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Disrupting Dangerous Illusions in International Education:
Performativity, Subjectivity, and Agency in English Language Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS)

A Thesis submitted by

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Abstract

This study investigated the illusory nature of international education by focusing on English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS). As a business model, ELICOS is designed to recruit from a niche market – international students with low English language proficiency. The purpose of this study was to interrogate the performativity of ELICOS in order to map the damage and dysfunction in the business model while seeking and sowing seeds of hope for more empowering alternatives.

Performativity was utilised as an operationalising concept to address three research questions: (1) the external and internal historical influences on ELICOS; (2) how selected teachers have experienced the ELICOS system; and (3) how ELICOS students (as international students) have been constructed. These questions were framed to investigate the functioning of ELICOS as project, product and process, drawing on three sources of data: the scholarly literature; teachers' accounts in interviews with me, and my own experience.

A postmodernist conceptual framework underlaid the approach to analysing the knowledge economy, neoliberalism, internationalisation, performativity, subjectivity and agency. The methodology included genealogical analysis, thematic analysis, rhetorical analysis, and auto-ethnographic analysis to interrogate the data. These analyses revealed many instances of dissonance, discontinuity and disconnection, giving rise to psychological, linguistic, pedagogical and ethical concerns.

The underlying purpose of addressing the illusory nature of international education and ELICOS has been to generate new theoretical, methodological and pedagogical understandings. For example, the issue of acculturation can be considered as a potential risk to both education and business. As well, a new vision of pedagogical, linguistic and ethical challenges was articulated as international students as consumers were identified as bilingual/plurilingual learners within a monolingual oriented system. This study can provide insights for revising the present business model to become more ethical, equitable and sustainable for institutions, to make ELICOS more transparent for students and teachers, to provide

teachers with a way to make more sense of their teaching practice, and to provide insights for policy-makers.

Certification of Thesis

The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Student and supervisors signatures of endorsement are held at USQ

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The two stage journey of this thesis has been a complex one, a journey of personal and professional growth, this growth being directly connected with the challenges as well as the support that I have received.

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Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

List of Abbreviations

ACPET	Australian Council for Private Education and Training
AIUDF	Australian Universities International Directors' Forum
COPHE	Council of Private Higher Education
CRICOS	Commonwealth Register of Institutions and Courses for Overseas Students
EA	English Australia
EHSP	English for High School Preparation Course
ELICOS	English Language Courses for Overseas Students
ELT	English Language Teaching
ESOS	Education Services for Overseas Students
EQI	Education Queensland International
IEAA	International Education Association of Australia
ISCA	Independent Schools Councils of Australia
L2	Second/additional language (usually English)
NEAS	National English Language Teaching [ELT] Accreditation Scheme
NCVER	National Centre for Vocational Education Research
TAFE	Technical and Further Education (institutions)
TDA	TAFE Directors Australia
TEQSA	Tertiary Education Quality Standards Agency
TESOL	Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages
VTI	Victorian TAFE International

Foreword

I write this foreword now, at the end of this particular journey of research and knowledge production, recognising changes in my worldview. These changes, experienced as shifts to greater understanding, began when I was working within an English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) environment where I experienced unseen forces, lacking an understanding of these forces, while at the same time feeling their presence. On the other hand, the thesis developed by taking on a greater consciousness, to realise that a new world had come into being without my being conscious of its coming into existence, although I did experience the effects of the social and economic transformations that had taken place. Some of these effects were the disappearance of secure employment, the appearance of increased competition amongst work colleagues, and the decline in neighbourly interest and/or affection.

Conducting research about ELICOS initiated a more complex understanding of what it means for me to think, write, work, and live in a different world from what it was when I first thought about conducting research into ELICOS. What is new is not so much that the world is new (as noted earlier, it had been becoming objectively new for quite some time) but that I am now personally aware that the global world in which people think, write, work, and live is in actuality a new world order. No longer is it possible to think and write from the standpoint of a democratically oriented society. This greater understanding as the transformation of the Western world as a new world order needed to be the context for my research, so that my research could maintain its integrity.

