterance and can be understood in terms of a tension between different identities. He agreed it was someone else's but could not specify whose. He explained that speaking English is like 'putting an equation... so it is impersonal', and then justified himself, defensively, saying: 'But I think in order to enhance my English skills I have to belong to a discourse community.'

## 7.2 The Ownership of English - Whose English do you speak?

Participants were asked: 'Whose English do you speak?' The question was posed as a provocation. The first response to this question was about its ambiguity, not at all surprising for students of TESOL to whom understandably the question would be problematic. However, rather than the ambiguity of the question, what baffled the participants most was its complexity. First responses from each of the participants were as follows:

Nobu - Sorry, what do you mean by that?

Yun - You mean British English and American English?

Ning - Anyone can speak English... I think it's just the same.

Rahman - Well, normally... are you talking about British English or Australian English or something like that?

Rika - Now? ...

Xia - You mean now? ... Now I can't say whose English.

Detailed discussion of their responses is presented in the following sections.

### 7.2.1 Xia: 'I can make up words myself. I think that is OK'

Xia was conscious that her study of TESOL subjects such as 'Globalisation and English as an International Language' problematised this question for her and she simply could not, anymore, give one single, straight answer: 'I have learnt subjects last year like Teaching English in

International Contexts... it talks about world Englishes so now I can't say whose English. Just my English'. As though to be sure to give an efficient answer, she even asked me if I could give her an example from among the answers I got from other participants. I had to assure her there was no right or wrong answer, after which she said:

I think I speak whatever way I speak, and even sometimes I think the grammar is funny and the vocabulary use is funny and I can make up words myself. I think that is OK. It's just that as long as other people can understand me, I quite enjoy doing that. Making of words and some of them are... yes.

She felt an ownership of English in a very independent yet dynamic way which enabled her not only to use it in her own individual manner, but to own it as acceptable and useful. When I asked her whom she thinks 'English belongs to', she was again conscious of the situated nature of such statements and explained that her study of TESOL had further complicated her views:

I may have had a different answer like a year ago... I think I would say without thinking just those like English speaking countries. So people who have English as their mother tongue. Native speakers.

A year on and her TESOL studies complete, Xia jocularly suggested to me that such questions did not bother her any more and that English belongs to 'anybody who speaks it... (laughs)'.

### 7.2.2 Yun: 'I am the owner of English'

When asked whose English she thought she spoke, like most other participants, Yun was confused: 'You mean British English and American English?' When assured it could be seen that way and that she also could give me several different answers, she said:

It's kind of mixture. What I was observing in Hawthorn Language Centre is some teachers told me - oh, your English is... you have American accent. So, I think when I was a student in primary school, middle school and high school, and I think all of our teachers had British accent. So after I went to the university, I think we can get more learning materials from America, so... I think that's the reason why my English is mixture.

This recalls Rahman's account of the time when his IELTS Examiner said that he spoke with an 'American accent'. It seemed to me here that Yun might be referring to her pronunciation (rather than sentence pattern, as in Rahman) while referring to her 'American English' (for example, her pronunciation of 'schedule' is American). It appeared, here and elsewhere, that she used the word 'mixture' not necessarily to mean it may have multiple meanings but to indicate that the answer was complicated. When I asked her why she thought teachers at middle school had 'British

accents', she said that they were 'usually 40 or 50 years old so they, I think they started to learn English in 1970s and 1980s, so at that time most of the learning materials were from Britain'. This was similar to the explanation she provided for her mother's English education as well, as seen in the previous chapter (see 6.1.4). The teachers she referred to were all educated in China at a time when British English was the only English they knew of. She later added that her 'mixture' also included 'Chinese English', again referring to her pronunciation ('by which you're referring to the accent?' 'Yeah... but umm, kind of.')

Asked whom she thought 'owned' English, she seemed unsure at first but gave a confident answer: 'Who owns English? Kind of... you know it's kind of ability that can be acquired. So if I can speak fluent English I am the owner of English.' By 'fluent English', she was referring to comprehensibility - 'as long as you can make yourself understood, that is fluent English.'

### 7.2.3 Rahman: 'My English is the English of the textbook'

Like all other participants Rahman was unsure as to what I really wanted to know when I asked this question. He started speaking enthusiastically and then suddenly stopped to clarify the question when he realised he was unsure: 'Well, normally... are you talking about British English or Australian English or something like that? '. Once clear, he said, 'my English is the English of the textbook', which later turned out to be 'American' English. He then explained: 'I mostly studied English from the textbook and later I realised that the patterns of the textbooks was written in American English.' When I asked him to give me an example, he said:

Now I can recognise something, what make it different between American and British, like, the form of 'Do you have this?' and 'Have you got this?'. What we normally have is, 'Do you have some book, please?' We once said 'have you got some book?' at that time. So I consider it American, a bit American English. But sometimes later we kind of mixed it.

I was not sure what he was referring to but it seemed he was talking about colloquialism and standard speech rather than varieties. Later he added an example that he suddenly recalled to clarify himself:

OK. What can I tell you... when I took IELTS test to get here in the speaking test of my test, the speaking tester in the test told me - 'Oh, you're speaking American English!' That's it. Maybe that can give you the answer.

When I told him that I was an Examiner myself and that an Examiner was not supposed to have said that, Rahman remained silent. In any case, despite my uncertainty about the authenticity of

the claim, what appeared here was that Rahman was happy at being branded with a distinct variety of English rather than one that had no name. This feeling of joy at belonging became even more explicit when he explained:

I'm happy that I speak a certain kind of language that I don't mix it, so people can distinguish my style of language... I don't care whether it is American English, British English or Australian English... But I have a categories not English of someone you don't know.

This joy and love of recognition, conformity and the sense of safety from being categorised, appeared to give participants a structure of security and identity. As we have discussed earlier, in Chapter One, During (1993), talks about how a polysemic assimilation, by entering the 'symbolic order' of dominant ideologies, can ascribe power to individuals by giving them a sense of the world. Rahman felt happy, not because his English was 'American' but because it had a distinct name, a 'label', as he explained. He saw the Examiner's comment as an encouraging compliment. As seen in the next chapter, Rika's case is quite the opposite, in that she feared homogeneity and wanted to be distinct, not at all like the others in the 'mainstream', an issue that appears to have had considerable influence in her formation of identity.

#### **7.2.4 Ning: 'I think it's just the same'**

Of all the participants, Ning alone appeared to have a ready, commonsensical answer when asked whose English she thought she spoke: 'Anyone can speak English... I think it's just the same. I think English is just a communication skill between people it belongs to anyone, whoever speaks it'. Ning could not explain further because she seemed to be satisfied with this explanation.

#### **7.2.5 Nobu: 'English is not my language'**

When asked whose English he thinks he speaks, like other participants Nobu was confused at the apparent ambiguity of the question:

Nobu - Sorry, what do you mean by that?  
 Me - That's what I am asking you... I'm asking about the ownership of English. The English that you speak.  
 Nobu - Ah, I think American English... at that time.  
 Me - What about now?  
 Nobu - Now... Hmm, still, still I think people in discourse community I think. Ahh...

At this point I allowed some time to see if he would explain further and it was here that he explained (see 7.1.3) that even though he was not in the US, he somehow still 'belongs' there. Such unprompted comparison indicated to me an identity tied up in multiple discourses trying to work

out the complicated power relations languages inherently manifest. The dominant discourses of the major spoken English forms seemed to make it easier for him to brand his English usage, in a manner similar to Rahman's.

### 7.3 The English Culture: 'totally western cultures'

Participants were asked to explain their perception of the 'English culture' if, indeed, there was any. All participants, in their various ways tried to explain to me how they perceived this. While all participants seemed to have their own ways of explaining the idea, they all agreed that there was an 'English culture'.

#### 7.3.1 'That is just a superficial thing'

Nobu asked me if I was referring to 'music' and said: 'Culture and language are not separable... Anglo English...' He went on to say that English culture manifests itself in 'music, computer, politics... I think almost everything'. He was fully conscious of the problems of seeing Japanese culture as a distinct entity. When asked if the 'culture' he acquired through English was different from his culture, he said: 'But if I answer this question... so Japanese have I think 1000 million people so maybe older people have different culture even in the same country... so...'

Nobu was not sure if his study of English in an English-speaking country had changed him in any way. He only said: 'difficult'. This suggested to me not a lack of explanation but a response he saw as highly complicated and problematic. On the other hand, when I asked Xia if she thought English had a culture, she explained: 'Yeah, I think it has. But which one? (laughs). I think it keeps changing, right? Because as English is used more often by different people so now it comes with umm... oh, this is a hard one!'

In her case I thought it might help if I rephrased the question and so I asked her if people who spoke English all over the world had certain 'shared features' in their cultures compared to people who did not. She responded: 'Yes, I think there is one, because if you know this language, you have access to things we can express in this language, so you share something which people who couldn't use English couldn't share, even in translation will come different'.

As seen earlier, when I asked Yun if her mum used to tell her anything to 'encourage her to learn English', she immediately linked English language with English culture. In the second interview I asked Yun what she meant when she talked about 'English culture' in this context. She referred to

the Open Door and Economic Reform Policies China adopted towards the end of the 1970s which ushered China into an unprecedented era of economic reform and brought to the daily lives of the 'common people' a gradual exposure to the Western culture. She talked about 'western TV commercial and TV series', American films and magazines such as the *Vanity Fair* throughout our conversations, considering them to be very important tools to engage with English. She told me: 'Learning English has become a fashion from then on'. However, she was cautious and said: 'But that is popular culture, that is just a superficial thing - you know what I mean? I don't think my mum is interested in that kind of thing'.

She was aware that in spite of this, not all people have 'enough exposure' to English these days and even though her mother did have the exposure, she did not get much into Western (and therefore, by implication, English) culture because, Yun thought that her mother was 'conservative'. She was unsure when I asked her if she thought her mother would have taught her English in a different way had she known more about the 'English culture': 'I am wondering I think she is more interested in the classical work like Shakespeare, that kind of story instead of popular culture'. Yun was not sure if she felt a part of Australian culture but 'probably I am standing in between... I may accept some ideas but my acceptance does not mean I will do it... I can accept it'.

### 7.3.2 'It's no wise going to the unbeliever's country... what are you doing?'

Of the participants, Rahman gave me an entirely different perspective into his view of the 'English culture'. He laughed when I first asked him if there is a 'culture that comes with English', and drew lines between his own *religious* culture and the one which comes with English: 'I believe the culture that is carried by English is totally western cultures'. Here he used plural and 'totally' as if it were easily generalisable, but then said: 'Maybe it's too general to say "western culture"', possibly referring to Islamic culture.

but... well, what I believe it's not my religion's culture. You know everything I do is based on my religion. You know, I am a religious person. But I always try to accommodate myself, adapt myself within the society, I mean sometimes not necessarily with certain society I mean English speaking society but sometimes with the English language itself, which sometimes is very different from my language. I mean not in terms of vocabulary and grammar but in terms of expressing things in the same situation you use different expressions for the same situation and the same intention'.

While talking about his attachment to English, Rahman seemed to feel comfortable to resort to his religious background to seek answers from it and I also felt that he might be assuming I would share his views because of our shared religious background. His repeated use of 'you know'

indicated a self-assertion and had a tone of confiding in me something deeply personal. He reaffirmed in the second interview that in spite of his religious background which imposed on him a significantly different worldview, he tried to 'see the differences' and compare and find a way to see if there were some aspects that could be compromised. However, he believed that the 'English culture' had deeply influenced him and changed him in many ways:

what I feel is I tend to be direct in anything. I mean no more 'beating around the bush' [air quotes], more straightforward. I was not going to say – yeah, you're good but there is something that, some particular thing that you should improve to be better. But no, I would rather say, no this is wrong, and this is not good.

It seemed to me that his uncharacteristic overuse of the filler 'I mean' suggested that he was reassuring himself of an answer he ought to have had, yet was unsure of. He directly attributed the development of a more 'critical thinking' nature to his Australian education (see also Xia in 7.1.1). I asked Rahman if this culture was in conflict with his identity as a Muslim. Like Yun (in relation to her Chinese cultural identity) he answered in the negative, but gave a different reason. He argued:

umm, I think there is no particular prohibition for us as Muslim, to forbid, to say no to speaking English... so far I haven't found anything that really conflicted here but ... I mean there is nothing that comes to my mind. So far it's just OK. Maybe some people in my village might say – oh! it's no wise going to the unbeliever's country! What are you doing?

Here he used the collective second person plural to generalise about all Muslims but it also seemed to be a tool to make him more comfortable in expressing his position. In Rahman's case we see how religious discourses come into conflict with the other discourses of his hybrid self.

#### **7.4 Marketing and International Education: Identities as Open Sites**

Within the context of globalisation, consumption is less about basic physical requirements (such as food, clothes and shelter) than it is about desire, lifestyle and choice (Usher, Bryant & Johnston 1997, p. 4-5). This view allows education's product knowledge to be commodified as a 'product' chosen by the consumer for instrumental reasons (Lyotard 1984, in Anderson, 2005) such as professional 'edge' and credibility and a 'secure' future. Appadurai (1990) talks about the 'fetishism' and the 'transformation' of the consumer through 'commodity flows' such as those advertised through 'signs' (p. 12). International education has been romanticised as commodity in a system entrenched in corporate business where the educational experience is disintegrated into discrete, saleable items. When the buying and selling of commodities take on the appearance of education, the relationship between university and student is re-established through the medium

of the market. This questions and problematises the role of the student as 'free' and 'autonomous' choosing consumers. Participants talked at length about the overt and covert marketing programmes of universities and how they responded to them. With one exception, all participants to some extent experienced universities' commercial strategies in which they thought they played a part.

#### **7.4.1 Education Brokers: 'Just the signature and it is done!'**

Apart from word-of-mouth recommendations from satisfied clients, international education is sold through well-researched media, educational expos and market-orientated conferences. In such selling, recruitment agents (and sometimes academic staff), are often the first point of contact between the potential student and the university. The quality of their advice is at its best useful and caring but at its worst inconsistent and misleading - driven more by commercial rather than educational concerns. This was the case with participants who came here directly or indirectly through agents.

As seen in the previous chapter, Xia talked about the two Australian teachers she met who were promoting University of Melbourne at South China Normal University, in exchange for a 'commission' once they 'successfully introduce a student to the university' (see 6.4.4). Xia further told me that unlike websites cluttered with 'useless' information, contacting these agencies, common in all 'major cities', could not be any easier:

I just go there and I make appointment before. And they would ask my personal information and what I would prefer. General idea. And then he would give me suggestions, several choices. I just ask them and they give me... help me with information. They give me pamphlets, *exactly* the area I want instead of everything.

These people, she told me, were independent agencies, even though some worked as representatives of particular universities like the one she went to, who worked exclusively for University of Melbourne. These agencies did not charge the student - 'for information, they don't charge anything'. But once a choice is made and 'if I want them to do my case, getting contact with universities, yes I have to pay'. The agencies will then do all the paperwork - from 'offer applications' to visa applications and airline tickets. The interviewers physically fill-in the form and as Xia said: 'just the signature and it is done! (laughs)'. These interviews are conducted in multiple locations throughout the city and are 'advertised everywhere'. Unlike seminars typical in an education trade fair promoting universities, these interviews were all conducted on a one-to-one basis and each university seemed to have a mutually agreed upon schedule allocated

throughout the year for a particular town. In the case of Xia, not only did she find agents very convenient in her admission process but her very choice of university was dictated by her interview with one such agent:

After the interview he gave me the offer! And also having interview you didn't have to pay for the application fee of \$50. Now it's \$100. Just more convenient. Otherwise if I applied other universities in Australia I have to do the whole thing alone, yes.

Other than the fees, this approach also seemed more efficient as the results were faster and more convincing. In China these agencies mostly represent UK and Australian, rather than US universities (which, due to reasons stated earlier are not a 'popular' choice in China) (see 6.3.1, 6.3.4). In the second interview, Xia talked about how such agents can bring more advantages to the prospective student, compared to websites. She recalled a friend of hers who wanted to come to Australia for studies, whom she referred to university websites. She did not find online information particularly helpful:

one of my friends wanted to study here as well and I gave them the website. If I just tell them sometimes I did it. I told them the website and they couldn't find the things there, I have to give them very specific link. Only I could find it because I have been here for so long I know where is what. And then they find it and say - ah, this is very useful. So website is first not easy to locate the stuff you want, and second, is not very... mmm, yeah.

I asked Xia if she regretted having chosen University of Melbourne, now that she thought there were 'better' universities as far as Education and TESOL were concerned. She answered in the negative saying that there were other reasons why she had chosen to study at Melbourne. Prior to coming to Australia, Xia worked as an assistant to two 'native speaking' TESOL-qualified Australian teachers from Melbourne in an affiliated college of her university who 'kind of influenced [her] in choosing Melbourne University'. These teachers, originally from RMIT, recommended Melbourne. In addition, there was also an 'opportunity' of a 'public promotion' of University of Melbourne at Normal University, which happened twice a year, where a Mr. S from the Faculty of Education, University of Melbourne, came to conduct 'interviews' for prospective students in China. 'Now, on reflection, it was not really interview, it was just to promote the university, get more students'. Mr. S, according to Xia, was an administrator at University of Melbourne who previously held an academic appointment at the university:

I think he was teaching education management... I think he's still doing the same thing - he's promoting Melbourne University and the Education Faculty with a Chinese overseas study agent who would receive a commission from University of Melbourne once they successfully introduce a student to Melbourne University.

In fact, in the week before my first interview with Xia, a similar 'seminar' took place at the Parkville campus of University of Melbourne where 'overseas representatives' of the university 'from all over came... to have some kind of seminar'. She added, 'I think we did very well'. It is interesting that at this point she uses 'we', thereby associating herself with University of Melbourne of which she is now a part. The intriguing use of the second person prompted me to ask her whom she referred to by 'we'. She seemed unsure: 'I think the organiser. I couldn't remember... it could be the university because they organised the event'. Looking at the transcript of the first interview, she said doubtfully: 'But I'm not quite sure, it doesn't fit very well'. At different points I came across such situations when participants seemed to be unsure of an earlier statement. To me such moments of doubt reflected not the ambiguity of the question but a form of their own retrospective evaluation of past incidents and statements and the way they later *repositioned* themselves in relation to them.

Yun echoed something similar when she talked about the convenience of having agents: 'you know there are different companies in China, you just pay them money and they apply for you'. Unlike Xia, however, Yun did not apply for admission through an agent. It appeared this had an impact about her impressions of how education agents worked in collaboration with universities in promoting courses to international students overseas. She attributed her ignorance of any marketing move to the fact that she did not apply through an agent, thereby implicitly attributing marketing to agents: 'I don't know because I applied myself and I didn't contact any agent in China'. Unprompted, she went on to defend teachers of her university saying: 'I think the majority of the teachers I met here are good teachers and they have their competence in research. Some of them may not be good in teaching but at least I know they have good intentions', as though the blame fell on the credibility and professional commitment of teachers. However, she warned that with agents 'pay is very expensive' and she 'didn't want to pay them much'.

Yun retrospectively saw her decision not to seek any form of help from agents as ironical, for a different set of reasons. She regretted doing a course just one semester short of two years - thereby not giving her enough points to qualify for permanent residency. She explained: 'You know, I'm wondering if I contacted agent before I came here maybe I would apply for a 2 year degree. Because the agents will tell me something about application for PR'.

She knew this because some of her friends who came to study here through agents got suggestions from agents regarding PR, whereas because she did everything by herself, she did not get 'enough information' at the right time. She also thought that in spite of her seemingly thorough search, she

did not have the necessary information at the time of her application, which agents seem to very conveniently provide at the right time:

At that time, to be honest, I didn't know the difference between coursework and research... if I knew that, I may have tried to apply for degree by research because I've got four years' teaching experience. Also, at that time I didn't have strong desire to apply for PR, you know'.

She now 'sometimes regret[s]', even though she thought that at the time she made the right decision considering what she did know: 'You know there's no use regretting so... but I think at that time, based on what I knew, I made the right choice'. In connection with this issue of permanent residency, which appeared to be a major decisive factor in some participants' choice making, I pursued further inquiries which I discuss later (see 7.5.3, 7.5.5).

A similar experience was shared by Ning, who met 'many school leaders from other countries' during the nursing conference in Taipei and 'was influenced by them in the idea of doing further study'. She explained: 'So I worked in that group and they asked me - what do *you* like to do? Do you like to go to my country or to my university to do some study?' Ning thought that they were just talking 'in general, very general', and were not really promoting their universities. From what she said in her second interview, it seemed to me that these delegates were giving her very specific pointers which she would later recall in her choice of international education. In the second interview Ning said that the 'deans' at the conference,

introduced the good learning environment of their schools and the advantages of doing further study in overseas to me. Also, did talk a lot about my interest in Nursing, Culture and Language (English). Therefore, some of them suggested me to study TESOL so that I could develop my career in various area and different culture societies.

Thus agents also seem to operate, albeit informally, within the context of international conferences such as the one mentioned by Ning, as well as working in some capacity for the immigration department.

#### **7.4.2 Nobu: 'Monash is like a Fujitsu' - *hito no ashi wo hipparu***

By the time of the second interview, Nobu had already spent more than eight months in Australia. At this point he thought if given another chance he would have rather studied at Macquarie University, or the University of Melbourne (see 6.3.2).

When Nobu spoke of 'recognition' he seemed to refer to the ranking of universities rather than the professional credibility employers would attach to them. Asked why he would not have chosen Monash University, he said:

Monash is money-oriented university, so it's like a Fujitsu really. Faculty staff are very busy and the university accepts as much as international students as possible. It looks like that. So used to be better but it is decreasing because faculty staff cannot provide... how can I say, their skills or something and they are very busy so their contact times are limited and I'm not sure, but they have to prepare to teach but they won't be able to prepare enough because they are busy and it affect quality too. I think, I don't deny their skills or abilities but anyway time is limited so if demand is high they can't provide and demand and supply is a bit not good proportion. So that's why... yeah.

Considering that Nobu had said earlier that quality did not matter to him, it was interesting to see him now talk about how lack of preparation of teachers could affect the quality of education. Also, his emphasis on teachers' busy schedule and the inadequate contact times suggested that his primary concern was value for money, since he had said that financial considerations were crucial in his choices.

Also, Nobu's 20 years' experience as an engineer for Fujitsu in Japan appeared to have given him a unique perspective with which he retrospectively viewed his study at Monash University. His matter-of-fact account of dissatisfaction with faculty staff and their levels of commitment and with the apparent mismatch of the faculty staff and the administration was somewhat bitter: 'Yeah, I think administration and teaching staff doesn't match'. He added:

Even looks like [Monash] it is profit-oriented, because Fujitsu is like a profit-seeking organisation so business comes first and also looks like a business comes first, not education. So this is my view - educational institutions must be educational, not profit-oriented. So the administration of Monash really looks like contradict that view. So that's why... I hate those things. That's why I quitted [Fujitsu] because being at Fujitsu it used to be good among the feeling of co-workers but now even co-workers contradict and compete with each other and working conditions became enormously bad. I joined Fujitsu in 1982 and I quit in 2002 so between those 20 years it became really bad.

He explained that the Japanese expression is *hito no ashi wo hipparu*, or "to pull someone's feet to trip him over" in a selfish rat race. According to Nobu, in the workplace culture in Japan, often financial incentives from employers play an important role in the manner in which workers' professional commitments are shaped:

In Fujitsu each employee is assessed by their bosses, so in order to get good salary, and budget is also limited and the portion is also limited - if you get larger portion, someone else will get smaller portion. I don't know about teachers at Monash University but they are also driven by.... Yeah. Anyway, I was a student, so teaching staff are very busy. And in those two organisations, Monash University and Fujitsu look like slave driver.

Nobu confidently called Monash a 'money oriented university - Fujitsu-like'. When I asked him what the implications were of studying at a university with a 'slave driver' attitude, he instead offered advice on ways in which he thought Monash could do better:

I think if Monash can make quality of teaching... I am worried about if Monash can keep the quality. If in the future in Japan if I meet somebody who wants to study in Australia I won't [emphatic] recommend Monash. And if I recommend, I would warn them the teachers at Monash are very busy and I will say Monash is teaching-oriented to cultural issues if you are interested in it, that's fine but if you are not I would recommend other universities.

In this regard he was frustrated at the possibility of a similar experience elsewhere and exclaimed: 'I was victimised - I should have chosen another university in different country. But (emphatic), but, it may be the same thing. If I chosen Britain, maybe it would be the same'. He said later:

My understanding is that in other businesses like Telstra, or other businesses here in Australia, still remains capitalism because - I don't want to say it - but in Japan after the World War II, old capitalism was completely replaced by new things. But Australia or in England still keep maintaining. I think the US they a bit different but here it's the same. But those three countries, Britain, Australia, New Zealand, they keep the same capitalism ideas. So that's why still customer satisfaction still quite low.

At this point we were yet to talk about the identity of the student as customer and consumer. Yet he went on to say:

In Japan they think about customer satisfaction first. Also think of profit but also... yeah. But here only profit comes first, doesn't care much about customer satisfaction. I think they have to pay in the end. Because I don't have good feeling about Australia itself. So I may, after become a teacher, I will tell other students, young people, they might think Australia and Britain differently. Now they just think - Oh, Britain is cool! But they don't know much about the old capitalism. I think it's awful.

At 41, Nobu displayed a more mature understanding and complex perspective that enabled him not only to criticise the shortcomings of the system he found himself in, but he also made frequent and spontaneous comparisons with comparable systems in his own country, some of which he had been quite critical about in the past.

