

Standardizing Subjectivities: Extensions within the Field of International Education

by

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B.A., Simon Fraser University, 2009

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Abstract

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The difficulties non-native-English-speaking students encounter within the field of international education was explored through ethnographic research I conducted on a private Australian accounting college in China. This institute functions within a system and structure of education that has been designed elsewhere – generally for a native-English-speaking learner – under practices of standardization rather than specificity of context. Conflict experienced within everyday practices surrounding discourses of linguistic competences are uprooted to reveal how non-native-English-speaking students are positioned within this field. This positioning requires individuals to follow and recognize a system of learning, acceptable forms of knowledge, and a privileged way of communicating. When previously formed subject positions are individually and/or institutionally deemed in contradiction with this field, conflict within everyday practices arises. While counter-discourses were found within the use of native-languages, they were primarily negatively sanctioned within educational practices leading to further forms of standardization.

Table of Contents

Supervisory Committee	ii
Abstract.....	iii
Table of Contents	iv
List of Acronyms	v
A Note on Style	vi
Acknowledgments	vii
Chapter One: Introduction	1
Teaching and learning within the field of international education	1
Operationalizing the extended case method	5
The internationalization and globalization of education: a brief overview	8
Chapter Two: Extending into the Field of International Education.....	13
The first step of the extended case method.....	15
Extending into the field.....	17
The structure of learning at EIAI	20
“The type of students who go here”	22
Being a foreign teacher in a foreign environment	25
The notion of difference within the field	27
Chapter Three: The Field of International Education Over Time and Space.....	32
An international classroom	33
The linguistic struggle of students	37
The echelon of English	40
The echelon of Mandarin	45
Linguistic encounters in the field of international education.....	52
Chapter Four: Forces of Relations within the Field of International Education	58
Past international education encounters in China	61
International education in China today	67
The creation of export education in Australia.....	74
The veil of multiculturalism.....	78
Extending to processes of force	82
Chapter 5: The Subjective Struggle of Individuals within the Field of International Education	85
Extending theory within the field of international education	87
“I am lazy and sometimes I just want to dance”	88
Subject positions and positioning of ESL learners	96
The subjective struggles of students	100
Discourses and counter-discourses of power	103
Chapter 6: Conclusion.....	109
Reconsidering the globalization of education.....	112
Reference List.....	115

List of Acronyms

APU	Australian Public University
CAD	Canadian Dollar
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CPC	Chinese Private College
CPU	Chinese Public University
CYN	Chinese <i>Yuan/Renminbi</i>
EIAI	Enterprise International Accounting Institute
IELTS	International English Language Testing System
TESOL	Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages
USA	The United States of America

A Note on Style

This thesis uses the system of *Hanyu* pinyin for the Romanization of Chinese words. Any Chinese word used throughout the paper is italicised and defined within the text. Full Chinese names are cited in the native order of family name first, and then given name without a comma.

Acknowledgments

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Chapter One: Introduction

“To speak means to be in a position to use a certain syntax, to grasp the morphology of this or that language, but it means above all to assume a culture, to support the weight of a civilization”

(Fanon, 1967, pp. 17-18).

This ethnography is about discursive and nondiscursive conflict encountered in everyday practices within an international education environment. Using the extended case method, it attempts to understand and explain the difficulties non-native-English-speaking students encounter both in an English learning environment situated in a non-native English-speaking country, and within a system and structure of education that has been designed elsewhere – generally for a native-English-speaking learner – under practices of standardization rather than specificity of context. Conflicts within the field are understood through the development of current global educational processes that have formed the institution of this ethnography and continue to influence educational practices. This is understood through my exploration of everyday dialogue, from personally interviewing students who were about to graduate, to observing the initial lecture of the degree program. As explored below, this ostensibly ‘routine’ lecture is illustrative of the difficulties which form the crux of this thesis.

Teaching and learning within the field of international education

In a large lecture hall in South China an American teacher stands in front a massive whiteboard framed by two giant screens projecting a PowerPoint presentation that has been designed in Australia. On the desk below her are lectures notes written by a teacher in Australia who is simultaneously teaching the class locally, using the same

PowerPoint slides and course material sold to this college. Gazing up to the 120 young Chinese students who crowd the seats, she begins class: “some of you may already know my name; it’s Jane.”¹ Hired by the school, Jane has taught this course for a number of semesters. Conversely, for most students present in the classroom this is their first university-level course they have ever taken. The class, *Accounting for Decision Making*, is a first-year requirement for these students who are working towards the Australian commerce degree in accounting this Chinese college offers.

After introducing herself, Jane tells the students there is an attendance sheet being sent around the class: “what I need you to do is check your Chinese name, check your *pinyin* name, check your English name.”² If it is correct, no problem, sign your name.” The attendance sheet travels around the classroom from student-to-student as Jane begins describing the structure of the class: “you will have a lecture, and the lecture takes two hours. And you will have a tutorial. The tutorial takes two-and-a-half hours.” Students groan light-heartedly at the amount of time required, and many begin talking to their acquaintances in Mandarin or Cantonese. Most students have already met each other previously in the English language program that prepares students to enter this degree. “You must come to every class and every tutorial. If you miss two classes I will drop you. That is, I will tell [Australian Public University (APU)] that you are no longer doing this course, and you won’t be enrolled, and you will have to take it next term. This is the policy, so don’t miss any classes.” In the wake of this information the murmuring of the class increases. Jane ignores it and goes on:

¹ The names of all individuals and institutes have been changed within this paper in order to protect the identities of those who agreed to participate in this research.

² *Pinyin* is a system of Romanization for Mandarin, Chinese

You need to understand everything that goes on, because you take this with you to the next course, 1102. You need to read your study book, read your textbook, read your PowerPoints, answer the questions, ask any questions you have ... if I am going too fast you need to tell me to slow down. If you don't understand something than ask me to explain again. Ok?

She goes on to reassure the students that questions should be asked, regardless of how fluent they may be spoken:

This is not an English class, so I am not going to worry about how you ask a question, how you answer a question, how good your grammar is. This is accounting. So if you don't know any accounting words or formulas tell me. That is the reason you are here. If you don't tell me anything, then I don't know and I'll keep going.

Later, when speaking to Jane privately, I am told that both English-language barriers and the study and learning habits students have previously acquired from the Chinese education system, often leading to silence and diminutive student participation, are the two major issues she faces in teaching at this college.

Jane then begins discussing how students will be assessed for this class, describing three online tests, a group assignment, and a final exam. She begins by explaining how the online tests are administered:

You will be given an [APU] ID and you will be given a password. You need to get on Study Desk to access this test. If you don't get on the Study Desk you can't do the test³...If you have a student number, and you have a password, and you have a computer and you don't get on study desk, you fail that test. If you have all these things and then you come say "Jane, my computer crashed" *mei banfa*. You fail that test. If you say "my internet was not working" same thing, *mei banfa*. Because [APU] says you cannot say the internet or a computer is a problem because they give you one week to do this test.

At the sound of a foreign teacher speaking Mandarin, many of the students present laugh. While spoken blithely, this Chinese term, meaning "there is nothing I can do" or "there

³ Study Desk is an online component provided by APU for each course, where students, both internationally and domestically in Australia, can access class material and further resources.

no choice or alternative”, hints at the diminutive amount of control and authority Jane has in administering and teaching the course. With all material standardized for the many private off-shore programs established by this public Australian university, Jane is largely unable to change assessment procedures or any other aspect of the course.

After explaining how the class will be graded, Jane moves on to describe the format of lectures and tutorials. Each week covers one of twelve modules that form the entirety of the course, and each module has a list of objectives that students are expected to learn. Jane projects the list for this week, titled “accounting and the business environment.” Just like students taking the same course around the world, they are required to learn the following:

1. Define accounting vocabulary and explain the nature and purpose of accounting information for decision making in business
2. Understand how the accounting profession is organised in Australia
3. Define what triple bottom line accounting means
4. Understand the importance of ethics in accounting and business
5. Distinguish between management accounting and financial accounting
6. Understand the impact accounting standards have on accounting for the activities of a business in general
7. Identify different types of business organisations and the legal implications associated with each type
8. Apply accounting concepts and principles to the accounting process.

Gesturing towards the first objective, Jane asks her students if they have previously studied accounting words. A handful of students reply “no” while others begin to laugh at this interaction. Jane responds with a smile, and retorts good-humouredly “no accounting words? You are in trouble!” The class erupts in laughter at this statement. She goes on to tell the students that she will email them a list of accounting words they should learn as soon as possible: “I will try to get a list of accounting words and email it to you. You can carry it around with you. I will use these words. If you can’t use a word

or don't know it, you can get out the list, because I can't explain to you every time what the word means.”

Jane will solely teach, run tutorials, mark, and provide additional support over the next three months for all 120 students present in the classroom. Like any other class in the world, students will vary in their participation, attendance, and focus. Conversely, this group of students are learning within a particular environment; while being taught in English, students will spend the majority of their time communicating in Mandarin and Cantonese. The course material is based upon practices in a country that the majority have never been to, and students will be expected to learn this material in a specific standardized fashion. Like those observed and spoken about in the classroom described above, it is the interactions that surround these practices which form this ethnography.

Operationalizing the extended case method

Michael Burawoy's (1991, 1998, 2000, 2009) extended case method is the ethnographic research strategy used to study this college. This method uses ethnographic data I gathered living and working on campus, as well as research on historical and current structural processes and forces concerning the formation, expansion, and continual impact on international education practices. Through dialogue this strategy makes an analytical return to the site of research, and by extending pre-existing theory, reconstructs how individuals are situated and influenced by these structural processes and forces. Dialogue defines this method and marks every stage of the research, from dialogue between researcher and participant, linking successive events and findings, connecting micro and macro process and forces, to altering pre-existing theory through the research conducted.

While structural development and forces are explored through this methodology, this ethnography is grounded within the particular, local, and micro, forming the foundation on which this project is situated. In fall 2010, over the course of a trimester, I lived with Chinese students in their dormitory and worked alongside predominantly foreign teachers within this private Chinese college. I conducted over twenty interviews with teachers, administrators, and students, collected daily field notes, and was given access to learning journals, writing assignments, and course material. I observed and taught classes and tutorials on a weekly basis, and was active within the college daily. I socialized with students and teachers in the evenings and on weekends, and often was asked by students for extra help studying. The access I was provided and the way in which teachers and students welcomed me into their life has allowed for the rich data that is explored in the following pages.

The structure of this thesis mirrors the methodology of the extended case method, as each of the four main chapters contains an exploration of one of the four extensions on which this research strategy is based. Chapter two considers the first extension of this method, *extending the observer to the participant*, introducing educational practices within the college, and interpreting and understanding the site through my presence as a researcher. As this chapter will demonstrate, my presence exposed the notion of difference and how this concept shaped social order. This preliminary finding forms the foundation of this thesis and the arguments within it. In chapter three the notion of difference as constituting social order is delved into through an exploration of the next extension of this method: *extending observations over space and time*. As my time in the research site continued I began to focus on how difference was understood discursively

and nondiscursively through the perceived English language ability of students, and consider how this worked as a force that shaped social processes and practices. The third extension, *extending from micro process to macro processes*, is investigated in chapter four through an exploration of connecting education and social structures in China and Australia and how they have formed regimes of power within the research site. This involves a dialogue between micro and macro structures and processes, and how the research site is situated within the field of international education.

Chapter five returns to the site of research to understand how power structures impact the lives of participants. The fourth extension of this method involves the *extension of theory*. This involves reconstructing previous findings through social theory. It is here that my argument finds its crux, and the struggle surrounding linguistic competence is shown to mask power relations within the field of international education. Non-native-English-speaking students experience struggle when they enter this field, as previously formed subjectivities that are individually and/or institutionally deemed in contradiction are often uprooted and displaced. Despite the struggle experienced, students entering the field of international education are required to make an investment in the structures that form the field. My research also reveals that counter-discourses within the students' use of their native languages, and the power relations they contain, were present alongside this investment. Finally, the conclusion reevaluates the globalization and internationalization of education, and as will be explored next, takes into account how it can be viewed through the lives of individuals.

The internationalization and globalization of education: a brief overview

Understanding academic perspectives on the globalization and internationalization of education must first involve an exploration of the term “globalization,” as often viewpoints epitomize how this term has been defined and critiqued. While an extensive amount of clear, compact, and simplified definitions of globalization exist and are readily used in academic literature, defining the term runs the risk of branding globalization in absolutist terms. This, it is argued: defines globalization ahistorically or as a new dominant phase of human history; describes the term as a phenomena which linearly spreads dominant ideas worldwide and affects individuals and communities homogeneously; and, most importantly, employs the term in ways that subjectively separate or dominate over actual lived experiences (Burawoy et al., 2000; Chomsky, 1998; Chong, 2007; Held & McGrew, 2003; Marcuse, 2004; Tsing, 2002; Tsuda, 2003). In contrast the working understanding of globalization in this thesis is tangibly applied: only through the contextual, individual, and particular can it be used as a construct. This standpoint is in opposition to “globalism”, the assumption that globalization is “...a structural process independent of specific acts of choice, inevitable in its really existing form, and ultimately beneficial to all...the hegemonic metaphor through which the actual process of globalization is seen/presented” (Marcuse, 2004, p. 810). The use of the term globalization should be considered as a discourse, one with deep historical roots that is affixed to worldwide connections through shifting global interconnections and interactions.

Globalization as a discourse connects to past theorization on processes of development and modernity. The classical development paradigm, although having much deeper historical roots, is often seen as emerging during the 1940s and 1950s (Escobar, 1995). Countries considered “under-developed” were deemed in need of aid to promote national growth, generally in the form of capitalist structures promoted and created within a range of areas, such as technical and educational expansion, industrialization of resources, and monetary and fiscal policies. Through a Foucauldian framework, Escobar (1995) argues that discourse marks this development paradigm:

The development discourse was constituted not by the array of possible objects under its domain but by the way in which, thanks to this set of relations, it was able to form systematically the objects of which it spoke, to group them and arrange them in certain ways, and give them a unity of their own (p. 40).

Viewing development as a discourse exposes how relations within a system simultaneously define the conditions of what is incorporated and how they are rhetorically framed. This paper follows Escobar in defining discourse as a system of relations that forms and establishes this power, from defining who has authority or expertise, to what forms of knowledge are privileged. This is seen readily through social practices and the way in which individuals or groups are confined by previously established relations. Even with the introduction of new variables or objects the same set of relations previously established through discursive practices are evident. While globalization is described as a phenomenon connected to new technological and social developments, it should not be separated from previous discursive practices, but rather be viewed as working “...within the confines of the same discursive space” (Escobar, 1995, p. 42). As Tsing (2002) argues, the discourse of classical modernization theory cannot be

separated from the notion of globalization, and “like modernization theory, the global-future program has swept together scholars and public thinkers to imagine a new world in the making” (p. 454).

Academic work on the globalization and internationalization of education often circumvents uprooting the use of the term globalization and the discourses it contains. Spring (2009) defines the globalization of education as “... worldwide discussion, processes, and institutions affecting local education practices and policies” (p. 1). Affairs considered to be occurring on a worldwide scale are viewed in terms of how they affect national and local school systems. Spring (2009) argues that a changing “global superstructure” influences education systems at the local and national level.⁴ The way in which nations and organizations adopt policies and processes from this superstructure is used to describe the internationalization of education. This description runs the risk of labelling globalization as a non-state bound force, and internationalization as the way in which countries and inter-state organizations react to this force, fragmenting relations of power and placing emphasis on organizations and structures rather than systems of relations.

Academic discussion has reconsidered this type of definition and rather than seeing nations, institutions, and individuals as passive to globalization, considers the way in which they resist and accommodate, change and reform (Altbach, 2004a; Bryan & Vavrus, 2005; Enders, 2004; Ginsburg, Cooper, Raghu & Zegarra, 1990; Knight, 2003,

⁴ The term “global superstructure” in relation to education is defined by Spring (2009) as “...composed of intergovernmental, and nongovernmental organizations; multinational publishing, information, learning and testing corporations; global media projects; global networks of educators and policymakers; and globalized forms of higher education” (p. 118).

2004). Nonetheless, ambiguity over the use of these terms still exists, leading to contradictions within this body of literature. On one hand, many scholars have begun to theorize how globalization facilitates the reproduction of inequality within education, especially in connection to neoliberal practices (Altbach, 2002, 2004a; Bryan & Vavrus, 2005; Burbules & Torres, 2000; Kwiek, 2000; Morrow, 2006; Tomlinson, 2003; Torres, 1998, 2009; Torres & Rhoads, 2006).⁵ Alongside these critical perspectives another segment of research and theory emphasizes transnational networks and international institutions operating within agency-centered theories focused on transnationalism, international development, and human capital (Bryan & Vavrus, 2005; Castles & Miller, 2009; Chabbot & Ramirez, 2000; Collins, 2008). Thus, this body of literature is often ambiguous, contradictory, and paradoxical, as the globalization and internationalization of education is viewed as both enabling and constraining societies, groups, and individuals.

While ambiguities may exist, a central focus within this academic literature explores the dominance of certain forms of education – most notably the system of education emerging from the United States of America (USA) – in areas such as degree structure, credit and grading, homogenization of course content, as well as connecting social, economic, and political trends, such as the job market, policy formation, and massification (Altbach, 2004a, 2004b; Ginsburg, Cooper, Raghu & Zegarra, 1990). Discussion has considered how other systems of education and knowledge are dismantled within this process, often considering economic and political change and repression directly and indirectly tied to colonial influence and power. While these discussions are

⁵ Neoliberalism has been related to education in many ways, such as in full or partial privatization of educational facilities, participation of the private sector in education (including the presence of multinational companies) and in promoting the decentralization of education (Torres, 1998).

necessary, they often describe systems of education in terms of state and/or culture, a discourse I also found present within the research site. Historian Arif Dirlik (2008) writes, "...any discussion of culture needs to begin with questioning modernity's way of mapping human societies in terms of civilization, nations, or, simply, cultures..." (p. 2). Culture cannot be conceived only in terms of physical, political, or economic spaces; rather, colonial encounters, among other encounters, need to be considered as meetings between various social spaces.⁶

Reconsidering homogeneous notions of culture and place involves taking into account how individuals and groups ascribe meaning, value, and identity to current and historical "ecumenes."⁷ Similar to how Bourdieu and Passeron (1990) conceptualize culture through symbolic interaction, this involves exploring the way in which individuals, groups, and communities construct meaning, particularly through knowledge, belief, laws, and customs. This takes into account how groups and individuals form not only their own identity, but also ascribe identity to others. Within the research site, discussion related to culture was often constructed by participants as dichotomous geographical and ethnic differences, labelling diverse groups as "Chinese" or "Western." As will be shown in the next chapter, the use of this term by participants was considered a construct which spoke to greater issues and conflicts surrounding the notion of difference.

⁶ Dirlik is building this argument using Pratt's (1992) notion of "contact zone," which borrows from the linguistic term "contact language" to describe a colonial encounters, and "...the space in which peoples geographically and historically separated come into contact with each other and establish ongoing relations, usually involving conditions of coercion, radical inequality, and intractable conflict" (p. 6).

⁷ Quoting from Comaroff and Comaroff (2000), Dirlik defines ecumene as "areas of intense and sustained cultural interaction" (p. 294).