But I am also wanting to achieve more than this in the Foreword. The purpose of this Foreword is not only about addressing the philosophical complexity of the research journey but also, and perhaps even more so, about the shift between my earlier experience of not knowing and my present experience of now knowing enough, the shift from working as an ELICOS teacher (experience underpinned and informed by a priori knowledge/skills/awareness), where I had no actual tangible context to make sense of my experiences, experiences that assumed a democratic context, to then coming to research work. This research work gave me an awareness

of the sources of the forces that I experienced in ELICOS teaching as arising from a new context. During my research I learned that the forces that I experienced came from an entirely new source, and that source was unfettered competition. My research introduced me to the concept of neoliberalism, a force that I came to realise was coercive, a totalising and consuming force if it is not resisted. This growth in awareness through the research that I was conducting was in the area of political philosophy and economic theory. This learning was most unexpected as, while I had anticipated and welcomed an expansion of consciousness, I had not realised the extent of the growth which my research would enable.

To come from the place of not knowing to the place of knowing enough to write this thesis, it seemed that in this process of the development of my thesis, I was caught between two worlds. Thus, my purpose in writing this Foreword in this way is to alert the reader to my struggle to overcome this philosophical problem in academic work, where, in structuring the thought and writing required by the system, which assumes a forward-looking, linear, sequential process, originality is systemically precluded when engaging in this type of research work. What I wanted to do was to construct my conceptual terrain in a way that could provide some new directions and new imaginings. While what was expected by the system was in line with my goal, what the system required was an unacknowledged epistemological shift from not knowing to knowing enough and later the writing up of that new knowing in a way that the previously less complex context would be subsumed or discarded by the more complex knowing that research operationalises. So my goal has been to develop my research work and the writing of this thesis without subsuming or even negating tangible elements of the previous context of knowing. One of the ways that I achieved this in the writing of the thesis was through the use of vignettes, stories that functioned not only to provide an analogical reading experience, but also to form historical continuity—holding the past, present, and future in tension as I proceeded to unpack the implications in the present.

What I have aimed to do is to keep alive the evolutionary nature of knowledge production, and the researcher as part of that evolutionary momentum towards greater knowledge. In taking this approach in the development and the subsequent writing of this thesis, I have been able to describe and explain the new world order, which was already alive and actively operating, and within which I was living and

working without realising that this new world order was in existence, as both constituting and affecting my experiences. It is also a recognition that, in now being able to interpret past experiences and insights within this expanded vision, my larger conceptualisation of the world in which I am living and working has alive within it my earlier less-aware context.

Rather than approaching my research work and the subsequent development of my thesis in terms of a linear progression whereby the earlier knowledge context is subsumed by the present moment, I have tried to maintain an evolutionary momentum of thought, bringing the experience of unseen but felt forces in my ELICOS teaching experience—my earlier context—to conscious conceptualisation and articulation. Taking this approach recognises that, while still being the same continuing self, I have become through 'seeing' what was hidden from me before; a qualitatively different person through this process of research. It is this strategic approach of maintaining a post-disciplinary epistemology that has allowed room for my experiences of innovation in developing this thesis. For example, I did not engage in systemised literature reviews that tied my work to one field, with the consequence of my work being situated in one field. Rather I developed my work as an independent thinker who valued the authenticity of my own experience, while at the same time maintaining confidence in many disciplines in the development of my thought and work. Through this approach, I found a way to transcend my ELICOS teaching experience to the point where I could build a picture of the research context that represented its complexity as well as naming and describing the work of the founding illusions. Taking this approach, while acknowledging that I was given the freedom and support to do so, has allowed me to maintain scholarly integrity in the thesis development.

Writing in hindsight in a way that keeps the past alive in the present is the challenge that I faced in order to bring into the light dangerous illusions that were active then and that are still active at the present time. This has been the abiding challenge in the work of this thesis, a challenge that this Foreword has sought to describe.

Chapter 1.   Orientation to the Study

1.0   Introduction

A friend recently went to Melbourne over the Christmas holiday period. During this time she noticed changes in the way business is beginning to be done in Melbourne. She noticed that large groups of Asian people had been flown over as part of a shopping tour; large consumer groups were shopping in Melbourne specialty shops and department stores. What also sparked my friend's interest was that these shops and department stores that previously opened their doors at 9am, had now opened at 5am for these consumers from overseas. As she and I spoke about this phenomenon and the possible factors driving new situations such as the low value of the Australian dollar, we noted that the large department store in which these consumer were purchasing their goods, was a department store recently taken over, and now owned, by a large overseas company in a developing country. While musing about how much of the profit and the subsequent tax, would go back into the Australian community and how much might go out of the country, what this scenario did make clear is that our Australian life is now becoming ordered very differently.