### **7.4.3 Xia: 'As long as you can pay, you can come in'**

Xia also believed that even though in the university website commercial interests are 'implicit' ('you couldn't find on the website'), University of Melbourne tries to meet its financial interests very explicitly through 'exhibitions' and education fairs she had talked about earlier. In Chapter Four we have seen how the Gippsland campus of Monash University was exploiting the lure of PR

(see 4.4.1, *Figure 4.4*). In pursuit of its commercial interests ('I think they are thinking a lot about money'), Xia believed University of Melbourne would go to any length to give a place to any student who could afford to pay the price:

I used to think that Melbourne University, because it is highly-ranked, must be hard to get into, and then I later got to know, as long as there is still vacancy and you pay for the tuition fee, it's not hard, it's easy. And also their tuition fee is getting higher and higher. And I heard next year it will be about 20,000 (dollars) – very high. And not want to change in terms of teaching quality and like staffing, but just tuition fee getting higher and also the standard is not that high. I don't know if it's the same for local students but I think for international students it's like... hmm, I think as long as you can pay, you can come in. so if you think about that it's hard to think that they don't have any commercial interest.

Similarly, Yun, who had also studied at University of Melbourne, talked about the paradox of 'false impressions', where money buys all:

I think the people represented from here they could talk about education quality and those agents who work for universities, in China, they try to give people the false impression that it's not easy to get into Melbourne University, you have to be this good and that good, because they know we have that kind of psychology. But for people here they don't know. They just go to China and they advertise the university and everybody is welcome and it's not that hard and easy. So a little bit contradicting because they don't know what we are thinking or what we consider which university to be truth.

From these last two comments we see how profit motives subordinate the educational needs of students in market-oriented universities and how this disturbs the apparently simple explanation of 'push' and 'pull' factors within consumption sites upheld by policy statements.

#### **7.4.4 Rahman: 'What you gonna do?'**

Among the participants, Rahman alone appeared to be oblivious of any form of commercialism on part of the universities prior to coming to Australia. I tried to understand why - whether it was because he had a different experience, or because he was attempting to bring a different identity to the experience. Rahman confessed that he was 'not aware' of the commercialism of universities and the marketing of subjects to overseas students until he got here in Australia and even if he did, he did not care much since he thought 'knowing English was a prestige'. It is noteworthy that Rahman was on an Australian government scholarship and therefore the entire process of his admission was dealt with by the Australian High Commission in Jakarta. Little surprise then that he was unaware of education agents. Even so, he put his argument in a totally different way to the other participants:

When I took ESL unit I was exposed to a lot of reading about English as a colonial language. I was amazed how David Crystal and Robert Phillipson have their arguments. Probably they are right, maybe TESOL has been turned into commodity.

Rahman was also reluctant to see international students as 'victims', a perspective he regarded as 'dramatising', pointing out that there is not much that students can do. With a mature understanding and accepting worldview, Rahman summed up the situation:

Look, at the end of the day, you cannot do anything. What you gonna do? Turn the world around and choose a different language to be a global language to unite the world? Yes, English has become a global language, maybe that's because they put enough effort for that in last century when they tried to take over from the spreading French? Maybe you feel bad about that because it's not your language. But I think, just let it go. Maybe, it's just the matter of good luck that English native speakers can 'sell' this today. Maybe we could think of something else that make us feel having better luck than them.

Rahman's position contrasts with that of Rika, who is constructed, (or constructs herself) in terms of denial, pain, displacement and feels labelled, hurt – and a victim, but not necessarily of university marketing strategies. On the contrary she endorses university commercialism. We pursue this issue in Chapter Eight.

In this section we have seen how marketing positions or interpellates students in particular ways - brokering their identities as subjects of a certain 'type'. In the next section we see how they acquire the goods they purchased (i.e. a TESOL qualification), and are then faced with the challenge of *how* to capitalise on them, what the purchasing power gives to them and how this positions them in the 'market'. Such language is not 'natural', and it does not necessarily fold into the other 'selves' they have earlier presented. Rather, it is one component of a strand in a hybrid self, or one of the many selves they contain.

### **7.5 Current Status and the Future: Expectations, Disillusionments and Disappointments**

As seen earlier, for some participants the idea of a professional future as a TESOL qualified person was rather vague when they first made their choices and came to Australia. However, as they moved on, some of their views vastly changed. Since I took my second (in some cases a third and fourth) interview well after the first, I had the opportunity to elicit the participants' changes in views and the many ways in which they were complicated. While it is through their desires that

individuals insert themselves into discourses and discursive positions, tensions push against discourses which create spaces of agency and autonomy. This opens the possibility of changing the way one is positioned or as we have seen, 'interpellated', to change meaning and storylines. In this last section participants talk about such tensions – the satisfaction and dissatisfaction as well as disillusionments with their international TESOL education in Australia – ranging from mismanagement issues of the administration, curricular redundancies to high costs against poor teaching quality. They also talk about the ways in which their views of the prospect of TESOL studies changed over their study period, both positively and with pessimism. This section also looks at participants' current status, most back home by now, and what they have made of their TESOL studies.

### 7.5.1 Ning: Using TESOL in Nursing

In the previous chapter we saw Ning's roundabout manner of getting into Monash (see 6.3.3). In the second interview I asked her how she retrospectively viewed her shifts from one institute to another – whether she saw this as a benefit or a waste of time. She was quite confident in saying that 'even (for) a second' she did not think of it as a waste: 'I am very happy to complete my overseas step by step. She then broke up her study in Australia and elaborated on what benefits she achieved from each. At the Hawthorn ELC she 'got used to the culture here, especially the education system in Australia', while at ACU she 'learnt basic English teaching concept by this intensive course'. She went on to say: 'moreover, I had a teaching run in Language Centre and it led me from a medical person to be an educational staff'. Finally at Monash she found what she really wanted: 'Monash study has given me a formal training for being a qualified English teacher. I learnt not only the skills for teaching but also the theoretical part in advanced. Then I could refer this knowledge to specify the most common problem for Taiwanese students in English Learning.'

I think it's... I got introduced to lots of literature which I have never known before. And reading those books which are related to what I was doing – I think it's a good reflection of what I was doing when I was a teacher.

Her account gave me a strong impression of a carefully articulated justification of an otherwise arbitrary move from one institute to another, a logic that she seemed to have internalised by the time she was at Monash. Her transition at Monash was not a smooth one. At the beginning Ning felt quite lost at Monash and 'wasn't very comfortable' with her study. She was also quite exasperated when the admissions office wrongly put her in a group she was not supposed to have been in. There were two parallel programmes in the Faculty of Education at Monash – Program I for students who did not have any prior teaching experience while Program II was for students

who did have the experience. Even though Ning was meant for Program I, she was wrongly put into Program II which, as she recounts, had implications for her later:

I had to take 3 compulsory subjects... so I was thinking of doing thesis but I couldn't do it and I did try and R helped me to deal it but it didn't work and I had to do 3 compulsory subjects. And I got a lot of advice from the other subjects as well and so I took one wrong subject so I couldn't do any compulsory subject for the research, for the thesis. I was quite, quite disappointed.

By the time of the interview she was over her frustration even though she regretted not having been given a chance to do a thesis. She explained that not only did she not qualify for a thesis, but she had to take subjects she was not interested in. This was another example of the limited choice of subjects on offer in TESOL programs which Nobu mentioned later (see 7.5.2). She summarised her feelings saying: 'But over all I still feel a bit discouraging for me to study here because I really, really, really wanted to do thesis... one of the reasons why I came here.' She blamed the 'school system' for this and said: 'They should be more different. I mean I don't know what it happened and I'm sure that everyone who are at school they did help me but I just don't know why this cannot be fixed.' She was not the only one to have experienced such a situation. When I asked her if she thought this was an exception or if it happened often, she said: 'It should be an exception but... there are two more girls who had the same situation as me with different reasons, but the same situation'.

In the second interview, more than a year after the first, she still seemed unable to get over it saying:

I still feel disappointed about this mistake by now. If I did take thesis course by then I might have continued to do PhD degree in Australia. Or, I would plan to do further study in a close future. The reason is, if I apply to PhD I have to provide my master thesis as my reference. However, since I don't have a qualified thesis now, I have only a very small chance to be accepted in any university. Of course, I can apply for another thesis study or do researches for journal publish instead. But it all takes time and costs money to be completed. So I do not want to do PhD now.

She summarises her position as 'Hence, my life has been changed because of this mistake'. In the first interview, Ning told me that on completion of TESOL she wanted to go back home to be an English teacher and was confident that her TESOL degree from Monash would make her stand out as different compared to if she had earned a similar degree in Taiwan: 'I think that people's views would be different of course... I think that we could be like half-English speakers for them [locally-trained colleagues] because we studied overseas, like in an English environment. Probably the expectations would be higher than if I took the certification from Taiwan'. This Ning saw as a challenge as well as an inspiration.

I asked Ning to consider a situation where a friend of hers had passed the local teacher qualification test and was now a qualified English teacher. On completion of TESOL from Monash, how would she compare herself with this friend if both were applying for the same position in the same college or university as English teacher? How would she evaluate the chances of employment? Ning thought that this issue depended on 'two different things'. The first was the value students would attach to each of them. In her case they might say: "Oh! You come from overseas or you have studied overseas and probably you can teach me not perfect English but that English that the English that I can use". She said the students would also consider the relative importance 'want[ing] to pass exam', or 'to know very detail English... One is learning a lot - as much as possible and the other one - how to use it: experience'. She was referring to local experience and the washback effect of college-entry exams. In the end, however, she did not have any doubt about her chances in a competitive environment: 'Well, obviously studying in an English country, yes so that benefits'.

Ning said that on her return she would take up a teaching job. She also said that she wanted to have teaching experience first and talked of pedagogical methods such as communicative language teaching with a lot of enthusiasm. However she had not yet taken up teaching by the time she was last contacted, more than a year after she had left Australia. She was back in Taiwan at her old job - working as a Clinical Research Assistant at a pharmaceutical company in Taiwan. At this time she said that she never 'seriously' thought of teaching on her return, even though she was now thinking about 'how to teach medical English for those who are having difficulty in medical reading. For them, I always spend a big time for teaching them English before I train them about the protocol and related documents'.

Ning explained that her job as a CRA offered her good salary, good reputation and self-accomplishment and that not many people could qualify for this job these days. In addition to medical knowledge, CRAs are expected to be organised at work. Ability in English is a 'must' in order to be able to communicate with the co-workers from other countries. Even though the CRA position description does not mention ability to communicate in English, there is an underlying assumption that communicative abilities are very important: 'TESOL study benefited me a lot in developing the sense of notifying the cultural differences and having better teaching skills for study personnel training'.

In her current job, Ning is paid '1.5 times' more than other 'master level workers' ('fresh CRAs'), the reason for which Ning states as her TESOL degree. In two years, as a senior CRA her pay will double. She was very happy with her job: 'I am actually very interested in this job. For me, this not only gives me a good chance to learn more about clinical trial but also gives the chance to cooperate with different people around the world'. She stressed how hard this 'fast turnover' job is, in terms of work hours, and a very 'heavy workload'. So far Ning has not thought of giving up this job in the future 'because if I really do my job well that means I can do something to benefit people by study's findings'.

Ning also said that her Australian education had generated extra expectations from her employers: 'my overseas experience provides general information for protocol design and final report analysis... I can more efficiently tell the cultural differences when medical writer is designing a protocol for global study'. It seemed she was referring to her improvement in English in general, which helped her in her current job:

I'm thinking how to teach medical English for those who are having difficulty in medical reading. Plus, the entire clinical trial documents must be written and recorded in English. Thus, study nurses usually feel very hard to understand all the content that written in English. For them, I always spend a big time for teaching them English before I train them about the protocol and related documents.

### **7.5.2 Nobu: 'But my knowledge level is still the same'**

Identity formation is also shaped by notions of appropriation, resistance and reconstitution. Interpellated subjects can still manipulate discursive positionings by accepting, rejecting and simultaneously taking up multiple contradictory positions. Within it there is space for agency - for individuals to push back discursive positions until they create a new space where they can develop something new. Unlike Ning, Nobu saw 'nothing new' in his TESOL study and was disappointed with what he called the 'knowledge level' of his studies. When asked about his current experience and impressions of TESOL, he did not hesitate to come out directly: 'I am not happy... because my knowledge has still... I completed my Masters degree in Japan, but the knowledge level is the same'.

This he said twice, emphatically, as if to make sure his statement was adequately reinforced. As a person who had had a long gap between his studies and one who had gathered more than 20 years work experience, Nobu was a person of conviction who spoke with a degree of confident ease unmatched by the other participants. In the second interview he distinguished between a Japanese and Australian university education with one word - 'The main difference is research'. He did admit though that there were 'a few things [he] didn't know before'. His masters supervisor in

Japan was the person 'who wrote the course of study in English there so I got many information, much information about learning acquisition. Here I did the same thing but only through English. The difference is there'. Other than the medium of instruction, Nobu saw no difference in his TESOL education, complaining that the 'level of knowledge' was the 'same' in 'both places', and therefore he saw no point in getting yet another degree, an impression he formed a little too late.

Nobu also pointed out the constricted nature of subject choice: 'There are no many choices about units. There are few units. No flexibility.' Incidentally, when I asked if the subjects he had taken would suit his future professional needs, he looked at offered subjects in the course handbook and expressed his surprise at curricular redundancy:

Nobu - The content was the same!

Me - In what ways are they similar?

Nobu - I think they are very basic knowledge about... one was by *RC* and another by *SF*. 6233 - Theory and Prac of TESOL... And this one... 6232 - Professional Practice for Teachers of EFL... but they are very basic and which is necessary. I expected it to be higher level.

Other than subjects, pointing out some specifics about his disappointments at Monash, Nobu reported that the class size of 30 students was 'very big' (and 'bad' as he says later) – large, because in an English class in Japan, 'registered students would be 3 or 4 in English education'. The class was also 'bad' because 'many Japanese students are reluctant... no local students in TESOL international classes. I took day classes so I don't have local students in my classroom... if I took evening classes I might have local students...' Asked why it was good to have local students in class he said: 'we intend to become English teachers so no relationship with local may seem to be not good'. I asked him whether he thought he would have benefited because they are native speakers of English or because they are local students or both, he explained: 'They must have been educated people not ordinary... and their mother tongue'. I was intrigued at the way he used the word 'educated' which in the second interview he explained as follows:

I mean matured. Educated means they are mature. Because this is my experience as well, in Aoyama Gakuin University I got night classes. I was also office worker. Most students came in directly from high school. They're very young. But some other students are working in offices and they had some insights. So that's why I thought 'educated' means not necessarily educated but experienced, maturity.

In the first interview Nobu told me that his future plans were to work in a public school in his prefecture and help unsuccessful learners. Nobu planned to go home on completion of his studies, the main reason being the condition of his study leave (which he refers to as a 'scholarship') from

the government which he secured while studying at Toyama University. He was enrolled in Master of Education in Toyama University from 2003 to March 2005 immediately before he came to Australia. He was allowed to come to Australia only because he was undertaking higher education. However, because he did not complete his studies, he had to pay back his government-funded tuition fees:

I have to become an English teacher in one year. If I became an English teacher I don't have to get it back but I am in Australia so the organisation gave me some exclusion while I am in Australia to study in higher education and then go back and fulfil my teaching job... for three years.

I felt a sense of resigned acceptance in this: 'Virtually it is impossible to stay back... I have to get it back... so I have to go back'. Asked if his plans would have been different had he not been on scholarship and he said, 'Yes, different. Yes!', even though he did not specify exactly how. He would still go back to Japan: 'See, I am old, maybe no change' and then again, reluctantly, he said, 'I may find something but if there was no such obligation I may, not sure, but I may find or seek or looking for some opportunity to live here longer but not sure.' Unlike Xia and Ning, he was not interested in PR, admittedly because he thought he was too 'old' and would not qualify, in any case.

Nobu was aware of the importance attached to the TESOL professional and felt empowered by it. He sounded like Rahman when referring to the ways he felt empowered by TESOL: 'yeah... how can I say... it's difficult question. Because not everyone have achieved this one. So I have achieved different things, not different, but a bit higher'. Considering that he was disappointed with the 'same' knowledge level, this 'higher' status seemed to come from the 'degree' alone. Nobu added:

I have already done one Masters degree from another institution but for me it's almost nothing. But this, I will graduate, so graduate from Monash University... professional - I feel like that, even though I don't have enough experience but still think about two things - if I worked for university level, still I need something because PhD level. But if I work for junior high-school or senior high-school, it is enough. But even I think greater feel to other colleagues, not students. And if I worked for university level I don't feel I am confident.

I asked Nobu if given another chance, whether he would have changed his decisions as far as his choices were concerned. Notwithstanding a degree of uncertainty, he replied in the positive:

Yes, I think so. Maybe I won't enrol this course. I am not sure where I would have gone. Because of the financial matter is too big, when I made a decision the Australia currency was weaker than present... Very difficult... maybe New Zealand.

But if he were to come back again, he would still have studied TESOL, in spite of financial concerns: 'I wouldn't think of any other subject'. He told a friend who asked for advice in choosing university to go for Macquarie University: 'I didn't recommend Monash to him I recommended Macquarie instead'. It is at this point, he talked about the business nature of Monash University, comparing it to Fujitsu. This has been discussed earlier in the chapter.

I contacted Nobu in June 2007 for the third time, almost seven months after he had left Australia. I was particularly interested in investigating his current status, his work and life in general and to see how he was doing. I thought the distance and the time would give both him and myself a convenient and interesting retrospective insight into some of the themes discussed earlier and to see the ways in which he might have transformed from his experience in Australia. Albeit some interesting deviations from the course of path he had earlier chosen to pursue, in general he was on track, as far as his plans were concerned.

Two months earlier, he had joined a junior high school in his hometown as a 'contract based English teacher' and his contract would expire at the end of the third month: 'I will take an examination to get a permanent position here in my prefecture in about three weeks' - a course he had originally planned to undertake. I contacted him again a month later for the fourth and last time. By now he had finished the preliminary exam and was waiting for the results. If he passed, he could sit for the final exam for a permanent position. I could feel exhaustion in his story. He told me how 'hectic' it had been with the teaching, administering and assessing the tests. Nonetheless, there was a sense of deep conviction when he talked about his plans of teaching, which he saw as a very enjoyable experience. He was excited at the prospect of working as a substitute teacher in another school from the following month.

When asked if he was happy with his job and whether he was considering switching over to another job if he got the chance, he said: 'I must say that this is not an easy job. Some students are not easy to deal with; however, I don't think I'll give it up... Nothing is easy. I want to say "not easy" does not necessarily mean "bad"'.

I asked him if his Australian TESOL education helped him; whether he felt 'special' in any way; whether it gave him any advantages or disadvantages. There seemed to be a degree of disillusionment in his answer. He specified three distinct expectations he had in mind in connection to his Monash experience: 'I had expected that I would obtain three English skills: fluency, accuracy and complexity'. I asked him what he meant by 'complexity'. He explained:

If your English skills are not adequate, your speech may sound very simple and plain, consequently it might sound dull. I don't mean to want to be eloquent. I just assume complexity may help me say what I want to say. Anyway, English skills are essential to teach English in the classroom. I may have some fluency comparing with other English teachers of Japanese here in my hometown; but, I'm not satisfied with those skills. Monash's TESOL course, of course, doesn't secure those [three] skills. I think my TESOL degree doesn't balance with my English skills. I mean, if you claim that you have such a degree, you must have excellent English skills as well. I just feel that people expect in that way.

His references to 'dull, 'simple and plain' and 'speech' seemed to suggest that he expected his TESOL study to improve his overall English skills, as opposed to teaching skills. However, he was also aware that to an extent he would still have an edge over his colleagues at school. In this last email he explained in what ways he thought Monash had failed to secure those three skills for international students:

I saw some international students whose English skills are less adequate to communicate with native English speakers. Monash have already accommodated too many international students, consequently they are not novelty to native English speakers. They are indifferent to people who have different mother tongue.

When I reminded him about his original plan - to get hired in a public school in his prefecture to help unsuccessful learners - he pointed out that that was exactly what he was doing:

I must admit that I don't have enough time to teach English particularly focusing on those students. There are mainly four reasons. First of all, I'm a novice teacher whose teaching skill is inadequate. Secondly, I'm in charge of operating my own class, which means that I'm a homeroom teacher as well as an English teacher. Operating my class requires a lot of efforts and takes a lot of time. Thirdly, lack of teaching time. You have to teach all of the contents of the textbook authorised by the Japanese Ministry of Education. You don't have time to focus on those students. It is also required to enhance English skills of upper and middle ranged students. Finally, I need my time to prepare the test for a permanent position. There are a lot of dilemmas. But, I'm still eager to teach English to them.

Despite such unexpected problems, Nobu displayed deep knowledge in his thoughtful analysis of his teaching experience. I asked him about the affective dimension of his current workplace, keeping in mind his past experience at Fujitsu and the rat-race attitude of *hito no ashi wo hipparu*. Had he experienced anything similar in his current workplace? He answered in the negative, but added:

I feel that teaching staff are exhausted. Despite everything has been changing: all systems around you except the public servant system including the school system, it doesn't change. Workload per one teacher exceed the workload one teacher can handle. Also, they are at risk of lawsuits by their parents. I heard that a lot of teachers have to choose to leave their profession because of mental illness.

Echoing what he had said earlier, regarding not recommending Monash University to prospective international students (see 7.4.2), Nobu told me that he had not yet met anyone who wanted to come to Australia for studies but he said that if he did, he would 'recommend American or Canadian universities because Japanese textbooks and other teaching materials are compiled based on American English'. He also explained:

Some other factors may affect the choice. To see the practical side, Japanese Yen is much weaker against Australian dollar than against US dollar. There are a large number of transactions between Japan and US. Also, Japanese media quote news from American culture, its market, its politics and so on.

Nobu had no intention of joining a big company like Fujitsu again anytime in the future. He explained that his motivation was to educate learners and work as a teacher:

Japan has developed rapidly. During this process, many Japanese have prioritised economic activities to make money. Working longer hours at companies weakened paternal presence in the family. People pay less attention to public interest. I assume heavily profit-oriented attitudes have led to a notion of self-centered attitudes. I think Japanese people have lost something important in their heart. Along with teaching English, I'd like to educate young Japanese.

### **7.5.3 Yun: Scepticism About Being an English Teacher - Native Speaker Fallacy**

Despite certain reservations, Yun found her TESOL study useful. In the first interview, she frankly talked about how TESOL had changed her views regarding certain aspects of teaching, which she looked forward to implementing in practice:

I think I'm quite open to new ideas so... you know the more you are involved the more you will get out of it. Something maybe you are clever and for me it is useless or whatever. I just want to... I've learnt something interesting and useful. Before I came here I never thought... actually, for example, I never thought 'assessment' was a kind of subject! At that time when I was teaching, I was struggling grading my students consistently. But I'm taking Second Language Assessment here so I think I get a general idea of second language assessment. It's very useful.

This optimism seemed to have given way by the time of my second interview with her, which took place after she had just submitted her Masters thesis. At that time Yun was teaching Chinese on a part-time basis to four Australian adults, who were 'highly motivated' because they were going to be sent to China for business. However, she told me: 'it seems to be very hard to find a full time job as a teacher teaching adults Chinese here'. Yun was uncertain about her prospects for TESOL work: 'I think Australian universities want to attract Chinese students to come here to study' and 'I think it's natural that they usually emphasise the ones studying here'.

In the first interview Yun told me: 'I think I'll be back. I think I'm very family-oriented, I miss my mum', and later, 'my mum has to pay for my tuition fee but I think I can make both ends meet by myself'. Yun's mother had paid for her tuition fees while she earned her living expenses from work at Subway and by teaching Chinese.

I think what I am doing is worthwhile... I quit my job in 2005 because I was sure what my life would be 20 years later if I keep working there. Although life here is full of uncertainty and I often feel puzzled and frustrated about that sometimes, I don't regret my decision.

Almost seven months later, by the time of the second interview, Yun's plans had changed significantly. She now wanted to stay in Melbourne for a while as she was 'considering teaching Chinese', even though she knew it would depend on her visa status. She also told me that she was considering applying for PR for which she needed to meet 'several basic requirements', one of which was two years equivalent full-time study. Because Yun's Master of TESOL course had a duration of one and a half years, she would not be eligible to claim the 'required points' and therefore she was thinking of doing another degree - probably a Master of Education. Yun was aware that a six-month course would not qualify her to meet the requirement and that other than 'marry[ing] an Australian', there really was no alternative or shortcut to PR.

When I contacted her for the third time several months later, she was still thinking of PR very seriously ('I need to leave my options open') even though she reminded me she had to wait until the end of the year to qualify. There was frustration in her tone as she realised she may have better utilised the time had she taken the right course as far as duration was concerned:

I am sure now whether I will stay or go back to China. I need to study here as a full time student for 2 years and my first Master is 1.5 years, so I have to take another Master. I did not take Diploma of Education, since I found myself much more interested in teaching adults Chinese than teenagers... Life here is often full of uncertainty and pleasant surprises. Probably that is one of the reasons that I have decided to apply for PR.

We have seen earlier that Yun regretted not having consulted agents, who would possibly have told her to consider the PR option at the 'right' time.

The last time I contacted Yun, she had just received bound copies of her Masters thesis and was doing her second masters (Master of Education) which would see her graduate at the end of the year. Because of an extension of her first degree, there was an overlap with which she had to cope. She was also teaching part-time in two schools - as a 'native language teaching aid' at a grammar school helping Year 12 students prepare for the high school final Chinese oral test. She was also

teaching adults Chinese at a 'privately owned school'. Considering that she was still studying and had not yet received her results yet, it was indeed a remarkable achievement.