Chapter Two: Extending into the Field of International Education

“It may sound a bit absurd for someone majoring in Chinese to go abroad for advanced study. In fact, however, it is only those studying Chinese literature that it is absolutely necessary to study abroad, since all other subjects such as mathematics, physics, philosophy, psychology, economics, and law, which have been imported from abroad have already been Westernized. Chinese literature, the only native product, is still in need of a foreign trademark before it can hold its own, just as Chinese officials and merchants have to convert the money they have fleeced at home into foreign exchange to maintain the original value of the national currency.”

(Qian Zhongshu, 1947, p. 11)

“These encounters are not just between politically identifiable units but involve the encounters of many social and cultural spaces. They are, therefore, overdetermined, subject to the dialectics of the parts of which they are constituted. They need not be atomized to the level of the individual, because individual encounters take place within contexts that seek to reproduce themselves, creating the possibility of continuity (or, better still, reproduction) but also of disruption, depending on the circumstances.”

(Dirlik, 2008, p. 4)

Even though I had only been in the country for a few days, like everyone else I had my colourful sun umbrella shielding me from the blinding mid-afternoon summer heat common in South China. I was waiting with my suitcase under the east-gate of Chinese Public University (CPU) in central Guangzhou. I had arranged for transport to an education park housing a number of colleges and technical schools on the outskirts of the city – the place where I would conduct ethnographic research over the next three months.

Limited and vague email correspondence with a small school located on the campus had brought me to where I now stood waiting. Only a few months prior I had responded to an online job posting for an Australian degree-granting college in China looking for a foreign English teacher. I introduced myself as a researcher and sociologist who was interested in studying their school, and offered to work as a volunteer instructor

in exchange for research access. After corresponding through only a few emails they had invited me to come, offered to provide room and board in the student dorms in exchange for ten teaching hours a week, and proffered a letter of invitation to secure an entry-visa.

As email correspondence had indicated that the college would be impossible for me to find on my own, I had arranged to be driven there by an old friend who I had met on a previous language study trip to China. He picked me up in a silver van he had borrowed from work, and I jumped in, feeling the dramatic drop in temperature from the blasting air-conditioning system. As he quickly drove down one of the express ways that criss-cross the third biggest city in China, he told me in Chinese that he knew exactly where the campus was. However, only fifteen minutes later he had to stop and ask for directions. The district where the college was located had only recently been incorporated as part of the metropolitan area of Guangzhou. The main road to the area was under heavy construction, and along with trucks hauling gravel and long-distance buses we moved at a bumpy snail's pace around the road work.

As we drove out of the city the landscape quickly changed, and the high-rise buildings of central Guangzhou were replaced by lush tropical plants and tree lined farms. It was one of the many areas in China under transition, and the new infrastructure that would link this distant suburb one of the many development projects happening in the Pearl River Delta. This was the special economic zone where the reform and opening of China had been announced by Deng Xiaoping almost thirty-three years ago, bringing about a massive period of economic and social transition that was still continuing today; I could see it right outside the van window. As Lin (1997) writes, a few select regions in

China, such as the Pearl River Delta, have adopted capitalism, market mechanisms, and economic liberalization at a greater pace in comparison to the rest of the country. Often, it is the countryside within these regions which experience the greatest change, especially through industrialization and urbanization. The area where the school was located was no exception. Along with new roads, a rapid transit system was being constructed, one that would link up other cities in the region. A massive technology park – a joint venture between China and Singapore – was about to begin construction across from the school campus. This area of small communities and farmlands was receiving more than just a face-lift: a complete overhaul was taking place, one that promised fundamentally changes to the landscape and how people interact with it. Just as processes of development had begun to transform the area, my presence, while nowhere near as dramatic or significant, would also alter the field site at which I was about to arrive.

The first step of the extended case method

The first step of the extended case method focuses on how the presence of a researcher in a field site influences individuals and communities within it. An awareness of one's presence is key to understanding what Burawoy (1991, 1998, 2000, 2009) considers the role of the researcher and their impact on the research site to be. He argues that a researcher needs to be continually perceptive of their presence through a “reflexive model of science”, which is described in conjunction with the extended case method in the following way:

Premised upon our own participation in the world we study, reflexive science starts from dialogue, virtual or real, between observer and participant, embeds such dialogue within a second dialogue between local processes and extralocal

forces that in turn can only be comprehended through a third, expanding dialogue of theory with itself (Burawoy, 1998, p. 5).

The researcher is directly in dialogue with participants, both discursively and nondiscursively through their presence in the field.¹ However, this dialogue extends further than the site of research, as history, structures, and forces are also taken into account, often becoming a focus of the study in order to fully understand the local processes that the researcher exposes through his or her presence.

This connects to the notion of reflexivity, a scientific method and a critical discourse established by Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) that is premised on a researcher recognizing his or her place within the site of study through uncovering power relations with participants and the field. Burawoy (1998) seeks to conceptualize reflexivity differently, and argues that it is based upon the assumption that there is an opposition between positive science – based upon reliability, replicability, representativeness, and generalizability – and research which is reflexive. Through comparison, these research strategies are often contrasted as epistemologically different. Attempting to bridge these two poles, Burawoy's (1998) notion of reflexive science establishes a duality between positive science and reflexivity. This model of science "...evaluates *dialogue* as its defining principle and *intersubjectivity* between participant and observer as its premise" (1998, p. 14). Through the multiple forms of dialogue that mark each extension a researcher comes to an explanation of empirical phenomena.

¹ Burawoy (1998) differentiates between discursive and nondiscursive social processes to highlight that situational knowledge should be understood by a research in multiple ways. It may be found discursively through interaction and narrative, for example, interaction within an interview. A researcher must also consider nondiscursive social processes through unacknowledged and unexplicated tacit knowledge within social interactions. This may be discovered through participation, observation, and/or analysis.

This standpoint constructs the first step in the extended case method, *extending the observer to the participant*. Reflexive science embraces the way in which participant observation intervenes on the lives of participants. That is, a researcher entering the field creates a pressure that distorts and disturbs both participants and the field; however, in this alteration and upset the social lives of participants are revealed. This is intrinsic to the act of social research, and “no claims of “impartiality” can release us from either the dilemmas of being part of the world we study or from the unintended consequence of what we write” (Burawoy, 1998, p. 17). A researcher actively builds a relationship with participants and the community of study, attentive to the impact and influence this has. This is done with an awareness of domination within the field, from power relations between participant and researcher, to entering a network of hierarchies that exist within the site itself.² Even when a researcher attempts to enter a site with care and tact, domination is still present. While intervention creates perturbations, awareness of them leads to an understanding of a participant’s world and an ethnographic site.

Extending into the field

The day after I arrived on campus I attended a meeting with Charles and Sean in order to introduce myself and learn about the school. Sean, who was born China but had previously immigrated to Canada for ten years, was director of the school. Charles, originally from Australia, directed the English department where I would be

² Burawoy (1998) argues that in intervening within a research site a social scientist cannot avoid domination, and that “entry is often a prolonged and surreptitious power struggle between the intrusive outside and the resisting insider” (p. 22). This is seen in two forms, both a participant and an observer. Participation within a research site involves being inducted into previously formed power structures, as “...we are automatically implicated in relations of domination” (Burawoy, 1998, p. 22). As observers we are ultimately present within a field for reasons that differ from other members. The divergence between researcher and researched is a form of domination present within the site.

volunteering. We met in Sean's large office and he motioned for us to sit while he boiled water for tea. While we waited for the meeting to begin I asked Charles how long he had worked here, and he told me that he arrived two years after the school opened in 2002: "I am part of the furniture now," he laughed. After being a high school teacher for number of years, he earned a master's degree in TESOL (Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages) and worked as an English instructor with international students in Australia. Now as director of the English department his main responsibilities were managing the English program, recruiting teachers and students, assisting teachers, and administering exams. He explained that each student who enters this college takes a language proficiency test that will place them in one of the four English classes offered – pre-intermediate, intermediate, upper-intermediate, or foundation studies. If a student demonstrates an English level at an *International English Language Testing System* (IELTS) level six or above, they are admitted into the degree program.³ Tuition for both the degree and English program is approximately \$45,000 Chinese *Renminbi* (CYN) a year, plus living costs.⁴

Charles and Sean began telling me about the school in greater depth, explaining how this school was established. Enterprise International Accounting Institute (EIAI),

³ The only requirement for entry into the degree program, an IELTS level six, certifies an individual as linguistically "competent" in English regardless of some misunderstanding or inaccurate use (IELTS, 2011). The test does not have to be taken formally through a testing center managed by the British Council, but is conducted unofficially by the school. The college has developed their program in such a way that the students have their English language ability judged through the college's own curriculum and testing system.

⁴ Currently, this exchanges to around \$6,300 Canadian dollars (CAD). To understand how exorbitant an amount of money this is in China, it is useful to compare this to income and living costs. For example, according to 2008 statistics, the average *urban* income in China is \$15,781 CYN a year (Human resources a key to development, 2010). Without access to the government-subsidized student loan system, and no scholarships, grant, or tuition waivers for provided by the college, tuition and living costs were paid for by the parents and families of students.

which currently has around 500 students, is advertised as a joint venture between Chinese Public University (CPU), a large, comprehensive, public university located in Guangdong province, and Australian Public University (APU). However, the relationship between these two institutes is more complex than advertised. The international college is located on a campus established privately by Chinese Private College (CPC) in partnership with CPU. CPC was established in 1998 to become the first private, undergraduate degree granting institute in Guangdong province. Students could enter with lower college entrance examination marks, but would pay higher tuition rates than public universities. However, rather than graduate with a CPC degree, students would receive a diploma from CPU, one of the highest ranked universities in Guangdong province. At face value it would be an equivalent degree. Later changes in state policy prevented private institutes from granting degrees from public universities, and currently CPC grants their own degrees.

Once established, CPC worked actively to create international programs and colleges on campus, branding them in partnership with CPU rather than CPC. When EIAI was launched, a public Canadian college offering English language training and a private American college offering a business degree were already established on campus. When I arrived these programs were no longer active, having either moved to a different location or defunct. Bob, an accounting lecturer at EIAI who I met soon after, was sent from APU to establish the joint venture. APU had already developed a distance-education program for domestic students in Australia, and Bob brought this curriculum to the preliminary meetings with CPC. The college signed an agreement with APU, dubbing the program as a venture project between CPU and APU. While during my stay

I encountered little influence from CPU, APU was much more than a name on a diploma, and exerted authority over curriculum, pedagogy, and practices within the college.

The structure of learning at EIAI

Sean and Charles explained that like the Australian higher-education system, EIAI runs on a trimester system allowing students to take classes year round. Once a student enters into the degree program the 24 credits needed to graduate can be completed in as little as two years entirely at EIAI. Only one degree is offered, a commerce degree in international accounting. While transferring to APU is possible, few students pursue this option. Courses are developed and written by APU and delivered and taught in English by foreign teachers hired privately by EIAI. When the college was first established many of these teachers came from APU, but currently only two teachers who left or retired their postings in Australia were still employed. Course lecturers were from Western, English-speaking countries, while Chinese nationals worked as teaching assistants and administrators within English-language courses.

At EIAI all course material is written and produced by APU, including textbooks, study guides, online resources, lecture notes, PowerPoint presentations, assignments, tests, and answer guides. How the material is developed for each class differs, and in some cases has been entirely standardized departmentally at APU, particularly for foundation courses. In other classes material is altered each term by an APU teacher who is simultaneously teaching the same course in Australia either in-person or through the many distance-education programs APU has developed both domestically and internationally. The course material EIAI receives is sent all over the world to similar

private, off-shore commerce programs in Sri Lanka, Indonesia, Hong Kong, Malaysia, New Zealand, Russia, Pakistan, Singapore, and another institute in China. Some material is received by EIAI teachers before a course begins, other material is received on a weekly basis, and assignments and tests generally arrive just before they are administered. With the majority of course content standardized and classes highly structured, instructors are expected to teach without altering curriculum.

Of the twenty-four classes needed to receive a commerce degree from APU, twelve have been allocated as electives. EIAI has altered the use of these elective credits locally. A student with either an associate degree or related course credit earned at a different institute, either international or Chinese, can be granted transfer credits in place of these electives. In this case a student may have to take only twelve APU courses, studying for as little as one year before graduating. Another way EIAI altered the structure of the degree locally is by allowing students to take up to eight elective units in Chinese subjects, such as Chinese law, accounting, taxation, as well as non-regionally based classes, such as statistics, and computer information systems. While the degree was established with the mandate that it would be taught entirely in English using only curriculum sent from APU, these classes were taught in Mandarin by Chinese teachers who were hired per semester, generally from other colleges in the area. These teachers would form their own course curriculum under the supervision of EIAI. The majority of students took these classes as their elective choices, and were even able to complete them while in the English program before formally entering the degree. This English program also functioned independently from APU, and was much less structured, with books, teachers, and curriculum changing from term-to-term, often to accommodate the students

in each class. APU had little input or control over Chinese electives and English language classes, and because their curriculum was not used they received no percentage of the student fees for these courses, while EIAI earned a much higher percentage than those developed by APU.

“The type of students who go here”

Once Sean and Charles had explained the program to me they began describing “the type of students” who enrol at this college. The majority of students come directly from Chinese public high-schools, and EIAI largely advertizes to this demographic. A few years before I arrived, the owners of the college, who bought EIAI from CPC after it was established, developed a senior high school program in a nearby city that funnels students into the college.⁵ This program differs from Chinese public high school curriculum only slightly, and extra English lessons from foreign teachers are provided in order for students to reach an IELTS level six once they graduate. This enables them to move directly into the degree program at EIAI. The major divergence from the Chinese educational system is that students are not required to take the national college entrance examination, resulting in students unable to enter the Chinese public university system upon graduation. These high school students are funnelled at a very young age into the stream of international education.

Charles began describing the study habits of students, telling me, “the biggest challenge for you will be to motivate them.” Sean and Charles explained this was because students had previously been educated under the Chinese system – learning

⁵ During the time of my research, around fifty students a year came to the college through this program.

which did not prepare them for the “Western-style of education” EIAI offered. While students had entered into international schooling, many even before attending this college, they were still “marked” by the Chinese system of education. One major issue, they explained, revolved around language. Most students who came through the public high school system in China had received years of English training, the majority starting in elementary school. Even with this amount of training most of the students who enrolled were still at a basic language-proficiency level. “They are not the brightest students on the chandelier,” Charles told me. Sean explained that the best Chinese students go to elite public universities in China, and those who have high English proficiency go overseas. The students who enrol here, at a college with no prerequisites or competition for entrance, come from families able to afford the tuition, but are not academically capable enough to be eligible for a better option. The students were described as “kids” who were “lazy” and “unmotivated.” Charles looked at me directly and said “I don’t mean to scare you, but our students are the ones who failed to get into a good Chinese university.” Sean echoed this: “these kids don’t care; they just take money from their parents.”

Sean and Charles discussed how attendance was a major problem within the college, often leading to high failure rates. In the English program it was difficult for students to fail a level, as the school would promote them provisionally. It was demoralizing to make them repeat, Charles explained. The students were required to reach an IELTS level six to enter the degree program, and this is where they “draw a line in the sand” as Charles explained. The highest level in the English department, foundation studies, focused on teaching business English and the academic skills that

would be needed in the degree program. If a student passed this level they were deemed to be at an IELTS level six without the formal test issued by the British Council. During my stay, only three out of more than fifty students were unable to move into the degree program, and later many explained to me how this system was not always adequate to prepare students for what was deemed linguistically required in the degree program.

Failure rates within APU-developed classes were a serious concern, and the college had little control over who passed or failed a course. The tests and marking guides were developed and standardized in Australia, and EIAI teachers had their marking monitored by APU. In the term I observed, failure rates in many of the degree classes were massive. On the extreme, in one class over 60% of students failed. However, it was not unusual for 30% or 40% of a class to fail, especially in the required foundation courses students would take in the first few terms of study. Generally, in second and third-year classes failure rates were much lower, around 10% or 20%. It was one of the biggest concerns for the school, with teachers and administrators facing pressure from students and APU to answer why these failure rates were so large. Sean told me that he hoped my research would shed light on this issue.

Students were allowed to repeat a course after failing. Most students continued to work through the program, and dropout rates were low. Those who were successful in the program may not fail a single class. I regularly talked to students who had failed a number of classes, and simply retook them and continued on. If they failed only by a few percentage points there was a chance for them to rewrite the final exam the following term. However, in most cases the student would retake the entire course. Failure rates

led to students not simply being deemed “unmotivated” and “lazy”, but also brought their intellect into question. As Charles told me in the initial meeting, “most of them are not the brightest, but if they worked very hard. [...] Anyone, if they work hard enough, can rip off a commerce degree.”

Being a foreign teacher in a foreign environment

After the meeting I returned to my dormitory, located in two buildings which separated male and female students and the few Chinese teachers who lived among them. Entry required a scan card to open the locked gate of each seven-story building, and entry and exit was only permitted between 7am and 11pm. My unfilled dorm, which I shared with another teacher and student, was a long, rectangle room, adorned with beige tiled floors, whitewash walls, and five metal bunk beds with planks of wood as mattresses. Under each bunk bed was a desk and small closet. An air-conditioner hung on the far end of the room, a luxury in a student dorm I later found out. At the opposite end was a patio enclosed by thick metal bars where our hand-washed clothing would hang to dry. A small bathroom with a showerhead over a squat toilet was adjacent to the patio.

Students across China were housed in similar accommodations for the duration of their higher education, living in close quarters for a number of years. A non-Chinese living in student dorms was unheard of on campus, and my presence created a stir among students. In the coming weeks I was continually asked if I was a student or a teacher, and I would reply that I was a researcher. This did not seem to clear up the confusion and those within the research site had difficulty categorizing me in the following weeks. Why was I teaching essay-writing tutorials, but did not live with the other teachers in the

teacher's villa? Not following this separation created difficulty in classifying my position in the college, and while causing some ambiguity, allowed for more fluid access to different social groups. I instantly made friends with those I lived with, and it removed some separation between myself and the Chinese teachers and students. Students would visit me frequently, inviting me to eat, play sports or exercise, or asking for help with their homework.

Living in this room evaded the normal segregation between Chinese and non-Chinese, as the foreign teachers who taught in the college were given individual apartments in a complex on the outskirts of campus. Apartments were included in the employment contract, as well as the cost of living, such as electricity, water, gas, cable and internet. Conversely, students and Chinese teachers paid for their accommodations and amenities. In an interview Kyla, a teacher who lived with me, described this special treatment as necessary: "you know it is not easy to get a foreign teacher to work in China. Most of them just come for a little while and then they are going to go. They try to keep them so they have to give them good conditions. That is reasonable I think." I asked if she thought foreign teachers would stay if they were provided with the same living conditions as Chinese teachers and administrators. "No," she instantly responded, "they won't stay. Definitely. Even with the salary right now, most of them are going to go. Because it is not easy to stay in a foreign country for a long time."