My research and this thesis is set within a world of social and economic transformations that constitute a new world order (Fairclough, 2002; Gane, 2012, p. 789; Iversen & Soskice, 2015; Kauppinen, 2012). The significance of acknowledging the new world order for this thesis is that the greater purpose of this study of the performativity of English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students (ELICOS) is to consider ELICOS as a microcosm that can illuminate some of the huge challenges we all face in living in the 21st century. For example, technology has altered peoples' lives and ways of living in extraordinary ways. The advent of technology has seen the emergence of different and often conflicting values, which means that human beings are living in unprecedented times and proceeding in unchartered territories.

This reordering of the world has been described by Agnew (2015, p. 139) as "a new end of history", and by Kauppinnen (2012), as an historically and qualitatively new situation on a global scale. We live in a world where individuals can have more money than national economies, where it is possible for a young person to earn billions of dollars over a weekend through the creation and online sale of a new app, and where transnational companies are able to construct social meaning and gain advantage greater than governments through the "paradoxical gap between the privileged power of the elite and limited institutional power of the state" (Lakic & Draskovic, 2015, p. 115). Thus the new world order as the research context is a complex one requiring an historical understanding of the globalisation-internationalisation complex, an understanding of the ways in which social, economic, and political forces are garnered to invent and enact new business opportunities and sources of income to understand the real impact of the ELICOS business model on the ELICOS classroom. Therefore, in engaging the historicity of ELICOS, the overall approach of this thesis, is a political as well as a genealogical one, as ELICOS operates within the new world order and is constructed within the context of the knowledge economy, " a 'new' kind of economic formation" where ideas and knowledge intensive activity are "the key drivers of growth and the 'national good'" (Bastalich, 2010, p. 846).

The new world order as a transgovernmental order (Slaughter, 1997) is considered by formal institutions to be unitary and ubiquitous. What this thesis does take as a given is that the knowledge economy has been constructed and reconstructed in intentional and highly political ways (Hogue, 2015). The knowledge economy emerged as a theme in the 1990s through the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) and World Bank policies (Andrés, Asongu, & Amavilah, 2015). The new world is not new in the sense that it is a phenomenon that has been emerging for over a century, the result of incremental changes at multiple and complex levels, the result of intense intellectual work as well as exploitation, manipulation, and opportunistic behaviours of many individuals, corporations, and formal institutions (Lakic & Draskovic, 2015). These individuals from various fields of interest, who, in a shared vision, have anticipated a global world and future that was bigger than that of the traditional nation-state conceptualisation (Agnew, 2015). The political will of these various individuals over

time, together with the emergence of digital technology, have constituted a new world using various strategies, technologies (as power), techniques (as practice) and mechanisms (as means). Many influences and initiatives have constituted the new world global economy and it is imperative to resist its totalising, dehumanising and abusive tendencies, that succeeds by dispossessing the poor (Harvey, 2005). This new world order is a world that has economic concerns at its centre and are its driving and organising principle. I am writing within this new order to address the psychological, linguistic, pedagogical and ethical concerns that were raised for me as an ELICOS teacher.

For the purposes of this thesis I am describing the new world order as the knowledge economy. This conceptualisation is an envisioning of society built on knowledge in a way that serves economic concerns of government and private institutions (Altbach, 2013; Andrés et al., 2015; Miszczyński, 2012; Olssen & Peters, 2005). As part of envisioning this new world order, the Australian, United Kingdom, and United States governments together with the British Council over three decades have been engaged in inventing and promoting international education as a highly lucrative business project (Ahern, 2009; Gray, 2010a). Driven by multiple agendas, this international co-operation formed a largely autonomised system in the interests of those who continue to benefit from it. Further to this, and as part of international education, the Australian government invented ELICOS as an educational service and product that also acts in multiple ways to serve as a business model for the purposes of multiple stakeholders with global and local interests.