Other than her immediate plans of staying in Australia to teach Chinese, she was thinking of PR for other reasons: 'I think if I get PR that would be easier for me to go abroad... Maybe I can teach Chinese in other countries'. In addition she also knew that in Australia it would be

easier for me to find a full-time job... Cause, you know if you check the job hunting website on the Internet, one of the basic requirements is that you must be a PR or a citizen... the employers they cannot employ a person who has a temporary visa... If they employee couldn't get the visa extension, they have to go back to their home country and who will do their job.

She added that she fully understood the reality and approved of employers usually not trusting people on temporary visas. However, Yun was well aware of the situation in that she knew that even if she completed her TESOL, got PR and stayed in Australia, she was not sure that her TESOL degree would help her as much as it would in China:

I cannot teach here. I have to get Diploma in Education, otherwise I cannot teach here, even I get a master in TESOL... If I want to teach at secondary schools I have to have a diploma in education but I do not want to teach in secondary schools.

At this point I reminded her that due to changes in her future plans, she might not go back to China and teach as she had originally planned. She explained:

I'm not quite sure but maybe I'll go back to China directly after graduation. You know I think here in Melbourne, not so many native speakers are interested in learning Chinese. Maybe it's easier for me to get a job, I mean as a Chinese teacher to teach those non-native speakers in Beijing or those international cities.

When Yun talked about how her views on the differences in learning had changed over the months due to the knowledge she gathered as part of her TESOL studies, she attributed her dissatisfaction to how much money she had spent on her education:

When I started studying here I felt quite confused, you know?... the tuition fee for international students is very expensive but at the very beginning I thought that teachers seem not... no, actually, I think not to be learning you know? So gradually I am aware of the differences of definition, I mean maybe we have different definitions of learning. That is not my problem... I mean that is not my fault and not teacher's fault. That's kind of...[the situation]. So I think teachers here, they teach you something... but they do not teach you all, you have to find the rest on your own.

In the first interview, when I asked if she thought at that time whether TESOL could advance her career, unlike Rika who said that the Japanese prefer home-grown professionals (see 8.9), Yun

asserted confidently: 'Yeah, right ... you know Chinese people are crazy about English so I think if I can get a Master of TESOL it's quite easy for me to get a job in China'. Her impressions about this also seemed to have changed by the time of the second interview, taken about five and a half months later, while she was still doing TESOL at University of Melbourne and talked about the way in which she lost her optimism regarding job prospects. I asked her how she would define a 'good job', at least as far as she was concerned. She said: 'A good job - you have interest in it and you can get salary that you are satisfied with. To support yourself and support your family'. Regarding the credibility of a TESOL degree in China today, she said, 'I'm not sure if my TESOL degree here will bring me a good job now actually'. She attributed this change of situation to the competitive market and the increasing number of students who now graduate from overseas universities and eventually return to China to find a job: 'there are lots of students who have finished their overseas studies who choose to go back home to find job so... they are quite competitive, so I'm not quite sure whether my degree here will bring me a good job...'. Further, she told me:

The situation has changed a lot from what it used to be 10 years ago. I think it is easier for students to pass exams and get a chance to go to university. So more and more graduate students couldn't find a job in China - the salary is very low. I mean it's easy to find a job but it depends on the definition of what is 'good' - what do you think is good for you or not. I taught English several years ago in China and some of my students they are going to graduate next year. We still keep in touch and they told me it was really difficult for them to find a good job for anyone, not to mention girls, for whom it was *even* more difficult.

This response recalls Xia's assertion when she talked about 'work pressure' in China (see 7.5.5). Yun's misgivings and frustration were well founded as she recounted the recent changes in her hometown. In just over three years after she joined as teacher, it was now no longer possible to get a job with a Bachelors degree:

I graduated from the university in 2001 from Tianjin which is one of the 4 cities directly controlled by the government. At that time the university where I used to work was not key university. At that time I just got my bachelor's degree, so I found a job there you know but 3 years later in 2003 it is impossible for a bachelor to get a job to teach English at university. At least you have to have your master degree. So if I can graduate successfully, that will be in 2007, at that time that will be not easy for a master to get a job at university.

#### **7.5.4 Rahman: 'Is teaching really my passion?'**

My second interview with Rahman was conducted almost a year and a half after the first. It was particularly difficult to get in touch with Rahman, who went back to Indonesia for a few months over summer and then once more, to get married. By the time the second interview was conducted, he was in his last semester and complained of some 'personal' problems that kept him

from responding to my many invitations for an interview (including the one to come over to Monash, see 5.5.2 and *Appendix 9*). Even though Rahman had a very convivial personality and was a regular contributor to online blogs, his personal frustration appeared to have cut a deep mark on his views and on the themes sought in the second interview. Of particular concern was the way in which he now saw himself - a situation in which he was stuck, involuntarily, and without hope. However, from his rather laconic responses in the second interview it was difficult to attribute them either to his personal circumstances or to his studies.

As noted in the previous chapter, some figures from the past - the school headmaster, the representative from the Education Ministry, his parents and friends - seemed to have had a significant impact on choices he made subsequently (see 6.1.5). In the second interview I asked him what or who influenced him most as far as his studies and future career plans were concerned. Rahman did not give me a single answer saying the he was 'not sure' what his biggest influences were at present, explaining that he now looked more towards the future rather than the past:

I am not quite sure what or who influences me the most today. However, this is the path that I have chosen so like it or not I have to live with it and make the most effort to achieve it. That means I have to really work hard to be as good teacher of English as I can because that is what I am going to do when I go back home. Every now and then, I asked myself "is teaching really my passion?" I still haven't seen the 'yes' answer to that question. But I do not know either what I am passionate about. Therefore, the best thing I can do is to try to like and to be passionate about the path that I have chosen.

There was a sense of subdued acceptance in what he said shaped, perhaps, by the personal problems he was facing, and hardened by a renewed realisation of his situation, implied in the way he talked about the limitedness of his choices. This difference became apparent when compared with the optimism of his first interview when he told me his thoughts about the image of the TESOL professional as someone special who had expectations as well as responsibilities: 'I think a TESOL person should be very sensitive to the culture of their students. They have to meet the needs analysis along the whole process I mean on the whole teaching process'. Rahman did not respond to my final questions.

### **7.5.5 Xia: Buying Experience - 'they expect native teachers to teach'**

In their experience of international education, when desiring a 'new life', individuals often desire not just life-changing experiences, but also a permanent relocation and complete change in their lives. In some participants the desire for migration and permanent residence in Australia became apparent later in their stay, even when they came here as temporary international students. In

these cases desires were constructed after they had been in Australia for a while and had begun to see the various benefits of migrating as a possibility. Such benefits are not always purely personal in nature, even in terms of getting well-paid jobs, but are mainly in relation to the cost of studying, greater freedom and better opportunities for furthering career. In some cases the desire for migration involved personal relationships that developed while the students were here. While international students pay almost twice as much tuition fees as local students, in case of research degrees (Masters by research or PhD), local students' fees are entirely funded by the government through schemes such as Commonwealth-funded places and RTS (Research Training Scheme). This is why participants like Xia planned to further their studies towards a PhD only after getting PR.

Baas' (2006) study reports that in most cases the desire for a PR is fuelled by feelings of disappointment about both the quality and cost of education students receive in Australia. Having invested a lot of money in their education, and often having taken out large loans to finance their dreams, they come to Australia with high expectations. A PR for them is a form of compensation for something they feel they have not received but for which they paid a lot of money. This was apparent in Xia's case who towards the end was feeling increasingly uncomfortable with her chances of getting PR.

While Xia was doing her first degree at the University of Melbourne, she was entirely supported by her family, as she was not on any scholarship. When she started her second degree (a Research Masters), she received a scholarship that would cover both her tuition fees and living expenses. She was conscious of the costs of her study to which she made frequent references, when talking about her expectations from her studies. When she first came to Australia she did not have 'much expectation' because she had 'no idea what will happen'. However, shortly after her classes started, she had a discussion with her friends, all self-financed students at University of Melbourne, who talked about their disappointments and the many ways in which they expected so much more from their studies. They were particularly concerned about the huge expenses associated with their studies, which Xia readily explained with almost mathematical precision:

I think they could have done better... We only have on average 2 classes a week - 2 subjects per semester. 3 hours for one subject a week. So each subject is 36 hours per semester. And then we calculated - it was too expensive. Like we almost pay \$100 per hour. More than \$100 an hour!

In a more or less similar manner, Yun told me that tuition fees were 'very expensive': 'You know we only have 12 weeks in one semester and the tuition fee for one semester is \$19,000'. Considering the quality of education she received here, Yun thought it was just not 'worth' the

money she had to pay for it. Xia also voiced her concerns about the teaching quality of some of her teachers, whom she thought would do better as supervisors for research rather than classroom teachers:

regarding the teaching part here at university... I've had some good teachers, they're really good and I like them... and there are some teachers here... I think they are more capable of doing research than teaching. They give us guidelines and do our literature review. We go to the library and we study ourselves and we are give guidance what to read and what to concentrate on, what we need to read.

In the second interview she reiterated her views on her teachers, this time adding that:

I think teachers here they have that, sort of like, teaching is not the major part of their work, like doing research is more important. So they talked about what their research in class and talked about other stuff which is not so related and they didn't do to well in teaching and I think they didn't spend much time to prepare for the class.

She knew that: 'there are some good ones. Very caring - taking good care of international students. I think just a few. I think most of the teachers are good'. However, her overall impression was one of disappointment. Regarding her own research supervisor, Xia was generally happy and found in her a 'very helpful' and 'supporting' person who paid 'attention to... details' - one who has always actively helped her with 'ethics and data analysis' and sent her 'long emails telling me what to do and if she forgot something later she would send me another email telling me what to do'. Xia was conscious that as part of her study here, she was also 'buying' valuable experience to invest in later: 'I think it's more like I didn't expect a lot because it's more experience here, it's not just about studying, like living experience, living on our own, so generally I think it's worth it'.

Xia never thought of staying permanently in Australia until she was at the end of her first degree. The idea came from her friends, some of whom had already applied or were in the process of applying for PR, having completed their studies: 'Before I was here I never thought of it. I just finish my study and come back to my country'. The main reason that prompted her to consider PR was financial:

I didn't want to spend more of my parents' money. I thought if I could get this scholarship... it all depends on whether I will get this scholarship, if I get it I will start my this degree and I will have money for 2 years and then I will try to stay. Otherwise it is also impossible.

Xia's current scholarship provided both tuition fees and living costs but her first degree was paid for by her parents. She told me that they would not ask for it back but she planned to return. In addition, there were other factors that made her think of PR: 'I thought it would give me more

opportunities... I know others who did TESOL and then did a Dip Ed because that's more direct'. Even though a lot of her friends are now doing a Graduate Diploma in Education after completing a Masters degree (as the latter would give them the qualification required to teach in Australia), she was doing another Masters degree because 'that comes to the point because this is *really* what I want to do'. I asked Xia what, in her circumstances, were the best things about getting PR. She said: 'I think get more freedom, like, as I said I went back to China in October and when I was there I found all those old colleagues they are under some kind of pressure which I don't want to be under'.

In this regard, she told me about the 'professional pressure' and the 'working environment' which her colleagues had to endure, even in a good job in China. In her last visit to China, she experienced severe illness which she attributed to the 'environment', which was another reason for her thinking about settling in Australia on completion of her studies:

And even, I know it's really bad to say that, but I was back for 10 days and during those 10 days I was sick... and I just prefer to live here. And I think more freedom with PR I can find jobs here and there. And I like the relaxing style. I think the freedom - most important.

In the first interview, Xia said that in terms of her future plans, she had thought that TESOL would meet her expectations and that it would get her a better job and better pay when she returned to China. She also said that even though she had happily learnt a lot of things, like Nobu, it was not the 'quality' that mattered to her, it was mainly about the qualification - in China this matters more than *what* one has learnt. However, she told me that she did not want to go back and become a teacher again, and hence the PR option. In the second interview I asked her how she would now compare staying in Australia and teaching, with going back home to invest in her TESOL degree, and getting a good job with a higher pay. This time she seemed more confident about her plans:

I think it's just a decision that you have to make, like if I go back better life and... I don't see it as a very bright future- I don't know why. I know here maybe I will meet more difficulties and there's lots of like - just too much to think about but... you know some people have the easy way and the hard way and they choose the hard way? I'd like to because I like living here and I think it depends on people and depends on how much effort you make and so I think it is not that impossible that if I stay that I have to work forever in a restaurant. So now I think if everything I do or say failed - failed to get PR, I may feel disappointed but it's not the end of my life and I can still go back and make a comfortable living.

In this second interview, conducted seven months later, I noted a few other significant changes to her immediate future plans. By now she was near the completion of her thesis and had broken up with her Australian boyfriend, who was why she thought about the PR option ('Yeah, I think that's where it started'). She was still interested in teaching English in Australia and recently sent her

résumé to a friend's friend who worked at a language school where they were looking for ELICOS teachers. She said she felt 'worried' because 'English was not [her] first language' and she was aware of 'native speaker fallacy' – the assumption that native speakers would automatically make better teachers. She also expressed doubts about her current research which she thought was 'irrelevant' in a teaching career: 'The thing is I like teaching but because of the research I am doing, if I work for the language schools, I want to do something about teacher training like EFL Chinese teachers'. She recalled her earlier plans of going back and talked about the circumstances that led her to a compromise with the current situation:

Back to like one year ago my thought is, like, after I finish this is what I really want to do, as long as I don't have to pay for the tuition fee, I will do it. And after this degree I will go back. I was quite determined to go back, I think. I told my parents although they don't think I might stay they are happy if I could stay but I told them I would go back and I think I could do more back in China... Yeah, I think the first time I made decision; I want to apply for PR, that's what I am thinking now, and then I find all those benefits for it. Just as, the more I find it the more I want to do it.

She had not lost her optimism of working here and PR still remained her first preference. Xia was also aware of major changes being introduced to PR by the Department of Immigration and Multicultural and Indigenous Affairs (DIMIA) and she thought that it was 'getting more difficult'. She strongly believed University of Melbourne encouraged students to seek PR through hosted 'exhibitions' and seminars where university agents, immigration lawyers and people from DIMIA alike talk about PR, distribute handouts and provide 'advice':

I think first they have those exhibitions, where they invite DIMIA people, to come here to tell student how to apply for PR, what you need to do. They have those seminars all year, like several per semester... I went to one of them and people just giving advice – very helpful and official, it's very... it's not something for friends so whenever you are here... also the faculty staff they help you – some students they've been here for less than 2 years and need to do extra one year, one and a half year... the faculty staff they provide help they suggest like what you need to do and what is the best way to do it. Things like that.

Now that she had already finished TESOL, Xia was hopeful and optimistic and thought that TESOL would give her what she expected at the beginning, as far as her 'career' was concerned: 'I think I will get better job, better pay when I get back... It's more about the qualifications that I have got. But still, what I have learnt is also helpful'. Almost immediately after she said that TESOL would give her a 'better job' in China, in answer to a different question, she said that she had considered not going back at all. At this point she did not yet reveal her plans for applying for PR in Australia but said:

I don't really want to go back and become a teacher again. Because if that's what I wanted, I didn't have to take the trouble of coming out and I don't have to spend a fortune. So I don't want to go back to become a teacher, even that gives me a better pay, better position.

She had earlier mentioned that gaining experience as part of her study itself was 'profitable'. However, now she said with conviction that going back would be a waste in that she had 'spent a fortune'. I asked her if she thought she contradicted herself. She explained that the reason why she did not want to go back was that she did not want to remain 'enclosed' (or to be 'more mobile', as she said later) by which she was probably referring to having her options closed and limited. She then revealed her plans of applying for PR in a move that would enable her not only to pursue further studies in a PhD without having to pay for it and taking almost as much time as she requires, but also allow her to pursue a career in teaching in Australia. Once she submitted her thesis, she planned to sit for a skills assessment test and get the required points to apply for PR since her current status did not give her the required points (hence the second degree):

I wanted to do something more maybe about two cultures and (be) more mobile. I used to think I would do a PhD straightaway but now I want to take my time. Like, after I get my PR, it's free, right? I can do it anytime, even part-time. Yes, so I just want to start my career first. And I wanted to do something about teaching. I have my plan - like I don't know how to start it but I will try to find some related job here.

In fact, she had already talked to a Chinese friend and her husband, both working on an online English teaching website in China, which she would like to 'resource' here in Melbourne 'to see market of online English teaching... something like that - online English study'. I felt that despite some uncertainties, Xia wanted to launch a career in English teaching as soon as she could. She planned to target it for students from 'anywhere' but primarily 'with China'. In other words, she wanted to build up her career here using local resources but one that would involve China. By the time I had the second interview with her, the situation had changed a lot. Her friend was pregnant and went back to China, even though she was still in touch with her. She was 'still interested' in the project and her husband could invest the money... we were just planning'. However she did not seem too sure this time: 'No, I'm not thinking about it. I am more concerned about finishing my thesis now. Maybe start some related jobs here first'.

We have earlier seen how international education discourses place the student in the position of a learner who is willing to be educated into the norms of a 'western' academic culture, and taught whatever is on offer. In Xia's case we see such a student who on completion of her TESOL studies found it to be inadequate in meeting her professional aspirations. I last contacted Xia about seven months after the second interview (and therefore 14 months after the first). By now Xia had submitted her thesis and had received partial results from her examiners. She was waiting for the

final results so that she 'could use it to apply for PR'. In the meantime she had passed the skills assessment test for PR, for which she was applying as a 'translator'. She was also preparing all the necessary paperwork for PR application.

However, her search for a suitable job did not yield many results and she did not hide her frustration: 'I started looking for jobs even before I submitted my thesis. The positions I applied for include ELICOS teachers, admin staff in schools or training centres, however, no luck so far'. She was still working in a food court in the city. She was unsure as to why she did not manage to get a job: 'I'm not sure if it's because I've not tried hard enough. For ELICOS teachers, I was told that as the students are high fee paying students, they expect native speakers to teach'. She had initially planned to go for a 'Certificate IV for Assessment and Workplace Training' which was a requirement for any adult-level training, including teaching at ELICOS centres, since from 'the initial feedback I got while looking for jobs, I'm not sure even if I got it they would employ me to teach'. As for the administrative jobs she had applied for, 'either no response at all or they told me I was overqualified (again, I'm not sure if this is just an excuse, I have limited admin experience anyway)'. At the time of this contact she was still trying, even though she said 'from time to time feeling discouraged and doubt if staying is a wise choice... but anyway, it has not been long and I should not give up'.

Her short term plans included getting PR and 'work in areas such as EFL teacher training programs, or anything about language training. I just want to be part of programs which involve both teachers and professional from China and institutions here in Melbourne'. As for long term plans, if she manages to place her 'feet on the path', she would 'love to follow [EFL teaching] as [her] career and see what would happen along this'. She added: 'Although this is really what I want to do, I would also try other career options if there is not many opportunities in these areas for me'. She was not sure if she would stay in Australia, even if she got PR: 'As much as I love it here, I guess it all depends on where I see the best job opportunities'.

Given another chance, Xia would not have chosen to study in Australia: 'maybe in America' because 'in China, like they think that US has the best education, no matter which area. I think whenever possible, every student's dream who want to go study overseas'. It appeared that she shared the view of the US also constructed by the other participants: 'Other friends and those seniors like my cousin - my cousin always says - go to America. Now he is in Singapore he has done his PhD but he is still not satisfied because his dream is to go to America!'. She was

convinced about the superiority of America evidenced by the ranking system: the 'most famous universities [are] in the US'.

Despite a number of disappointments, Yun saw her TESOL study in a similarly optimistic manner: 'The journey of study is painful but wonderful, since I know I am growing personally and my thinking is expanding. I think what I am doing is worthwhile'. Throughout the period when Yun was doing a Master of TESOL she had misgivings, which appeared to spring out of her doubts about the teaching, as to whether she was doing the right thing: 'There was a point where I thought this will really help me a lot, like it is a part of my study. What I was doing before and what I will be doing I thought it would be very helpful... Umm, it depends, and it changes... '. Using clear binaries, she distinguished 'Westerners' (rather than Australians or native-speakers) from 'Chinese people':

You know it is very complicated... there are many ups and downs. So I am learning something new and I am very excited but you know... we, I mean westerners and Chinese people usually have many... different definitions of some things - such as 'learning', such as, you know, interpersonal relationships. So, I'm struggling learning those... I mean basic concepts and there are also many differences of basic educational philosophy.

## 7.6 Concluding Comments

Holstein and Gubrium (2000) view the self not only as a social structure but as 'a valued social construction, reproduced time and again in everyday life' (p. *ii*). For participants, speaking of self as well as being spoken to, create complex and changing stories. These stories are in turn internalised not only by multiple discourses and contexts, but also by the internal processes of desire and appropriation. Campbell and Rew (1999) have shown how a complex structure of constructing subjectivities is created by stitching together personal desire and experience, ways of being and the sense of belonging to the national 'tribe'. These are all the myriad aspects of the complex subjectivity which international students have constructed through experiencing different ways of being in their encounter with the 'other language' and 'other culture'.

Despite the diversity of their learning thresholds, their varying levels of competence in English, as well as their rich but differing professional experiences and aptitudes, international students are still viewed as a homogeneous group by agents and universities, who are all in need of the same level of help. We have seen that when international students are constructed as a group, or when they develop subjectivities based on sameness and difference, they are given closed subject positions from where they can talk about themselves only in limited ways. Occasionally they are able to defy such positions or to even manipulate them. However, because deep seated relations of

power hold these positions in place, this is often difficult to achieve. Hence a more sophisticated way of talking about the international student subjectivity is to talk about the multiplicity, plurality and indeed the contradictory nature of experiences discussed here. It is due to this complexity and the perpetually reinventing nature of their selves, that they are difficult to stereotype.

Students talked about the disparity between what was promised and what they received. The scepticism about the future of being a teacher of English and issues such as the native speaker fallacy constructs truths about international TESOL education not endorsed or recognised in the dominant discourses of international education. The image of the TESOL professional and the TESOL industry is demythologised through such accounts. The participants did not merely tell, but lived their experience as international students. We have earlier seen the self as a 'reflexive project' through which individuals perpetually construct and reconstruct themselves, while also connecting their personal biographies to a larger social history. It is an *ongoing* process which, despite accommodating contradictions, fractures and conflicts, displays biographical continuity.

In the next chapter I present the story of Rika, in whom we see the multiple conflicting forces of international education discourses and their impact upon creating unique, perpetually constructed selves in motion.

## CHAPTER EIGHT

### Rika: 'The Spotlight of Difference'

*Growing up seemed to mean becoming a speaker of English, which would allow [them] to join the world of powerful voices... They will need to adopt the voice of the 'other' as part of their own voice, finding some way to reconcile the power differential between those two voices... Alternatively... by appropriating fully the voice of the more powerful other, negating the part of their identity that now seems to constitute their core selves.*

Kamler 1999, p. 105

The previous two chapters investigated the various processes of identity formation in relation to the major themes of this thesis. For all the similarities between the participants - the tensions, frictions, accommodations and negotiations which they had in common - they each experienced these things in different ways. In discussing the story of the sixth participant, Rika, I take a different approach, exploring how identity formation takes place in the case of one individual over a lifetime. My purpose now is to offer a more nuanced account of how one of the participants grappled with the challenges facing her as an international student and the tensions she experienced. It is of central interest to this partly ethnographic study to gain insight into one individual's story through the difference phases of her role as child, primary and secondary school student, university undergraduate, international student and a teacher of English.

In the manner of a biographical case study, this chapter focuses exclusively on Rika, the most articulate of all the participants and the most sensitive to themes of identity. Throughout my two interviews with her I sensed a very self-conscious, even elitist distinctiveness about her, paradoxically heightened by the almost xenophobic distrust she sees as inherent in the *Nihonjin* (Japanese). She displayed a very confident and self-conscious articulation of identity which evidently grew quite early in her life due to her unique personal circumstances. Throughout my conversations with her I could also trace a carefully drawn out self/other distinction which seemed to have been conscious and deliberate. It was a distinction or binary which was enacted through her conversations with me, evident in various ways and in various forms. Her dialogue constituted an adventure narrative and the way she repeatedly shifted back in time added to the complexity of her experience. In her story we see examples of how the distinct self (in the sense of being 'anti-mainstream', to borrow Rika's own words) actively resists and reconstitutes its hybrid identities incorporating agency, creativity, fluidity, negotiation, continuity, dynamic change, and connectedness. For all that she says about not fitting in, in the end she paradoxically remains a person with a deep sense of belonging.

From the very beginning there were several compelling reasons for choosing Rika for a separate, chapter-length study within the broader framework of this thesis. Her enthusiasm and the degree of engagement she displayed for this research was conspicuous from the beginning. Her responses were well articulated and deeply intriguing. In addition, I observed significant complexity and contradiction in some of her statements, further intriguing me and leading me into new avenues of thought. Rika also often seemed to renegotiate some of her own earlier statements by providing further contextual-biographical information. The ways in which she articulated her identity posed challenges to herself, even while in the interviews, some of which she seemed to have been unaware of. In other words, I could see some of the things she said as evidence of her identity struggle without her naming them as such, further complicating certain issues of her identity.

We have earlier discussed Giddens' (1991) view of the self as a reflexive project, and Holstein and Gubrium's (2000) notion of identity as a personal project. Participants construct their identities in an ongoing effort by participating in the many forms of embeddedness our participation in human cultural institutions offer us. While constructing our identity through narratives, we tailor it to the particularities of 'groups' (such as 'TESOL students' or 'Japanese') we think we belong to, which in turn shape our views of ourselves. However, as storytellers, individuals are not simply puppets of their actions (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000, p. 103), as though their stories simply open windows to communicable experience. In eliciting as well as analysing Rika's stories, I therefore placed equal emphasis on both the contents of her stories and on what they tell us about her various selves, connecting her personal biography to a larger social history.