It quickly became apparent in the first few weeks that special treatment was deemed necessary for foreign teachers because of the difficulty living and working in a foreign environment. During my first meeting Sean asked if I was happy with the room

provided, offering to move me to an apartment. “What about eating Chinese food in the cafeteria?” he asked, and I reassured him that I would be fine. Sean explained that a new teacher had just left a few weeks before due to difficulty acclimatizing to the environment. Versions of this account were recited to me numerous times by various people. It was the food, Sean told me. One foreign teacher explained that he simply “couldn’t handle it.” Charles, during a later interview, discussed this occurrence at length:

...you get other people and they expect to find Australia transplanted, or Canada transplanted, and they say “oh where is this, and where is that?” And you say “well, this is China.” This guy came, but I think he stayed for a week. He had worked in Hong Kong, and Hong Kong is very Westernized, civilized. It is orderly. It is a great place to live, restaurants, shops, and very high-end, Western standard health services. So you feel at home there. So of course when he came here I took him to get a cell phone, and we looked around the street market and he said “good god!” Anyway, he said it just wasn’t compatible to what he was use to and took off. It was a real culture shock. And for anyone who hasn’t lived overseas before it is particularly hard. This is not third world, but it is not Toronto or Vancouver.

Indeed, for many foreign teachers residing in China involved a major upheaval in day-to-day living, not only involving environmental factors, but surrounding perceived cultural and social differences.

The notion of difference within the field

My entry into the research site had an influence that uncovered aspects of the social lives of individuals within the field. As shown above, my presence in the student dorm displayed the differences between foreign teachers, who lived in the foreign teachers’ villa on campus, and the accommodation provided to their Chinese counterparts. How could I as a foreigner sleep on a bunk bed that had no mattress in a

shared room, wash my clothing by hand, eat Chinese food in the student cafeteria, and subsequently later use a squat toilet? While this is what was provided to most Chinese nationals at EIAI, I repeatedly had to reassure administrators, teachers, and students that I was comfortable and able to stay here. This upset that I created, by not following the proper social order, instantly revealed a division between those who were Chinese and those who were foreign.

Not only were there perceived differences between Chinese and foreign teachers, but EIAI students were also considered “different” as the first meeting with Charles and Sean showed. They were described as “intellectually inferior” and “lazy” in comparison to Chinese who had made it into highly-rated Chinese universities. The choice to come to EIAI was described as a last option for pursuing a degree, and, even still, this different, foreign-education system was deemed difficult for someone who had previously been educated within the Chinese public system. Upon arrival I saw the notion of difference permeating many aspects of the field, whether in the classroom or in the way individuals lived. While foreign teachers inhabited a different environment, culture, and society within which they resided and worked, students were also met with a different environment in which they learned and lived.

Phenomenological perspectives offer guidelines as to what takes place when a “stranger” encounters a new social group and different cultural patterns, and the upset and struggle that occurs. Schutz (1944) writes “to him the cultural pattern of the approached group does not have the authority of a tested system of recipes, and this, if for no other reason, because he does not partake in the vivid historical tradition by which it

has been formed” (p. 502). While a stranger to a social group may be aware that a tradition exists, it is only in the move from observer to member that the old and new systems of common-sense cultural patterns come into question, bringing about varying forms of adoption and/or rejection. What should be highlighted from this framework is how the recognition and construction of difference takes place in everyday encounters and practices, and often leads to struggle over adopting or rejecting these differences.

Suárez-Orozco and Qin-Hilliard (2004) present the argument that the “domain of difference” surfaces through the globalization of education. Difference, they argue, becomes increasingly normative through globalization. As massive new patterns of migration and flows of information challenge previous notions of identity and culture, individuals and communities react and work to manage these changes in ways that both unite and exclude individuals. Appadurai (1990) focuses on social, economic, and cultural complexity that arises out of such an interaction, and can connect this domain of difference to the primordialism of ethnicities that are constructed. Tension between homogenization and heterogenization are considered, and while discussion on homogenization tends to focus on the spread of a dominant cultural understanding, such as “Americanization”, what “...these arguments fail to consider is that at least as rapidly as forces from various metropolises are brought into new societies they tend to become indigenized in one or other way” (Appadurai, 1990, p. 295). Appadurai argues that disjuncture is what needs to be explored through the study of global cultural flows and scapes.⁶

⁶ Influenced from Anderson’s (1983) notion of “imagined communities, these “landscapes” build imagined, multiple worlds, “...which are constituted by the historically situated imaginations of persons and groups spread around the globe” (p. 296-297).

As discussed in the previous chapter, Dirlik (2008) argues that through the “mapping of cultures” social groups may be termed as civilizations or cultures, but it is the nation-state that has been privileged as a unit of modernity. The process of mapping erects boundaries of what is contained within a unit, often centering on social and cultural practices. Boundaries are produced and discriminated through encounters with groups and individuals, not only erecting individual boundaries surrounding each social group or society, but creating a ‘contact zone’ as those previously separated come into contact with each other in particular spaces. Dirlik (2008) argues that through these encounters a hierarchy of what boundaries contain are produced. International education institutes like the one of this study can be viewed as such a contact zone, a space where boundaries are erected and evaluated. Within this contact zone it is essential to consider what is being perceived by individuals and groups as contained within erected borders.

These boundaries, and the notion of difference that is evoked alongside them, often rest on seemingly natural classification. In the site of research, being born in China labelled one as “Chinese”, while being born outside these state borders labelled one as “Western” or “foreign.” Being “Chinese” labelled one as having a definite aptitude for learning, while being “foreign” characterized an individual as requiring a certain standard of living. Bourdieu (1991) argues that even the most “natural” classifications are not natural in the slightest, but rather a product of an “...arbitrary imposition [...] of a previous state of the relations of power in the field of struggle over legitimate domination” (p. 222). It is through acts of delimitation that cultural differences are produced. Regionalist discourse, Bourdieu argues, is performative in efforts to legitimate definitions of a region. An act of categorization is an exercise of power “...institute[ing]

a reality by using the power of *revelation* and *construction* exercised by *objectification in discourse*" (p. 223, italics from original text). Thus, within the site of research, what was considered "foreign" or "Chinese", from education to individuals, must be considered as part of a structure of power relations. While a hardening of the borders that surround these imagined dichotomous categories was evident through the research undertaken, simultaneously disjuncture and complexity were found in acts that disturbed these boundaries, such as a researcher extending into the site of research.

Chapter Three: The Field of International Education Over Time and Space

“...the legitimate language, the authorized language which is also the language of authority”

(Bourdieu, 1977, p. 648).

“The position which the educational system gives to the different languages (or the different cultural contents) is such an important issue only because this institution has the monopoly in the large-scale production of producers/consumers, and therefore in the reproduction of the market without which the social value of the linguistic competence, its capacity to function as linguistic capital, would cease to exist”

(Bourdieu, 1991, p. 57).

The next step in the extended case method is *extending observations over space and time* (Burawoy, 1998). The researcher focuses on capturing social process through joining participants for a longer period, or through connecting with them in different places and times. In this next stage of the research situational knowledge(s) is formed into an account of social processes. There is awareness that contextual effects, especially as they change over time and space, bring about multiple meanings of the processes being studied. Situational knowledge(s) may be discursive or nondiscursive; that is, tacit knowledge may be acknowledged or unacknowledged within individuals and groups within the site of research. Burawoy references Garfinkel (1967) when he argues that nondiscursive processes within a particular research site may be discovered through both analysis and participation with those who are being studied.

While the specific focus on discursive and nondiscursive social process may vary with each researcher, Burawoy (1998) emphasises that a researcher should consider regimes of power that work to structure social situations and processes within the site of research. This is uncovered through considering how power comes to enter into the lives

of participants. The focus on regimes of power enables a researcher to explore how social situations connect to social processes. As Burawoy writes, "...a social situation becomes a social process because social action presupposes and reproduces its regime of power" (1998, p. 18). Understanding regimes of power involves exploring wider macro-structures through a consideration of the struggles individuals and groups experience in the field.

An international classroom

A few weeks after my arrival at EIAl, I walked into the first-year law tutorial, a class I had arranged beforehand to observe, and a few minutes before class started I took a seat in the back row with the hopes that my presence would be less distracting. Many of the sixteen students who attended that particular tutorial shot shy smiles my way as they entered and I quickly realised that my presence would, as it usually was, be easily detected. Students sat down, quickly unpacking their notebooks and papers. I noticed that no one had a textbook. Many started talking quietly in Mandarin and Cantonese among themselves, while others sat in silence and waited. The blackboard at the front of the room was already full of notes in English from previous tutorials, and a few students began jotting them in their notebooks while we waited.

As sharply as the morning bell that would ring campus-wide and wake me up, the law lecturer Doug rushed into the classroom ten minutes after the scheduled start time. Without a word of greeting he commenced with the lesson. Students were asked one-by-one questions they had previously been given on defining legal cases. Doug started with a student at the front of the classroom: "what are the elements of fraudulent

misrepresentation?” he asked her. She instantly started shuffling through the piles of papers and notebooks stacked in front of her, while Doug stared down. We all sat in silence. Finally he told her plainly, “it is on the board.” He waited a moment longer while she scanned the board, and then finally gave the answer to the class, rapidly pointing to the words in front of us.

Doug continued to move around the classroom asking questions. While he was older, in his mid-50s, he had a youthful agility, moving quickly at the front of the classroom. He spoke rapidly, and I, even as the only other native-English speaker in the classroom, strained to keep up. The classroom was quiet again as we waited for another student to answer a question. She finally spoke, but her voice was low, almost like a whisper, and I had difficulty hearing her. Doug cut her off mid-sentence and answered the question himself in a much louder voice. He moved on to the next question, yelling out “red shirt, second row.” Like the students before, he began shuffling through his notes. Doug watched for a moment and then told him, “the answer is on the board and the summary sheet.” Finally the student found the answer, but it was wrong, and Doug spent a moment correcting him before moving on. “Your turn,” he said as he pointed to a student in the middle of the classroom. The student turned around and smiled nervously to his friends, quickly catching my eye.

As the exercise continued I began to understand that it was a task of deduction. The students were given a case and had to choose one type of representation through asking a series of questions. It was not a difficult task, but there was a lot of jargon. The first thing students were asked to do was decide if the case involved a statement of fact or

opinion. Speaking to a student Doug asked “yes or no, is this a statement of fact? You have a 50% chance of being right.” The student answered incorrectly. Doug explained the question using an example from Australia, the case of Applewood and Small, connecting it to section 52 of the Trade Practice Act. He quickly moved on to the next point of deduction, asking the student, “yes or no, it is an unforeseeable event there was rain. Yes or no, is this an unforeseeable circumstance?” The student looked down at his notebook. Finally Doug answered the question: “yes, it is extremely difficult to predict the weather with certainty.”

The class moved on to the next case example. Doug read a question outloud and without looking up said, “up in the back, pink shirt, question 25.” I began to find myself distracted, as some students were outside the classroom smoking and talking on mobile phones. The mid-autumn air was still heavy with summer heat, and the sun streamed into the classroom. A student came in and passed keys to another student before sitting down at the front. The class became restless from these distractions. Doug asked another student a question and we waited in silence for her to shuffle through her papers. He told her the answer was on page 17, and she quickly searched through her pages, giving out a heavy sigh. He waited and then answered the question himself. I noticed that no one was writing down what he said.

Finally Doug arrived at the last question and wound down the class. “Okay, that is it. Any questions?” The students continued their silence. He told them, “you have the rules. You have the lists to apply the rules. You have examples. You should be able to do this.” He reminded them about the test on this subject in two weeks, and then adjourned

the class a little over thirty minutes early. Students left quickly but I decided to stay and talk to the teacher. The first thing Doug said is that he hoped I did not get the wrong idea about his class. The students already had a lecture in English and Chinese on the subject, he explained. They were already given the questions and answers to practice outside of the classroom. He told me they have every resource they need to answer these questions, but still they cannot do it and thus tutorials end up being run in this manner.

I asked why the students did not bring textbooks to the tutorial, and Doug told me that while there is an assigned textbook for the course the students do not purchase it. He described the level of language as simply too high. Sometimes even he had to go back and re-read sentences and paragraphs to be able to grasp it. It was simply too difficult for the majority of students given their English level. Even the study guide provided for the course was hard for most to understand, he told me, as the teacher who taught the course in Australia wrote it over ten years ago before offshore programs like this had even been established. Doug had asked the teacher to change it, to simplify it for overseas students, but had been told that it was the level of language used in examinations and thus the students needed to be linguistically proficient enough to understand it. Doug decided to take detailed but simplified notes of the textbook and study guide, “like any good student in Australia would,” and distribute these notes to students in place of the textbook.

Even with all this extra work, from organizing Chinese-language tutorials taught by students who were previously successful in the course, taking simplified notes, extended office hours, to offering help beyond the normal student-teacher relationship he experienced at home, he doubted the prospects for success. Chinese students need to get

over a double hump, he explained: the first is their past education under the Chinese system, and the second is their own culture. Chinese students can memorize, he explained, a skill they learned well from the Chinese education system. “You can shove it up their nose,” he told me, but it is difficult to get Chinese students to think for themselves. The amount of copying and plagiarism is proof of this, he explained, giving me examples from past classes. Nevertheless, this was the worst class he had encountered in his five years of teaching at this college, and he was predicting that 90% would fail the final exam. The only thing that would “save” the students, he told me, was the multiple choice tests given throughout the term which could boost their mark enough to pass the course. Even so, when the term was over and the final marks were out I learned that 49% of the class failed.

The linguistic struggle of students

A major struggle that became apparent as the research continued surrounded the language barrier students faced in earning a degree taught in English. The students were given the same curriculum, did the same assignments, and took the same tests as the students taking the course simultaneously in Australia. As non-native-English-speakers in an environment that was, for the most part, non-English-speaking, the students faced difficulties their counterparts in Australia did not, even if those students were non-native-English speakers themselves. This was highlighted by the students in learning journals submitted with a 2,000 word essay. For the majority of students in this first year management course it was the first academic English essay they had ever written, and these learning diaries provide insight into how language barriers hindered their ability to complete this assignment in a number of ways.

Language barriers deterred students before even beginning the research and writing process, as students had to first understand clearly the requirements of the assignment. One student wrote, "...I tried my best to explain my idea as clearly as possible and make the sentences meaning easier to understand in order to catch the point. But sometimes I still not quite understood the assignment's question and what it is the request meaning." Secondly, language barriers lessened their ability to find and read related articles needed as references. One student wrote, "...usually, I spend a whole night to read just a piece of journal. I even can not get anything from the reading. So many words I can't understand and the structure of sentences make me confused also." The struggle to comprehend academic articles meant that students would have to spend a great deal of time, sometime fruitlessly, to find academic sources. One student wrote,

I am led to the poor standard of English, I wasted a lot of time reading articles and academic information, I need to find a variety of useful information to use in my article. However, many professional and theoretical terms I can not understand, I have to repeatedly access the dictionary, this is a cumbersome step. Sad it is that when I spend a lot of time to access the information, but found that most could not use the phrase in my article...

A student accessing learning services available in Australia was unheard of, and generally the only help institutionally sought by students were EIAI teachers. Students often knocked on my dormitory door to ask me how to search academic databases or cite articles correctly. The library and learning services available in Australia were not easily accessible at EIAI, and while students may be able to correspond online with those providing academic resources at APU, this was not sought by students.

The process of gathering needed information was just the beginning of difficulties encountered. Language proficiency was deemed a barrier in many ways, from

organizing the structure of an essay, to grammar and vocabulary, and even the ability to add critical reflection. One student wrote, "...when I writing essay, I find my academic vocabulary is not enough. It's complicated; I'm confused anything like a traffic jam."

Another student blamed their limited vocabulary and grammar:

It is easy for me if let me write an essay in Chinese. Now, I already regretted that why I did not memorize English words hard work. I have to enlarge my vocabulary. But for now, it is too late. The other problem is grammar. How I made sure every sentence was not wrong? I just tried my best to do it right.

Moreover, a limited English vocabulary is described by one student as impacting their ability to organize their writing:

I spend a great deal of time to organize my language that come out of my mind, even now I am writing this diary, I still spent quite a long time to organize the sentences and made sure other people can understand what I wanted to express. As you can see in the assignment one, some words and phrases are used again and again. I know that's very boring but I couldn't do it better, even I tried to. This assignment is not the only one; every time I write an essay I write a Chinese draft first and then translate it into English. This is ineffective style but it looks like a basic tool for me.

As the student highlights, one method to overcome difficulties connected to language barriers was to write a draft in Chinese and then translate it into English using computer software. This was a technique many students in interviews and day-to-day discussions described. However, using computer programs to translate would often result in faulty language. A clear and grammatically correct essay in Chinese would translate into muddled, even incomprehensible English. Students and teachers were aware of how inadequate this method was but it still endured. Often this would provide another form of verification for teachers that students' language abilities were subpar.

The echelon of English

Through interviews, discussions, and observations of social practices, I found that the language ability of EIAI students was deemed inadequate in reference to native-English-speaking students in Australia. Native-English-speaking students were often considered as a normative trope that set the standards Chinese students were expected to meet. This was especially prominent in how a student's ability to function linguistically was associated to their success in a course. For example, during a discussion with Sean, I learned that students had not done as well as he hoped in a final exam, leading to a high failure rate. The issue he highlighted was the length of the exam. EIAI students had to spend more time understanding the questions, he explained, as they did not speak English as fluently as Australian students. It was not that they could not do it; there was just not enough time given. He told me that only 10% to 15% of students had been able to actually finish the forty multiple choice questions and ten short answer questions that formed the two hour exam. He described the students as not having a fair chance, and while he was planning to email the APU professor, he doubted that students here would be given more time in the future. He told me "at APU there is the argument that if you are doing an Australian degree everyone is equal." Equality under this educational framework took the form of standardization of procedure: everyone took the same exam and did the same assignment regardless of their location or background. Nevertheless, the location and background of the students, especially concerning language ability, was a focal point within social processes.

This was highlighted by EIAI lecturers in reciting conversations with APU teachers and administration in which they had to answer for the low performance of their

students. In an interview Amy, a degree teacher at EIAI, described an encounter with an APU teacher when asked to explain the low results of her students:

So she was upset with my exam results, and I said “look, I have given them such generous results for the exam.” And she said “well, what happened?” and I said “our children cannot understand English.” I give them a sentence in the textbook to read, I say “what does this mean?” and I can guarantee that at least 60% of the class can’t tell me. So if they can’t read one sentence out of the textbook there is no way.

Similarly, she later described a conversation surrounding a discussion on why she had given a student 1% on his final exam:

And when they looked at our results, she said to me “what happened?” and she said “why did you give a student one out of a hundred in an exam.” And I said “well the only thing he wrote in his exam booklet was I will try harder next time.” I said “I gave him one mark for writing something.” I said “if you look at the exams I have marked I have been so generous. If they have written one line about anything at all that could be remotely related to the topic I have given them a mark.” You know, I really inflated their marks. So a lot of them have got through who shouldn’t have.

In the face of high failure rates, one of the highest for all of APU’s offshore programs, teachers described feeling pressure to explain the marks they had given and relating it to the specific context in which they taught. However, this was often juxtaposed by discussion of powerlessness within this system of education, especially involving measures of standardization. For example, Amy explained,

If they fail we get a lot of pressure from APU and a little bit of pressure from here. [...] You actually have no power in this job. Students think you have power, and they come into my office and cry when they fail, “please change my result.” But we don’t actually have a lot of power over the students and over the process. We have to teach what they give us. We aren’t really given choice in terms of changing course content. Some of the course lectures will let you, but it depends on the type of relationship you have. But basically you have very little power. We have to try and get students to pass. [...] APU has the power to be a little more critical of us. Okay, they keep saying, our results are the worse; they keep telling

us we have to make it better. They don't actually look at the root of the problem. And no one knows what the root of the problem is.