ELICOS emerges from within international education: both virtual realities are the result of the work of the Australian government arising from issues of political will and governance; these virtual realities providing the means for Australian governments[1] to participate in the new world order as global players while locally, international education and ELICOS allow a reduction of public sector funding, and at the same time meeting concerns around balancing budgets. This chapter firstly investigates international education to form a context in order to report the performativity of ELICOS. The reason why this double move—first exploring

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[1] As is discussed in Section 2.2 it was the Australian Federal Government that was involved in the development of international education and the accompany lucrative industries. Now constructed international education brings benefits at both federal and state government levels.

performativity in international education in order to explore performativity in ELICOS—is largely due to the scarcity of literature addressing ELICOS, in particular "paucity in the literature on school-based programs and on how ELlCOS is offered in schools as a service for teaching English to speakers of other languages (TESOL)" (Glew, 2006, p. 14).

1.1   Illusions

The title of this thesis features the concept of illusion in order to describe areas of international education that can be seen as disingenuous. While acknowledging the multiplicity of meanings and the slipperiness of illusion as a concept, in this thesis the concept of illusion is treated in two ways.

The first treatment of illusion is as illusion per se, understood as neither good nor bad, understood as having a scientific explanation for the illusory nature of reality—reality as the result of cognitive functioning of each individual (Dinakar, 2015). This understanding of illusion is also understood in terms of human experience, and in this way draws on two levels of abstraction that constitute human thinking. These levels of abstraction, although separate, are inevitably dependent on one another..

The first level of abstraction is foundational for human thought, this level of abstraction being visible in 'the crisis of representation', in the gap between the word/concept and the materiality of the object to which the word refers (Noth, 2002). Through the work of language and human perception material reality is conceived.

The second level of abstraction is important for understanding the second treatment of illusion. This second level of abstraction operative in human imaginings is built on and emerges from the first level of abstraction. This level is popularly referred to as abstract thinking, and is a level of pure imagination, a level of thinking where concepts are conceived and appropriated by powerful stakeholders. These powerful individuals see the possibilities for garnering power to achieve imagined ends for themselves and their interests. Possibilities for benefits emerge through the intellectual work of interested stakeholders, who, in bringing together interpretations of the flow of forces with perceived gaps in social and economic needs create new concepts. These new concepts are imagined and constructed from existing realities.

In this way, the appropriation of an imagined concept by stakeholders, e.g., international education, constitutes a virtual reality that consumers respond to as if international education were a concrete reality.

It is illusion as a product of the second level of abstraction that is of interest and concern in this thesis, as a realm of thinking in which powerful stakeholders invent virtual realities and imagine the use technologies to manipulate consumers' choices through marketing. As described, the second level of abstraction is completely imaginative as these concepts have no immediate correlation to materiality. Thus, concepts such as the knowledge economy, internationalisation, and international education are illusions formed by dominant stakeholders. This is addressed in Chapters Three and Five, where the concepts derived from this second level of abstraction are described as virtual realities, having their origins in individuals' "will to power" (Foucault, 1982), individuals who construct discourses that other individuals are forced to embody (as described in Chapter Three). This second treatment of the concept of illusion is embodied in the title, in the sense that the presence and work of illusions under certain conditions can be shown to be dangerous to human well-being. In this thesis the presence and work of illusions can be seen in the dissonances, discontinuities, and disconnections that the clash of teacher expectations with student expectations reveal. The conditions under which illusions become dangerous is the focus of this thesis, this danger becoming visible in the harm and damage done to human beings.

While these concepts—disharmony, discontinuities, disconnections—appear to be similar, there are distinct sematic differences that are acknowledged within the later chapters. *Dissonance* is understood in terms of disharmony or disagreement (e.g., between policy and industry; Haarstad & Rusten, 2015) and as the affective element resulting from product choice (Kitayama, Chua, Tompson, & Han, 2013), although something that can be resolved. *Discontinuity* infers a lack of rational cohesion, a gap, a conceptual site that can offer hope, possibilities for change (Foucault, 1970, 1980b, 1982, 1988b). *Disconnection* on the other hand infers a structural division that confers impassability, impossibility, or damage, e.g., disconnection between locals, their place, and a brand as evident in ELICOS being a locally enacted industry that is constructed politically as an export industry (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2015, p. 155).

Specific terminology and subsequent analyses have also been used to illustrate some of the illusions present in contemporary constructions. The use of particular words have functioned toward this end, terms such as *invention* and *virtual reality* when describing the conceptualisation of international education and ELICOS, *hyperreality* when talking about marketing, and *simulacrum* when talking about the co-optation and commodification of education. As the title of this thesis suggests, disrupting the presence and work of illusions that are dangerous to the facilitation of effective and relevant education and sustainability of the ELICOS business model, is the orienting drive of this thesis. However, as described earlier, it is the ways in which dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection can be shown to cause harm or damage that reveals the degree to which illusions in ELICOS can be seen to be dangerous.