Irrespective of where she was at any point in time of her life - whether in Japan or in Australia - Rika displayed a consistent and deep consciousness of her identity and tended to see herself as a 'self' distinct from others. Early in her life she learnt the insecurity of being seen as 'different' and 'other', but as she grew up, she insisted more and more on being 'different', as though in protest. This tendency of her refusal to be seen as a 'mainstream' being is highly complex and implicates her decision making processes as well as her views on the major concerns of this thesis. Despite such contradictions, Rika's attempt to negotiate her identity gave me an impression of integrity within her own self, as a person perennially trying to find out who she was throughout her life. In order to do justice to the highly complex and sophisticated process of her identity formation, I have chosen to write this with minimal commentary in my account of her story. The sections within this chapter are written mostly in chronological order, however, with certain deviations as required by the themes of discussion.

### 8.1 Foundations of Identity: 'I chose to accept my difference'

Originally from Tokyo, Japan, and 27, Rika was enrolled in an MEd TESOL International at Monash University when the first interview was conducted. Prior to coming to Australia she had completed a BA in English Literature at Japan Women's University in Tokyo and taught English for three years. However, Rika spent the first four years of her life in Australia – a factor that seemed to have shaped her overall perception of identity from a very early stage in her life. She returned to Australia for the second time a year and a half before the first interview was taken. In this section I discuss Rika's life in relation to learning English, all the way from the formative years of her early childhood to junior high school.

Rika's articulations on her identity recall Hall (1996a, 1997) and Hall and duGay's (1996) discussion of several aspects of dynamic, multiple identities. She recurrently labelled herself as 'anti-mainstream', 'anti-American', 'against power', but also as 'Japanese' and the 'other'. However, she had a hesitant, provisional tone in her answers and seemed to avoid saying the final word with regard to her identity. The questions I tried to pursue throughout the first part of our conversation were: is there such a thing as a 'Japanese identity'? If there is one, what does it mean to have a Japanese identity? And what does it take to 'get' a Japanese identity?

Even though in her case the form of 'exile' from studying overseas was voluntary, Acton's observation that 'exile is the nursery of nationality' seemed to resonate (in Scholte, 1996, p. 42). It seemed to me that Rika was more Japanese in Australia than in Japan. On the one hand, there was a confident, if at times inconsistent, emphasis on the way she viewed herself in Japan as distinct from the mainstream Japanese. On the other hand, when in Australia, she saw herself as distinctly apart from her class of international students. In the second interview I asked her if she had contradicted herself. She admitted that it was 'very true', explaining that:

I'm not sure if I can explain it very well... in Japan, I think there is not enough cultural/ethnic diversity, after all. Therefore, most Japanese, who are ethnically Japanese, see themselves as 'Japanese' - and it's kind of default identity, you don't have to mention. So when I think of my identity in Japan, my little difference in a homogenous society, I felt, stands out from other Japanese, which made me feel I was/am different.

She went on to give me an example to illustrate her point: 'My friend from Australia just visited me and said my husband is 90% Japanese and I am 85% Japanese. The difference is only that much'. Later on she discussed the 'little differences' which made her 'stand out'. It seemed to me that she thought that the Japanese identity was something that was *ascribed* to her, a difference she was nonetheless 'happy' with. However, she recalled how 'difficult' it was to 'handle' such

difference in her childhood. In the end she gave up in her attempts to homogenise with others – ‘so I chose to accept my difference and so since then I am different’. In the following sections we see how Rika struggled not only in her quest to find a satisfactory answer that would adequately ‘define’ her identity in relation to others, but also one that would put her at rest in her lifelong pursuit of the question – ‘who am I?’

### **8.1.1 First Contact: ‘I spoke English as nearly my first language’**

Rika first ‘formally studied’ English at junior high school in Tokyo when she was 13. However, since she had spent the first four years of her life in Australia, her first ‘lessons’ at kindergarten were in English. There was a 10 year gap between these two periods and another 10 before she started using it in ‘daily life’ as an adult. She came to Australia when she was only eight months old and left when she was just over four: ‘Up until then, my English was stronger than my Japanese. But then I went back to Japan and lost all my English’. This was a time when she spoke English with first-language proficiency. However, just like Rahman, Nobu and Ning (see 6.2.1 and 6.2.2), on her return, when she eventually attended junior high school, ‘English was the worst subject of all’. She recalled:

I had this time in my life when I spoke English as nearly my first language and then I lost it and started learning it in junior high school as a school subject. I was a bit confident at that time because I was sure I could because I did use it but it turned out that it was a completely different thing. And I was really, really poor in English. English was the worst subject of all. So throughout my junior high school days English was my worst subject.

She attributed this transition from ‘a bit confident’ English speaker to one ‘really, really poor’ to the primary education system in Japan where the use of English is minimal. Her emphasis on ‘worst’ suggested not only her dislike for a difficult subject, but the struggle and frustration she experienced later on at junior high school to cope with a ‘skill’ at which she was once good.

### **8.1.2 Final Year at Junior High School: ‘being cool’**

Rika voiced deep misgivings about her reluctance to assimilate into the majority – the culturally homogeneous masses of Japan – to be ‘one of them’. She attributed her ‘transition’ from ‘a poor learner’ to a ‘more confident user’ of English at junior high school to her friendship with a Japanese classmate who had spent some time in France. She ‘bonded’ with this girl who was very ‘different’ from her other classmates and because of her French experience, had more interest in the ‘outside world’. Her use of the word ‘ordinary’ suggested to me a way through which she

distinguished herself from the 'mainstream' – a notion in her conceptualisation of identity which assumed greater importance through repeated emphasis later in the interview.

The transition for me from a poor learner of English to a more confident user of English was when I met a friend who spent quite a lot of time in France and had very different values from ordinary Japanese and with that bond I started to have more interest about the outside world and that's how I started to sort of be interested in English.

Finally it was in the last year in junior high school that she realised for the first time in her life that 'English is something that you can really use to connect with other people rather than studying at school'. Here Rika seemed to retrospectively rationalise her friendship with this girl, seeing it as an obvious relationship to have occurred, given their similarities. Such friendship, however, appeared to launch Rika into a lifelong exercise of othering herself from the ordinary 'mainstream' population. Rika recalled how her friendship with this girl was often frowned upon at school, in a manner that made her feel 'different' from others. It was at this stage that Rika first felt she was 'not like others', although she still struggled to explain why exactly this was the case. She recalled being treated as an 'odd one', along with her friend from France, and they were seen as a 'set'. At this point, Rika once again repeats: 'I think I'm really anti-mainstream'.

Rika told me of her 'western influences' at that time, in junior high school: 'I didn't want to be cool or anything'. Her response sounded defensive, associating 'westernised' with being 'cool', recalling Nobu's earlier statement, associating the study of English with 'sophistication' (see 7.2.3). Even though people might have seen her as 'westernised', she seemed unsure about her status, saying that she was *not* westernised: 'it's tricky, I didn't think I was westernised, but people might have seen me as westernised'. I asked her if she could tell me what actually made her think she was 'non-mainstream'. She explained: 'I think anti-mainstream was very close to anti-Japanese at that time to me'. She was not sure, however, if this was a deliberate, acknowledged, conscious process on her part, or more like a subconscious effort of being different.

I was trying to capture the way she described her dilemmas as an adolescent, as she tried to find a pathway between the identities which others ascribed to her and her own sense of what she wanted to be at that time. She went on to say:

When a close friend of mine told me that that girl who lived in France and I were different from other people and you are a 'set', alright, I thought maybe there's something going on! I don't think I was westernised, I mean I was in a way, but I wasn't *choosing* to be more western but I think because I was treated as an odd one through my primary school days, I really thought I need to have some strong sense of who I am, even if I am not in the mainstream. I must say it was hard for me to identify mainstream Japanese and my choice was to listen to western music. It's not that... because I

was westernised I was different but in creation of my identity I was opposed to mainstream identity I chose to stick around with that girlfriend friend [from France].

It seemed that Rika's attempt to build a 'strong sense of who (she was)' was a defence mechanism that would enable her to stand strong as 'the odd one'. And even though she was not able to construct her perception of the 'mainstream Japanese', she seemed to have developed an instinctive feeling of herself as not quite fitting into that category. Her uncertainties are apparent in her contradicting claims of whether or not she was westernised at that time. True, it was through the eyes of the others that such identity was imposed upon her, but what is interesting is that in this instance we do not see her resist such an ascribed identity. Instead of refusing to be 'the odd one', she embraced it and tried to build a stronger rationale for her identity, not for others, but for herself.

## 8.2 Identity in Crisis: Choosing to be Different

Recalling her experience, both at primary and high school, Rika did not believe that her relative competence in English gave her an edge over her peers. She said she did not have any 'advantage or reputation' as someone who could speak in English better than others:

No, actually in Japan, Japanese is the language for instruction and [the] Japanese speaking English looks like... it's a bit tricky, because it looks like you are from some third world country. You know what I mean? My mother was really worried if we really looked like we are from the Philippines or Malaysia or I don't know where. So I don't think I had any advantage or reputation or...

This recalls Rahman's comment (see 6.2.5) where he talked of his village folks who labelled English as 'the monster and the language of the unbelievers'. It seemed to me that Rika referred to 'third world countries' rather pejoratively. In the second interview I asked her if there was any particular reason she singled out Philippines and Malaysia when she was giving examples. I also asked her to elaborate on what she meant by 'some third world country'. She assured me that even though it might seem that there were specific reasons for her to have done so, those two countries were just a 'random selection':

I don't have any reason for mentioning Malaysia. It was just a random selection. But as for Philippines, I may have. Let me explain about Malaysia first. Malaysia, I guess, came up to my mind because I think of Malaysia as a bilingual/ multilingual English speaking state. It could have been any of those countries, such as Singapore etc.

However, she was frank about her 'prejudice' towards certain nations:

As for the Philippines - without being rude, actually I am bit rude here, many Japanese take it as a backward state, compared to many other Asian nations and I know I am prejudiced, but I do have such view, through my experience and all the bad news about social/political instability.

Such form of 'racism' is, of course, often a feature of the way nationalities define themselves, positing an 'other' against whom they can affirm their own identity and values. Her frankness in such admission indicated to me an identity perpetually in the process of negotiating multiple viewpoints all contesting her acceptance and challenging the integrity of her different simultaneous selves. I felt that, like Rahman, who grew out of the value system of his community in his attempt to rebuild his identities, Rika was negotiating the same.

She went on to explain that currently in Japan there are many (illegal) Filipinos working as nannies and in the 'sex/semi-sex industry' and only now the government was 'thinking of granting working visas to nurses from Philippines'. In this connection I incidentally asked her about the term 'gaijin'. *Gaijin* is a Japanese word literally meaning 'outsider' or 'outside person', a term used to describe a foreigner (with round eyes) in Japan. Practically it is used to refer to any non-Japanese even when they themselves are foreigners in a country. This word is ethnocentric and carries derogatory connotations (usually in such contracted form, as opposed to *gaikokujin*). She was reluctant to admit that all foreigners in Japan are considered as 'gaijin' saying: 'many non-Japanese who stay in Japan are *gaijin* here in Japan... but any non-Japanese are *gaijin*'.

Rika's refusal to admit that her English background gave her an 'advantage' was consistent with what she told me in her second interview, which took place more than 13 months later, and is discussed in the next section.

### 8.3 The Spotlight of Difference: Constructing the Self as Other

Years later, at high school, her early Australian experience still made her stand out from peers in many ways. Even though she could no longer remember if it was a feeling of embarrassment, as an instinctive, self-defence mechanism, she once again tried to pick up the 'language and the culture' quite quickly to ease her way into mainstream Japanese culture. However, her Australian experience still haunted her, making it almost 'impossible' to discreetly mix with the others. The fact that she had once lived abroad, 'sort of put [her] in the spotlight'. She explained that most kids in her school spent their whole lives in Japan and did not know anything about the rest of the world. It was because of this that, just as she found a different enough common friend in the girl who had been to France in her primary school, in her high school she tried to bond with another such girl who had once lived in New York.

Such friendship, however, again met with scepticism, this time from the girl herself. When she approached the girl for friendship, the latter cautioned her, saying that their 'odd friendship' would attract undue attention. Rika recounted this episode as a 'great shock' for her which put her in a unique and solitary position where she could not share with others. She explained that even at such an early age, she felt as if she had been denied her personal history. Rika recalled this painful period in her life when she did not have a group identity and was left alone to feel 'discarded', rootless and displaced. What made things worse is that her only other identity was also in crisis:

At first it was alright because there were many kids like me in the area I lived, but after we moved to another area that area was not like that and most of the kids there spent their whole lives in Japan not knowing anything about the rest of the world. So when I found one girl who lived in New York, I said I lived in Australia and we could make friends and she said don't talk about that here because that would put us in the spotlight and it was a great shock for me because it was my life even if I was 7 or 8, it was a part of my history and she sort of denied my history. That's when I sort of... even if by that time I lost all my English I thought I have to really build my Japanese identity.

I asked her what kind of spotlight it was that the girl was referring to: whether it was 'positive' or 'negative'. Rika explained that it was more like the 'spotlight of difference'. Throughout my conversation with her, this notion of the 'spotlight of difference' came up recurrently and emphatically. It seemed this was a convenient metaphor for Rika not only to explain how she felt in relation to others, but also a tool for her to justify her eventual stance to deliberately remaining 'different'. I asked if this difference was seen in a good way or a bad way, to which she answered: 'Difference I think most of the time in Japan means negative. So, you want to be the same as other people'. She talked about the fear of attention of being singled out as different, saying that: 'at one point I really tried hard to sort of assimilate'. She saw this spotlight as 'the beginning of (her) struggle with (her) Japanese identity'. She recalled that, even though at that time she did not publicly speak English, she was nevertheless 'labelled different' and was therefore concerned about it and was forced to think about 'how to overcome that difference' in her identity, much in the same manner as myself on return to Bangladesh (see 1.4).

As she grew up, she realised with even more conviction that her difference imposed upon her by her society was a construct that she could not and should not endure. There was also a sense of an inferiority complex working subconsciously:

so at one point I really tried hard to sort of assimilate. But then I thought - it's not really experience abroad that made me different but I might be an odd one! When I realised that, I came to think, I don't mind at all, not 'at all' but not as much as this in order to assimilate into the majority. To belong to the majority started to lose meaning to me.

She recalled this period as one of pain and uncertainty which in the end she decided to fight against: 'It hurt me. It hurt me, and I was very strong I think so I tried to fight back whenever anyone picked on my difference'.

This period of self-doubt indicated more than a sense of rootlessness; a struggle to fit into a socially recognised category, in search for what Anderson (2006) calls 'fraternity' which bound her with others. In her search for a new, different, non-mainstream identity, she went through a period of trial-and-error, gradually weighing in her 'Japanese' identity with her other, 'non-mainstream' identity. She admitted to herself: 'Yes, I am different, and what's wrong with that?' By high school she felt stronger and more confident in facing this crisis and thought: 'I need to have some strong sense of who I am even if I am not in the mainstream'. This time she 'chose to be different' in a more deliberate manner, turning to Western ('mostly American') music and clothing. Rika recalled her increasing preference for such forms of 'Western' culture, an immersion that not only came to her as a revolt against social scepticism, but as a way of being identified in a nameable category. In the last two chapters we have seen how Rahman (see 7.3.3) and Yun (see 7.3.2) both felt secure in being identified in such 'categories'.

However, in Rika's case such a sense of security soon gave way to a more complex realisation of her position in relation to others. She argued that when she was in high school, she realised that the perceived difference was 'not because [she] lived in Australia - I think not belonging to mainstream is part of who I am and being in Australia didn't mean anything at all'. I asked her why, even as late as high school, she was not seen as one belonging to the mainstream. Rika said that it was because by now, 'I don't know... I think I *chose* to be different' with regards to the 'kind of music you listen to, the way you dress'. I saw her statements as insightful examples of the identity work in which adolescents engage and in which - as adults - we continue to engage, recalling Holstein and Gubrium's (2000) notion of identity as a continuing project discussed earlier. She thought that this difference and her deep sense of individuality came from her early days in Australia. Referring to the friend who lived in France for a long time, she said she 'could really draw lines with that'. At this point she said: 'In a way I might have wanted to say - I'm more enlightened' even though in retrospect she realised that she 'wasn't at all enlightened'. However, Rika was not sure how her anti-mainstream stance was accepted by the society - whether such role was regarded as acceptable or not. Neither was she sure if it was precisely because of her resistance alone because she had thought she did not belong to the mainstream. What she was certain about at this stage was that she had made up her mind to remain 'different', regardless of how the 'mainstream' population would judge her.

#### 8.4 Owning English: 'I speak my English'

Like all the other participants, Rika was not sure when I asked her about ownership of English. She asked me if I was referring to the present time or some time in the past. Once this was clarified, she told me that this issue had been 'going around in [her] mind' for some time. Her study of TESOL in general and subjects such as 'Language Society and Cultural Difference' further problematised the question to the point that she 'really [did] not have an answer yet'. Indeed she thought that she was 'not even sure [she could] find any' in the future. She continued: 'When I think of English, I think I am the speaker of English for international communication, so I don't think I am using someone else's language'. Rika was comfortable with this view, reinforced by her study of TESOL in Australia and endorsed by her confidence in her own identity:

Now I speak my English which is a combination of a bit of American and a bit of Australian and a bit of Japanese... I don't identify... even though I am not in the mainstream, I am Japanese, and my... I speak as a Japanese, that's for sure, even when in English. And I really don't want to be a fake American or fake Australian. So that's where the Japanese comes in. And American English... through schooling we were exposed to American English... that was back in Japan.

Since Rika had never been to the US, I thought she was referring to the influence of American school teachers. However, it appeared that it was because of her American school textbooks to which she had been exposed, that she thought she had learnt American English: 'the textbook English was American English... they follow American English'. She added, 'all the music and I mean, I listened to all kinds of music but the majority of entertainment that you are exposed to is through American English...' In the same breath she says, 'and I think I'm really anti-mainstream' as if to insist upon the point she had made earlier. This reference was interesting – on the one hand she labelled herself as not adequately Japanese ('even though I am not in the mainstream'). On the other hand, she was keen to point out that her 'Japanese' identity 'comes in' in the manner in which she spoke English. Later, however, she said, she 'shifted towards British English because that was the only option' she had or at least she thought so: 'the majority of entertainment that [she was] exposed to is through American English... whenever you had the choice between American and British, I chose British vocabulary'. She found this shift to be beneficial because she thought it gave her the 'flexibility that other languages didn't give [her]'. At this point she started 'watching British movies and listening to British music', which she thought were 'necessary' but 'awkward'. I asked her in what sense she said she used 'British' English and she referred to the spelling and pronunciation and vocabulary.

Rika no longer 'pay[s] attention to it' anymore, although she believes her English is 'Australian English in terms of pronunciation because many people around [her] do use it'. As for speaking,

she uses 'a mixture of Japanese, American and British English' - notably here she mentions Japanese first. However, unlike 'typical' Western forms of English, she 'avoids' 'slangs and colloquial expressions' that are peculiarly American or Australian, in 'frank, informal conversations'. She explained that this is not because it would put her in the 'mainstream', but because of her 'Japanese identity', which would generally avoid profanity and use of vulgar words in verbal communication: 'I am using English as a Japanese, I don't want to be an Australian. If I wanted to be Australian I would use lots of Australian vocabulary'.

When asked if she thought her language defined her identity, she raised the issue of citizenship and explained that when talking of language we also think about nationality and that Japan does not allow dual citizenship at the moment:

so you have to choose one. And there is no reason for me to use other nationalities against Japanese at this moment. So I have this sense that I will be Japanese, not forever... it might not be forever, but at this moment I think I will be Japanese all my life.

In the end, Rika believed that English belongs to its speakers, identifying herself as a speaker of a more global variety of English ('for international communication'). This, of course, is an interesting feature of English as a global language, which refuses to privilege the native speaker and all that this signifies (for example, language and nationality). In spite of this, she thought that speakers are situated in a place someone else has assigned for them: 'I don't think we have a lot of power in terms of how we use language', so, 'I share the ownership of English'. She told me to look at the 'broader picture' instead of looking at the level of 'personal communication' and alluded to Kachru's (1996) notion of the Inner and Outer circles to exemplify her belief:

I still have that idea that some inner circle nation or maybe some outer circle nation to have... many Japanese learn foreign language and we don't... I don't think we have a lot of power in terms of how we use language. So personally I think I share the ownership of English but when I think of what nation it belongs to, it still doesn't feel that Japan has English as their language.

Again, as with most of the other participants, it appeared this question had been problematised by her TESOL education in Australia. Her notion of the shared ownership of English was consistent with her earlier notions of the ethnically diverse Japanese population which shares the same language. I also asked her if any country or nation, for that matter, owned English. Even though she replied, 'it still doesn't feel that Japan has English as their language', she still thought 'quite a few nations' have ownership over English. She avoided naming them, saying, 'it's 'tricky':

Official language status sometimes means it's just 'official' language and it might not be that they really own it... I think when language starts to evolve itself I think they have their ownership... I

think in Japan they are thinking about appropriating English but I think Japanese people still don't use it to that extent so to gain ownership I think you have to use it extensively and say that this is how you use it.

Rika did not believe that there is a 'single English culture' and that it is 'impossible' to have one. She explained that it is a two-way process: when the 'English culture permeates into the new culture, the new culture also influences English... English is so diverse now'. These points underlined her view of the way English has developed into a global language, reflecting variety without privileging any one dialect. In Rika's case once again we can see how she appropriated her knowledge from her TESOL studies to internalise such notions of the global spread and diversity of English. However, she was conscious that she might still be 'biased' in sometimes thinking that:

English belongs to the UK and the US - because within those countries there is a lot of diversity, just as in Australia where the culturally heterogeneous population do not speak the same way as... I mean the one nation. It's really hard to define what English culture is. I'd say there is no single culture of English.

### **8.5 Forming Choices: Chasing a Naïve Dream**

In this section I discuss the consumer choices Rika exercised in coming to Monash. In the previous two chapters we have seen how participants talked about the role of agents and advertising and the way it positioned and constructed the 'international student'. In Rika's case we see this process in a whole new light. She pointed out that in her case most of the decision making process was based on chance factors and personal negotiation, rather than a careful consideration of the future implications and other practical factors: 'The reason was a combination of a lot of reasons, really. At first I just wanted to leave Japan to study overseas'. To that extent Australia was more or less an 'arbitrary', 'random' choice, and a 'personal compromise... like ticking off the list, from the top'.

Even at the beginning, Rika did not consider going to the US: 'my first option really was the UK, not the US - I am a bit anti'. She mentioned her anti-American stance twice in the first interview and then once again in the second interview which she explained as: 'I have problems with power. I'm against power all the time, that's the reason. I mean the UK is also power... but as opposed to the US'. This recalls Nobu's explanation (see 7.2.3) when he said that despite being far away from the US he still felt tied to it. It was also in direct contrast to Yun (see 6.4.1) and Xia (see 6.6.1) who referred to the US as the 'superpower' and 'number one' and US universities as 'the best' and 'the top'. Rika's dialogue on power was carefully articulated throughout the conversation and threw light on her thoughts of identity and the formation of choices as discussed later.

At the time of her admission, Rika was not aware of any professional accreditation course in Japan for teachers of English. However, she was quick to point out that it was not because she did not know of any equivalent course that she chose to come to study in Australia: 'It sounds silly but it was part of my career design and the reason why I chose English teacher training... it was a naïve dream...' She recalled the time at university when she was in high school and always wanted to study abroad:

I wanted to immerse myself in a different culture and I wanted to do that sometime... like in a one-year exchange. But because it didn't happen I had to make a decision about what advantages it might give me... I thought being an English teacher and studying abroad for English education wouldn't distract anything whereas if with other occupations if you leave Japan I think you have to get back.

In pursuit of her 'dream', she was also being very practical thinking about how she could enjoy her experience, as well as invest in it. However, she explained that personal reasons also affected her decision to come to Australia. She said that at that time her husband was not interested in 'European culture':

The US wasn't really the option from the very beginning. And, this is very personal, at that time I was going out with my... husband now. And he wasn't at all interested in European culture. He was more like American, I mean not American but he was interested in America. So he really didn't want to go to the UK. He had no idea about what's going on in Europe. So, we started to find the point that we could share, and that was Australia. So it's like ticking off the list? From the top.

With respect to her husband's interests, it was not clear whether she was referring to a preference for American culture or for studying in America. However, similar to other participants, she instinctively drew connections with culture when she indicated that both her and her husband's choices were based on the 'cultures', rather than the destinations. I asked her if spending the first few years of her life in Australia occurred to her as a possible reason for overseas study. She answered that to the contrary, 'I would rather have gone to the UK at that point... it was a compromise, really'. But once she and her husband decided to come to Australia, Melbourne was her first choice because she had been there once. She therefore thinks she was in Melbourne 'by chance'. Of the two universities she applied for, Monash offered her a place first, 'so... it is random and it is by chance I am here'.

Rika was aware of international education agents in Japan who worked for Australian universities. She met one such agent in Tokyo who was working for La Trobe University. However, she completed the admission process on her own without help from any agent. At that time she was

considering both Monash University and the University of Melbourne. She first chose to study at the latter because:

I really didn't know much about Australian universities but Melbourne University I already knew. There was good reputation, I mean not good reputation but you know... you can imagine good... It's a big university.