As Amy highlights, teachers were almost entirely powerless over course content and what they were required to teach as a result of standardization. From the content of a textbook, to the time allotted for an exam, course material was perceived to be formed for a native-English learner. Conversely, teachers faced very specific issues given the context in which they taught, bringing the language ability of EIAI students, and subsequently their success in a course, under evaluation and comparison.

When students were not successful in a course, questions of what more could be done often arose. As the description of Doug's class at the beginning of this chapter shows, teachers often developed strategies to help students. Teachers took notes from the textbook and distributed them, they created tutorials for course material to be taught in Mandarin, and they found past exams and assignments for the students to practice.

However, as Amy highlights, this did not necessarily enhance success:

And it always comes back to us; they say "well what can we do?" But the teachers are now saying "we can do nothing." Don't ask us to find another strategy. We have tried every possible thing. We have given up. We will do what we can every day. [...] We are failing. You know, and that is the way we feel; we are failing. It is a bit of a sad time for us at the moment, because I would say almost without exception that the degree teachers are really quite dedicated, and then look at these marks, Jesus. And all semester we know it is going to happen. We see them not coming to class. We look at the dog's breakfast they give us as an assignment. And we think, god we are going to go home, we are going to have to edit their work. You know, all that kind of stuff that you wouldn't even consider in Australia.

As this quotation indicates, providing this help was compared to teaching practices and students in Australia, again evaluating EIAI students through comparison. The strategies

developed to help students often resulted in branding EIAI students as inferior, as requiring additional help in order to meet the required standardized level.

Additional help often deviated from standardized procedures within this system of education. For example, Bob described to me how he had provided more than ten extra tutorial hours to complete an assignment with his students, an assignment that was originally depicted as homework by the APU course leader. When I asked him why he went out of his way to do this, he explained that it was the only way to get the majority of students to pass. These types of practices were common, as EIAI teachers would break from standardized practices with the belief that their students, especially given perceived language barriers, required extra help. Forming Chinese language tutorials for course material to be taught in Mandarin is a key example of this. Frequently teachers were discontented and disgruntled in providing this aid, especially when these practices were compared to perceived norms in Australia. This is depicted by Amy, who described how students at EIAI must be “spoon-fed”, much to the abhorrence of the teachers:

...if the Australian students could see what our students get they would be up in arms, horrified. They go to classes in Australia, if they make an appointment they might be able to see their lecturer [...] they do it themselves. Here we spoon-feed them everything, everything. You know, it is sickening to see what we actually do. Editing their drafts, Jesus. Can you imagine what would happen if you took your draft to your lecturer in Canada and said “would you mind going over this?”

As this quotation shows, not only are the students and teaching practices at EIAI compared to the normative trope of education in Australia, but a hierarchy is created in evaluating students as teachers deem extra help necessary.

Even with the extra help and resources teachers provided, failure rates were still high. While many reasons for this were given, the English level of the students and their ability to understand the course content and material were the most prominent. As described to me in an interview with a degree teacher, not only were the students' English abilities brought under question, but with them, the students' intellectual capacities:

After about two years they just started to get students whose English ability was much poorer, so we started to have trouble teaching them. But then maybe one year ago, 18 months ago, they started bringing students in who had very poor English, but also I think some of them did not graduate high school so academically, intellectually they just didn't have it. Also this lot has a motivational problem too. So they have very poor English. Intellectually they are challenged, and motivationally they just don't want to be here. Their parents, a lot of their parents are forcing them. They will just come out and say "my mother is forcing me to do this." They are bored. They don't like it. They have never had to work hard in their lives. And they spend most of their time trying to find an easy solution. Find the answer to the questions. Find the sample essay, or the high distinction one they can copy. So we have a lot of trouble with motivation. They won't do homework at the moment. They won't listen in class. They talk amongst themselves. The ones that do try, try hard. But their lack of English is really a handicap for them. And the fact is that they are just not good candidates for university study.

In this quotation, language ability, as well as issues of motivation, are linked to a student's overall intellectual ability. In EIAI if students were described as "good", "smart", or "hardworking" they were generally those who could understand and communicate in English well. Likewise, the "bad students" or "lazy students" were often those who had less language proficiency. Nevertheless, this analysis, if concluded at this juncture, privileges language ability as the main means of success for students. It also ignores the finding that language ability and success within the program were not always perfectly correlated. There were exceptions wherein students with low language abilities moved through the degree, and conversely, students with high language proficiencies

who failed and received low-grades. As will be explored next, the relative success or failure of students depended, in part, on the forms of agency they appropriated and exercised. In many cases students contrived their own tools to succeed, often circumventing the language barriers they faced.

The echelon of Mandarin

While walking on campus one evening with Lisa, a first-year degree student, I ran into a small group of her classmates. When they approached us one girl was extremely friendly, clasping Lisa by her hands, and describing in Mandarin what good friends they were. They told us they were on their way to study in the library, and then asked Lisa for her help in preparing for a test. As we parted from the group Lisa told me that she did not know them well, but since she received one of the highest marks for the class assignment she suddenly had many new friends. She decided to go to the library to help them comprehend the textbook; she could explain it to them in Chinese. I asked why they did not ask the teacher for help, and she explained that if you only understand 50% of an English lecture, you will only understand 50% of the help that teacher provides.

As the term ensued Lisa was increasingly asked for help from classmates. One day she told me about her experience doing an online exam for a course. The only place with a reliable internet connection was her dormitory, a space which was unavoidably public given the four other females she shared it with. On the day she completed the exam her room was even more crowded; as she was one of the first to do the test, eight or nine people stood around and watched. As soon as she submitted it online she received her mark, and as usual she had done extremely well. With a ready audience her high

score became quickly known among her classmates, and in the following days she was asked repeatedly for help by other students. Lisa described to me how time consuming this was, and the conflict she felt in providing help. On one hand she considered it a good way to study, as she had to repeat the same type of questions, ones that may be similar to later tests and exams. However, this sentiment changed when someone she helped received a high mark. She told me, “if someone gets a higher mark than me by themselves that is okay. I know I have to work harder. But if I help someone and they get the same mark as me, I feel bad. I don’t know why.”

As the term went on Lisa began to avoid students who requested her help: she would study in secret spots in the library where no one could find her, let her mobile phone run out of money so no one could call her, would not go on to online to talk to friends, and even slept in different dormitories to avoid her roommates. Once when we were out for lunch together Lisa explained how dorm room placement was extremely important for students. A student would often seek help from high achieving roommates, especially if they were in a later stage of their degree. Students may even strategically move rooms with this in mind. Lisa told me, “they want to live with students who have already taken a lot of courses so they can help with online tests and courses [...] it is not good, they are relying on someone else.” Then she explained, “this is the unspoken rule in EIAI – you have to develop *guanxi*.”

Guanxi, a term in Mandarin used to depict interpersonal connections, is described by Yang (1994) in the following way:

...literally “a relationship” between objects, forces, or persons. When it is used to refer to relations between people, not only can it be applied to husband-wife, kinship and friendship relations, it can also have the sense of “social connections,” dyadic relationships that are based implicitly (rather than explicitly) on mutual interest and benefit (1994, p. 1).

The use of *guanxi* in the research site can be described in a similar way: through the network of relationships students built with each other as classmates and roommates, and given their proximity to each other and the extent to which their lives overlapped – sleeping, eating, and studying in the same space – they were able to utilize (and at time exploit) each other as resources. While this could be regarded merely as an informal structure in relation to the institutional organization of the school, it was well recognized and used as a system of relations between students. As Xin and Pearce (1996) argue, *guanxi* is often employed in order to work around organizational constraints.

Teachers at EIAI were aware that students used social relations as a resource. *Guanxi* was a well-known word among non-Chinese speakers; as Charles told me during an interview, “you know the whole thing about *guanxi*? It was the third word I learned in China, right after beer and peanuts.” Sean discussed the matter with me at length during an interview, describing *guanxi* as a “culturally embedded short cut” for students. He told me, “we tell student to seek help from the lecturers. We pay lecturers for consultation hours with the students. But few of them take advantage of this. Those that do talk to the teachers are the good ones.” When asked to elaborate he continued:

It is an embarrassment if a student does not understand. With their friends they do not have the same type of pressure. Going to a lecturer’s office takes courage. First, you have to clearly say what your question is. Second, you have to understand the answer you get. And finally, if you don’t understand you have to ask again.

This all has to be conducted in English, he explained, whereas with friends it took place in their native language.

Given the close-knit social relations between students, often times they were able to easily obtain past exams and assignments, ones that were not intended to be accessible. A degree student named Becky, who was taking Doug's law class, explained to me how a student who had previously taken the course had made past test questions available to her network of relations. Becky had used these to study from and in the first exam four of the ten multiple choice questions were similar, while in the second test eight out of ten questions were related. Becky was not the only student to have access to this resource, and she predicted that that around 80% of the class had obtained them. The other 20%, she explained, did not have the social connections needed. Lisa also explained this occurrence, highlighting that the resource of *guanxi* is not available to all:

I don't know if you have this problem in Canada, but you know, to study in our school you have to pay attention to relations. In the law exam some students got past material from students who had already taken the course. But you can get this only if you know them, like a friend. Then these students are confident to go into the exam. But this time they changed the exam a lot. So many students who had this old material were surprised. It is no use.

I asked Lisa about those who had not formed the *guanxi* needed to obtain past exams, and she laughed and replied, "then you get nothing!"

Students often relied on resources they could obtain through *guanxi* even if there was no guarantee they would be valuable. Becky explained that many students in her law class relied on these past exams too heavily. In the first test, with only four questions the same, many students did not get a high score overall. However, the class average went

up significantly when eight out of ten questions were the same on the second test. I asked Becky if she thought this was cheating, and she told me, “maybe, but we can’t bring these questions to the test, so you must memorize and understand them. It is like studying. Not every word is the same, so you have to understand.” She went on to explain that it is not cheating because if they did the test online, as was done in other classes, then students could receive help from their friends. Becky told me “we don’t cheat in the paper exam because if we did it online we would not do it by ourselves. But with the paper exam it looks like we do it by ourselves.” I asked what she meant by “looks like” and she replied, “we still get to see the old tests.”

Teachers were aware that students often obtained past exams and assignments, ones that were never intended by APU to be made public. Bob described to me how his students had done unusually well on one of the class assignments during the trimester. He discovered that the same assignment had been previously used, and students were able to get the past answer key from those who had taken the course before, resulting in an abnormal number of students receiving 100%. When Bob sent the marks for the assignment to APU, the Australian teacher, noting the unusually high percentage of perfect scores, asked Bob to send all the high scores to be remarked. When he received the remarked assignments back most of them had been lowered, some as much as 20%. While the assignment was based mostly on calculation, students were brought down for faulty language, something he normally overlooks in this type of assignment. I asked if he thought it was wrong of students to use this tactic, and he replied that the real issue is APU using the same questions from term-to-term. This instance suggests that *guanxi*

may not be a resource as widespread for local APU students, allowing professors to administer the same questions each term.

While *guanxi* often fell into an ethical grey area, with many voicing that it was not necessarily cheating but not necessarily right, students and teachers often described instances of blatant cheating by students in assignment and exams. Teachers described to me getting duplicate assignments in the same class, or the same essay written in a previous term. In one instance Jane received two group assignments that were partially the same. She asked both groups to her office for an explanation, and one group admitted right away that they had copied part of their friends' assignment. Jane gave the group zero on the portion they copied. Often when a student was caught cheating APU would be sent a report; however, Jane explained that in most cases APU was not helpful in dealing with this problem, as they simply failed the student or gave them zero for the assignment. Likewise, Bob explained to me if it was handled locally a teacher could choose to give partial marks or help the student in some other way.

Cheating during exams was a major issue at EIAI, and a number of measures had been devised to prevent this. Maps of student seating were developed beforehand to space students apart, with name tags placed on each seat. Exams were mailed by APU to arrive as close to the exam time as possible, with each individual test bar-coded. The exam time would be set globally by APU, with students all over the world taking the same exam on the same day. Students were not allowed to bring their own dictionaries, especially since many had electronic ones, and only those provided by EIAI were permitted in the room. A number of invigilators would walk around the classroom

watching students while they wrote in silence. Pencil cases of students would be searched before the exam, with all scraps of paper removed. Washroom breaks were supervised, and in some exams forbidden. I was told stories, sometimes with laughter and other times with disappointment, of clever and inventive ways students had attempted to cheat. However, even with these measures in place, instances of cheating still occurred during the final exam period I observed.

Students were anticipated to cheat, often framing how students were viewed by teachers. While preparing a classroom for an exam, one law teacher told me, “you know, they devote so much time to trying to cheat. If they used the same amount of time to study they would do fine. They just try to figure out what is on the exam and learn that.” Alongside employing measures to make cheating difficult, discursive strategies were used; as Amy explains:

I tell them at the beginning of the exam every time “do not cheat” before they come in: “get rid of your notes. If you are thinking of bringing your notes in don’t, because you know I will catch you. Please don’t demean yourself by doing this.” And when they come into the room “if you have any notes you keep them in your shoes or wherever they are. If you look at that note you are cheating. If I find that note you are cheating. Please don’t do this. It is disrespectful to me. It is disrespectful to yourself. It is dirty. Please don’t do it.” And then ten minutes later out come all the notes. I catch them.

Cheating often evoked a number of feelings; teachers expressed anger, disappointment, resentment, and sadness. As Amy told me, “...I think it is a hideous thing to do, and I get so disappointed when students, particularly ones who I have developed a bit of a friendship with. It destroys me. I almost cry in the exam.” In this interview, Amy explained that teachers needed to remember they were teaching in a different culture, a culture where cheating was “endemic”:

I think it is a cultural thing. I hate to admit it, but I think it is part of the Chinese culture. You do what you can to survive, and if you are clever enough to cheat and not get caught, well done you, because you have succeeded. If you are caught, it is shameful because other people think you have done a bad thing, and it is bad for us because you were stupid enough to get caught. That is the type of mentality it is. And they cry after they get caught cheating, but then they will go into another exam, in the same exam period and cheat again. So I think it is endemic in this culture. [...] We have to take value judgements out of it. We in the West think it is horrific to cheat, we think it is dirty. The Chinese don't, so we can't impose our values on to them. We just have to say that we are in a culture now where cheating is part of life, and most of the time it is not a disgrace, it is just a strategy we use. It might be a bit underhand, but if you get away with it why not. We can't say it is good or bad, we just have to say we are teaching in that culture now. And we either let them get away with cheating because that is their culture, but because they are doing an Australian degree so we must follow the Australian rules and if you get caught you will get in trouble.

While students had developed their own measures to working within and around the system of education, they were still graded and judged in reference to the normative trope of native English-speaking Australians, students who never cheated or had grammatical mistakes in their essays. The agency of students, while containing relations of power within itself, was negatively sanctioned within the power structures that mark the field of international education.

Linguistic encounters in the field of international education

Within the field of international education the English language holds a dominant position as a force which is economic, political, intellectual, and social in nature. This force rests on relations within the field, generating cultural production that has formed and continues to influence the site of research. A field, as a structured space of positions organized by capital relations, involves both particulars to an individual space, as well as universal mechanisms that create and maintain fields (Bourdieu, 1976). Discovering the struggle within a field entails defining what is at stake in a particular space. This struggle

must also uncover the relation between the particular and the universal mechanisms of fields in order to illuminate fully the specific power relations. Within the field of international education, linguistic struggles were found to shape relations not only between teachers and students, but institutionally between APU and EIAI.

To address English as a structural regime of power necessitates an understanding of the historical nature of this force, connected to current discourses equating English with progress and prosperity and shaping the language as a form of capital. The structure of power relations within a field is formed by struggle over the distribution of specific capital (Bourdieu, 1986). Bourdieu breaks with an economic-centered definition and defines capital as “...accumulated labor (in its materialized form or its ‘incorporated’, embodied form) which, when appropriated on a private, i.e., exclusive, basis by agents or groups of agents, enables them to appropriate social energy in the form of reified or living labor” (1986, p. 241). This definition of capital allows Bourdieu to conceptualize beyond that which is purely economic, and focus on social, cultural, and symbolic forms. Not only is this capital inherently historical in the struggle for previously accumulated labour, but it continues to create struggle that centers on the monopoly of legitimate authority over its distribution within a specific field. This solicits the questions of how, in the field of international education, English has come to hold a dominant position and who currently holds legitimate authority over maintaining this position.

Phillipson (1992) considers how and why English has become a dominant international language through the hegemony of language pedagogy. He argues that “core English-speaking countries” permeate and influence, in various ways, other

countries where English is not considered as a state ascribed national language. This is evident through the adoption of language through colonial expansion, and through various forms of internationalization that has deemed English language acquisition as a requirement for citizens and conduct. “Linguistic imperialism” refers to political, economic, and social inequality linked to imperialism that brings forth domination, rhetoric, and legitimation of a certain language.¹ Inequality results in the connection between the English language and the privileging and allocation of resources. Often this takes place through anglocentricity and professionalization, which legitimates English as a dominant language and contributes to structural and cultural inequalities directly and indirectly linked to language use. Phillipson highlights that much of this is conducted through rationalizing activities that fail to acknowledge that the reproduction and distribution of economic, social, and political power may be inherently imperialistic.

In the cases of previously and presently colonized countries, the dominance of the English language often renders native languages, and native-language speakers, powerless (Phillipson, 1992). The power to dismantle the position of a native language is found in both discursive and nondiscursive practices. English may hold an elite cultural status, offering access to power and resources, as well as providing a class distinction for individuals. Linguistic knowledge may directly translate into material gain and societal advantage. In some former colonized countries native and colonial languages may have a hierarchical relationship with one another, with colonial language used in high status

¹ In reference to English, Phillipson (1992) defines linguistic imperialism as follows: “...*the dominance of English is asserted and maintained by the establishment and continuous reconstitution of structural and cultural inequalities between English and other languages*” (p. 47, italics from original text). Structural properties refer broadly to that which is material resources, while cultural properties refer to what he described as immaterial, such as ideology or pedagogy.

activities and local language used for less prestigious functions. However, the ways in which linguistic knowledge translates into material gain may not be easily detected, especially when communities have experienced multiple forms and types of colonial and imperial linguistic influence and repression.

While variations in English are readily seen, as communities increasingly adopt parts of the English language and develop their own dialects, the state of English language acquisition is also marked by forms of standardization (Phillipson, 1992). Through state language policy, the worldwide marketization of language learning texts, teaching practices and academic discourse, and international education programs such as the one of this study, individuals and groups have attempted to endorse a certain “standard” of English for worldwide learning. As language learning is standardized a learner’s own language is often excluded, argues Sun (2004), and “on the rare occasion that the mother tongue comes onto the stage, it is accorded very little respect” (p. 129). Within the research site Chinese languages were often regarded as a source of interference and an obstacle students faced in learning English. Teachers asked students not to use Chinese in the classroom, and when the language sanctioned for use within a learning context, such as the Mandarin language tutorials created by EIAI, it was viewed as a break from the regular, standardized curriculum, and justified because of the perceived low English language ability of students.

While the ways in which the English language has repressed, alienated, and aided in the internalization of particular norms have been widely explored, Verschueren (1989) argues the widespread use of English has not always led to English-speaking

communities being more widely understood or privileged. Cultural normativity is not always pervasive, and often a language is adopted and used in a specific way. However, it is within the specificity of language acquisition that inherent power relations may be found. In China, the marketization and commodification of the English language should be explored under this consideration. As Wang Labao (2004) highlights “[Edward Said] could not have possibly expected to see a country making such a fuss about the teaching and learning of a foreign language that the language itself becomes a profitable business” (p. 149). Wang argues that as English has become a requirement for individuals in China, moving from an optional study to a mass-orientated requirement, teaching and learning has become commodified. This commodification can be linked to the wider social forces highlighted by Phillipson, as Wang described how the foreign language industry that exists in China today is tied both to past colonial movements and missionary schools, as well as to the integration of China within the world market.

Wang (2004) argues that while resistance to the adoption and learning of the English language is found historically in China, perhaps most recently during the communist era, little resistance to the wide spread learning that takes place currently exists. Consuming a language, often through individual choice, renders the power relations it contains undetectable. English learning takes place within the public education system, making up one of the core subjects even for elementary students. It is tested in the national college entrance examinations. A massive private industry offers after-school, shadow education programs, and preparation programs for international English testing, such as IELTS. Even a kindergarten in the same area as this ethnographic research employed a foreign teacher. Almost any bookstore in the area

would offer a major English language learning section, books that often offered quick-fixes, and or tricks to improve comprehension, memorization, or speed up the learning process. When language learning becomes a business, Wang (2004) argues, a product that meets a social need is sold and consumed, while what has created and maintains this social need is often obscured.

The promotion of English transcends state borders, but simultaneously shapes intra-state realities. As Phillipson argues, "...the widespread legitimating for English is to qualify people to build up the nation, to operate the technology that English provides access to, and which the state has decided to embrace" (1992, p. 68). While education reproduces and promotes certain knowledge and skills generally mandated from the state, language training provides a similar form of promotion and reproduction, but often involves datable and hidden influences from outside state borders. As the next chapter will explore, this influence involves ideological connotations of modernization and internationalization that has often impacted state policy and development.

Chapter Four: Forces of Relations within the Field of International Education

“Just as, at the level of the relations between group, a language is worth what those who speak it are worth, so too, at the level of interaction between individuals, speech always owes a major part of its value to the value of the person who utters it”

(Bourdieu, 1977, p. 652).

“. . . the more unified the space, the more important the qualities of the fragmentations become for social identity and action. The free flow of capital across the surface of the globe, for example, places strong emphasis upon the particular qualities of the spaces to which that capital might be attracted. The shrinkage of space that brings diverse communities across the globe into competition with each other implies localised competitive strategies and a heightened sense of awareness of what makes a place special and gives it a competitive advantage. This kind of reaction looks much more strongly to the identification of place, the building and signalling of its unique qualities in an increasingly homogenous but fragmented world”

(Harvey, 1990, p. 271).

“We are doing something very unique in China” Sean told me one day. As we sat in his office he explained this in two parts, first highlighting how private ownership allows EIAI to by-pass the public student recruitment structure, where each public university and college is given a quota of students to admit. This creates the possibility for unlimited growth, he told me. Departing from the Chinese system of education enabled them to offer a different type of education, a better type, as “public universities within China do not always provide the best education.” When I inquired why, he explained that the system increasingly mirrors Western countries, as the funding system is increasingly focused on research output rather than teaching. “Not all PhDs are good teachers” he explained. Teachers at EIAI are only obliged to teach and support students, with no requirement for research or publications. They hold six office hours a week, conduct their own tutorials, complete their own marking, and generally provide the sole

teaching support for students. Sean explained that their task is simply to teach and help students move through the degree.

This also differs from the Chinese system of education, Sean informed me, explaining that teachers are paid to get students through examinations. Testing skills are what is taught, he told me, a system he described as “flawed.” While this college is still working within the Chinese system of education, serving a need for students who failed or did not receive high enough marks to enter a highly-rated public university, it offers a pedagogy which differs. In China, he explained, there are two alternatives for those who received low scores on the college entrance examinations: those who are poor go into the job market, and those who are rich go into foreign education. Whether a student goes to a top Chinese school or overseas, Sean described the main mandate to be earning the best credential possible. EIAI offers a foreign credential, and the status it carries, without going abroad. This is only possible for only certain credentials, and since accounting is a subject that is based on foreign knowledge, like all business disciplines, he explained, it is something the West does better: “all Chinese universities can do is copy the West.”

The subject of the degree, international accounting, represented more than just a foreign credential, but rather was linked to where this knowledge came from. It was not a Chinese system of accounting that was being learned, but an international standard, one that was best learned through international education; as Charles told me,

...eventually Chinese accounting will come up to international standards, like every country. So you need to do international accounting. Just talking to students who did their qualification or degree or whatever at a Chinese college, it seems like nobody ever fails, so you just have to be there and everyone gets through. So maybe standards are not as high. I don't really know, but that is what I have

heard. I have heard that doctors here do multiple choice tests. It is a bit of a worry. So I think that maybe that it is not as rigorous as Western universities. And of course here you do the whole thing in English, so that is another aspect, an important aspect.

This foreign credential had ascribed meaning beyond the actual accounting skills being learned, but also involved connotations that were often explained in opposition to Chinese education. Students were learning an “international” skill, in an “international” language, at an “international” college, and were taught by “international” teachers. This was marked by the notion of difference, as “international” denoted “non-Chinese.”

Discussions that rested on this dualistic discourse involved the linguistic component of the degree. Sean described to me how English is attached to the credential: “they get an APU degree so their English is expected to be better.” He continued, “...employees just see students as a product. Their degree is that product.” This “product” involved not only proficiency in English and international accounting, but the discourses that surrounding this knowledge. The strength of the “product” was measured by the degree to which EIAI was international. This is shown well in an interview with Vanessa, a degree student, who described how not all international schools are equal and that separation from the Chinese system of education determined prominence:

Student: you know there is only one school, [EIAI], that is different from other types of international education. I can guarantee that. Because you know some students come from other international education programs and they told me that they took English courses, and learned Western courses, and even they took the exam, but they still know nothing. There is no pressure. Because some international programs have Chinese teachers. So the students could just memorize the questions and pass the exam. But here is different. You have to work hard. You have to learn. And you have to pass the course. All the teachers are from overseas.

A: So it is necessary to have all foreign teachers?

S: Yes.

A: Why?

S: Not all, you know in EIAI the Chinese courses are taught by Chinese teachers. But I think that you are taking an English major, like accounting or something, you need foreign teachers to understand their way of thinking, their way of teaching. Their different understanding of accounting. This school provides this. I think it is the only school in China which provides this service.

A: Do you think this school is different from other international schools?

S: Yes. Other international schools are just Chinese teaching international accounting using English, but it is just the same way of thinking. They just teach you answers so you can easily pass the courses and program. I think this is the only school in China which provides this service.

The strength of the “product” offered by EIAI was measured by the extent to which it had been “internationalized”, how closely it mirrored perceived education practices in Australia, and how it differed from Chinese education practices.

Past international education encounters in China

The internationalization of education in China has not involved simply “copying the West,” but rather involves complex social change and upheaval through interactions with forces within and outside China. A historical understanding of this situates international education and the connotations it derives. Importantly, discourses of development and modernity have generated educational transformation. The formation of China’s own system of education – most notably the civil service examination – which was established during the Han Dynasty (202 BC to AD 220) and lasted until 1905 – contained its own discourses of upward mobility and advancement through education (Fong, 2004). However, influences originating outside China, especially colonial and imperial forces, often generated competing discourses of modernization and development

through education. This next section will briefly outline historical occurrences that aided in the creation of these discourses and address how they still resonate today.

While China was never formally colonized by one power, colonialism and imperialism have historically shaped and continue to influence education in China. During the latter half of the Qing dynasty (1644-1912) Western education was considered by government officials as a means to strengthen the country against imperialist powers that dominated within China at that time (Mackerras, 2008; Min, 2004; Pong, 1994; Schwarcz, 1986). This gave rise to the Self-Strengthening Movement (1861-1895) within China, based primarily upon the adoption of Western technology and knowledge in order to strengthen current systems and institutions. This movement was not about revolutionizing the existing system; rather, the intent was to advance China's current system as a defence against imperialist and colonial forces. Self-strengtheners argued that foreign weapons, technology, and knowledge could be brought into the country without cultural pollution of traditional Chinese viewpoints and practices.

Schwarcz (1986) compellingly argues that these movements involved interplay between tradition and modernity. As the author writes,

Efforts to launch China onto the path of genuine modernity have, from the beginning, been marked by the intellectuals' awareness of the protean nature of traditional culture. These critics of native habits of mind needed an alternative place to stand from which they might continue to call into question the values that so many of their contemporaries considered to be natural and immutable (Schwarcz, 1986, p. 5).

The link between modernization movements within China and the increasing influence of international education brought complexity to the adoption of overseas knowledge.

Scholar Zhang Zhidong wrote in the 1880's: "Chinese learning as the goal, Western learning as the means" (*zhongxue wei ti, xixue wei yong*) (Schwarcz, 1986).¹ While these early movements were centered upon the notion that Western education provided a means to strengthen the country against imperialist powers, separating the "goal" and the "means" proved almost impossible. Education carried more than just simply knowledge.²

In later years of this reform period Chinese bureaucracy began to consider structural changes that it had originally set out to avoid. Importantly, government official Kang Youwei argued in 1891 that Chinese Confucian classics – the philosophical canon for China, which for centuries had been used as the basis for civil service examination and education – were fabricated (Schoppa, 2006). As Schoppa writes, Kang "...shattered the Chinese intellectual identity..." (p. 105). The intellectual shock that followed went beyond the prescribed change by self-strengtheners, as the notion of preserving traditional thought and practices began to be uprooted. This included calls to abolish the imperial education system, and advocating for change to the examination-based structure (Schwarcz, 1986; Schoppa, 2006). Advocates began to call for the establishment of a nationwide public education system. Liang Qichao became one of the first critics of the

¹ This is translated differently by Sun and Johnson (1990), who present the phrase in English as "Chinese learning for the essence, Western learning for the utility" (p. 211). Regardless of what is truly the correct translation, the meaning behind it pertains to preserving the "essence" of Chinese society, while strengthening it through the adoption of Western learning and technology (Sun & Johnson, 1990).

² For example, after the 1856 Treaty of Tianjin granted the right for Christianity to be openly taught in China, missionaries had increased educational influence (Dirlik, 2005; Schoppa, 2006). As Dirlik (2005) argues, they "...viewed themselves as the bearers not only of a new scientific knowledge but also the superior moral values of a Christian civilization" (p. 22). Missionaries partook in the language of imperialism resonating throughout the country at that time, as many considered themselves involved in the project of "civilizing" China through education.

old system, and together with his teacher Kang Youwei began to champion to government officials the notion of a Western, national-based education structure.

This led to the Hundred Days' Reform in 1889, a movement which both Kang and Liang spearheaded, which had the intent of shifting the education system from a focus on Confucianism to science and math (Schoppa, 2006). While the movement was deemed a failure, sending Kang and Liang into exile, these figures, as well as their colleagues, "...brought the challenge of Western learning into the heart of the Confucian bureaucracy" (Schwarcz, 1986, p. 27). Of great importance, Liang and Kang reconsidered the notion of preserving Chinese culture while adopting Western knowledge and technology. The divide between the "means" and the "goal" was beginning to blur.

After 1900 international education in China saw resurgence, especially through the Boxer Indemnity Fund (Hunt, 1972; King, 2006; Ling, 1997; Shi, 2002; Wang, 2002; Zhang, 2002). This education fund was established when the United States government remitted a "surplus" from compulsory compensation China had been required to provide from the death of foreigners during the Boxer Rebellion (1898 – 1901). The \$25 million given to the USA was an amount that was perceived both in China and abroad to be inflated resulting in a "surplus" portion of it being returned. However, it was returned with a stipulation: the funds were to be used to establish education programs for Chinese students in the USA.

The use of these funds was not without controversy. While some historians and politicians claimed the return of the surplus was an act of generosity, others have considered alternative stakes (Hunt, 1972). Isaacs (1958) writes about the "paternalism"

the United States “felt” for China. Sacca (2006) writes “...a succession of Chinese governments were given encouragement to send students to the United States to pursue a college education at a time when China was stagnating in the shadow of a modernizing Japan” (p. 704). From a different point of view, in 1949 historian Tao Chuyin wrote forcefully the following:

As everyone knows, regardless of what Americans do, it always revolves around money; only the remission of the Boxer indemnity...is considered a matter of ‘chivalry and generosity.’ But their ‘cultural investment’ was used to open up a ‘cultural leasehold’ and an ‘education factory,’ to spread the poison of enslaving thought, to overthrow and destroy the Chinese people’s culture, and to injure the spirit of China’s youth. Its motivation then was not chivalrous but was entirely cruel. Indeed Americans have called cultural investments ‘fertilizer for America’s trade with China,’ and in substance it is completely like economic investment (as cited in Hunt, 1972, p. 541).

While a plurality of viewpoints exists concerning the motive for this fund, most agree that alternative intentions were at play in establishing the scholarship program, including ethnocentric notions of educating the brightest Chinese youth with “Western moral”, a discourse also found within Chinese missionary movements (Hunt, 1972). Boxer students were not entirely passive to this, and as Wang (2003) writes, “...ironically, aware of the origins of the Boxer funds, these scientists and engineers often harbored intensely nationalistic feelings and therefore were not always as pro-American in their political orientation as Washington had hoped” (p. 295).

Within this group of overseas scholars the discourse of earlier modernization movements still resonated deeply. As Wang writes, “if there was one desire that united this group of Boxer students, it was a dream of saving China through science and technology” (2002, p. 292). These students have been linked to later educational reform,

and historians have noted their influence within the development of public education in China (Ye, 2001). Ye writes, “from this group also came many of China’s first modern educators and scholars, individuals who would set the tone and style of university and intellectual life in the first half of the twentieth century in China” (2001, p. 2). The structure of education in China, which previously had been modeled after the Japanese system, began to mirror the USA (Zeng, 1988). These changes were not without tribulations, as “...these methods were so costly that they could only be carried out by some schools in Beijing, Shanghai, and a few comparatively developed districts in Jiangsu and Zhejiang provinces” (Zeng, 1988, p. 88). Nonetheless, at this time education practices were being uprooted, albeit at different paces, across the country.

The May Fourth and New Culture Movements (1915-1921) called for a complete break from what was considered traditional culture in China, including past educational practices (Sun & Johnson, 1990). Chen Duxiu, not only prominent within this movement but who would later become one of the founders of the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), astutely wrote during this time that “even though something may...come down from the ancestors, be approved by the Sages, imposed by the government and accepted by the people, if it is impractical it is without value and should be suppressed” (as cited in Sun & Johnson, 1990, p. 211). Slogans like this, argue Sun and Johnson (1990), paved the way for the rhetoric of the CCP, and brought forth the notion of breaking with the past. Communism was becoming a competing “means” that would later oust the already sinking original “goal.”

When the People's Republic of China was founded in 1949, the CCP took control of all international and missionary education centers – now considered perpetrators of Western cultural imperialism – and either shut down or merged them into public institutions (Kwong, 1979; Min, 2004). Reform brought into question education institutes and their systems of learning and teaching that had existed prior to the communist period. During the Cultural Revolution (1966-1978) the education system in China, especially at the post-secondary level, experienced amplified turbulence. Min writes “universities and colleges were attacked as places disseminating ideas that combined Soviet revisionism, Western bourgeois ideologies, and traditional feudalism” (2004, p. 62). During this period, higher educational institutes stopped enrolling students for four years, and postgraduate learning stopped for twelve years. Enrolments greatly diminished, and by 1970 only 47,800 students were at universities and colleges across the country. This number surged with the economic, political, and social transformation during the late 1970s and 1980s, resulting in dynamic changes within education still evident today. However, discourses surrounding this change resonate from past movements, including the push again for advancement in science and technology, the influence of knowledge-based economic practices, and “new” international influence (Min, 2004).

International education in China today

Through both economic access and social transformation, student and faculty international exchange has increased immensely in recent periods for elite individuals in China. This widely considered subject is often largely based on globalization and transnational theory as scholars attempt to explain the ambition for overseas education in

a variety of ways (Bai, 2008; C. Li, 2006; N. Li, 2006; Liu-Farrer, 2008; Louie, 2006; Mitsuta, 1994; Mohrman, 2008; Waters, 2008; Zweig, Chen & Rosen, 2004). Current transnational flows of knowledge, students, and scholars are largely addressed as a contemporary, post-Cultural Revolution occurrence; however, as shown above, pathways and discourses currently seen in China were established far before this period.

Discourses of modernization surrounding education must be linked not only to contemporary educational transformation but to wider social reforms. Through her research on single-child families in Northern China, Fong (2004a, 2004b) argues that discourses of modernization surrounding fertility limitation policy have resulted in many children internalizing their role as the “vanguards of modernization.” The one-child policy emphasizes “...that it is a way to increase the “quality” (*suzhi*) of the Chinese people by applying to birth planning (*jihua shengyu*) the same discipline they applied to economic planning (*jihua jingji*)” (Fong, 2004a, p. 70). Fong writes that the children of her study were socialized to believe that they deserve to live in the conditions found in developed nations:

Teenagers wanted the same brands, high living standards, prestigious education, and good jobs enjoyed by their first world counterparts. They were frustrated by the gap between the “backwardness” (*luohou*) of their nation and the modernity of the first world. Many talked about wanting to “develop abroad” (*zai waiguo fachen*) (2004a, p. 79).

“Developing abroad” is linked to a cultural model of modernization by Fong, generating goals and achievements pursued by her participants, and linked to upward mobility through the acquisition of cultural and economic capital. Even without traveling abroad lifestyle choices often were found to emulate those imagined overseas, often resulting in

the consumption of luxury items. However, the biggest expense for those in her study was education, as families strived to provide what they deemed to be the best educational opportunities possible.

Fong (2004b) argues that given the increasingly globalized nature of media and educational opportunities for those with social and economic access, Chinese students see themselves “...not just as part of an imagined transnational “Chinese” or “Confucian” community but also as part of an imagined community composed of ambitious, well-educated people worldwide” (p. 632).³ Significantly, this imagined association with a larger global community contained conflicting discourses of nationalism. A rejection of Chinese society was not found by participants who pursued an international education pathway; rather, participants highlighted how problems of “backwardness” within Chinese society – such as the use of *guanxi*, poverty, and corruption – could be “fixed” through capitalist modernization structures found in wealthier countries. Students expressed desire to gain knowledge and skills overseas to facilitate this reform. Comparable to the earlier discussion of how the term “international” was used at EIAl, this discourse involved forming hierarchies based upon the extent to which a place was perceived to be “modernized.”