In much the same manner as Rahman ('the Big 15', see 6.6.1) and Xia (the 'best university', see 6.6.1), Rika used superlatives to equate physical size with reputation. With Monash her choice was generated from her impression of it as a 'less commercial' university:

Then I started to search and... Google and stuff like that, you know - all the advertisement came in... and also Monash doesn't have sort of agents in Japan. I mean although it looks commercial it might not be as commercial as other universities. So that was when Monash came.

As Rika explained: 'I was, sort of knew that there was commercialism going on around university and the fact that Monash didn't have representatives in Japan made me think they might not be as commercial as others'. In her selection of university, like other participants, the duration of the course also determined her choice of university. However, unlike other self-financed participants such as Yun and Xia, Rika wanted to study in a course that ran for a longer time. She also considered 'other practical things', such as the timing. As she explained: 'because the duration of the course was longer for the course at Monash' (as opposed to University of Melbourne), she finally chose Monash. Like Rahman, she wanted to 'enjoy life', and saw her stay in Australia as an experience involving much more than earning a degree. Also as she later added: 'I feel like I am on a long holiday from the reality of Japan, really a getaway from the stressful life.' In the background here is the way Australian universities construct a version of the international student as the choice-exercising and free-willed customer, who responds to the appeal of the tourist discourse in advertising. Such forms of interpellation offers insight into the tensions Rika experienced as globalisation and marketing discourses forge the identities that international education asked of her.

Given that she would have studied applied linguistics if she were at University of Melbourne, Rika was frank in admitting that her choice of TESOL was 'arbitrary': 'because I was a teacher, I was keen to learn anything to do with English teaching and theory behind so it could either be Applied Linguistics or TESOL'. This statement seemed to diminish the sense of the 'arbitrariness' of her choice, since either alternative would have enabled her to engage in relevant professional learning.

## 8.6 Current Impressions: 'you really don't have a choice'

Rika discussed at length her whole experience of being a TESOL student - the impressions she formed about TESOL - in terms of its importance, relevance, what she expected it to be, as well as her disappointments. She also talked about how she felt about the classes and her fellow international students, the curriculum and the staff. In her mode of discussion, Rika compared what she expected in each of these dimensions of the educational experience, against her issues of concern, none of which she expected. Generally speaking, Rika was happy that she had chosen Monash. However, like Nobu she was disappointed with the restrictive nature of choosing subjects:

I think Monash could offer some more units for Master of TESOL students like me because basically you have only... you can only take two units each semester... it's almost as if in coursework, what you take is all pre-designed and you really don't have a choice. And that was really one of the frustrations. Because even if there was a choice, you cannot practically choose all and sometimes it's really frustrating. So, I think Monash could offer a bit more range and also about time setting stuff like that I think they could do more.

Such limited options meant that she could not enrol in certain subjects of her choice. In addition, she felt that international students had to follow more or less a predetermined path, contrary to what she believed was what most international students expect from such a course of study.

### 8.6.1 TESOL Studies: 'relevant but not practically applicable'

Even though Rika thought that what she was learning in Australia was professionally 'relevant', it might not have been applicable to her teaching in Japan: '[this] gave me the opportunity to think what it means to learn a language; I think it is relevant... mentally. But it's not that what I have learnt is practically applicable to what I do in the class in Japan'. Her feeling of disappointment gave me a strong impression that once again, despite her initial uncertainty of what TESOL studies would involve, she had a clear idea of what to *expect*.

She explained that this was because of her ever increasing awareness of the importance of English in general and the importance of independent learning. Learners, she believed, 'should have greater choice as to how they learn and what they learn'. She pointed out that in Japan 'that is not the case':

'It's not learner-centred... I mean not in classroom activity and stuff like that but in the whole philosophy about education is not learner-centred. There is not a lot of freedom as to what you can do, what materials you want to use, to what goal you will teach.

She echoed Yun (see 7.6.5) when she pointed out to the fundamental differences in the educational philosophies of the two places. In a similar manner to Nobu, who regretted that the 'knowledge level' (see 7.6.2) remained the same in this new degree, Rika was disappointed. On the one hand, limited flexibility meant that she could not choose her subjects of preference. On the other, the very 'philosophy about education' in Japan meant that part of what she was learning was practically useless. She complained that in order to be truly 'international', courses should incorporate items relevant to their wide range of international students.

### 8.6.2 Dynamics in the TESOL Classroom: Us and Them

Even in Australia, at as late a period in her life as this, Rika could not identify herself as part of the 'mainstream' student community. Her new found identity of the international student was one she felt was automatically thrust upon her on her arrival at Monash. She continued to call such issues of concern 'tricky': 'I'm not sure I share a lot of ideas in common with other international students... I am not sure.' Then, referring to international students, she said somewhat defensively: 'it's hard to represent the group of people [international students] I think'. From what she said I felt she did not seem to have had a lot of interaction with fellow international students. From the ensuing conversation, I also felt that she was referring to the competence of fellow students, whom she refused to see as part of her 'class': 'when people complain about their English not developing, I assume that the classroom interaction is not happening as much as it should'. Throughout this interview she used 'tricky' eight times, usually when it was difficult for her to explain complicated issues.

Referring to international students as 'many people', she told me that they 'talk about how not their English has developed throughout the entire course' - a concern, nonetheless she sees as 'shared'. However, in this sharedness there was still a sense of otherness. She explained by saying that there were not only expectations about the university but also about

life in Australia. [It] was not really there... I mean everyone dreams about, you know, new life and people imagine that once you're in Australia you are exposed to English and your English will improve... and... this can be my personal opinion, but I was expecting more discussion and stuff like that going on throughout the session... among students. So, you'll be trained to use English at a very high level but that really didn't happen... but it can be personal because I know some students who are very happy to be quiet in classes and not entirely leaving their culture and their classroom culture I would say. But when people complain about their English not developing, I assume that the classroom interaction is not happening as much it should.

Everything she said challenged the construction of international students as the 'same': she offered an image of diversity which provided a powerful counterpoint to the glossy images on university

brochures. Her 'radicalism' also provided a contrast to the trajectory of international students as the universities construct them, when they smooth out contradictions and posit a situation in which international students should be able to embrace global English without any sense of tension with their existing languages and cultures.

In the second interview I asked her to explain why she felt that she did not 'share a lot of ideas' with fellow students. It appeared that she had certain preconceived assumptions about international students, further establishing her identity as distinct and 'anti-mainstream': 'The reasons for studying at Monash for most other international students were mostly practically driven, whereas I was not very keen to study anything practical'. At this point she went on to defend the commercialism of universities saying that whatever the university does, can and should be balanced by a careful choice of one's own plans - 'even if you are not happy with what university offers, you are mature enough to make your own decision, and I don't think it's the university or commercialism is the one to be blamed'. I discuss her comments on this commercial aspect in the next section.

Rika often used words such as 'other', 'people' and 'many people' to describe peers and never used 'us' or 'we', indicating an identity still in crisis of definition, yet still distinct from the mainstream. These abrupt and unpredictable shifts from a feeling of shared experiences and one that saw international students as different 'others' suggested an identity in crisis, or one seeking to adapt to situations. I asked her if she was contradicting herself by saying that, on the one hand, she was talking on behalf of other students and, on the other, that it was her own personal view. She argued:

I would say my personal character, yes. But on the other hand in Japan we have this image about Western university and Monash I think need to position themselves very nicely in the way that they don't lose the identity of the western university and become an international university.

In this instance, Rika used 'we' to associate herself with the Japanese, conveying a sense of the 'outsider's' view of 'Western' universities. Her comments on the way universities should internationalise themselves were similar to Nobu's (see 7.5.2) on why universities might in the end fail to cater for the true needs of international students in their pursuit of short-term goals.

### 8.7 Universities and Marketing: 'use university to get the most of it'

As we have seen, in the process of choosing universities, Rika seemed to suggest that a lack of representation (in the form of agents) indicated to her a lack of marketing interest. She knew that Monash did not have agents in Japan and that even though Monash might 'look commercial' it might not be as commercial as other universities. She went on to describe how she thought in trying to, albeit successfully, 'attract a lot of international students', Monash, 'just a typical Australian university' - has always tried to 'market' itself as an international university. In the second interview she elaborated this point, still emphasising that she saw Monash as less commercial. However, this time she focused on the quality of education that she had received which provided an indirect defence of her choice of university:

There is some commercialism going on everywhere after all. I can say that Monash is no exception but that doesn't mean I studied less than what I should have. It doesn't bother me. I just wanted to avoid the situation where I study with heaps of Japanese students and not learn much.

For the first time, Rika explained what she meant by 'commercialism'. Further, once again, she positioned herself apart from the mass of students. Her views seemed to be mature, pragmatic, based on her experience with different settings when she said:

Now I understand that Education is one of the biggest industries in Japan and I am not naïve. What's important is not what university does to you but how you use university to get the most of it... I think at the Master's level, you should know what you want to study and what you want to achieve. University is a resource that you can use and you are the one to choose what's best to you. Regardless of what university wants by having you, such as gaining money by having more students, it's you that studies.

Her emphasis on 'use' suggested that while she was not entirely indifferent to the commercialism of universities, she thought that students can make the best of their international education experience through their own adaptation to suit their own needs. However, Monash had failed to live up to her expectations of the image it has generated as an 'international' university:

the value of western university that confronts each other - I mean it can be an image - the image of western universities where lots of discussions are going on, and stuff like that, are a lot I think. So I expected Monash to be an international university still has western value of how things go in the classroom and I was sort of determined to go into that sort of situation but it didn't happen.

Echoing some of the ideas propagated by Nobu earlier (see 7.5.2), she recommended:

Monash I think need to position themselves very nicely in the way that they don't lose the identity of the western university and become an international university... I think Monash is representing itself as an *international* university rather than an *Australian* university so... I was so naïve at that time that I thought that because Monash is in Australia so I had that expectation. On the Internet Monash does say they have a lot of international students and lots of support for international students too - like language services and other things and so they are marketing internationally.

It seemed that she was expecting that Monash would have disengaged itself from national contexts or affiliations in much the same way that she had done. She had a vision of a truly international university that matched the kind of internationalism she has learnt to live and breathe. As we have seen, she believed that universities' commercial endeavours can and should be balanced by a well-articulated plan on behalf of the international student. Rather than blaming the universities, international students have to rely on their maturity and experience to judge what is good for them.

### 8.8 Using TESOL in Japan: 'It is not wasted at all'

The second interview took place 13 months after the first. By now Rika had returned to Japan and was working as a part-time teacher at the same school where she used to teach before coming to Australia. She admitted that she had not really searched for jobs on her return and thought that at least for the time being it would be easier to resume teaching at her own school. She saw herself as a mature professional who had studied abroad and returned to work with new experiences and knowledge. This dimension of Rika's identity came as a surprise. For all that she had said about not fitting in, in the end she remained a committed teacher.

She detailed her work commitments and told me that she was teaching English conversation to year 9 once a week, general English to year 11, four times a week and English writing to year 11, twice a week. She confessed that even though she saw her TESOL education as 'still very helpful' and 'relevant', she had been compelled to compromise, especially when it came to year 11 classes. She gave two reasons for the 'compromise':

The first reason is very practical - for each unit, too many teachers are involved and yet we give the same test to all the students no matter who the teachers are. So I cannot really do anything very different from other teachers. The second reason, I think it is awful to say this, but because I now know that ELT is socially situated. And the reason for most students to learn English is for the university entrance, why now meet the demand. I used to struggle a lot for not teaching what seemed to me 'real' English.

While the first reason points to the overall structure of teaching, where teachers do not have much freedom in conducting their own way of teaching and assessment, the second reason points to the

washback effect discussed in earlier chapters in relation to participants from China and Japan. However, when I suggested that she was probably talking about the washback effect, she was quick to say that it was both 'yes and no', explaining that she had already noticed that there was a washback effect, 'even though (she) didn't know the name'. Although she '[gave] in quite easily to washback effect', she also used to 'try to fight back', saying: 'I am sure [this] comes from what I learnt at Monash'. As she explained, 'I used to get students to use more English no matter what goal they may have had, and even if it was a long way around to what should be achieved according to the syllabus'.

Despite certain reservations in relation to the incompatibility of teaching methods and expectations, overall Rika was happy with what she had learnt and what she was making of it: 'I am very satisfied. It is not wasted at all. This, I can say with great confidence, and I am not being polite here'. This was in contrast to Nobu's experience who found it difficult to cope with the teaching once back in Japan. Rika also felt: 'I am more professional about what I do', explaining that 'part of being professional is meeting the demand' no matter how hard it might be. She was happy with what she could make of her knowledge of TESOL, notwithstanding the absence of greater satisfaction:

I can now see the situation from the distance in a way. And I've come to think in this way because I studied in Australia. As for the teaching skills and theories behind teaching - I must say, though, that I do not use as much as I could.

She pointed out that in her study of TESOL at Monash University she 'didn't spend much time studying the pedagogy anyway, because I wasn't interested in practical stuff'. It was not clear what she meant by 'pedagogy' and 'practical stuff'. In any case, Rika appeared to me to be a good example of a committed professional who adapted the knowledge gained from her international TESOL education to suit the needs of her teaching back home.

### **8.9 Looking Towards the Future: 'I can speak what I think'**

At the end of the first interview, when I asked her if her TESOL degree would change her in any way on return to Japan, she said:

I don't think it has any magic... I'm not sure if Japanese people in general value people studying abroad... it is the tendency of the Japanese I think but they like home-grown people in general. Even if they think this is a good qualification, I'm not sure if it has practical impact on whether I get a better job or... I don't know, I really don't know... I might be prejudiced again - 'she might be different so it might be difficult to work with her (air quotes)'.

She used 'in general' and 'I think' twice and 'I'm not sure' three times, as if to safely generalise on an issue which she thought might have exceptions of which she was not aware. Her references to 'Japanese people', 'the Japanese' and 'they' still conveyed a sense of distancing which we have seen from the beginning. It again conveyed a sense of how she was at odds with the social mores of Japan - she was not sure how what she had done would 'fit'. She reiterated that when she decided to come to Australia, she was thinking of benefits and that it was, importantly, her own choice of gaining international experience and fulfilling her dreams: 'Yes. I still feel like I'm on a long holiday from the reality of Japan, really a getaway from the stressful life'.

At the end of the interview I asked her if she thought for the second time in her life, her study in Australia was going to make her come further out of the mainstream (a term and its variations which she used seven times throughout this interview). She argued that this time it was quite different because 'even though studying abroad might look different, I think that I studied for something rather than I just *lived* in Australia'.

When I reminded her of this anticipated situation in the second interview, by which time she was back in Japan, she said she 'didn't think it happened'. She explained that this was possibly because she returned to her old school where she was already familiar: 'Maybe because I just returned to the same school where people know me'. However, she said that her overseas education did have some implications for the social interaction she had with her peers 'because of [her] TESOL study, I can speak what I think and they may think I am too opinionated some time but they accept my changes'. In it we can trace the element of power, the credentials of which she earned in Australia. This comment problematised her earlier comment on the preference of the Japanese for home-grown people and her belief that an overseas degree would not bring any 'magic'.

I asked Rika if she had a choice to go over the whole process again and make her decisions whether she would have changed anything in the light of her present knowledge and experience. She thought the problem was that she did not know much about 'other' universities and to that extent she had been 'right to choose Monash': 'so I think I was, in a sense that I'm happy with what I am doing'. With Australia she would 'probably' choose, with Monash, 'maybe' and with TESOL, she was 'not sure'. She reemphasised, however, that 'it's really by chance, as I said, that I am here. So if something went differently, I think I would end up in a different university'.

### 8.10 Concluding Comments

Like some of the other participants, Rika thought her choices were based on mere chance factors and personal compromise. However, she did not see that along the way she was also given pointers that eventually saw her choose her institute and subject. In making her choices she was being interpellated into the subject position of the valued international student, who is also a competitive economic subject, with a pragmatic orientation to education. In Rika's case, however, even if we see her as one maintaining an illusion of the free, choice exercising individual who came to Australia with no intention of studying 'anything practical', she returned to Japan to find TESOL useful and remained committed to her professional goals. In this case spaces had opened up between her own construction of her positions and those through which she had been constructed and spoken to. In this manner, once interpellated, individuals can still choose between following the ideology and opposing its messages by sorting, accepting or rejecting certain positionings.

My intention in selecting Rika for this chapter-length discussion was to use her as a vehicle for exploring certain issues of internationalisation and globalisation of English in the interface of the construction of individual identity. She gave me insightful comments relating to the way international students experience conflicts relating to their identities, including their nationalities within a globalising environment. Rika's multiple identities were produced, shaped, negotiated and reconstructed by her identification in relation to others and in turn, their representations of her (Woodward, 1997). Her choice to hold on to her Japanese values paradoxically contributed to constructing and strengthening her identity as 'different' and 'non-mainstream' in her own country. We trace an identity in crisis and the subtle vulnerabilities of one who refuses to see herself as naïve yet would not accept an identity imposed by others. In the 'spotlight of difference' she continually struggled to keep herself distinct, yet with a conspicuously spelled-out Japanese identity. In many ways she embodies the ways in which the forces of globalisation and the power/knowledge vectors quintessentially impact on the individual.

Also paradoxically, even though Rika seemed to have essentialised the 'Japanese' culture, she was conscious of this and actively refused to be essentialised by others. Speaking very generally about a lack of tolerance for difference, she seemed to evince a very lively sense of the hybridity of her own identity and its relational character. In addition, she also identified herself in relation to 'others' - such as international students (from other countries), local (Australian students) and Australian lecturers. Indeed, it was by positioning herself dynamically alongside others' identities

that she constructed her own. Over different stages in her life she insisted on her right to be different and actively constructed her identity to sustain the differences. This is not to say she was not open to negotiate her identity – the boundaries of her identity were not fixed, and in her identity we have seen the presence of what Bakhtin calls ‘organic’ and ‘intentional’ hybrid identities (Bakhtin 1981, in Werbner 2001). Straightforward dichotomies of Self and Other therefore oversimplify the question of identity and thus fail to acknowledge the dynamic of identity formation.

## CHAPTER NINE

### Establishing the Polyphony of International Education

*Our task... will be to expose and specify the issue at stake in this opposition, this struggle, this insurrection of knowledges against the institutions and against effects of the knowledge and power that invests scientific discourses.*

Foucault, 1980, p. 87

When I first came to Australia in 2000 as an international student, I was a stranger in a strange land, but paradoxically I was not alone. I not only found myself in a new phase of life, but one that raised questions about the many things I had always taken for granted. As well as an indistinct feeling of joy and adventure, my first arrival denoted a mixed feeling of restlessness, rootlessness and displacement. While the university-based pastoral care seemed adept in taking care of many of these complexities, being on a government scholarship gave me the advantage of getting a ready-made group identity as soon as I arrived. In a time of doubt, such an identity brought with it an easy and convenient sense of security and comfort. However, this initial feeling of ease withered, giving in to a sense of being seen as an 'international student' – the hitherto unknown status which brought immediate connotations of convenience for the university but a feeling of powerlessness to me. As a TESOL student, this feeling was particularly heightened by the knowledge I gathered in classes that taught the politics of English, ELT and TESOL and issues about language, society and cultural difference. I sensed that there was a wide disparity between the way international students were represented and the way they represented themselves or wanted to be represented. Such differences were complex, little understood and needed investigation.

From a deep understanding of this complexity, I formulated the central question of my study: How are international students discursively represented by Australian universities? Cascading from this question, I formulated two sub-questions: How are international students discursively represented in policy at the national level in Australia as well as at the institutional (university) level? How, on the other hand, do international students perceive and represent themselves? I wanted to know how the participants constructed their identities in relation to English, TESOL and the notions of self and other.

In addition to answering these questions, this study has sought to investigate the choice formation processes of international students. Why do students choose to come to Australia? Why do they

choose one particular university and not another? Why, indeed, do they choose to study TESOL? What are the variables of such choices? Rather than focussing on classroom dynamics and in-house pedagogical approaches, my interest lay in the formation of principles, policies and management of an education system that seemed to me to preclude the possibility of a democratic rationale for international education.

In this Chapter I first revisit some of the central concerns of this study which were raised in Chapter One. This is followed by a discussion of the main arguments that I have developed in the research. I conclude this thesis with a brief note on suggestions for further studies.

### **9.1 Revisiting Old Questions, Seeking New Answers**

Over the past ten years or so there has been a proliferation in studies on the marketing of international education, most of which have focused on various aspects of the demand-and-supply dynamic (Sidhu, 2003). On the supply side, there has been research in formulating strategic marketing models, devising country-specific strategies and instruments to measure quality. On the demand side, most research has focused on the refinement of recruitment technologies in anticipation of increasing market share, trying to identify the factors influencing students in choosing study destinations. In addition, the learning needs of international students have been extensively studied so that they can be 'adjusted' to the expectations of university learning. Indeed, my own Masters thesis at Monash (2001) focussed on pedagogical incompatibility issues in relation to international students. To my knowledge, very few studies on education for international students have been approached from the perspective of the present study. The challenge for me in this study was to develop a process whereby I could access and explore hybrid subjects, who were also academic students facing displacement, disengagement and rootlessness in the ways that they represented themselves and in their representation in the discourses of international educational.

The research therefore had to assume a different focus. In meeting this need, its primary objective was to deconstruct the operations of power and knowledge within the networks of international education. It also aimed to understand the extent to which some universities in Australia have become involved in global commitment through their trade in education. Each of the chapters in this thesis identified and examined various influential idioms which have shaped power relations in the field of international education: the influence of education fraternity groups, the power of market processes, the power of the discourses of globalisation, the power of policy, academic and media discourses, as well as the power exercised by consumer desires. By mapping discursive

practices and interrogating the subjectivities that they imply, this study has revealed the inherent and submerged relations of power within international education.

A major contribution of this thesis lies in its attempts to study international education by using a multi-disciplinary theoretical and methodological framework. In order to map the material and discursive constructions of international education across different institutional sites, I undertook to study international education as a spatially dispersed collection of markets, policy ensembles, universities, brokers and individuals. To highlight how power works to privilege particular discursive practices and thus normalise particular subjectivities, I used Foucault's archaeological method to reveal what is 'sayable', and thus taken-for-granted, in current theoretical discourses of globalisation and international education. In investigating how political rationalities work to shape power/knowledge relations and student subjectivities, I sourced and interpreted data from a collection of peripheral and mundane practices which included written text and printed images, such as the content of promotional brochures, institutional websites and narratives from my interviews with international students. By including the voices of stakeholders in authority as well as those positioned at the capillaries of authority - the international students - this thesis sought to examine discursive practices as they manifest at both macro- and micro-contextual levels.

## **9.2 Constructing the Plurality of Voices**

This study began with an analysis of how certain truths are constructed, thereby making visible the invisible. By focusing on deconstructing the discourses of international education, the analysis pushed international student voices and understandings from the margins to the forefront of attention. In doing so this study attempted to celebrate diversity and the plurality of meanings evident in international education.

Foucault (1972) talks about the possibility for individuals to find multiple ways of positioning themselves within the many discourses that they move between and participate in. In the context of this study, the plurality of meanings is achieved through paying attention to a plurality of student voices, providing a space for the ignored, the taken-for-granted and the marginalised thoughts. We have seen that the subtleties of power relations remain silent in government and university statements. It is taken for granted that international students are happy in coming and accepting what is offered, and that Western education in English is the norm for higher education. There is a disparity between the imagined community that is 'sold' to them and the actual community that they find: what is delivered is not what was promised in the glossy brochures,

and certainly not what was imagined. A plurality of voices enables the marginalised and conveniently homogenised to talk about their experiences and their understandings and, through this talk, expose the contradictions and tensions that contemporary discourses have blurred through habit. The plurality of voices also shows how power relations and discursive practices have impacted on their lives. The interviews in this study have provided a space for these voices to speak and be heard.

This study has also analysed how desire is generated and sustained through the dominant discourses of international education and, in the process, how these affect the ways in which students form their choices with regard to destination, university and course of study. We have seen that in the form of choice making, desire involves a lot more than just personal preferences. More important in the theme of desire is a consideration of the pathways that lead to choices and how these choices are shaped by myriad sites of influence, not of the students' own choosing. As the study reveals, the participant international students were given strong pointers and interpellated in powerful ways as to the path they *should* be following. In short, the scope of data analysed in this thesis encompassed the multiple layers that constitute international education networks - from textualities to utterances, from the macro to the micro-contextual, from producers to consumers, from the mundane and apparently inconsequential such as peer talk and online blog discussions, to policy discourses and political statements.

### 9.3 Moving Beyond the Market Discourse

*To generalize is to be an idiot. To particularize is the alone distinction of merit.*  
William Blake (1808), annotations to Sir Joshua Reynolds' *Discourses*

This study did not aim to draw generalisations. Indeed, it refused to engage in the sweeping generalisations of large surveys or other 'scientific' studies, focused on the experiences of participants that locate them within certain analytical frameworks. The question was not whether the experiences described by participants in this study match the experiences of every international student around Australia. This indeed would have been in conflict with the core impulse of my study, which was to focus on the dissonant or indeed dissident accounts of the international experience the participants had to offer. Their accounts provided a stark contrast to the sweeping claims made by Monash and other universities, as well as by the dominant knowledges of marketing, international education and globalisation. Nonetheless, based on the recurrences and insistences of particular themes in policy, media, academic and institutional

discourses that have emerged in this study, I can offer some observations about students' experience of international education.

In drawing out the discursive practices that foreground the representation of international students, I have shown that the development of the international student policy trajectory demonstrates the adoption of an economic discourse in the shift from aid to trade to internationalisation, leading to an ambivalence surrounding policy. Due to the disjuncture between policy-level discourse and the realities of international students, the 'real' and the 'imagined' perceptions of self have led to conflicting representations of the students. Through the exploration of my central and sub-questions I have shown how education brokers and agents, the marketing departments of universities and other related people present problematic positioning of international students.

We have seen that learning another language is not simply a matter of acquiring a vocabulary but also a matter of stepping into another world involving a different way of thought and feeling. Such a move deeply affects the way people construct themselves. Such constructions do not need to be consistent. Indeed 'inconsistencies' in the accounts of international students are truths that coexist and evolve in their multilayered, complex and dynamic identities.

The polyphony of student voices has shown three kinds of disparities in the promise of international education. Firstly, those who do not financially afford the cost miss out on international education. Secondly, there is a wide gap between the kind of education and experience that is presented in the marketing of international education and what they received. Finally, 'truths' regarding the popularity and ranking of universities have been constructed as tools that dictate flows in worldwide international education trends. These truths are demythologised when participants talk about the 'business comes first' attitude of universities, where as long as they can pay, they can come in to study. There are therefore contradictions between what policy documents claim and what students say. Rather than trying to 'resolve' the contradictions, this study took it as a productive aim to work with the contradictions and paradoxes within a polyphony of voices.

In looking into the practices of individual universities and institutes, similarities were found in the manners in which they constructed the international student. Promotional discourses in all these production sites varied only insofar in the degree of subtlety of their construction of the students. While some were openly essentialising, others were subtly patronising. We have seen that the discourses of multiculturalism, such as descriptions of an international student body, which

celebrate the cultural diversity of campuses and countries, largely function as marketing tools which interpellate the prospective student.

In the production and consumption sites examined, we have also seen that national interest is the key rationale informing international education. The subjectivities that are discursively manufactured are those that are functional to a competitive global economy and are framed within a competitive individualism, which regards education in largely commercial terms. The constructions of subjectivity arising from these micropractices are of the competitive, self-improving individual who is prepared to unquestionably 'invest' in an overseas education. The Australian brand of education offers 'goods' that promise to give students the 'edge'. By implication, it refers to a Darwinist world where survival of the fittest is paramount. We have seen that in earning the all important revenue for the nation as well as for individual institutions, the dominant discursive construction of international education in Australia is that of an export industry. It is thus primarily through the export of education that a global relativisation of universities is taking place.

Marketing education also means selling places by highlighting their 'unique' qualities. As we have seen, promotional materials have often deployed a tourist discourse with elaborate place-branding strategies which promote safe, multicultural cities. The aim is to reassure students and their families. The promotional literature of some institutes examined in this study, those of affiliate bodies, as well as data from participant interviews, make much of the universal utility of education credentials, and the competitive advantage that education brings by way of positional goods. In this manner international education is geographically embedded within the political economies of places, featuring enterprising cities and commercially successful subjects.

#### **9.4 Looking Towards the Future: The Need for Change in Dominant Discourses**

Institutions such as universities have a role in producing and disseminating knowledge, in presenting or uncovering new 'truths' through research, as well as playing a role in looking at the way current 'truths' are constructed. However, as we have seen, the power of governments and the dominant discourses about governing produce 'truths' about both institutions and individuals in particular ways. How can we explain how universities, which nurture the highest intellectual achievement, continue to harbour such narrow understandings of globalisation and international education? It is indisputable that international education has yielded productive outcomes for individual students. However, what is less certain is whether existing conceptualisations of international education can manoeuvre power/knowledge relations to contribute towards a more

humane and democratic globalised future. More specifically, universities have the power to develop multiple truths that disrupt and deconstruct essentialist ways of constructing international education and international students.

The challenge for the 21<sup>st</sup> century international university is to provide intellectual leadership for a more progressive understanding of globalization (Sidhu, 2005), so as to contribute towards the emergence of a more equitable global democracy. Such an attempt can be obstructed by regarding international universities as service industries or knowledge factories, which, as we have seen, has been the current trend. To that extent, the discursive space within international universities for transformative scholarship at present is limited. To recover from this state, Australian universities need a broader conception of education with which to work towards internationalisation's potential for realising the broader goals of intercultural understanding and exchange within an increasingly interconnected and interdependent world (Rizvi, 2004). We have also seen that in many Australian universities - including the ones studied in this research - immediate commercial concerns dominate. These concerns act as obstacles to the intellectual engagements expected of universities if they are to help author more democratic global futures. When international education is conceptualised in terms of trade and marketing, it is limited and implicated in certain power relations that diminish the way in which international education can be talked about or within which international students can position themselves. By contrast, when it is talked about in multiple ways, accommodating polyphony, multiplicity and difference, it has the potential to become a site where something new can be constructed. In this manner universities can become sites for dialogue and exchange of ideas from multiple perspectives, sites that recognise that multiple realities, and therefore, 'truths', can coexist.

Through the tool of Foucauldian archaeology I have attempted to deconstruct existing discourses in order to reveal ways of talking that have been hidden beneath dominant discourses. We have seen that the personal histories of international students have remained submerged beneath these discourses. To allow a space for the diversity that international students bring to the university, homogenising practices need to be broken open. At the same time, understanding of international education in terms of equity or global sharing of knowledges should be severed from dominant understandings about marketing and hegemonic Western knowledges.

Reconstructing discourses is a gradual process which is possible when concepts and knowledges are transformed and displaced against their accepted 'truths' (Derrida, 1972), but retaining traces of the past. We have seen, for example, how years of scholarship have finally displaced the 'truth'

of the 'passive' Asian student constructed by authors such as Ballard and Clancy (1984, 1997). However, taken-for granted 'truths' about international education need to be transformed in more explicit ways, by replacing the stereotypes with more positive constructions.

We have to be mindful, though, that dominant discourses and power/knowledge constellations tend to absorb changing discourses and bury them under *even* more powerful knowledges. As we have seen, Foucault acknowledged the agency of individuals and the counterdiscourses they construct to subvert dominant power/knowledge relations. It is therefore important to resist generalisations and celebrate the multiplicity of discourses about international education and the voices of international students and to provide spaces for them to be heard in order to unsettle dominant discourses. The role of the intellectual (and thus, by extension, the university) is important in the creation of this new knowledge.

### **9.5 Closing Comments and Suggestions for Future Studies**

In this study I have attempted to design an analytic that would have sufficient explanatory force to enable us to see the experience of international students in new ways and challenge the generalisations that currently circulate about international students. The project has looked at international education through multiple lenses, particularly through the diversity of participating international students' motivations, their desires as well as their professional experiences. This has allowed me to suggest new ways of thinking about international education and the multiple discourses that construct this complex area of knowledge. In particular, the study has focussed on talking about the 'knowledge' of international students as they engage with the discourses of international education. It has also discussed ways in which their previous knowledge and experience, as well as their desires, created tensions as they faced the realities of international education as practised in Australian universities.

The study has taken into account the complexity of international students' subjectivities and the identities that have been built around and about them. This approach enabled me to include the tensions, singularities and subtleties of issues for which I had personally been seeking answers. We have seen such tension develop when the participants' experience of international education turned out to be different from what they had imagined.

Several possible future directions for research arise from this study. My study offers an avenue for further study into the discursive representation of local students. There is scope for undertaking

comparisons between international and local students which might provide further insight into ways in which universities can better understand the unique nature of international education.

Power and resistance are no more than different names Foucault gives to the same capacity - the capacity to create social change (Heller, 1996, p. 99). Foucault insists on the correlativity of power and resistance in his attempt to foreground the fact that no use of power is ever inherently either 'power' (understood in the traditional sense, as 'repression') or 'resistance'; just as no subject position is ever inherently either 'hegemonic' or 'counterhegemonic'. Such distinctions emerge for Foucault only within a system of classification that is *itself* necessarily partisan and contestable (ibid., p. 100).

The understanding of international education therefore needs to be seen as an area not just owned by the government for the 'national interest', or the university for revenue, but by all who are impacted on in ways that involve the construction of self. Hybrid knowledges and identities which can contribute to democratic global futures cannot be achieved solely through the market, nor by relying entirely on the government where the politics of power concerning national interests and commercial imperialism will continue to obstruct positive changes. We need as a starting point a broader academic imagination which recognises an international education which is much more than selling courses to overseas students in order to raise revenue.

International education is an area of engagement with the other, a site where new knowledge can be constructed between others, and within the self. I call for a new engagement with international students which allows the possibility of moving forward from the notions of dualisms and binaries into a new space which fully recognises the subjectivities of international students. In this new engagement, international students are seen as hybrid subjects with complex subjectivities that cannot be tied down. This study thus also advocates that the 'selves' of international students are irreducible and cannot be bound by binaries or discursive constructs. In other words, I have attempted to theorise the irreducibility of the international student subjectivity which I believe provides a new direction to understanding them. The introduction of new ways of talking about international education and international students need to be sustained by an intentionality within the university and a dissemination of discursive practices that underpin changes in discourses and discursive positionings.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Achebe, C. (1988). Colonialist Criticism. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths & H. Tiffin (Eds.), *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* (1st ed., pp. 57-61). London: Routledge.
- AEI. (2007). International Student Data. Retrieved 12 January, from <http://aei.dest.gov.au/AEI/MIP/Statistics/StudentEnrolmentAndVisaStatistics/Default.htm>
- Alam, F. (2003, 8 November). The British Council Library: the New East India Company? *The Daily Star, Dhaka*.
- Alcoff, L., & Mendieta, E. (Eds.). (2003). *Identities: Race, Class, Gender and Nationality*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Alexander, D., & Rizvi, F. (1993). Education, markets and the contradiction of Asia-Australia relations. *Australian Universities Review*, 33(1), 8-13.
- Allen, G. (2003). *Roland Barthes*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Alptekin, C., & Alptekin, M. (1984). The question of culture: EFL teaching in non-English speaking countries. *ELT Journal*, 38(1), 14-20.
- Altbach, P. (1999). The perils of internationalising higher education: An Asian perspective. *International Higher Education (Spring)* Retrieved 14 October, 2004, from [http://www.bc.edu/bc\\_org/avp/soe/cihe/newsletter/subject\\_index.htm#inteduc](http://www.bc.edu/bc_org/avp/soe/cihe/newsletter/subject_index.htm#inteduc)
- Altbach, P., & Kelly, G. (Eds.). (1984). *Education and the Colonial Experience* (2nd revised ed.). New Brunswick: Transaction Books.
- Altbach, P. G. (2004). Globalisation and the University: Myths and Realities in an Unequal World. *Tertiary Education and Management*, 10(1), 3-25.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism* (Rev. ed.). London ; New York: Verso.
- Anderson, C. (2005). *The Commodification of Education: the case of TESOL*. Paper presented at the Annual BAAL Meeting, Bristol University.
- Anderson, C. (2006). *McTESOL: An example of the commodification of education*. Paper presented at the Joint Conference of AAAL and ACLA/CAAL.
- Antaki, C., Condor, S., & Levine, M. (1996). Social identities in talk: Speakers' own orientations. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 35, 473-492.
- Appadurai, A. (1990). Disjuncture and difference in the global cultural economy. *Public Culture*, 2(2), 1-24.
- Appadurai, A. (1996). *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Appadurai, A. (2000). Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination. *Public Culture*, 12(1), 1-19.
- Apple, M. W., Kenway, J., & Singh, M. (2005). *Globalizing Education: Policies, Pedagogies, & Politics*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Ashcroft, B. (2001). *Post-colonial Transformation*. London: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1989). *The Empire Writers Back: Theory and practice in post-colonial literatures* (1st ed.). London: Routledge.
- Ashcroft, B., Griffiths, G., & Tiffin, H. (1995). *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* (1st ed.). London: Routledge.
- Atkinson, D. (2002). Comments on Ryuko Kubota's "Discursive Construction of the Images of U.S. Classrooms". *TESOL Quarterly*, 36(1), 79-84.
- Auletta, A. (2000). A retrospective view of the Colombo Plan: Government policy, departmental administration and overseas students. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 22(1), 47-58.
- Baas, M. (2006). Students of migration: Indian overseas students and the question of permanent residency. *People and Place*, 14(1), 8-23.

- Baker, M., McCreedy, J., & Johnson, D. (1996). *Financing and Effects of Internationalisation in Higher Education: An Australian Study*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Bakhtin, M. (1981). *The Dialogic Imagination: Four Essays* (C. Emerson & M. Holquist, Trans.). Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Ball, S. (1994). *Education Reform: A Critical and Post-structural Approach*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Ball, S. (1998). Big policies/Small World: an introduction to international perspectives in education policy. *Comparative Education*, 34(2), 119-130.
- Ball, S. (2000). Performativities and fabrications in the education economy: towards the performative society. *Australian Educational Researcher*, 27, 1-23.
- Ball, S. J. (2004). Education For Sale! The Commodification of Everything? *King's Annual Education Lecture, University of London* Retrieved 17 August 2006, from <http://firgoa.usc.es/drupal/filestore2/download/25448/CERU-0410-253-OWI.pdf>
- Ball, S. J. (2005). *The Commodification of Education in England: towards a new form of social relations*. Paper presented at the Japan-UK Education Forum (Keynote address), Kyoto.
- Ballard, B. (1987). Academic adjustment: The other side of the export dollar. *Higher Education Research and Development (HERD)*, 6(2), 109-119.
- Ballard, B. (1994, 23-24 Sept). *Creative tensions: teaching in programs for international students*. Paper presented at the Australian Development Studies Symposium, Canberra.
- Ballard, B., & Clancy, J. (1984). *Study Abroad: A Manual for Asian Students*. Kuala Lumpur: Longman.
- Ballard, B., & Clancy, J. (1997). *Teaching International Students: A Brief Guide for Lecturers and Supervisors*. Deakin, ACT: IDP Education Australia.
- Barber, B. R. (2003). *Jihad vs. McWorld*. London: Corgi Books.
- Barker, C., & Galasinski, D. (2001). *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Barker, P. (1998). *Michel Foucault: an Introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Barry, P. (2002). *Beginning Theory*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Bartelson, J. (2000). Three concepts of globalization. *International Sociology*, 15(2), 180-196.
- Barthes, R. (1977). *Image Music Text* (S. Heath, Trans. 3rd ed.). Glasgow: Fontana Paperbacks.
- Bassegy, M. (1999). *Case Study Research in Educational Settings*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Bayoumi, M., & Rubin, A. (Eds.). (2001). *The Edward Said Reader* (1st ed.). London: Granta Books.
- Beazley, K. C. (1992). *International Education in Australia through the 1990's: Statement by the Hon. Kim C. Beazley, M.p., Minister for Employment, Education and Training*. Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Service.
- Bennell, P., & Pearce, T. (1998). *The Internationalisation of Higher Education: Exporting Education to Developing and Transitional Economies*. Brighton, UK: Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex.
- Bennett, O. (2001). *Cultural Pessimism: Narratives of Decline in the Postmodern World*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Bernstein, B. (1996). *Pedagogy, Symbolic Control and Identity*. London: Taylor and Francis.
- Berrell, M., & Kachar, K. (Eds.). (1997). *Internationalising Malaysian Higher Education: Towards Vision 2020*. Kuala Lumpur: YPM Publications.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1985). Signs Taken for Wonders. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths & H. Tiffin (Eds.), *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* (1st ed., pp. 29-35). London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1987). Of mimicry and man: the ambivalence of colonial discourse. In A. Michelson, R. Krauss, D. Crimp & J. Copjec (Eds.), *October the First Decade 1976 -1986* (pp. 317-325). Cambridge: MIT Press.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1988). Cultural Diversity and Cultural Differences. In G. G. Bill Ashcroft, Helen Tiffin (Ed.), *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* (1st ed., pp. 206-212). London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1990). *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, H. K. (1992). Of Mimicry and man: the ambivalence of colonial discourse. In P. Waugh & P. Rice (Eds.), *Modern Literary Theory: A Reader* (2nd ed.). new York: Arnold.

- Bhabha, H. K. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. London: Routledge.
- Biggs, J., & Watkins, D. (1996). *The Chinese Learner: Cultural, Psychological and Contextual Influences*. Melbourne: Australian Council for Educational Research.
- Birrell, B. (2005). *Immigration Rules and the Overseas Student Market in Australia*. Canberra: IDP Education Australia.
- Block, D. (2001). 'McCommunication': a problem for SLA. In D. Block & D. Cameron (Eds.), *Globalization and Language Teaching* (pp. 117-133). London: Routledge.
- Bové, P. A. (1992). *Mastering Discourse: the Politics of Intellectual Culture*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Bradley, D., & Bradley, M. (1984). *Problems of Asian students in Australia*. Canberra: AGPS.
- Bratich, J. Z., Packer, J., & McCarthy, C. (Eds.). (2003). *Foucault, Cultural Studies, and Governmentality* (1st ed.). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Broadhead, L., & Howard, S. (1998). The art of punishing: The research assessment exercise and the ritualisation of power in higher education. *Education Policy Analysis Archives* Retrieved 24 May, 2005, from <http://epaa.asu.edu/epaa/v6n8.html>
- Brooker, P. (1999). *A Concise Glossary of Cultural Theory*. London: Arnold.
- Brutt-Griffler, J. (2002). *World English: A Study of its Development*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Burchell, G., Gordon, C., & Miller, P. (1991). *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Cain, J., & Hewitt, J. (2004). *Off Course: From Public Place to Marketplace at Melbourne University*. Melbourne: Scribe Publications.
- Cain, J., & Hewitt, J. (2004b, 31 January). Why the Melbourne University "brand" is losing its lustre. *The Age*, p. 9.
- Campbell, J., & Rew, A. (1999). *Identity and Affect: Experiences of Identity in a Globalising World*. London: Pluto Press.
- Caruana, A., Ramaseshan, B., & Ewing, M. T. (1998). Do universities that are more market orientated perform better? *International Journal of Public Sector Management*, 11(1), 55-70.
- Castells, M. (1996). *The Rise of the Network Society: The Information Age, Economy, Society and Culture* (Vol. 1). Cambridge: Blackwell.
- Chowdhury, M. R. (2001). To West or Not to West? The Question of Culture in Adopting/Adapting CLT in Bangladesh. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bangladesh*, 46(1), 183-194.
- Chowdhury, M. R. (2003). International TESOL training and EFL contexts: The cultural disillusionment factor. *Australian Journal of Education*, 47(3), 283-302.
- Chowdhury, M. R., & Farooqui, S. (in press). Teacher Training and Teaching Practice: The Changing Landscape of ELT in Secondary Education in Bangladesh. In L. Farrell, U. N. Singh & R. A. Giri (Eds.), *English Language Education in South Asia: From Policy to Pedagogy*. Delhi: Cambridge University Press.
- Cloete, N., & Fehnel, R. (Eds.). (2001). *Transformation of Higher Education: Global Pressures and local realities*. CHEPS/Juta: Cape Town.
- Clyne, F., Marginson, S., & Woock, R. (2001). International education in Australian universities: Concepts and definitions. *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 42(1), 111-127.
- Cohen, L., Manion, L., & Morrison, K. (2000). *Research Methods in Education* (5th ed.). London: Routledge Falmer.
- Connelly, M., & Clandinin, J. (1990). Stories of Experience and Narrative Enquiry. *Educational Researcher*, 19(5), 2-14.
- Cowen, R. (1996). Last past the post: Comparative Education, Modernity and perhaps Post-modernity. *Comparative Education*, 32(2), 151-170.
- Crang, P., Dwyer, C., & Jackson, P. (2003). Transnationalism and the spaces of commodity culture. *Progress in Human Geography*, 27(4), 438-456.
- Crystal, D. (1997). *English as a Global Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Culler, J. (1983). *On Deconstruction Theory and Criticism after Structuralism*. Melbourne: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- Cummings, D. (1991). Foreign Students. In P. Altbach (Ed.), *International Higher Education: An Encyclopedia* (Vol. 1, pp. 107-125). London: St. James Press.
- Dale, R. (1999). Globalization and education policy. *Journal of Education Policy*, 14(1), 1-18.
- Davies, B. (1990). The Problem of Desire. *Social Problems*, 37(4), 501-516.
- Denscombe, M. (1998). *The Good Research Guide: For Small-scale Social Research Projects*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (1994). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (1st ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (Eds.). (2000). *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage Publications.
- Denzin, N. K., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2003). *Strategies of Qualitative Inquiry* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Derrida, J. (1972). *Positions* (A. Bass, Trans.). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Derrida, J. (1974). *Of Grammatology* (G. C. Spivak, Trans.). Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press.
- Derrida, J. (1978). *Writing and Difference* (A. Bass, Trans.). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- Docker, J. (1978). The Neocolonial Assumption in University Teaching of English. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths & H. Tiffin (Eds.), *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* (pp. 443-446). London: Routledge.
- Dreyfus, H., & Rabinow, P. (1983). *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Brighton, Sussex: The Harvester Press.
- During, S. (1990). Postmodernism and Post-Colonialism Today. In A. Milner, P. Thomson & C. Worth (Eds.), *Postmodern Conditions*. New York: Berg.
- During, S. (Ed.). (1999). *The Cultural Studies Reader* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Eagleton, T. (1983). *Literary Theory: An Introduction* (1st ed.). Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Edgar, A., & Sedgwick, P. (Eds.). (2002). *Cultural Theory: The Key Concepts* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Edge, J. (1996). Cross-cultural paradoxes in a profession of values. *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(1), 9-31.
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. Harlow: Longman.
- Farrell, L. (2000). Ways of doing, ways of being: language education and 'working' identities. *Language and Education*, 14(1), 18-36.
- Featherstone, M. (2003). Localism, Globalisation and Cultural Identity. In L. Alcoff & E. Mendieta (Eds.), *Identities: Race, Class, Gender and Nationality*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ferguson, G. (2006). *Language planning and education*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Fergusson, L., Bonshek, A., & Masson, G. L. (1995). Vedic Science based education and Nonverbal Intelligence: A Preliminary Longitudinal Study in Cambodia. *Higher Education Research and Development*, 15(1), 73-82.
- Flick, U. (2002). *An Introduction to Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.). London: SAGE.
- Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (1994). Interviewing: the art of science. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 361-376).
- Fontana, A., & Frey, J. H. (2000). The interview: from structured questions to negotiated text. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed.), Sage, (2nd ed., pp. 645-672). Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.
- Foucault, M. (1970). *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Foucault, M. (1972). *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (A. M. S. Smith, Trans.). London: Tavistock Publications.
- Foucault, M. (1975). *Discipline and Punish* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). London: Penguin Books.
- Foucault, M. (1977). *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (A. Sheridan, Trans.). London: Penguin Books.
- Foucault, M. (1980). Two Lectures. In C. Gordon (Ed.), *Power/Knowledge* (pp. 80-105). Brighton: Harvester.
- Foucault, M. (1981). *History of Sexuality Vol. 1*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- Foucault, M. (1982). *Afterward: The Subject and Power*. In H. L. Dreyfus & P. Rabinow (Eds.), *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics*. Brighton: Harvester.
- Foucault, M. (1984). *Nietzsche, Genealogy, History*. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *The Foucault Reader* (pp. 76-100). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Foucault, M. (1988). *Technologies of the self*. In L. Martin, H. Gutman & P. Hutton (Eds.), *Technologies of the Self: A Seminar with Michel Foucault* (pp. 16-49). Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Foucault, M. (1991). *Politics and the study of discourse*. In G. Burchell, C. Gordon & P. Miller (Eds.), *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality* (pp. 53-72). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Foucault, M. (1994). *Psychiatric power*. In P. Rabinow (Ed.), *Ethics: Subjectivity and Truth*. London: Penguin Books.
- Foucault, M., & Gordon, C. (Eds.). (1980). *Power/Knowledge; Selected Writings and Interviews 1972-1977*. Brighton: Harvester Press.
- Foucault, M., & Hoy, D. C. (1986). *Foucault: a Critical Reader*. New York: B. Blackwell.
- Foucault, M., & Rabinow, P. (1986). *The Foucault Reader*. Harmondsworth, Middlesex Ringwood, VIC: Penguin.
- Freebody, P. (2003). *Qualitative Research In Education: Interaction and Practice* (1st ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Fullerton, T. (Writer) (2005). *The Degree Factories* [podcast]. In T. Fullerton (Producer), *Four Corners*. Australia: Australian Broadcasting Corporation.
- Gall, M. D., Borg, W. R., & Gall, J. P. (1996). *Educational Research: an Introduction*. New York: Longman.
- Gatfield, T., Barker, M., & Graham, P. (1999). *Measuring student quality variables and the implications for management practices in higher education institutions: an Australian and international student perspective*. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 21(2), 239-252.
- Geertz, C. (1977). *Thick description: Toward an interpretative theory of culture*. In C. Geertz (Ed.), *The Interpretation Of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gergen, K. (1991). *The Saturated Self: Dilemmas of Identity in Contemporary Life*. New York: Basic Books.
- Giddens, A. (1991). *Modernity and Self Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Giddens, A. (2000). *Runaway World: How Globalization Is Reshaping our Lives*. New York: Routledge.
- Gikandi, S. (1996). *Maps of Englishness: Writing Identity in the Culture of Colonialism* (1st ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.
- Giroux, H. A., & Shannon, P. (Eds.). (1997). *Education and Cultural Studies: Toward a performative practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Glaser, B. G., & Strauss, A. L. (1967). *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research*. New York: Aldine.
- Go8. (2008, 13 January 2008). *The Go8 Universities*. Retrieved 24 January, from <http://www.go8.edu.au/about/go8.htm>
- Gordon, C. (Ed.). (1980). *Michel Foucault: Power/Knowledge - Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-1977*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Govardhan, A. M., Nayar, B., & Sheorey, R. (1999). *Do U.S. MATESOL Programs prepare students to teach abroad?* *TESOL Quarterly*, 33(4), 625-651.
- Gramsci, A. (1971). *Selections from the Prison Notebooks* (Q. Hoare & G. N. Smith, Trans.). London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Gramsci, A., & Forgacs, D. (1999). *The Gramsci Reader: Selected Writings, 1916-1935*. London: Lawrence & Wishart.
- Graves, B. (1998). *Homi K. Bhabha: an Overview*. Retrieved 23 January 2005, from <http://www.scholars.nus.edu.sg/landow/post/poldiscourse/bhabha/bhabha1.html>