While Fong (2004b) found that many of her participants would seek or vocalize desire for educational and work opportunities in countries deemed at the top of this

³ It is important to emphasize the extent to which educational attainment in China is marked by inequality, including connecting economic, social, and regional factors (Deng & Treiman, 1997; C. Li, 2006). While Deng and Treiman (1997) discuss how education may lead to social mobility, Li Chunling (2006) argues that the education system in China can be viewed as a filtration machine favouring those from families of higher social and economic status.

hierarchy – mainly Western, English-speaking states – there was an apparent contradiction found between this desire and the nationalism expressed:

A desire to go abroad and never return was seen as selfish and disloyal. Willingness to contribute to China's modernization by turning down opportunities to go abroad, or by returning to China from abroad, was praised as noble but also seen as self sacrificing and quixotic (p. 641).

Participants with an opportunity to travel abroad would emphasize the intention to return with the skills and experience they gained. Like the historical international education encounters described above, current discourses contain similar facets of nation building. Fong emphasizes that filial duty is the basis for the nationalism found within her study, as participants interchangeably expressed duty to their motherland as loyalty to lineage. Importantly, this finding illustrates "...a powerful sense of nationalism to coexist with a powerful sense of identification with the imagined community of globalization and that nationalism does not necessarily depend on a belief in the superiority of one's own national culture" (Fong, 2004b, p. 644). In order to link this to previous discussions it should be emphasized again that the act of differentiating between perceived societies and cultures erects hierarchies; however, Fong furthers this argument by showing that this may not result in supremacy of one's perceived place, position, or subjectivity.

The historical struggle between the 'means' and the 'goal' can be seen as being reinvented today within this discussion. As Dirlik (2003, 2007) presents, this involves a unique paradigm of development within China, one that involves both state control and the development of individuals and local society. He writes,

...an analytical distinction may nevertheless be useful that points to two conflicting paradigms of development in China. One is that in which the state is central, that guarantees to the Communist regime, and the new managerial class it cultivates, a position of power in the global economy and politics, but promises

little beyond an authoritarian state capitalism. The other is one that is based in local society, that draws on an earlier revolutionary legacy of local development that gives priority to the welfare of the people over the power of the state, and points to a democratic socialism (2003, p. 266-267).

Similar to Fong's framework, Dirlik links revolutionary legacies to the contemporary regime. However, he illustrates that conflict within development is also shown to involve how internationalization is interpreted by individuals and the state. While the Chinese state has allowed for "a position of power in the global economy and politics" authoritarian political structures still condition this entry. Importantly, local development – whether that is at the individual, family, or community level – is linked to this process, and as the welfare of individuals is prioritized, reform often takes the form of autonomy and self-determination.

Xu (2002) offers an important perspective on the rise of individualism within China by presenting the argument that the influences of Western values to youth since the opening and reform period that has worked to inspire a "sense of self." Importantly, Xu reminds us that individualism, development, modernization, or internationalization does not necessarily mean the uptake of Western cultural norms, but rather can be linked to forms of individualism not widely seen historically in China. The author writes, "the individual standards and the center of "self" in the Western value system agitated Chinese society, which (in practice if not in theory) had not encouraged a strong sense of self" (2002, p. 249). This has led to cultural influence altering the relationship between individuals and society in contemporary times, especially concerning self-consciousness, self-affirmation, self-design, self-realization, and self-responsibility. The pluralism that has arisen has not initiated widespread rejection or acceptance of cultural influences,

whether from the past or from outside China's borders; rather, acceptance of values and norms surrounding personal choice and the multiplicity of pathways has been seen.

Hoffman (2008) offers complexity to this argument by arguing that the rise of individual choice constitutes a form of governing within China. Rather than recent reform and development indicating individual freedom from state control, Hoffman questions how this is indeed part of current governing and subject-formation: "freedom, then, is not indicative of the absence of power or governance, but is a technique of governing whereby the regulation and management of subjects happens "through freedom"" (Hoffman, 2008, p. 171). This process is linked to discourses of talent, human resources, and human capital, which are argued to be replacing the previous state focus on patriotic, "red" cadres. Similar to Fong, Hoffman's own research found that individual choice was informed by a sense of social responsibility, "...melding a more privatized self-actualization and post-Mao patriotism in interesting ways" (2008, p. 177).

This discussion connects in interesting ways to the research conducted at EIAI, and similar themes were found within the way students differentiated perceived notions of "Western" and "Chinese" education. When students were asked to write on the subject of "education in China" many described the Chinese education system by differentiating it with perceived Western education practices. The themes that were taken up by many students involved choice, individual freedom, ability and creativity. As one student wrote,

Compare our education system to a foreign system, and we can find that Chinese do not have enough spare time to arouse their thirst for knowledge. I think this point makes a difference. The foreign education system allows foreign students to

learn freely and they can find out things which they are interested in by themselves. So they can discover and create more new things than Chinese people.

Likewise, another student compared the two education systems using similar themes:

Chinese emphasizes foundational knowledge. However, Western teaching think highly of creativeness. They pay attention into create different kind of talent from different works. As far as I considered that China should better learn the advantage of Western teaching style to compensate disadvantage for Chinese teaching.

Other students wrote passages such as "...Chinese education usually use marks to represent success or failure but western schools more care students ability" and "foreign parents agree children should develop their interest. Chinese students just read read books day, and remember information for tests. They do not have to develop their creative ability." As these excerpts show, Chinese educational practices were often viewed by students as needing to "learn the advantages" of Western education, especially surrounding notions of creativity, freedom, and choice.

For students at EIAI being within the field of international education was often described as being able to "learn freely" and contain more aspects of individual choice and creativity. As student described in a writing assignment, "my college is a place for a new beginning. I'm sure I'm taking a new life. Everything is full of challenges, quite different from things in high school. Teachers are not going to tell you exactly what you are going to go, you will have to make your own decisions." For many students, especially those who expressed feeling scholastically unsuccessful in the past or disliking systems of education in China, international education promised a "new beginning" and an opportunity to gain human capital, particularly the capital perceived as contained

within Western education.⁴ This college was often seen as an opportunity and chance for success regardless of personal histories. Importantly, rather than seeking to “modernize” education systems within China through international education, EIAI was described as a path for those who were looking for success within already formed structures of education within China. However, as the next section will illustrate, the experience of students and teachers at EIAI was not just structured by historical and current social transformations within China system, but shifting social practices within Australia must also be taken into account.

The creation of export education in Australia

In recent years higher education in Australia has been greatly affected by the wider state agenda of public sector reform, resulting in a shift from government control to market-like management of education. This shift marks a trend toward marketization and privatization of higher education in Australia, evident both in reforms to state policy, and how individual education institutions react to these changes. This involves direct and indirect state and industry authority and influence, forces both inside and outside Australian borders.

The economic shift in the post-war period changed the basis of the Australian economy from the production of primary products to knowledge-based infrastructure. In

⁴ Waters (2008) offers an excellent discussion on how international education attainment translates into forms of capital. In Hong Kong she found that foreign credentials were “...a scarcer – and thereby more valuable – form of academic credentials that [could] be traded, subsequently, for economic capital in the labour market” (Waters, 2008, p.153). However, the value ascribed to these forms of capital was rooted in specific social relations, which were bound by space and involved recognition of being “members” of an “exclusive overseas-educated club.”

the period following the Second World War, policy documents, such as the 1964 Martin Report, called for the linking of education and economic interests (Marginson & Considine, 2000). Higher-education began to transform from a semi-private domain accessible mostly to those from elite classes, to a wider and more inclusive system of credentialing based on a Keynesian logic of national development (Marginson & Considine, 2000). While the objective of these changes was undoubtedly rendered in economic terms, the discourse of education as a citizenship right and a form of nation building also became prevalent.⁵ This sparked a government initiative to provide greater access to higher education, and during a reforming period beginning in 1972, known as the Whitlam years, massive growth in tertiary enrolment and expansion of the range of education programs took place. Importantly, the public share of education funding peaked in Australia to just below 95%, as the discourse of state responsibility for education became widespread (Marginson, 2002).

The notion that the state was responsible for the education of Australian citizens began to unravel shortly thereafter. The Hawke Labour government, elected in 1983, set out to reform the education system under the guise of “do more with less” (Meek, 2006). With the implementation of neo-liberal policies and a new public management system, the push intensified to create a knowledge economy and build a “clever country” as then Prime Minister Bob Hawke described the reform in the early 1990s. Reform during this period and the decline in state funding led to the expectation that universities must

⁵ For example, the publication of *Schools in Australia* by Peter Karmel in 1973 argued that current inequalities in education prevented opportunities for many, stressing that this was a responsibility of the state (Marginson & Considine, 2000).

diversify their funding sources. This initiated a number of shifts concerning who should shoulder the cost of higher education in Australia (Meek, 2006).

The cost of education was transferred from the state to the individual, as the national government eroded various financial commitments arguing for less state regulation (Meek, 2006).⁶ As Marginson and Considine write, with education costs increasing alongside enrolments, institutions were encouraged to find other means of funding: “to cope with the budgetary fall-out from this greater rate of enrolment, the new public management imposed on students a co-payment for the services they received and encouraged institutions to recruit full-fee overseas students” (2000, p. 28). While the actual amount of funding and revenue increased during the mid to late-1990s, direct public subsidy declined by 11% (Meek, 2006). This in part was due to individuals shouldering more of their educational costs, as total student load increased by 21% (Phillips et al., 2002). This was entrenched within tactics of market mechanism, and both the state and individual institutions increasingly relied on new forms of funding rather than increased solicitation for public subsidies.

Policy changes within the organizational structure of universities have shifted alongside state-led initiatives. Marginson and Considine (2000) argue that the governing structures of Australian universities have begun to mimic the model of a corporation, especially through executive power which increasingly is operationally separated from what is being “managed.” This body of power tends to work as the main interpreters and arbitrators between greater societal and global structures, with executive groups having

⁶ For example, this can be seen through the creation of the Higher Education Contribution Scheme, in which only partial tuition payment was made through the tax system (Meek, 2006).

an increasing ability to form departmental and institutional agendas. This process is something Marginson and Considine term as the creation of the “Enterprise University.” However, power, governing, and authority – especially the link between legislation and decision making within Australian universities – have changed and are often circuitous, as “universities are no longer government by legislation: they are more commonly ruled by formulae, incentives, targets and plans” (Marginson & Considine, 2006, p. 9).

The shift to user-pay and commercialized education, and the decline of the original Australian identity-building projects of 1970s, have allowed for increased global influence, often couching marketization within discourses of globalization (Dudley, 1998; Marginson, 2002; Marginson & Considine, 2000; Sidhu, 2004). While undeniably neoliberal processes led to the expansion of international education in Australia, this description runs the risk of placing education centers around the world in competition with one another, or viewing international student movements as supply and demand. As Marginson (2002) argues, while Australian universities are embedded in a global system they are still constituted by local and national influences and discourses. Rather, global influences are involved in a dialogical relationship with local discourses:

Institutional identity is constituted by more than global systems: it is a product of history and retains national, local and disciplinary roots. The global dimension does *not* subsume the whole of the national dimension which enabled the modern university. [...] What has happened is that the national dimension has become inter-penetrated with the global dimension in complex ways (Marginson, 2002, p. 413).

The complex process of decentralization that overlaps with globalization rhetoric has led to paradoxical discourses, often times in competition, that link education to economic prosperity and the creation of the knowledge economy within Australia, while also

moving beyond borders within the field of international education (Marginson & Considine, 2000; Meek, 2006). This contradiction is often resolved through preserving the legacy of “Australian education” and the perceived knowledge and worldview this contains, while exporting this form of education. All this raises questions concerning how the field of international education situates power and knowledge through strategies at the national level and within individual insinuations *vis-à-vis* the globalization of education.

The veil of multiculturalism

As early as 1985 Susan Ryan, then education minister, created guidelines outlining how full fee-paying international students would provide a pseudo-market mechanism inside higher education (Marginson & Considine, 2000). This became a central focus during the Dawkin reform period, as the ‘education industry’ was seen as a possible export into international markets. This marked a major turn in student enrolment in Australia: between 1995 and 2001, the number of domestic students increased by 8.6%, while the number of international students grew by 146% (Phillips et al., 2002). By 2004, around 25% of the 1 million university students in Australia were high fee-paying international students who contributed about 13% to the total higher education budget (Meek, 2006). These students generate more than \$6 billion Australian Dollars annually, making higher education one of the nation’s largest export earners (Meek, 2006). Much of this directly flows to higher education institutions through fees paid by international students, which rose from \$627 million in 1997 to \$1,423 million in 2001 (Meek, 2006). In an attempt to boost earnings, often without increasing institutional costs substantially, offshore programs like the one of this study were created with the

mandate to physically export curriculum, incorporating “export education” to its purest form. As shown in an interview for an APU campus publication, a deputy vice-chancellor describes offshore programs in China using market terms: “I predict that within the next five years China could make up more than 50 per cent of our total offshore market. [APU] has almost 2000 students in the People’s Republic of China and we expect to see even more significant growth over the next few years.”

The creation of this market is couched within the rhetoric representing Australian education. Sidhu (2004) argues that the expansion of international education has resulted in establishing a ‘brand position.’ This is evident in discourses of ‘cultural hybridity’, as Australian schools are depicted as multicultural, friendly, and safe, “...normaliz[ing] difference and diversity in the spatial landscape by conferring particular psychological meanings onto place...” (Sidhu, 2004, p. 57). This was extensively found within this research. For example, the same APU deputy vice-chancellor discussed above goes on to describe how offshore programs may facilitate the flow of international students to Australia, increasing this ‘cultural hybridity’: “This is an important flow-on from our flexible distance programs which allow some of our offshore students to immerse themselves in Australian culture. It gives them a better understanding of the different cultures, languages and lifestyles around them at our multicultural [Australian] campus.” This discourse was also repeated in EIAl by administrators, teachers, and students. In a speech at a graduation ceremony given by one of the proprietors of the school, the discourse of multiculturalism was described through mythology:

For me this complex mix of people, cultures, and education, epitomizes what a university education should be about. It is about combining different perspectives,

valuing the differences between cultures, economies, and political systems. [...] The analogy that comes to my mind is that wonderful bird of both Eastern and Western mythology, the phoenix. Just as the legendary phoenix gives new life from the fire that consumes it, so do our graduates rise from the multicultural experience our college offers.

Importantly, this discourse of multiculturalism makes no reference to actual modes of education. The structure and system of education at EIAI, especially given the level of standardization, contained few multicultural educational practices compared to the expansiveness of this rhetoric.

Sidhu (2004) argues that notions of multiculturalism engage little with educational practices, as these discourses often meet measures of marketization and the trade focus of international education, leaving commodification firmly in place. While institutes may express commitments to internationalization in the form of multiculturalism, "...these rest on limited understanding of the power/knowledge relations which underpin notions of cultural diversity" (Sidhu, 2004, p. 58). Expressions of diversity, the author argues, are limited to international days or wider food choices in canteens, while initiatives targeting curriculum and pedagogical practices have been less widespread. This is evident within APU and EIAI educational practices, from the standardization of curriculum, to the trope of Australian students and practices that existed within the international college. While the APU Multicultural Center plans activities such as "Harmony Day" and the "Chinese Moon Cake Festival", as well as student organizations and awareness programs relating to culture, language, racial and religious discrimination, curriculum or pedagogical practices in the classroom are left unaddressed. In not addressing power/knowledge struggles "...international education in Australia continues to propagate cultural values which are largely 'Western, privatized,

ego-centric and corporate in their focus...” (Sidhu, 2004, p. 59). Thus, multicultural and global education are often bound to a specific space.

Latour’s (1990, 1998) concept “immutable mobility” sheds light on the mechanisms of this process. This term describes how text or inscriptions enable relations surrounding an object to be fixed even while being used in a network by different actors. Knowledge itself may be fixed while it is simultaneously accelerating in mobility. Immutable does not mean that which is being transferred is done so unproblematically, but that some features are maintained regardless of mobility. This raises two important questions in regards to understanding the pedagogy of international education: What changes when education becomes mobile, and what does not change?

In the present case, the knowledge deemed requisite for an Australian accounting degree has become deterritorialized; that is, it has, through both state reform and institutional response, been deemed knowledge that can be commodified and rendered mobile. This, as shown in previous chapters, has not been a straightforward process, and local conditions have altered educational practices. Regardless of this complexity, as curriculum becomes mobile the knowledge it contains has become simultaneously fixed through practices of standardization. Knowledge becomes concretized. Lankshear (1997) argues that international education practices are often characterised by “space of enclosure.” This could be in the forms of textbooks, classrooms, or curriculum, as meaning is enclosed through fixing learning. In turn, these spaces form authority. Deeming education as exportable and forming a system for knowledge to become mobile simultaneously involves erecting relations of power.

While there is interplay between national and global dimensions, both rest on the assumption that accounting knowledge and practices of international education should be immutable and standardized. The commodification of education in Australia is of a certain form of knowledge and practices, one that has been formed historically, and includes continued involvement and influence from state-based institutions and bodies. Building a “clever country” in term of attracting and boosting the enrolment of international students has resulted not in a dismantling or questioning of current forms of education and knowledge, but rather a hardening of this knowledge through standardization in order to render it transferable. This is described well by an Australian consulate general who gave a speech in the same graduation ceremony:

Australia is dedicated to maintaining the high quality and integrity of its education and training, regardless of the location in which it is delivered. International engagement has been an important aspect of Australian education and training for many decades, and the delivery of Australian courses and qualifications to international students has grown significantly in recent years. The delivery transnationally of Australian education and training, that is recognized as equivalent to that delivered within Australia, is valuable for Australia’s international reputation.

Thus, Australia’s “international reputation” rests on the internationalization of educational practices being “equivalent” to nationally-based ones, through “maintaining the high quality and integrity” – regardless of the location to which education is being “delivered.”

Extending to processes of force

The field cannot be held constant, and under the extended case method it is considered as possessing its own autonomous dynamic (Burawoy, 1998). A wider field of relations beyond what can be observed must be taken into account in order to fully

understand a case. Rather than bracket what cannot be directly known through everyday occurrences, a researcher considers the field external to the site of research. The third step of the extended case method involves extending out from processes of force and struggle internally to link them externally. The structure of international education in China and Australia has shaped the experience of individuals and the research site. However, this does not reduce the site of research to a common pattern. As will be explored next, differences within the research site are considered in relation to external forces through a focus on power and struggle. This involves structuration, a method Burawoy describes as "...locating social processes at the site of research in a relation of mutual determination with an external field of social force" (1998, p. 20).⁷ Comparison is made rather than reducing cases to general laws or theories, as a researcher attempts to grasp how structural forces affect the different lives of participants.

This chapter considered how the field of international education is structured and formed, and how relations of power historically and currently influence social and political interactions within it. This has shaped interactions within the field, and, in relation to the subject of this paper, the context and specificity of learning. This involves both English-language acquisition and specific accounting knowledge. What constitutes acceptable forms of knowledge and communication impacts teaching and learning practices, shaping interactions both within and outside the classroom. As will be explored next, these power relations impact the identity and subject positions of a second-

⁷ "Structures" and/or "social forces" which confine possibilities and options, although constantly being refigured, is how Burawoy (1998) defines structuration. This differs from Giddens (1984) notions of the term, which seeks to move beyond the dualism of agency and structure and instead advocates for a duality between the two, in which social practices and agency reproduce the structural conditions that enabled them. Burawoy does not dismiss this definition of the term, but instead writes that Giddens use of the term closely aligns with his understanding of "process."

language learner. Thus, the structural relations explored in this chapter influence and shape not only the field of international education, but the lives of individuals within it.