- Green, A. (1999). Education and globalization in Europe and East Asia: Convergent and divergent trends. *Journal of Education Policy*, 14(1), 55-71.
- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (1997). *The New Language of Qualitative Method*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gubrium, J. F., & Holstein, J. A. (2000). Introduction: Trying times, troubled selves. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Institutional Selves: Troubled Identities in a Postmodern World* (pp. 1-20). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hall, J. A. (1995). *Civil Society: Theory, History, Comparison*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.
- Hall, S. (1993). Cultural Identity and Diaspora. In P. Williams & L. Chrisman (Eds.), *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory: A Reader*. New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Hall, S. (1996). Introduction: who needs 'identity'? In S. Hall & P. duGay (Eds.), *Questions of Cultural Identity* (pp. 1-17). London: Sage.
- Hall, S. (1996b). The question of cultural identity. In S. Hall, D. Held, D. Hubert & K. Thompson (Eds.), *Modernity: An Introduction to Modern Societies* (pp. 595-634): Blackwell Publishing.
- Hall, S. (1997). *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*. London: Open University.
- Hall, S. (1996a). When was the post-colonial? Thinking at the limit. In I. Chambers & L. Curti (Eds.), *The Post-Colonial Question: Common skies, Divided horizons* (pp. 242-260). London: Routledge.
- Hall, S., & duGay, P. (Eds.). (1996). *Questions of Cultural Identity*. London: Sage Publications.
- Hall, S., & Gieben, B. (1992). *Formations of Modernity*. Cambridge: Polity Press in association with the Open University.
- Halliday, F. (1999). The chimera of the 'International University'. *International Affairs*, 75(1), 99-120.
- Hallward, P. (2001). *Absolutely Postcolonial: Writing between the Singular and the Specific*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Hamid, O. (2000). A time befitting curricular innovation. *The Dhaka University Studies*, 54(3).
- Hamilton, S. (1998). *Setting the foundations for the internationalisation of Australian higher education*. Paper presented at the Education 98: Industry Practitioners Forum, Sydney.
- Hamon, E. (Writer) (2003). *Selves and Others: a portrait of Edward Said* [Videorecording VHS]. Seattle, WA: Arab Film Distribution.
- Harasym, S. (Ed.). (1990). *The Post Colonial Critic: Interviews, Strategies, Dialogues - Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak*. New York: Routledge.
- Harman, G. (2002). *Australia as a major higher education exporter*. Paper presented at the Consortium of Higher Education Researchers: 15th Annual Conference, Vienna. from [http://www.iff.ac.at/hof/CHER\\_2002/pdf/ch02harm.pdf](http://www.iff.ac.at/hof/CHER_2002/pdf/ch02harm.pdf).
- Haugaard, M. (1997). *The Constitution of Power: A theoretical analysis of power, knowledge, structure*. Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Hawthorn, J. (1998). *A Concise Glossary of Contemporary Theory*. London: Arnold.
- Held, D., & Koenig-Archibugi, M. (Eds.). (2003). *Taming Globalization: Frontiers of Governance*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Held, D., McGrew, A., Goldblatt, D., & Perraton, J. (1999). *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Heller, K. J. (1996). Power, Subjectification and Resistance in Foucault. *SubStance*, 25(1), 78-110.
- Hirschkop, K., & Shepherd, D. (Eds.). (1991). *Bakhtin and Cultural Theory* (1<sup>st</sup> ed.). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Holliday, A. (1999). Small cultures. *Applied Linguistics*, 20(2), 237-264.
- Holquist, M. (2002). *Dialogism: Bakhtin and his World* (2<sup>nd</sup> ed.). London: Routledge.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (1994). Phenomenology, Ethnomethodology, and Interpretative Practice. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (pp. 262-272). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.
- Holstein, J. A., & Gubrium, J. F. (2000). *The Self We Live By - Narrative Identity in a Postmodern World*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- hooks, b. (1994). *Teaching to Transgress*. London and New York: Routledge.

- Hooks, b. (2000). *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Centre* (2nd ed.). London: Pluto Press.
- Hoy, D. C. (1988). Foucault: Modern or Postmodern? In J. Arac (Ed.), *After Foucault: Humanistic Knowledge, Postmodern Challenges* (pp. 12-41). New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press.
- Humfrey, C. (1999). *Managing International Students: Recruitment to Graduation*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Illing, D. (2007, June 6). Reform outdated system, say unis. *The Australian*.
- Jefferson, A., & Robey, D. (Eds.). (1986). *Modern Literary Theory* (2nd ed.). London: B. T. Batsford Ltd.
- Joseph, C. (2000). Researching Teenage Girls and Schooling in Malaysia: bridging theoretical issues of gender identity, culture, ethnicity and education. *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, 21(2), 177-192.
- Kachru, B. B. (1986). *The Alchemy of English: The Spread Functions and Models of Non-native Englishes*. Pergamon: Oxford.
- Kachru, B. B. (Ed.). (1996). *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kachru, B. B. (1999). *Asian Englishes: Contexts, Constructs and Creativity*. Paper presented at the 12th World Congress of the International Association of Applied Linguistics, Tokyo.
- Kachru, B. B., & Nelson, C. L. (2001). World Englishes. In A. Burns & C. Coffin (Eds.), *Analysing English in a Global Context: A Reader* (pp. 9-25): Routledge.
- Kamler, B. (Ed.). (1999). *Constructing Gender and Difference: Critical Research Perspectives on Early Childhood*. New Jersey: Hampton Press.
- Kasper, G. (2000). Data collection in pragmatics research. In H. Spencer-Oatey (Ed.), *Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport through Talk Across Cultures* (pp. 316-341). London: Continuum.
- Kayatekin, S., & Ruccio, D. (1998). Global fragments: Subjectivity and class politics in discourses of globalization. *Economy and Society*, 21(1), 74-96.
- Kellner, D. (1998). Globalization and the postmodern turn. In R. Axtmann (Ed.), *Globalization and Europe* (pp. 23-42). London: Cassells.
- Kendall, G., & Wickham, G. (1999). *Using Foucault's Methods*. London: Sage Publications.
- Kendall, G., & Wickham, G. (2000). *Using Foucault's Methods* (1st ed.). London: Sage Publications.
- Kerby, A. P. (1991). *Narratives and the Self*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Koehne, N. M. (2006). *Imag(In)Ings: Discourses and Discursive Practices Constructing International Education and the International Student*. Unpublished Thesis (PhD), Monash University, Melbourne.
- Koro-Ljungberg, M., & Greckhamer, T. (2005). Strategic turns labeled 'ethnography': from description to openly ideological production of cultures. *Qualitative Research* Retrieved 22 November, 2007, from <http://qrj.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/5/3/285>
- Kubota, R. (2001). Discursive Construction of the Images of U.S. Classrooms. *TESOL Quarterly*, 35(1), 9-38.
- Kubota, R. (2002). The Author Responds: (Un)Raveling Racism in a Nice Field like TESOL. *TESOL Quarterly*, 36(1), 84-92.
- Kumar, M. K. (2003). Strands of knowledge: weaving international student subjectivity and hybridity into undergraduate curriculum. *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 44(1), 63-85.
- Kvale, S. (1996). *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Larkins, R. (2004). Monash University - the Next 5 years. *News and presentations for students and staff* Retrieved 5 April 2005, from <http://www.monash.edu.au/news/internal/five-years.html>
- Larson, C. L. (1997). Re-presenting the subject: problems in personal narrative inquiry. *Qualitative Studies in Education*, 10(4), 455-470.
- Lin, G. C. S. (2002). Hong Kong and the globalisation of the Chinese diaspora: a geographical perspective. *Asia Pacific Viewpoint*, 43(1), 63-91.
- Lingard, B., & Ladwig, J. (1998). School Effects in Postmodern Conditions. In R. Slee, G. Weiner & S. Tomlinson (Eds.), *School Effectiveness for Whom? Challenges to the School Effectiveness and School Improvement Movements*. London: Falmer Press.

- Liu, D. (1998). Ethnocentrism in TESOL: teacher education and the neglected needs of international TESOL students. *ELT Journal*, 52(1), 3-9.
- Loomba, A. (1998). *Colonialism/Postcolonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Loseke, D. (2000). Lived realities and formula stories of 'battered women'. In J. F. Gubrium & J. A. Holstein (Eds.), *Institutional Selves: Troubled Identities in a Postmodern World* (pp. 107-126). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Luttwak, E. N. (1998). *Turbo-capitalism: Winners and Losers in the Global Economy*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson.
- Lyotard, J. F. (1984). *The Postmodern Condition: A Report on Knowledge* (G. Bennington & B. Massumi, Trans.). Manchester: Manchester University Press.
- Macaulay, T. B. (1972). Minute on Indian Education. In J. Clive & T. Pinney (Eds.), *Thomas Babington Macaulay: Selected Writings*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- MacLachlan, G., & Reid, I. (1994). *Framing and Interpretation*. Carlton, Victoria: Melbourne University Press.
- Maclure, M. (2003). *Discourse in Educational and Social Research* (1st ed.). Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Macnamara, L. (2006, 5 April). 'Factory' allegation rejected. *The Australian*.
- Mansfield, N. (2000). *Theories of the Self from Freud to Haraway*. St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin.
- Mares, P. (2006). Education or a short cut to residency? *National Interest*. Retrieved 15 June, 2006, from <http://www.abc.net.au/rn/nationalinterest/stories/2006/1653295.htm>
- Marginson, S. (1999). After globalisation: Emerging politics of education. *Journal of Education Policy*, 14(1), 19-31.
- Marginson, S. (2000a, 9 May). Cash cures for campus blues. *The Australian*.
- Marginson, S. (1997c). Competition and contestability in Australian higher education, 1987-1997. *Australian Universities Review*, 40(1), 5-9.
- Marginson, S. (1997b). *Educating Australia: Government, Economy and Citizen since 1960*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Marginson, S. (2001b). *Global Enterprise and Local Squalor: Australian Higher Education and the International Student Market*. Paper presented at the Symposium on Academic Capitalism in the enterprise University AARE International Education Research Conference. from <http://www.aare.edu.au/01pap/mar01244.htm> [archived].
- Marginson, S. (2001, 15-18 November). *The Global Market in Foreign Higher Education: The Case of Australia*. Paper presented at the "The Global Market of Higher education: Students as Commodities." Association for Studies in Higher Education (ASHE) 26th Annual Conference, Richmond, Virginia.
- Marginson, S. (2002b). *Language, Identity and International Education in the Global Era: Rethinking the Monash Centre for Research in International Education*. Paper presented at the Research Seminar series Faculty of Education, Monash University.
- Marginson, S. (1997a). *Markets in Education (1st ed.)* (1st ed.). St. Leonards: Allen and Unwin.
- Marginson, S. (2002). Nation-building universities in a global environment: The case of Australia. *Higher Education*, 43(3), 409-428.
- Marginson, S. (2000b). Research as a managed economy: The costs. In T. Coady (Ed.), *Why Universities Matter* (pp. 186-213). St. Leonards, NSW: Allen and Unwin.
- Marginson, S. (1997d). Steering from a distance: Power relations in Australian higher education. *Higher Education*, 34, 63-80.
- Marginson, S., & Considine, M. (2000). *The Enterprise University: Power, Governance and Reinvention in Australia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Marginson, S., & Mollis, M. (2000). Comparing national education systems in the global era. *Australian Universities Review*, 43(1), 53-63.
- Marginson, S., & Mollis, M. (2001). "The door opens and the tiger leaps": Theories and reflexivities of comparative education for a global millenium. *Comparative Education Review*, 45(4), 581-617.

- Martin, P. (2000). The moral case for globalization. In F. Lechner & J. Boli (Eds.), *The Globalization Reader* (pp. 12-13). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- Mateo, D. (2003). On the Making of Transnational identities in the Age of Globalisation: the US Latina/o - "Latin" American Case. In L. Alcoff & E. Mendieta (Eds.), *Identities: Race, Class, Gender and Nationality*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Matthews, J. (2002). International education and internationalisation are not the same as globalisation: emerging issues for secondary schools. *Journal of Studies in International Education*, 6(4), 369-390.
- Maykut, P., & Morehouse, R. (1994). *Beginning Qualitative Research*. London: The Falmer Press.
- McAdams, D. P. (1996). Personality, modernity, and the storied self: A contemporary framework for studying persons. *Psychological Inquiry*, 7, 295-321.
- McDonough, J., & McDonough, S. (1997). *Research Methods for English Language Teachers*. New York: Arnold Publications.
- McLaren, P. (1995). Post-colonial Pedagogy: Post-colonial Desire and Decolonized Community. In P. McLaren (Ed.), *Postmodernism, Post-colonialism and Pedagogy*. Albert Park, Australia: James Nicholas Publishers.
- McLaren, P., & Farahmandpur, R. (2001). Teaching against globalization and the new imperialism. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 52(2), 136-150.
- Meadmore, D. (1998). Changing the culture: the governance of the Australian pre-millennial university. *International Studies in Sociology of Education*, 8(1), 27-45.
- McDowell, J. C. (undated). Edward Said on Orientalism: Knowledge as Power. Retrieved 18 July, 2004, from [http://geocities.com/johnnymcdowell/papers/short\\_papers-Edward\\_Said\\_Orientalism.htm](http://geocities.com/johnnymcdowell/papers/short_papers-Edward_Said_Orientalism.htm)
- Mercer, N. (2000). *Words and Minds: How We Use Language to Think Together*. London: Routledge.
- Merriam, S. B. (1998). *Qualitative Research and Case Study Applications in Education* (Rev. and expanded. ed.). San Francisco, California: Jossey-Bass.
- Meyer, B., & Geshiere, P. (Eds.). (1999). *Globalisation and Identity: Dialectics of Flow and Closure*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Mills, S. (1997). *Discourse*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Mills, S. (2003). *Michel Foucault* (1st ed.): Routledge.
- Milner, A., & Browitt, J. (2002). *Contemporary Cultural Theory: An Introduction* (3<sup>rd</sup> ed.). London: Routledge.
- Minichiello, V., Aroni, R., Timewell, E., & Alexander, L. (1990). *In-depth Interviewing: Researching People*. Melbourne: Longman Cheshire.
- Mishler, E. G. (1986). *Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Morrow, R., & Torres, C. (2000). The state, globalization and educational policy. In N. Burbules & C. Torres (Eds.), *Globalization and Education: Critical Perspectives* (pp. 27-54). New York: Routledge.
- Morson, G. S., & Emerson, C. (1990). *Mikhail Bakhtin: Creation of a Prosaics*. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press.
- Muller, P. S. (2004). *Unearthing the Politics of Globalization*. Berlin-Hamburg-Münster: LIT Verlag.
- Nandy, A. (1983). *The Intimate Enemy: Loss and Recovery of Self Under Colonialism*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Nelson, B., & Downer, A. (2003). Engaging the World Through Education: The Australian Government's International Education Policy. Retrieved 13 October, 2005, from [http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/2003/031014\\_education\\_final\\_.html](http://www.foreignminister.gov.au/speeches/2003/031014_education_final_.html)
- Nelson, B., & Downer, A. (2003b). Sustaining Australia's Future Through Education. *Joint Media Release* 13 October 2003. Retrieved 23 March 2008, from <http://www.dest.gov.au/minimas/live/nelson/2003/10/n481141003.asp>
- Nesdale, D., & Todd, P. (1993). Internationalising Australian universities: the intercultural contact issue. *Journal of Higher Education Policy and Management*, 15(2), 189-202.

- Newkirk, T. (1996). Seduction and betrayal in qualitative research. In P. Mortensen & G. E. Kirsch (Eds.), *Ethics and Representations in Qualitative Studies of Literacy* (pp. 3-16). Urbana: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Ngugi, w. T. o. (1986). *Decolonising the Mind: The Politics of Language in African Literature*. London: James Currey.
- Nicoll, M. R. L. K. (Ed.). (2002). *Distributed learning: Social and cultural approaches to practice* (1<sup>st</sup> ed.). London: RoutledgeFalmer.
- Niles, S. (1995). Cultural differences in learning motivation and learning strategies: A comparison of overseas and Australian students at an Australian university. *Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 19(3), 369-385.
- Ninnes, P. (1999). Acculturation of international students in higher education: Australia. *Education and Society*, 17(1), 73-101.
- Noble, D. (2002). Digital Diploma Mills: The Automation of Higher Education. *Monthly Review*, 53(10).
- Office, V. A. G. s. (1999). International Student Programs in Universities: Evolution of the Education Export Industry. Retrieved 24 September, 2006, from <http://archive.audit.vic.gov.au/old/sr29/ags2903.htm>
- Papastergiadis, N. (1997). Tracing hybridity in theory. In P. Werbner & T. Modood (Eds.), *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-cultural Identities and the Politics of Racism*. London: Zed Books.
- Parry, B. (1987). Problems in Current Theories of Colonial Discourse. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths & H. Tiffin (Eds.), *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* (1st ed., pp. 36-45). London: Routledge.
- Pearson, C., & Beasley, C. (1996). Reducing learning barriers amongst international students: A longitudinal development study. *Australian Educational Researcher*, 23(2), 79-96.
- Pennycook, A. (1994). *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*. London: Longman.
- Pennycook, A. (1998). *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*. London: Routledge.
- Pennycook, A. (2001). *Critical Applied Linguistics: A Critical Introduction*. New Jersey: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Perkins, E. (1990). Harmony of diverse voices. *Australian Book Review*, 121(June), 7.
- Phillipson, R. (1992). *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, R. (2002). Global English and local language policies. In A. Kirkpatrick (Ed.), *Englishes in Asia: Communication, Identity, Power & Education* (pp. 7-28). Melbourne: Language Australia Ltd.
- Phillipson, R., & Skutnabb-Kangas, T. (1996). English Only Worldwide or Language Ecology? *TESOL Quarterly*, 30(3), 429-452.
- Pieterse, N., & Parekh, B. (1995). Shifting imaginaries: decolonization, internal decolonization, and postcoloniality. In J. Pieterse & B. Parekh (Eds.), *The Decolonization of Imagination* (pp. 1-20). London: Zed Books.
- Poole, D. (2001). Moving towards professionalism: The strategic management of international education activities at Australian Universities and their Faculties of Business. *Higher Education*, 42(4), 395-435.
- Prado, C. G. (1995). *Starting with Foucault: An Introduction to Genealogy*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Pratt, G., & Poole, D. (2000). Global Corporations "R" Us? The impact of globalisation on Australian universities. *Australian Universities Review*, 42(2), 16-23.
- Pratt, M. L. (1992). *Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Transculturation*. London: Routledge.
- Protech, P. (2007). Clinical Research Associate - Employment. Retrieved 20 January, 2007, from [http://www.pccro.com/EN/HOME/PPC\\_CRAemp/CRAemployment.htm](http://www.pccro.com/EN/HOME/PPC_CRAemp/CRAemployment.htm)
- Radhakrishnan, R. (2003). Postcoloniality and the Boundaries of Identity. In L. Alcoff & E. Mendieta (Eds.), *Identities: Race, Class, Gender and Nationality*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rapley, M., Kiernan, P., & Antaki, C. (1998). Invisible to themselves or negotiating identity? The interactional management of 'being intellectually disabled.' *Disability and Society*, 13, 807-828.
- Read, B., Francis, B., & Robson, J. (2001). 'Playing Safe': Undergraduate essay writing and the presentation of the student 'voice'. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 22(3), 387-399.

- Reed, G. G. (2001). Fastening and unfastening identities: negotiating identity in Hawai'i. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 22(3), 327-339.
- Ricento, T. (2006). *An Introduction to Language Policy : Theory and Method*. Malden, MA: Blackwell.
- Ritzer, G. (2004). *The McDonaldization of Society*. Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Ritzer, G. (2006). *McDonaldization: The Reader* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Pine Forge Press.
- Rivkin, J., & Ryan, M. (2004). *Literary Theory: An Anthology* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Rizvi, F. (1997). Beyond the East-West divide: Education and the dynamics of Australia-Asia Relations. *Australian Educational Researcher*, 24(1), 13-25.
- Rizvi, F. (2004). Globalisation and the dilemmas of Australian higher education. *Critical Perspectives on Communication, Cultural & Policy Studies*, 23(2), 33-42.
- Rizvi, F., & Walsh, L. (1998). Difference, globalisation and the internationalisation of the curriculum. *Australian Universities Review*, 41(2), 7-11.
- Robertson, R., & Khondker, H. (1998). Discourses of globalization. *International Sociology*, 13(1), 25-40.
- Rojek, C. (2003). *Stuart Hall*. Malden, MA: Polity.
- Rosenwald, G. C., & Ochberg, R. L. (1992). Introduction: Life stories, cultural politics and self-understanding. In G. C. Rosenwald & R. L. Ochberg (Eds.), *Storied Lives: The Cultural Politics of Self-understanding* (pp. 1-18). New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Said, E. W. (1978). *Orientalism* (1st ed.). New York: Pantheon Books.
- Said, E. W. (1983). *The World, the Text, and the Critic*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.
- Said, E. W. (1993). Overlapping territories, intertwined histories. In *Culture and Imperialism* (pp. 3-61): Vintage Books.
- Said, E. W. (1994). *Culture and Imperialism* (1st ed.). New York: Vintage Books.
- Said, E. W. (1999). *Out of Place: A Memoir*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf.
- Salzman, P., & Gelder, K. (1989). *The New Diversity: Australian Fiction 1970-1988*. Melbourne: McPhee Gribble.
- Samuelowicz, K. (1987). Learning problems of overseas students: Two sides of a story. *Higher Education Research and Development*, 6(2), 121-133.
- Sassen, S. (2000). Excavating power: In search of frontier zones and new actors. *Theory, Culture and Society*, 17(1), 163-170.
- Scheurich, J. (1997). *Research Method in the Postmodern*. London: Falmer Press.
- Scholte, J. (1996). Globalisation and collective identities. In J. Krause & N. Renwick (Eds.), *Identities in International Relations* (pp. 38-78). London: MacMillan Press.
- Scholte, J. (2000). *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*. London: Macmillan Press.
- Scott, P. (1998). Massification, globalization and internationalization. In P. Scott (Ed.), *The Globalization of Higher Education* (pp. 108-129). Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Selwyn, N., & Brown, P. (2000). Education, nation states and the globalization of information networks. *Journal of Education Policy*, 15(6), 661-682.
- Shin, H. (2006). Rethinking TESOL from a SOL's perspective: indigenous epistemology and decolonizing praxis in TESOL. *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 3(2, 3), 147-167.
- Sidhu, R. K. (2003). *Selling Futures: Globalisation and International Education*. Unpublished Thesis (PhD), University of Queensland, 2003, Brisbane.
- Sidhu, R. K. (2004). Governing international education in Australia. *Globalisation, Societies and Education*, 2(1), 47-65.
- Sidhu, R. K. (2005b). Building a global schoolhouse: International education in Singapore. *Australian Journal of Education*, 49(1), 46-65.
- Sidhu, R. K. (2005). *Universities and Globalization : To Market, to Market*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Singh, M. (1998). Globalism, cultural diversity and tertiary education. *Australian Universities Review*, 41(2), 12-17.
- Singh, M. (2002). *Global Learning*. Altona, Vic.: Common Ground Publishing.

- Singh, M. (2004). Neo-conservative globalism and the internationalisation of education: Insights from the trans-national mobility of young Edward Said. *Melbourne Studies in Education*, 45(2), 115-133.
- Singh, M. (2005). Enabling transnational learning communities: policies, pedagogies and politics of educational power. In P. Ninnes & M. Hellstén (Eds.), *Internationalizing Higher Education: Critical Explorations of Pedagogy and Policy* (pp. 9-36). Netherlands: Springer.
- Singh, M., Pandian, A., & Kell, P. (2002). *Appropriating English: Innovation in the Global Business of English Language Teaching*. New York: Peter Lang.
- Slater, D. (1998). Post-colonial questions for global times. *Review of International Political Economy*, 5(4), 647-678.
- Soros, G. (1998). *The Crisis of Global Capitalism: Open Society Endangered*. New York: Public Affairs.
- Spivak, G. C. (1988). Can the Subaltern Speak? In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths & H. Tiffin (Eds.), *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* (1<sup>st</sup> ed., pp. 24-28). London: Routledge.
- Spring, J. (1998). *Education and the Rise of the Global Economy*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc.
- Stake, R. E. (1995). *The Art of Case Study Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Stake, R. E. (2000). Case studies. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S. Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research* (2nd ed., pp. 435-454). London: Sage Publications.
- Stake, R. E. (2006). *Multiple Case Study Analysis*. New York: The Guilford Press.
- Strauss, A., & Corbin, J. (1990). *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*. Newbury Park, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Strozier, R. M. (2002). *Foucault, Subjectivity and Identity: Historical Constructions of Subject and Self*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press.
- Sturman, A. (1994). Case study methods. In J. P. Keeves (Ed.), *Educational Research, Methodology, and Measurement: an International Handbook* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Pergamon.
- Tajfel, H. (1982). *Social Identity and Intergroup Relations*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Tandon, R. (1988). Social Transformation and Participatory Research. *Convergence*, XXI(2/3), 5-16.
- Taylor, P. G. (1998). Institutional change in uncertain times: "lone ranging" is not enough. *Studies in Higher Education*, 23(3), 268-288.
- Taylor, S., Rizvi, F., Lingard, B., & Henry, M. (1997). *Educational Policy and the Politics of Change*. London: Routledge.
- Thiong'o, N. w. (1981). The Language of African Literature. In B. Ashcroft, G. Griffiths & H. Tiffin (Eds.), *The Post-colonial Studies Reader* (1st ed., pp. 285-290). London: Routledge.
- Thornbury, S. (2000). McEnglish in Australia. *13th EA Educational Conference (English in Australia)*. Retrieved 12 September, 2004, from <http://www.teaching-unplugged.com/mcenglish.html>
- Tikly, L. (2001). Globalisation and education in the postcolonial world: Towards a conceptual framework. *Comparative Education*, 37(2), 152-171.
- Toolan, M. (2001). *Narrative: A Critical Linguistic Introduction* (2nd ed.). London: Routledge.
- Universitas21. (2007). Universitas 21: About. Retrieved 12 June, 2007, from <http://www.universitas21.com/about.html>
- Usher, R., Bryant, I., & Johnston, R. (1997). *Adult Education and the Post Modern Challenge: Learning Beyond the Limits*. London: Routledge.
- Usher, R., & Edwards, R. (1994). *Postmodernism and Education*. London: Routledge.
- Volet, S., & Renshaw, P. (1995). Cross cultural differences in university students' goals and perceptions of study settings for achieving their goals. *Higher Education*, 30(4), 407-433.
- Volet, S., Renshaw, P., & Tietzel, K. (1994). A short-term longitudinal investigation of cross cultural differences in study approaches using Biggs' SPQ questionnaire. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*, 64(2), 301-318.
- Walker, J. (2001). Client views of TESOL service: expectations and perceptions. *The International Journal of Educational Management*, 15(4), 187-196.
- Waters, M. (1995). *Globalization*. London: Routledge.
- Webster, L., & Mertova, P. (2007). *Using Narrative Inquiry as a Research Method: An Introduction to Using Narrative Analysis in Learning and Teaching*. London: Routledge.

- Weedon, C. (1987). *Feminist Practice and Poststructuralist Theory*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Werbner, P. (1997). Introduction: The Dialectics of Cultural Hybridity. In P. Werbner & T. Modood (Eds.), *Debating Cultural Hybridity: Multi-cultural Identities and the Politics of Racism*. London: Zed Books.
- Werbner, P. (2001). The limits of cultural hybridity: on ritual monsters, poetic licence and contested postcolonial purifications. *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, 7(1), 133-152.
- Wicks, P. (1972). Diplomatic perspectives. In S. Bochner & P. Wicks (Eds.), *Overseas Students in Australia* (pp. 10-21). Randwick, NSW: University of New South Wales.
- Wiersma, W. (1995). *Research Methods in Education: An Introduction*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Wiersma, W. (2000). *Research Methods in Education: An Introduction*. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- Williams, C. L. (1996). Dealing with the data: ethical issues in case study research. In P. Mortensen & G. E. Kirsch (Eds.), *Ethics and Representation in Qualitative Studies of Literacy* (pp. 40-57). Urbana: National Council of Teachers of English.
- Williams, P. (Ed.). (2001). *Edward Said* (1st ed. Vol. 1). London: SAGE Publications.
- Williams, P., & Chrisman, L. (Eds.). (1993). *Colonial Discourse and Post-colonial Theory: A Reader*. New York, London, Toronto, Sydney, Tokyo and Singapore: Harvester Wheatsheaf.
- Willinsky, J. (1998). *Learning to Divide the World*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Willinsky, J. (1998). *Learning to Divide the World: Education at Empire's End*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Windschuttle, K. (1999). Edward Said's Orientalism Revisited. Retrieved 18 July, 2004, from <http://www.newcriterion.com/archive/17/jan99/said.htm>
- Wodak, R., De Cillia, R., & Reisigl, M. (1999). *The Discursive Construction of National Identity* (A. Hirsch & R. Mitten, Trans.). Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Wolf, M. (2000). Why this hatred of the market. In F. Lechner & J. Boli (Eds.), *The Globalization Reader* (pp. 9-11). Malden, Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers.
- Woodward, K. (Ed.). (1997). *Identity and Difference*. London: Open University.
- Yin, R. K. (1994). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Young, R. (1987). *Untying the Text: A Post-Structuralist Reader*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Young, R. (1995). *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London: Routledge.

## Appendix 1: TESOL and Victorian Universities

University	Faculty/School	Department/School	TESOL offered?	TESOL Degrees Offered	Exceptions
ACU	Faculty of Education		Y	Graduate Certificate in TESOL International Graduate Certificate in Education Postgraduate Certificate in TESOL Master of Teaching	No Graduate/ Postgraduate Diplomas and Masters in TESOL
Deakin	Faculty of Education		Y	Master in Education (TESOL)	<i>specialist units, generic units and research units by appellation</i>
La Trobe	Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences	School of Educational Studies, Language Centre	Y	Graduate Certificate in Education (TESOL) Graduate Diploma in TESOL	Four-week fixed date 'English and Methodology for TESOL' course
Monash	Faculty of Education		Y	Postgraduate Certificate/Diploma in Education (TESOL) Master in Education (TESOL) Short Courses under Contract (TESOL)	Postgraduate Certificate of Education (TESOL) not offered
RMIT	Faculty of Education	none	N	Graduate Certificate/Diploma and Masters in Education (Education, Leadership and Management)	
Swinburne	none	none	N	none	
Uni of Melbourne	Faculty of Education	Department of Language, Literacy and Arts Education	Y	Postgraduate Certificate/Diploma in Educational Studies (TESOL) Master of TESOL	IELTS: minimum of 7 (with minimum 7 in W)
Victoria	Faculty of Human Development	School of Education	Y	Graduate Certificate in TESOL Graduate Diploma in TESOL Graduate Diploma in TESOL and Literacy Master of TESOL Master of TESOL and Literacy	

## Appendix 2: Poster

# What in the world am I doing here? Why here?

## Participate in a PhD research study and help find out!

I would like to invite you to take part in an exciting research project under the title<sup>12</sup>,

### **Student Identity as a Site of Conflict in TESOL Marketing**

carried out as part of my PhD study at the Faculty of Education, Monash University.

The lure of a Western TESOL training in today's world is the anticipated product of a consolidated network of advertisement, but also a by-product of the power relations reinforced by international students. These students may act as secondary agents, further legitimising this demand through an unconscious yet spontaneous adoption of embedded discourses. This research project explores the extent to which English education, especially TESOL, may have been commodified, in the commercial and political interests of western societies, to meet the demands of an ever growing market in Asia. It also seeks to gain a better understanding of the multiple role of the TESOL enterprise in the global community. More specifically it aims to investigate the identity of the international TESOL student as a space where conflicting forces interact and consolidate.

You can participate if you If you

- have learned and used English as a foreign or second language
  - are doing a Masters in TESOL
  - if you have taught ESL/EFL/English Literature
- if you haven't taught but might teach ESL/EFL/English Literature in future
  - have time for an interview,

Please note that to protect your identity, you will be assigned with a pseudonym in

all tape transcripts, written records and published materials.

**Time and place of interview will be decided by you.**

To participate, or for further information on all aspects of the research, please contact me at the numbers given below.

I look forward to hearing from you soon. Thank you!

### **Raqib Chowdhury**

Room 134, Building 6, Faculty of Education, Monash University

[raqib.chowdhury@education.monash.edu](mailto:raqib.chowdhury@education.monash.edu) , 9905 XXXX, 0431 XXX XXX

<sup>12</sup> The title, as well as some of the objectives of this project changed since the original Research Proposal was submitted in March 2005.

### Appendix 3: Profile of Participants

no	Name	Age	Gender	Nationality	L1	Teaching Experience (years)	Current Enrolment	Academic Qualifications/Degrees	Experience in EFL/ESL
1	<b>Yun</b>	27	F	Chinese	Chinese	4	Master of <b>TESOL</b> , University of Melbourne	BA (English Education) Tianjin Normal University	Tianjin Polytechnic University, Chinese, English (Home tutor), Interpreter
2	<b>Xia</b>	26	F	Chinese	Chinese	2	Master of <b>TESOL</b> , University of Melbourne Master of Education (Thesis only)	BA (English Literature) Wuhan University, Master of Education, University of Melbourne Pre-service training	South China Normal University, Guang Dong
3	<b>Rika</b>	27	F	Japanese	Japanese	3	M Ed ( <b>TESOL</b> International), Monash University	BA (English Literature), Japan Women's University	3
4	<b>Nobu</b>	41	M	Japanese	Japanese	Nil	M Ed ( <b>TESOL</b> International), Monash University	BA (English Literature) MA (English Education) Teaching Certificate Aoyama Gakuin University, Tokyo	Nil
5	<b>Ning</b>	26	F	Taiwanese	Taiwanese Mandarin	R/A in Nursing	M Ed ( <b>TESOL</b> International), Monash University	BA in Nursing, National Taipei College of Nursing	Nil
6	<b>Rahman</b>	25	M	Indonesian	Bahasa Acehese	3	Grad. Dip. & MEd ( <b>TESOL</b> ), La Trobe University	BA in English Education, Faculty of Teacher Training and Education, Syiah Kuala University, Aceh	Several places in province

## Appendix 4: First-round Interview Prompts

### Demographics:

- age, country of origin, first language
- how long studying/teaching English
- educational background
- present enrolment - what course, which university
- how long in the course/in Australia

What is the story between you and English? Can you tell me when you first learnt English? Earliest memories? What's 'English' to you? How do you see it today, as language and as profession?

*Whose* English do you speak? Could you please explain?

Does learning/teaching English change you? In what ways?

What do you think is the culture behind English? How do you place yourself in that culture?

Tell me the story - how did you get here?

Why did you choose to come to Australia/this particular university?

Did you consider any other universities?

Why did you choose to study TESOL?

Can you think of other influences that many have prompted you to take these decisions?

What advantages did you think at that time in relation to the study of TESOL?

Now that you are studying TESOL, what do you like best/dislike about it and about being a student here?

Are there issues that didn't bother you before but bother you now? Vice versa?

What parts of the course do you find helpful? What parts do you think are irrelevant to your expectations and future professional goals?

Is this what you expected TESOL to give you? What /who made you expect these? Why?

How far do you think pedagogy as practised here is relevant to your home situation?

How do you think universities here represent Australia in the global community (in your country, for example)?

How do universities here represent Australia? What are the 3 things people need to know before coming here? What 3 pieces of advice would you give to prospective international students?

If you were to decide again, is there anything you would have changed? Why so?

Can you think of a similar/equivalent course in your home country?

---

The interview would take roughly 50-60 mins. The questions are meant to elicit personal and very frank responses with regard to the issues discussed above.

**Appendix 5 Pre-Interview Form**

<b>Full name (BLOCK letters)</b>
<b>Contact numbers</b>
<b>Email</b>
<b>Past Educational Qualifications/Institute</b>
<b>Currently enrolled in (Full Degree name)</b>
<b>University</b>
<b>Expected date of graduation</b> Month _____ Year _____
<b>Teaching Experience</b> Number of years (total) – Where -
<b>Other professional Experience</b>
1.
2.
3.

## Appendix 6: Second-round Interview Prompts (Rahman)

- Some figures from the past – the school headmaster, the representative from the Education Ministry, your parents and friends have had a significant impact on your choices.  
What and who influences you most today, generally speaking, and as far as your studies and future career plan are concerned?
- *English is like a monster for us because we come from a rural area, you know rural area, where English is considered as language of unbelievers because our background is Muslim, you know, there is always something like that when you come from a that background, I mean that religious background.'*  
Could you tell me more about this (your first impressions of English)? How do you look back at your feelings of that time, now?
- *But later on when I entered senior high school which is in the city, I mean the capital of my district it was a bit competitive and it forced me to compete with other students including in English other than many other subjects. I had to like English... I forced myself to speak English.*  
Could you tell me more? Do you see yourself as being drawn towards English reluctantly?
- *My ambition was at first time was like I would like to become a technocrat. You know I was very obsessed by the minister of technology and engineering at that time. His name was Habibi who later became the president replacing Suharto...*  
How do you see this now? Do you still want to be a man of recognition in terms of power and money? How do you think your study of TESOL will help you achieve that?
- You mentioned last time that the best advantage English has given you was your 2 month US visit. What would you say (today) is the best advantage English has given you?
- You have had extensive experience quite early in your career, even as a student, teaching in many places. Very impressive indeed. You said all this teaching was done 'just to earn money' as you 'didn't want to depend on [your] parents'. How do you see this today? Were there other factors that led you to becoming an English teacher?
- When talking about western culture you made contrast with Islamic culture - *what I believe, it's not my religion's culture. You know, I am a religious person. But I always try to accommodate myself, adapt myself within the society.*  
Could you tell me more on this?

- What is a native/non-native speaker in your perception?  
What are the advantages/disadvantages of being a non-native speaker?
- What is globalisation? How do you see it?  
Do you think there is a connection between globalisation and TESOL?  
Do you think it is inevitable? Is there anything that shocks you about it?
- What does 'marketing' mean to you?
- Can you think of/have you ever thought of TESOL as an industry/enterprise/business? In what ways? Can you see yourself as a consumer/customer? How do you feel about it?
- Do you think TESOL has turned into a commodity just like any other through the marketing programmes of universities?
- How do you conceptualise the 'TESOL professional' identity? What implications does this identity have for the way you think you are expected to perform back home?
- Hypothetically, if you were not on scholarship, would you have made a different choice in your selection of University (La Trobe) and subject (TESOL)? Why?
- What happens next? What do you plan to do after you finish?
- Do you think this course will help you achieve your goal/advance your career/fulfil your professional requirements in your country/elsewhere?

## Appendix 7: Explanatory Statement

(Letterhead of Faculty of Education, Monash University)

Date: October 2005

**Project Title<sup>13</sup>:**

### **Student Identity as a Site of Conflict in TESOL Marketing**

My name is Raqib Chowdhury and I am doing research towards a PhD under the supervision of Associate Professor Lesley Farrell and Associate Professor Brenton Doecke in the Faculty of Education at Monash University. My research interest lies in the understanding of the role of the TESOL enterprise in the global community and the ways in which the identities of TESOL students are formed while studying.

I have been teaching in the Department of English at the University of Dhaka in Bangladesh for eight years. In 2000 I came to Australia for the first time to do my MEd (TESOL) at which time I realised that the choices students make in taking up TESOL, in combination with the choice they make for a particular university, are often dictated by reasons other than one purely academic or professional. Since then I wanted to enquire into this. My PhD research looks at such issues.

The aims of my research are to listen to the voices of TESOL students and to investigate their perspectives on TESOL in order to have a better understanding of the multiple roles TESOL plays in an increasingly globalised world and to explore the ideological, political and social implications of TESOL as an enterprise. I am also interested in the processes of and factors in the formation of choices and professional identity for TESOL practitioners. I would like to identify in my study ways of developing a more informed client group of critical consumers not seduced by advertising and marketing through an exploration of related issues in TESOL marketing. I hope that by conveying a sense of teacher-students' voices, my research will enable their voices to be heard and will be the basis for developing a new dimension in the critical awareness in students' choice of international education.

Participants will be asked to:

- participate in individual semi-structured interviews (2 rounds)
- join focus group discussions (1 round)
- respond to individual emails in relation to some of their responses in the interviews
- grant me permission to use or quote in my thesis, journal articles and conference papers relevant parts of their interviews and emails revealing their personal attitudes towards TESOL and its marketing, expectations and disappointments, issues of cultural incompatibility and friction and personal reflection on the current situation of Australia's education market in the context of the globalised world.

The interviews and focus group discussions will prompt participants to think critically of international education in general and TESOL education in particular. Participants would

---

<sup>13</sup> The title as well as some of the objectives of this project changed since the original Research Proposal was submitted in March 2005.

be asked to voice their perspectives on TESOL education in terms of expectations and pre- and post-induction phases. The individual interviews will be divided into 2 ongoing meetings, each taking about 45 minutes during the day at a time and place convenient for the participants, possibly the students' common room or University's cafeteria. Participants can take a break or terminate at any time they want as mentioned in the *Consent Form*. This would be followed by a focus group discussion wherein all participants would be invited to attend together. The 1st, 2nd, 3<sup>rd</sup> meetings will be in November 2005, December/January 2005-6, and March 2006 consecutively. All meetings will be audiotaped/digitally recorded and would be conducted in English. Once transcripts are prepared, participants will be invited to double check, change, modify, and comment on them. In addition, there might be a few emails wherein I will enquire about specific responses made in the interviews.

No findings which could identify any individual participant will be published. All participants will be assigned with pseudonyms in both tape transcripts and written records. Access to audio tapes and transcripts will be restricted to participants. Only my supervisor and I will have access to the coded data which will be stored for at least five years as prescribed by the university regulations, and then destroyed.

Participation in this research is entirely voluntary. If you agree to participate, you may withdraw at any time, without giving reason to me. All group participants also have the right to decline to do particular activities without giving reasons, but are expected to contribute to the group discussions, rather than merely listen and observe.

If you are interested to have a summary of the results of my research, please let me know before the project finishes or contact me at the address given. I am hoping to publish various parts of it as journal articles and conference papers. It may also be appropriate to publish the entire project in book form.

*Should you have any complaint concerning the manner in which this research (2005/689) is conducted, please do not hesitate to contact the Monash University Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans at the following address:*

The Secretary  
The Standing Committee on Ethics in Research Involving Humans (SCERH)  
Building 3D  
Research Grants & Ethics Branch  
Monash University VIC 3800  
Australia  
Tel: +61 3 9905 2052      Fax: +61 3 9905 1420      Email: [scerh@adm.monash.edu.au](mailto:scerh@adm.monash.edu.au)

Thank you.

**Raqib Chowdhury**  
Room 134, Building 6  
Faculty of Education, Monash University  
Victoria 3800  
Phone: 9905 XXXX (office), 0431 XXX XXX (mobile)  
email: [xxx@education.monash.edu](mailto:xxx@education.monash.edu)

## Appendix 8: Consent Form

Project Title:

### Student Identity as a Site of Conflict in TESOL Marketing<sup>14</sup>

I agree to take part in the abovementioned Monash University research project. I have had the project explained to me, and I have read the Explanatory Statement, which I have kept for my records. I understand that agreeing to take part means that I am willing to:

- participate in individual interviews
- participate in focus group discussions
- allow both interviews and focus groups to be audiotaped
- reply to individual emails from the researcher
- double check, change, modify and comment on tape transcripts if I want to
- allow the researchers of this project to use/quote tape transcripts and my reflective journals in the thesis and related publication, namely journal articles and conference papers only with pseudonyms.
  - I understand that a pseudonym assigned to me by the researcher will be used to protect my identity from being made public.
  - I understand that will be allowed to read the transcripts of any interview if I want to
  - I also understand that my participation is voluntary, that I can choose not to participate in part or all of the project, and that I can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.
  - I also understand that in order to protect my identity from being made public, the tape transcripts and my reflective journals will be used/quoted only with pseudonyms in the thesis and related publication, namely journal articles and conference papers.

Please tick the appropriate box(es):

- The information I provide can be used in further research projects which have Ethics Approval as long as my name and contact information is removed before it is given to them.
- The information I provide cannot be used by other researchers without asking me first.
- The information I provide cannot be used except for this project.

Name (please PRINT)	
Signature & Date	

<sup>14</sup> The title as well as some of the objectives of this project changed since the original Research Proposal was submitted in March 2005.

## Appendix 9: Timeline of Interviews

		<b>Participant</b>	<b>Interview date</b>	<b>Venue/ Interview type</b>	<b>Length of interview (hr:min:sec)</b>
1	<b>ROUND ONE</b>	Nobu	21 November 2005	Monash University	54:49
2		Ning	29 November 2005	Monash University	50:23
3		Rika	13 December 2005	Monash University	1:05:53
4		Rahman	14 March 2006	La Trobe University	1:11:15
5		Xia	16 May 2006	University of Melbourne	1:07:49
6		Yun	2 June 2006	University of Melbourne	58:47
7	<b>ROUND TWO</b>	Yun	22 November 2006	University of Melbourne	58:35
8		Nobu	15 December 2006	Monash University	48:47
9		Xia	18 December 2006	University of Melbourne	1:00:8
10		Rika	5 January 2007	Internet, MSN Chat	1:22
11		Ning	28 June 2007	email	
12	<b>ROUND THREE</b>	Nobu	2 July 2007	email	
13		Xia	16 July 2007	email	
14		Yun	5 August 2007	email	
15	<b>ROUND TWO</b>	Rahman	1 August 2007	email	
16	<b>ROUND FOUR</b>	Nobu	6 August 2007	email	

## Appendix 10: Invitation to Rahman

Dear Rahman,

Glad to hear back from you. I'm afraid I couldn't make it today on such short notice. In fact if you can remember, last year I mentioned that I had chalked out a plan to dedicate an entire chapter of my thesis on you due to which I wanted our second interview to take a different format.

Following talks with my supervisor, I have decided that it would be a good idea for me to conduct this interview at Monash. I am inviting you to Monash sometime next week for the interview and for lunch. Because of the ethnographic case study orientation of my project, I feel I will hugely benefit from an out-of-context interaction with you, a social interaction to explore 'Rahman the person' rather than 'Rahman the TESOL Professional' or 'Rahman the Student' or 'Rahman the Colleague'.

The interview itself will take just an hour as usual, and at other times and over lunch we will discuss anything that comes naturally - it could be food we like or dislike, politics or even the weather... these conversations will be off-the-record but as I mentioned, will help me understand your personality with greater depth. Of course I can assure you, you will not feel 'studied' or observed in any way. Indeed, it might be more appropriate to see the situation as two colleagues or friends talking casually.

I would of course help you with directions and public transport information and will personally receive you at the bus loop. I earnestly hope you will agree. Please let me know about your decision and we can then arrange a time and date for the interaction.

As a fellow researcher I am sure you will understand how important it is to obtain data using various means and collating them into a larger framework of my study.

I am attaching a transcript of our first interview with this email so that you could take a quick look at our last conversation. However, I can fully assure you, for the sake of our second interview, you don't necessarily need to remember a single word of it at all. In fact the advantage I am getting from interviewing you so late is that I will be able to see differences (if any) in your opinion regarding certain issues. So to put it quite simply, you can simply ignore what you have said earlier. Your responses don't have to conform to your earlier sayings in any way.

Hope to hear from you very soon,

Raqib

## Appendix 11: Email questions to Rika

1. I would like to know your current status – study, work, personal matters. Are you still working in the same school? If so, tell me if anything has changed since we last talked, in terms of workload, commitment, your feelings about teaching. If you have changed job, please tell me about it – in terms of pay, workload, your experiences and how you feel about it. Why did you switch to this new job?
2. In general, have your views/impressions changed over the past year with regards to your TESOL education, teaching English, your study in Australia (in terms of quality/expenses)? Is there anything you are concerned/worried/frustrated about that you were not earlier?
3. In the second interview you said ‘I am more professional about what I do’ explaining that being ‘part of being professional is meeting the demand’ no matter how hard they are. You said you are happy with what you can make of your knowledge of TESOL notwithstanding a fuller satisfaction - ‘I can now see the situation from the distance in a way. And I've come to think in this way because I studied in Australia. As for the teaching skills and theories behind teaching - I must say, though, that I do not use as much as I could’ and also ‘I didn’t spend much time studying the pedagogy anyway, because I wasn’t interested in practical stuff’. What did you mean by ‘pedagogy’? What did you mean by ‘practical stuff’? What were you most interested in?
4. You also said that now that you are back, ‘because of (your TESOL study), I can speak what I think and they (your colleagues) may think I am too opinionated some time but they accept my changes’. Could you tell me a bit more on this?
5. Talking of international students in the class you said, ‘The reasons for studying at Monash for most other international students were mostly practically driven, whereas I was not very keen to study anything practical’. Could you elaborate on this?
6. Do you ever feel *hito no ashi wo hipparu* at work?
7. Do you plan to return to Australia in the future? If so, why? Or why not?
8. What are your future plans (short and long term) - next 6 months/next 5 years (work, study)?

## Appendix 12: Last Questions to Rika (not responded to)

Dear Rika,

I hope this finds you well. How are you doing?

As for myself, I have finished analysis of data and currently writing the first draft of my thesis which I hope to submit in a few weeks from now. From this point on, it might take me another 6 months to submit the final thesis. Rika, so that I could round up your case-study profile, could you please answer a few questions? I have already analysed your two interviews and as I mentioned earlier they have yielded very important data.

I can give you copies of the two transcripts if you would like to see them - let me know. As you might remember, the first interview was digitally recorded, and therefore I can also send you the audio file (in mp3 format).

You will also remember, I am building an entire chapter on you.

As you know your responses are totally anonymous and I would encourage you to be frank and just speak your mind. Since your written responses are substituting a face-to-face interview, it would be particularly helpful if you are elaborate in the responses (as much as you can) since I have no way of asking you a related follow-up question, which as you will surely know is quite common in case study approach.

I also want to mention that I am in no way expecting that your responses this time would be consistent with what you said in the first and second (chat) interview (and therefore you don't necessarily have to remember what you said earlier). In fact, if your responses are different this time, or even contradictory, they will throw light on how your thinking has changed over a period of 7 months since our second interview (on 5 January) earlier this year.

And remember, there are no wrong answers - whatever you say is right.

The questions are in dot points (in the attached file) and it might be easier for both of us if you simply insert your answers in the same doc file along the questions. Take as much space as you want - there is no word limit. I think this should take you around an hour.

I hope I am not bothering you at a time when you are very busy (I know you are). All the best, Rika.

Raqib