Chapter 5: The Subjective Struggle of Individuals within the Field of International Education

“As a Chinese student, it’s difficult for me to think in English. I can only think in Chinese and then translate to English. However, some problems of viewpoints I can only say in Chinese but I don’t know how to express in English, because English is not my first language.”

(A passage from a degree student’s learning journal)

As discussed in chapter three, students relied on their first language in multiple ways within the degree program at EIAI: students used *guanxi*, receiving help through social relations, teaching course content in Mandarin, and forming learning methods and techniques, such as translating written assignments and course material using computer software. Students were aware that the use of their native languages were negatively sanctioned and had drawbacks, such as stagnating further English language learning; however, these methods prevailed. The use of native languages led to conflicts both individually and institutionally, conflicts that on the surface were deemed linguistic, but often veiled issues that went far beyond language acquisition.

Students frequently described difficulty expressing themselves in English. This was explained not only as the ability to speak, listen, read, or write, but also as comprehension: the capacity to “think in English.” This was often described by both teachers and students as the ability to think ‘critically.’ As one student wrote in a learning journal,

What’s more, according to the marking criteria, if we want to get a high mark, excellent critical analysis of relevant issues must be given. Although I know it

was risky and difficult for a Chinese student to discuss the questions critically unless we are good at writing essay, I still tried to present a critical analysis...

Here, critical analysis is considered “risky” and “difficult” specifically for Chinese students who are not adept at writing essays in English, and alongside language ability the capacity for Chinese students to think critically was compared to the normative trope of native-English speakers. This is evident within Amy’s description of one of the best students in her class, a student who was given a top grade but still was considered not able to provide adequate critical analysis:

Oh yeah. I gave [her] a high distinction. She wrote a beautiful paper, and she worked hard on her English. But it was a high distinction for her. It was not a high distinction in Australia. The critical analysis, while some was there, it was not enough. There were errors. In Australia she would have got about a 77 for it. I gave her 85 or 86. The ones who are the best here still cannot do any kind of critical reasoning, and their intellectual level is lower, much, much lower than Australians.

Amy describes raising her students’ marks to take into account local circumstances that were more than simply due to teaching non-native-English speakers, but also due to the lack of critical thinking and the “lower intellectual ability” of Chinese students. In this interview, Amy continued by explaining how students were not to blame for this lack of ability; rather it was the Chinese education system which they were a product of: “and you cannot blame them because this is the Chinese educational system. Not teaching them to be critical. Not teaching them to be able to actually write an essay, put an argument together step-by-step.” While it was described in multiple direct and indirect ways by teachers and students, the cognitive ability of students was assessed alongside their English. As this chapter will highlight, the ability to “think in English” was equated

by students and teachers to success within international education; however, this led to conflict that was often concealed by perceived language barriers.

Extending theory within the field of international education

The unfeasibility of representation in ethnographic studies leads Burawoy (1998) to question the end result of research under the framework of the extended case method. Burawoy problematizes forms of representativeness that infer generality from data or the discovery of grounded theory. Using the extended case method, the intent of the researcher is to reconstruct rather than represent. Theory is what needs to be reconstructed, including pre-existing theory from participants themselves and/or theory from outside the field site. Thus, the final extension in the extended case method is *the extension of theory*. Theory is emergent through dialogue, whether between participant and observer, or within a scientific community. It is through dialogue that this theory is circulated, debated, adopted, refuted, extended, expanded, and constantly faced with upheaval and continues revision.

Theory is not merely contained within academic circles, but rather it is a process of intervention in the world in an attempt to understand it. Within a reflexive model of social science, intervention destabilizes analysis. The extended case method opposes the notion of absolute certainty, as truth is considered to be continually reconstructed. Establishing absolute truth ceases to be the aim of research, but rather the goal of research becomes the continuous improvement of existing theory. Within this process theory and research become inextricable. As Burawoy writes, “the extended case method

is thus a form of craft production of knowledge wherein the conceiver of research is simultaneously the executor” (1998, p. 28).

Burawoy highlights that reconstructing theory is in itself a coercive process of normalization as complex situations are sculpted to fit theory, and theory is tailored to the case of research. The research site undergoes a process of being reduced to a single case that is anomalous to the theory, and theory is sculpted and recomposes that which is inconsistent. As Burawoy writes, “this mutual fashioning creates an apparatus for reducing the world to categories that can be investigated, sites that can be evaluated, people that can be controlled” (1998, p. 24). Understanding the effect of this power is what a reflexive model of science strives for in order to understand the limits of its approach. As will be highlighted in the passages below, a field is reconstructed analytically in order to make this process apparent.

“I am lazy and sometimes I just want to dance”

EIAI students were often asked to give an account, either to their parents, friends, teachers, or perhaps most pointedly, to themselves, why they failed or did poorly in an assignment or class. During an interview, a degree student named Nick described having to explain to his parents why he had failed an accounting class:

Ashley: What did your parents say when they found out?

Student: I explain that I was not suitable for the foreign teacher’s teaching method. But they do not believe it. But actually in management accounting or company accounting in the beginning I am not suitable for Ryan’s teaching method.

A: Why were you not suitable?

S: Well, Australian accent. I don't listen. I don't hear his words clearly, yeah sometimes. Secondly, I don't know what is the meaning of the questions, the main ideas of the questions. And thirdly, I am lazy and sometimes I just want to dance. So I have no time to ask teachers how to do this figure or how to get good marks on the exam. So three factors affect me to get these results that semester.

For Nick there were multiple reasons why he had failed, including Ryan's thick Australian accent, and an inability to understand certain ideas. However, he also self-reflexively describes himself as lazy. The notion of "lazy students" was described to me by many teachers and students at length. When I asked why students did not do well, the word "lazy" was spoken more often than not. Wasting time through computer games, socializing, movie watching, or sports were cited as reasons why many students were unable to do well in the program. Students internalized this, and many would describe to me the ongoing struggle to work harder.

Working harder as a student was often described in comparison to the trope of Western students. For example, when I first arrived a degree student named Ann described to me how students were marked at EIAI. Just like Australia, she explained, the highest mark was a high distinction (HD), something students could achieve if their overall percentage in a course was above 85%. Very few students in the school are able to achieve HD, she told me, and when I inquired why this is she explained that in order to receive an HD "you have to act like the students from Harvard." While she had never been to Harvard or met a student from there, she had acquired information about how they study – from articles and books, as well as a Korean television show set at Harvard. Harvard students, she explained to me, possess self-discipline and extremely diligent study habits. Students here must attempt to emulate them, she told me: "a student must study every second and not waste a moment." She went on to explain that while she tries

to do this she often is unsuccessful in her pursuit. The reason, she told me, was that she watches movies in her spare time.

This perceived difference between Chinese and Western education and Chinese and Western students was repeated again and again to me during interviews, and witnessed around me as I watched and participated in daily conduct. For students this perceived difference often led to struggle over how they, knowing that they possessed a Chinese cultural background, fit into the field of international education in comparison to those viewed as having a higher position, such as Harvard students. This was seen most blatantly in the way students who did well at EIAI discussed their success in relation to those who were less successful. Vanessa, a student who had almost finished the degree program when I met her, was well-known by students and teachers as a high-achiever. During an interview she explained her success in-depth, attributed her achievement within international education to how her background differed from other students:

Student: ...There are lots of very good teachers here. So you can talk. You can experience different cultures, and not just traditional culture. Yes, there are just different ways to encourage you to think, and don't just tell you the answers directly. They encourage you to think. This is different from our own traditional culture.

Ashley: Do you think it is useful for students to study in this way?

S: If they change their mind it is very good for them.

A: Will they change their mind?

S: It is difficult to change the traditional culture. Do you think so?

A: It depends.

S: Yes, it depends. You know, there are different ways of education in the family. My family's educational approach is that they encourage you to think, to learn, to do whatever you like to do. They won't force you to study this or study that.

A: So your family is pretty open?

S: Yes, and that is why I choose a Western education.

A: Is your family pretty normal in China? Or is it a different type of family?

S: I think they are different. This is why I am different than the students here.

In this excerpt Vanessa describes how her family's approach to education, one that is encouraging and open, is why she chose to study within an international institute. This, as she describes, differentiates her from other students who need to "change their mind" from "traditional culture" to succeed at EIAI. Vanessa, later in the interview, described how forms of education, whether Chinese or international, were not necessarily better or worse, but rather about matching students to a "way of thinking":

...it is not better or worse. It is just different ways of thinking. How can you say it is better or worse? Compared to what? It is just a different ways of thinking. There is no answer. It just depends on what you think, and what you like. Some students like the traditional Chinese teacher, but for me I like the Western teachers. It doesn't mean that it is better or worse. I just like Western education better.

Many students described how Chinese education was useful for some type of learning and gaining certain skills, such examination skills or gaining "foundational knowledge" as one student explained. However, these discussions still worked to differentiate that which was "Western" from what was considered "Chinese." In the case of students like Vanessa and Ann, many were attempting to distinguish themselves from other Chinese students who were embedded in what they perceived to be "Chinese" or "traditional culture."

Culture was described as more than simply an individual's life history, but rather a force that worked to form pedagogical methods that are recognized and assessed by students. As Vanessa describes the Chinese classes at EIAI, she explains how students differentiate between teaching methods:

Sometimes the teachers will tell the students the answers and exactly what they need to do to prepare for the exam. So the students just follow the teacher's steps and they can pass. This is the way in Chinese school. When you are close to the exam period the teacher will give you lots of practice tests, exercises, lots of answers, and you can prepare for it. But the foreign degree teachers here are very strict, and they won't give you the answers. In the English classes they won't give you the answers so you must study. This is the different way. So I think some of the students will choose the Chinese classes because that it easy for them to pass. The teacher will give them the questions and the answers and then you just study this, and you pass.

When asked to describe the difference between these styles of teaching she explained how the actual process of learning is different: Western learning was "active", while Chinese learning was characterized as "passive":

Well, one is active and one is passive. In some classes we study in high school we are forced to do something we don't really want to do. And actually we don't like to do this, we just study for the teacher. But here we study for ourselves. So you study actively. Maybe some students do not want to study actively, but for me I do.

When I asked why some students do not study actively she explained the reason was family background. Many students, she told me, are forced by their parents to attend this college, even if they have no desire to become an accountant.

Parental influence and pressure to attend this college was something that many students and teachers explained. Again, however, this was compared to students

overseas. For example, one student wrote in a writing task how Chinese students are “kids” in comparison to imagined foreign students:

If I have a problem in my life, I do not know how to deal with it because I have no opportunity to practice my real life. So, Chinese students do not have social experience. Foreign students may be able to deal with it by themselves. This is a reason why Chinese students are less creative than foreign students. Chinese education is just about books. Chinese students have little time to go outside. They hardly ever come into contact with society and lack experience. They are protected by their parents and school. Foreign students do better than Chinese students. They are extremely independent. They do not need help from their parents, and their parents do not help them obviously. Chinese students are kids in this competitive society.

Feelings of parental influence and control in relation to education were often explained using the same cultural dichotomy. A degree student named Chris explained to me how he originally hoped to go overseas to study but his parents had decided against it and instead opted to send him to this school. When I asked why he succumbed to his parents he explained that it is simply different for Chinese, and that “Western people just do what they want.” When I asked why he was not able to do what he wanted, he explained that it came down to “...culture, parents, friends, everything. My parents just tell me I am going to be an accountant.”

Vanessa, who had never failed a class, and Chris, who failed frequently, compared their own background and experiences to what was deemed “Western,” “non-traditional,” or “active.” The normative trope of “Western people just doing what they want” was repeated to me, almost word-for-word by Vanessa:

You know with Western culture the parents will let them do whatever they want to do, their interests. But in China it is different. In China there are different ways of thinking, different approach to teaching, in primary school and middle school, we just learn nothing. There are different way of thinking, and a different way of

finding your future. This is something we Chinese students have to think about a lot. Most of them are forced by their parent, who think “yes, accounting is a good major for you.”

and later,

... I think, for the Chinese students, for the Chinese children, they need to change their mind. They need to be responsible for themselves, not for their parents or not for others. They need responsibility. They need to try to accept the Western way of thinking. They need try to study actively, not for others, but for themselves and for their education.

This notion of “accepting the Western way of thinking” was described by Vanessa as what was needed for success at EIAI. “Thinking in English” was more than simply a translation from one language to another, but rather an upheaval of the mode of thinking itself.

This was explored at length in an interview with another high-achieving degree student, Tony, who had previously gone overseas as a student for a year. Like Vanessa, he attributed his success within the program to his background. For him, having experienced Western education firsthand gave him a leg up in the program as it enabled him to think differently from other students at EIAI. He explained, “some students may tell you that the first semester is the most difficult. This is not because of the course, but because of their English and that they use a Chinese mind to learn an English course.” When asked to explain further what was meant by using “a Chinese mind” he began describing how the Chinese education system, especially in preparation for the college entrance examinations, the *gaokao*, shapes the way students learn and approach education:

Students come from Chinese high school where they don’t teach you knowledge. No, they just teach your knowledge for the *gaokao*. But 90% of students will

forget everything they learn from the *gaokao* right after. So is it knowledge or a skill? The whole time in high school teachers tell, no, force them what to do. The homework! In high school there is so many questions, so much material. There are books of questions for the *gaokao*. In Canada people give you books to read. Here they don't give you books to read, they give you books of questions. There is a word in Chinese, *tuhai*, an ocean of questions. Even if you sleep two hours a day you can't finish it. It is so stressful and not useful for the students. After the moment of the *gaokao*, wow, I am a new man! I can sleep! I don't have to read! But really Chinese students establish a habit. The teacher must force them to do something. This is called Chinese education. But here the teachers do not force students. They don't tell them the way they need to learn.

He explained further that this prepares students to enter Chinese universities, not international colleges: “in university here teachers give books to read and the students don't know what to do with them.”

Because Tony had been overseas for a year he felt that he approached education at EIAI differently from other student who possessed a “Chinese mind”:

Sometimes I don't understand the students here. Many of the students do not even go to Study Desk, even for a whole term. But this is just one kind of student. Other students go to Study Desk lots, and even ask the course leader questions. What will be on the exam is what they usually ask. There are two different types of students, but no matter what they are using a Chinese mind.

In clarifying what he meant by a “Chinese mind” Tony explained the following: “in China people publish books on what might be on the *gaokao* exam. They make money on this. It may even be useless. It is just *yati* – betting what questions will be on the *gaokao*.” This, he explained, is exactly how many EIAI students approached their classes, as they simply wanted to “bet” what would be on an exam.

A “Chinese mind” characterized not only how students approached a class but how they viewed higher education. As Tony explained,

Good students go to *Beida* and *Tsinghua*.¹ In a Chinese mind the harder it is to get into a school the better the education is. So EIAI is really easy to get in. Pass the English exam and you can take a class. But in the Chinese mind it is not good. But in Western education it may be easy to get in but it is hard to get out. Still in China EIAI has an image. The image is getting in, not graduating. The image is “oh everyone can get in.”[...] In Western education students start learning in university. In China it is different. They struggle to get in and then it is very free. They play in university and study in high school. It is two different things: one is the mind, and the other is the image of a university. But here at EIAI they can’t play. They don’t get use to it. They think playing in university is normal. They see [other] students playing. They don’t think learning is normal.

A “Chinese mind” according to Tony was more than just how a student approached a class, but rather how higher education was viewed all together. Students at the other Chinese universities were described as “free” after working hard in high school to be admitted, while in the field of international education entry may be easy for elite individuals, moving through the program is not. This notion of how Chinese students view higher education is described by Tony as preventing success. Thus, that which was attributed as “Chinese” was often not simply differentiated from what was considered “Western”, but rather in opposition to that which was erroneous within Chinese culture. As will be explored next, more than entertaining this as an objective belief separate from oneself, this discourse impacted the subject positions and identity formation of students.

Subject positions and positioning of ESL learners

Constructed and contested identities of ESL learners must be situated within a consideration of contextual effects – whether historical or ideological, as discussed previously – as well as localized pedagogical practices connected to internationalization. As explored in chapter four, a historical understanding exposes the ideological formation

¹ He is referring here to Beijing University and Tsinghua University, two of the highest ranked universities in China.

necessitated through the branding of “Australian” education, how international education interactions historically in China involve a struggle over the “means” and the “goal” of acquiring foreign knowledge, and the power relations that are embedded within these contexts. Importantly, this has an impact at the individual level. The context of language learning has been well considered as an influence on the identity of language learners. Past research by Morris and Beckett (2001, 2003) exposes how learners’ identities are constructed and contested in ESL environments, and how this shapes identity formation and linguistic experiences. Classrooms, argues Morris (2005), consist of a nexus of global and local identities; however, socially approved identities outside an individual, as well as the self-articulation of a constructed identity, are often singular in form (i.e. “the other”, the “ESL learner”, “Chinese”), and do not consider the multidimensional subjectivities an individual possesses. As Morris writes, “the TESOL construction of the ESL learner as Other overlooks the possibility that these students have multiple identities drawn from multiple resources” (2005, p. 138). EIAI students were deemed “Chinese” nationals who came from a “Chinese education system,” a system and culture described as singular regardless of the actual multiple forms it took. This led to a singular identity being ascribed and at times internalized by students as a subject position. However, while processes of labelling were present, whether highlighting or excluding discourses of identity, these discourses should be viewed as continually undergoing processes of contestation and change as individuals reject or accept them.

While subject positions are formed on an individual basis, they must be considered in contextual reference to the environment and setting of a learning encounter. Research by Peirce (1993) on second-language learners in Canada – which focuses on

how non-English-speaking immigrant women created, responded to, and at times resisted language learning – emphasizes how this process forms a site of struggle. Under this framework language learners are viewed as continually making *investments* in learning that are understood in connection to their own social history. This is done through a concentration on fluctuating and multidimensional desires carried into learning interactions both inside and beyond the classroom by non-native speakers. These social situations are understood in reference to larger inequitable social structures that are reproduced through these interactions. Language learners are continually being asked to invest in the social structures framing a learning situation through the embodiment of subjectivities structurally ascribed to them. Importantly, it is through this investment that struggle occurs, as learners not only have entered into a new field and a placement within it, but must either accept or reject the power relations it contains.

Peirce's (1993) argument is derived from the exploration of why individuals may be motivated to learn while at other time are unmotivated, why language learners speak, while at other periods remain silent, and why social distances between language learners and a target language community exist in some contexts, while in other instances social distance is minimized. Answering these questions must begin by seeing the social identity of the language learner as integrated within the language learning context. Understanding this fully involves uprooting and exposing relations of power affecting integration and identity formation. Within this framework language is "...constitutive of and constituted by..." social identity, providing or denying social access and influencing a dialogical relationship between the negotiation of identity and a sense of self. Language

is understood not as a neutral medium of communication, but as forming a social structure, one that is a site of struggle through the intercession of identity.

Under Peirce's (1993) framework it is through language that a sense of self is constructed. This may intensify when a greater investment is made in a language, and previously formed subject positions surface. An individual possessing a plurality of fluctuating subject positions undergoes struggle from contradictions between them. Struggle is also experienced when power relations externally assign a subject position to an individual within a particular location or context, preventing an individual from forming their own sense of self. A student entering EIAI is ascribed the particular subject position of being "Chinese" and a "non-native-English speaker" in the field of international education. Nevertheless, vital to this understanding is that

...the subject positions that a person takes up within a particular discourse are open to argument: Although a person may be positioned in a particular way within a given discourse, the person might resist the subject position or even set up a counter-discourse which positions the person in a powerful rather than a marginalized subject position (Peirce, 1993, pp. 15-16).

Students within the site of research often subjectively defined themselves or others as "Chinese," especially in opposition to being "Western." Some students struggled against this subject position, describing ways in which they were different from other students at EIAI, and attempted to reject their "Chinese mind." Other students – especially those who had no interest in talking to a "Western" researcher – may be less willing to invest in the structure of international education. However, the way in which the context of learning decentred previously formed subject positions involves political implications connected to power and identity that should be understood.

The subjective struggles of students

The struggle surrounding how students position themselves and how they are positioned within the field of international education is ambiguous, complex, contradictory, and multifarious. As the introduction indicated, culture is not understood categorically, containing innate differences between “Chinese” and “Western.” While students and teachers often verbalized subject positions as containing dichotomous cultural traits, day-to-day performance of these subjectivities in EIAI were much more complex, often containing more likeness than diversity. Moreover, struggle was not only experienced by students, but also by teachers, who often found that their previously formed subjectivities surfaced and were contradicted through living and teaching in a new environment. In reality this struggle cannot be defined or characterized clearly, as its mutability both within a singular person and from individual to individual renders it ungraspable. Thus, this discussion is an analytical portrait of the subjective struggle of students within the field of international education, and should not be considered as an adequate depiction of the complexity of day-to-day life, but rather a way in which the regimes of power within the field of international education can be understood.

Analytically defining and separating two different forms of struggle expose the power relations and political implications within the field of international education. Firstly, there is the struggle over English language acquisition, one that is mandated and managed institutionally. The quotation that this chapter began with points towards the struggle to learn and achieve academically defined English language proficiency. As discussed in previous chapters, the struggle surrounding language was widely recognized by students and teachers institutionally, and was considered a problem that needed to be

fixed within the structure, through measures that would increase language training for students, classes that would translate the material, or curriculum changes in Australia. Students also sought to fix the problem within themselves, often assuming that hard work had a linear relationship with academic success within the field. Students deemed English proficiency as an acquirable ability, one that took time and perseverance. The struggle connected to this learning process was deemed surmountable, achievable through working hard like the Harvard students they saw on television.

This first struggle masked a second struggle, one that underpinned the institution's foundation, and the positioning of students upon entry into the field of international education. This struggle was the subject alteration required of students, one that asked them to "think in English," to change their "Chinese mind," and to uproot other subjectivities that were individually and/or institutionally deemed in contradiction or deficient. There was a system of learning, acceptable forms of knowledge, and a privileged way of communicating that students were expected to follow and recognize. This second conflict was not always recognized outright, but rather was often masked as an issue of language proficiency. The experiences of learning in the field of international education described by students and teachers furtively portrayed this second form of conflict, especially through expectation that the individual must conform to the institution, rather than the institution conforming to an individual. Motivation to learn a language does not capture fully the complexity of relations of power and identity involved with language learning, nor the expectation that an individual is required to invest him/herself in these very structures of relations.

An investment in the structures of international education involves a solicitation to embody the subject positions of the field, often in contradiction with those previously embodied by the newcomer. Students were expected to embody the subjectivities of a “Western student”, evident in the discussion above surrounding critical thinking. Students were thought to possess a “Chinese mind”, one that contained a way of learning and thinking incompatible with the field of international education. A “Chinese mind” was centered on examinations, Tony discussed, and the fact that the weight of assessment within EIAI was overwhelmingly test based did not alter this depiction. For many of the students described in the beginning of this chapter, investing in the field of international education involved forming negative judgements of other subject positions viewed in opposition. While the investment made varied considerably from individual-to-individual, paying tuition, going to class, passing and failing courses, and finally gaining an Australian degree were all forms of investments, ones that reproduced and maintained the field of international education and the power structures it contained. However, the individual conflict that surrounding this investment often went undetected by the institute and structure of education through being masked as issues of English language proficiency.

Peirce (1993) argues that viewing language learning as an issue of motivation often conceives an individual as having a single, coherent, and fixed identity. This was readily found in the research site, as students were viewed firstly as “Chinese” with little space made for the other subject positions an individual student may possess. There was little recognition of what they brought into the college with them other than being previously educated within the Chinese system, a system also deemed singular in form.

Different levels of ability or learning difficulties went largely undetected or were attributed to language proficiency. The limited space for recognition within this institutionalized form of international education silenced students, who were expected to conform to the subject positions attributed institutionally to them, and attempt to pursue the subject positions perceived as a requirement for success, such as shedding their past “traditional education” or altering their “Chinese” way of thinking. However, as will be explored next, the conflict that resulted from this led to the establishment of counter-discourses.

Discourses and counter-discourses of power

In the field of international education Western degrees and the forms of education and knowledge they are perceived to possess carry symbolic and material capital. Within the research site, those who were in positions of power to determine curriculum and pedagogical practices – both EIAI teachers and APU administrators and teachers – were either from or currently located in Western, English-speaking countries, bestowing upon them the habitus containing this symbolic and material capital. Language, argues Bourdieu (1977), does not simply contain knowledge or the ability to communicate, but is an instrument of power surrounding who is believed, obeyed, respected, and considered a legitimate speaker. Students, who, in varying degrees, lacked the habitus that structured relations of power within the field of international education, were not considered legitimate speakers of English or possessors of knowledge and authority in the field of international education.

Following this theoretical framework of Bourdieu, Peirce (1989) argues the process of language acquisition involves learning the rules of a target language, rules that serve the interests of certain groups. What is deemed appropriate or correct in an educational environment must be understood as containing power relations that are historically constructed to support the interests of dominant groups within a field. Bourdieu (1977) argues that “the power to impose reception” highlights that linguistic competence can only be understood through power relations, and “...linguistic capital means refusing the *abstraction* inherent in the concept of competence” (p. 646, italics from original). While linguistically competence is considered as the capacity and ability to produce grammatically correct communication, it also contains the notion of speaking appropriately and coherently in any given context, as “all particular linguistic transactions depend on the structure of the linguistic field, which is itself a particular expression of the structure of power relations between groups possessing the corresponding competences” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 647). This power presupposes individual competence, and often has come about through the slow transformation of symbolic and material power, transformation that has devalued other languages. Moreover, “when one language dominates the market, it becomes the norm against which the prices of the other modes of expression, and with them the value of the various competences, are defined” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 652). This involves conditioning communication and the assumptions that establish these conditions.

Linguistic competence masks power relations within the field of international education through the subject’s internalization of linguistic capital. Bourdieu writes,

The greater the average objective tension (the degree of formality of the occasion of the interlocutor's authority), the greater the restraint, the linguistic self-supervision and the censorship; the greater the gap between recognition and mastery, the more imperative the need for the self-corrections aimed at ensuring the *revaluing of the linguistic product* by a particularly intensive mobilization of the linguistic resources, and the greater the tension and containment which they demand (1977, p. 658, italics from original).

Bourdieu argues that subjective conflict over recognition and perceived skill "...between the level objectively and subjectively demanded and the capacity for realization..." (p. 658) can be viewed as manifesting itself in linguistic insecurity. However, given that the conflict is analytically twofold in nature, this theoretical framework can be extended to argue that more than simple linguist insecurity is experienced. Insecurity marks the entire learning experience, and through the conflict experienced previously formed subject positions become insecure. This presents proficiency within the field as linguistic competence, while veiling that linguistic capital rests on the way in which habitus positions individuals, marking and preserving the power allotted to that subject position. As a result, the subject positions corresponding to how an individual recognizes her/himself govern and influence their behaviour within the field. Linguistic capital, and the struggle it masks, is embodied by individuals. Students are positioned and accept the position ascribed to non-native-English-speaking students. Through this, "...objective structures are incorporated into the body and the "choices" constituting a certain relation to the world are internalized..." (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 662). These take the form of durable patterns in the way individuals choose to interact with the world around them; however, as Bourdieu argues, these structures are not readily "accessible to consciousness" or "durable to will."

Bourdieu (1977) presents the argument that outspokenness and silence are the two negatively sanctioned linguistic “choices” working-class French citizens are given when situated in an inferior position. This outspokenness “...flouts the taboos of ordinary language...” (p. 663) including rules of grammar and politeness, and hierarchical barriers. Extending this theory from French society to second-language learners in Canada, Peirce (1993) combines feminist theory to focus on how the participants in her study used silence as a negatively sanctioned linguistic “choice.” In certain contexts, especially when an individual was not considered a legitimate speaker, silence would be chosen. While the individuals of her study may be comfortable talking in English to those they knew well, in structures where a greater investment had been made speakers were often uncomfortable and opted for silence. The decision to remain silent also constituted a form of resistance in some cases, as did, paradoxically, the refusal to stay silent when not deemed a legitimate speaker.

Peirce’s (1993) focus on silence neglects the other linguistic “choice” the working class in France is given by Bourdieu (1991), that of outspokenness. The ways in which non-native-English speakers flout ordinary or expected speech of either the target language or of language learning context itself must be considered. Bourdieu describes outspokenness or “popular speech” as speech ascribed to individuals within lower classes that is considered brash, coarse, rude, vulgar, or common. Bourdieu argues that attributing this way of speaking to lower class individuals often ignores the considerable overlap between the relaxed speech of those in a dominant position, and the tense speech of those in lower positions. Often symbolic domination is seen in this arbitrary division, working both objectively and subjectively as “linguistic licence is part of the *labour of*

representation...the dominated pursuit of distinction leads dominated speaker to assert what distinguished them..." (Bourdieu, 1991, p. 94-95). Under this framework it is important to ask what constituted outspokenness as a negatively sanctioned linguistic choice in the field of this study. Ordinary speech was constituted as a standardized form of English, and, as explored above, contained hierarchies within use of the language that exposed the connection between perceived competence and linguistic capital. However, this discussion privileges English, and discounts how widely Chinese languages were used within the site of research. It is here that I would like to analytically interject back into the discussion the students' own native languages, both Mandarin and Cantonese, and consider how their use can be seen as a method of outspokenness under Bourdieu's framework.

Understanding the use of the Chinese language as outspokenness in this field opens up this theoretical depiction to the agency possessed by students within this structure, and how use of the Chinese language, which akin to English contained its own structure of power relations, was integral to not merely to the site of research, but to understanding how the field of international education changes in its expansion. Students often disobeyed the expectation and intent that learning material and environment forming this accounting degree would be solely in English. From speaking their native languages in class and seeking help from their friends, to writing an assignment in Chinese and then translating it into English, their first language impacted all stages of the degree. Despite students' awareness that this form of outspokenness was negatively sanctioned and resulted in repercussions in a setting which privileged the use of English, these tactics were prevalent. This can also be seen as pursuit of distinction within the

field, as the subjectivities related to being students in China were asserted linguistically, but also led to further distinguishing these students from the normative trope they were often pitted against. However, this has the possibility to further entrench their position within the field and the structures set in place to maintain these positions, seen through the standardization of curriculum and pedagogical practices. Nevertheless, these tactics undeniably changed the setting itself, pushing against larger structures within the field of international education.

As discussed in earlier chapters, in the short time since EIAI was founded many institutional changes have taken place, often mechanisms to increase profit, but many times as formal and informal responses to the perceived needs of students. Teachers attempted to find way to further provide help, especially through the introduction of Chinese language tutorials, pushing against standardized practices and curriculum. While the use of Chinese languages was still negatively sanctioned in reference to English, it was a recognized space of learning institutionally within these tutorials. In more recent years APU has developed Mandarin language distance-education curriculum through another program, which, while still privileging a form of knowledge as the material is largely translated from English-to-Chinese, gestures towards the possibility of lessening the extent to which other languages are silenced or negatively sanctioned in the field of international education. Thus, in the field of international education Chinese languages are an active presence, containing their own form of capital and power relations.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

“...the increased emphasis given to location is now more aptly located in contemporary globalising trends where forms of location—of positioning and of being positioned—also and inevitably entail forms of dislocation—of disidentifying and being positioned as other, and where positioning is itself mobile, always on the move. We refer to this as “(dis)location”, a conception that provides a useful, non-essentialising metaphorical resource through which to analyse, understand and develop changes in pedagogy in conditions of globalisation.”

(Edwards & Usher, 1998, p. 160).

Within Michael Burawoy's (1998) reflexive science standpoint all stages of the extended case method – intervention, process, structuration, and reconstruction – rely on immersing oneself in theory, forming a “...craft mode of knowledge production in which *the product governs the process*” (Burawoy, 1998, p. 28). The result of research within this framework is not found through establishing a definitive answer or theory; rather, a researcher seeks to improve pre-existing theory. Crucially, this renders research and theory inextricable. Evaluating research and what constitutes “good” or “bad” social science does not follow a positivist science framework of reactivity, reliability, replicability, and representativeness, but rather emphasizes the last extension and the reconstruction of empirical research through theory. It is in this last extension that a study should be evaluated, in pushing theory forward, in providing parsimonious theories with empirical content, and in the discovery and striving to understand our social world.

The structure of this thesis has allowed for an exploration that develops towards the final extension of reconstructing the research findings through theory. I extended myself into the research site and the lives of participants. I became involved as a member of multiple communities and groups within EIAI and participated in various ways during

my stay, including as a researcher, teacher, roommate, colleague, homework helper, and friend. Individuals and groups opened their lives to me in wonderful ways. My presence also disturbed social groups, and at times I was ignored, disregarded, or ousted. Likewise, my presence made others uncomfortable as I impinged on their lives. Even the awareness that I was a researcher made many individuals wary of my presence, regardless of how I attempted to lessen the impact and social pressure I created. However, in order to understand the site of research I have embraced this distortion, and within it searched for how it revealed social order. As chapter two explores, my presence as a researcher within EIAI exposed how notions of difference shape social practices.

The conception of difference created the foundation for this paper, and has enabled me to further understand what I experienced, partook in, heard, and saw around me at EIAI. While there were many other significant aspects of the research site, the linguistic struggles of students is what materialized as the foremost issue requiring investigation. There are many reasons why my focus turned to this, including my own personal history, academic influence and interests, the individuals who chose to participate in the research, and the precise moment and time of this ethnography. My presence continued to shape the site and my understanding of it; however, as my time at EIAI continued, individuals likewise began to influence and shape my viewpoint and field of vision as a researcher and individual. It is here that I began to see, hear, and participate in the discursive and nondiscursive regimes of power within this linguistic struggle. It became apparent that the English language and perceived notions of linguistic proficiency contained structures of authority that affected everyday practices. The overall intellectual ability of non-native-English speakers was brought under

question, positioning it within the field of international education. Nonetheless, I did not only consider the use of English at EIAI, but sought to understand how Chinese languages and social structures were used within daily practices.

In order to more fully understand social practices shaping the experiences of individuals at EIAI, I explored connecting historical and present movements and changes in China and Australia. This was done with the belief that there are wider power structures that shape the college and the lives of those within it. My pursuit was not to generalize using past research and theorization on the internationalization of education in China and Australia; however, some interesting commonalities and differences were found that allowed for a more complex understanding of the research site. Historical and current educational encounters in China were shown to condition individual and social challenges surrounding negotiation between the “means” and “goals” of pursuing international education. While students at EIAI often described their individuality and new liberal subject position, they understood that they were structured by educational opportunities in China. Rather than expressing desire to reform the systems of education they were a part of, many students described seeking the best pathway for success. The internationalization of education in Australia provided a possibility for this. Nevertheless, finding success within this structure meant abiding by standardized educational practices. The development of international education practices in Australia was shown to involve discourses of multiculturalism, while contradictory educational practices involve relations of power which privilege particular knowledge, methods of learning, and ways of communicating.

An analytical return to the research site further explored the lives of participants and how power structures impact their subject positions. This analytical process of reconstruction addressed how struggle surrounding linguistic competence masks power relations within the field of international education. These power relations uproot previously formed subject positions that were individually and institutionally deemed in contradiction. I was also able to analytically uncover how students invest in the structure of the field, while considering how counter-discourses push against these processes of subjection. While past research has focused on the use of silence both as a form of agency and repression, I extended this understanding to consider how “outspokenness” lends to an apprehension of how students use their own native language and the set of power relations it contained within their learning experience. Importantly, this was shown to be a negatively sanctioned linguistic “choice” within the field of international education, working both as a form of agency and repression within it.

Reconsidering the globalization of education

In the introduction of this dissertation the globalization of education was described as something that must be understood in tangible terms – that only through the contextual, individual, and particular can it be used as a construct. Globalization was considered as a discourse, one with links to modernization in the way in which it forms and establishes relations of power, defining who has authority or expertise, and what forms of knowledge are privileged. This was evident throughout all aspects of the research, from institutional discourses surrounding the notion of multiculturalism, to the subjective struggle of many participants. It was shown to be grounded within location, as historical occurrences in both China and Australia shaped discourses and practices

leading to the literal and figurative groundwork for EIAI itself. However, forces pushed up against that which had been previously space-bound, as the site of research was shown to also possess complex counter-discourses and practices. Thus, globalization worked to both structure the field of international education and the lives of participants within it, while simultaneously participants in the field used complex counter-discourses and practices that structured globalized education practices.

In order to conceptualize this, Edwards and Usher (1998) offer an understanding of how globalization highlights the significance of location and the practices of locating. The authors use the term “location” to highlight how processes connected to globalization have reconfigured pedagogy through placing importance on positions, borders, and boundaries. As the quotation at the beginning of this chapter describes, the space of (dis)location for Edwards and Usher is a diaspora space, one that is marked by the intersectionality of contemporary conditions of globalization, especially the movement of people, capital, commodities and culture.¹ Edwards and Usher use the term (dis)location to shed light on the fact that “...location and dislocations are simultaneous moments always found together, a positioning with simultaneously one and many positions” (p. 161). Drawing upon a paradox raised by Derrida (1981), they argue that in order to open a space the spaces that made that opening possible are denied, leading to dislocation.

This references an earlier discussion surrounding processes of de-territorialisation through international connectivity and the emphasis on transnational networks and international institutions operating within agency-centered theories. While this may be

¹ This term differs from Laclau’s (1990) term *dislocation* which is used to characterize the multiple centers of contemporary society that give way to new and multiple identities.

linked to the creation of a global village, there is simultaneously a paradoxical association between the specificity and relativity of place. Location takes on a new significance in interacting, contesting, and accepting discourses of globalization. Globalization does not automatically result in the universalization of certain discourses and social practices, but creates pressures that produce the need to represent local autonomy and identities.

The experience of difference is what marks these processes. Rather than international education practices unifying identity, education under globalization evokes notions of difference. These differences are continually mapped through processes of interpretation and re-signification that respond to and contribute to globalization. Locally, this leads individuals and groups to consider the relation between identity and difference. Structurally, bodies of knowledge and ways of learning are mapped alongside this. Nevertheless, boundaries erected from these processes are challenged. Thus, while the position of a learner may be understood in relation to others, simultaneously challenges are being made in reaction to this positioning, influencing the very structure it is founded upon.

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