1.1.1 ELICOS as a business model founded on illusory beliefs

The ELICOS business model can be seen to be constructed on a set of unfounded beliefs. These conditions are necessary for the ELICOS business model to operate. In other words, the ELICOS business model is built on a set of illusions:

- it is necessary to accept the false assumption that international students are developing monolinguals while ignoring the fact that they are developing bilinguals/plurilinguals (E. Ellis, 2005);

- it is necessary to accept the assumption that language is quantifiable, existing as an actual entity made up of separate parts and that in improving the parts, the whole improves, ignoring the constructed nature of language (Bouchard, 2015; Bylund, 2011);

- it is necessary to accept the false assumption of global language proficiency and deny that any difference between conversational English and academic English (which requires conceptual development in the additional language) (Bylund, 2011; Cummins, 1999);

- it is necessary to accept the false assumption that teachers and their teaching knowledge and skills do not matter or at least are incidental to the process of

product delivery, and that teaching per se can genuinely be considered as workplace activity instead of education (Crichton, 2003; O'Neill, 2016);

- it is necessary to accept the false assumption that it is possible for the majority of low level English language proficiency learners to gain some acceptable/sufficient level of literacy and cultural practice that will support them in their future learning within 40 weeks; and,

- at the same time, it is necessary to ignore the disconnection that exists in English proficiency standards between domestic students and international students. That is to say, it is necessary to ignore the fact that domestic students have spent a whole lifetime of education in refining their thinking in, and use of, academic English while international students are being enrolled at the same level of education without that same level of English proficiency or cultural understanding. Following on from this particular disconnection in international education in general, it is considered acceptable in the ELICOS system to enrol international students in order to exit them into Australian educational systems under these conditions.

This basic set of illusions as dangerous are represented in this study in the construction and experience of international students, the construction and experience of teachers, and the construction of the ELICOS product as delivering four macroskills: reading, writing, speaking, listening. These elements of ELICOS as a project, product and process have been investigated to reveal the effect of the construction of ELICOS as a system that is underpinned by a set of illusions, thus making performativity as the basic concern of this study. However as this section has made clear, acknowledgement of the illusory nature of reality is at the same time a rejection of a representationalist reading of reality. Thus, performativity is understood in this study as dealing with the habits of mind that are largely unexamined (Barad, 2003), and in this way performativity is an operationalising concept that accommodates well the concept of illusion.

1.2   Performativity as an Operationalising Concept

Performativity as the operationalising concept in the thesis enables the exploration of the virtual realities of the knowledge economy, international education and ELICOS at both structural and individual levels. Performativity on the structural level relates to the ways in which business models, technologies, and mechanisms perform in selling and delivering educational products in the knowledge economy. Questions of performativity on an individual level relate to the ways in which students and teachers are enabled and constrained to perform in order to illuminate the effect of the virtual constructions on the micro and macro levels. Thus, performativity is considered in two ways: the way a structure or organisation performs (macro level) as well at the performance level of individual teachers and students within the system (micro level).

Performativity at the macro level is considered as a technology, a discourse of power (Ball, 2000), as a mechanism, and a technique. It is ELICOS as a structure of power that is considered when examining the ELICOS business model because the issues that are being interrogated in this study are of technology as a power, and the effect of this power on the core relationships in ELICOS that enable the business model. More specifically, the investigation, while recognising ELICOS operates as a series of discourses, also recognises that the ELICOS discourse when enacted, forms a structure of power. It is this structure of power as networks of power relations that have been shown in the data analysis chapters (Five, Six, and Seven) to operationalise the business model. These power networks are addressed in Chapter Five as a result of the political will of individuals, however this political will is hidden within the dominant discourses in international education and ELICOS. These dominant discourses and international students' experiences are problematised in Chapter Two.

On the other hand, performativity at the micro level—performativity of teachers and students—is a political act that requires the uptake of identities that produce ontological effects (Butler, 1993; Loxley, 2006) and result in the embodiment of discourses (Foucault, 1982). At an individual teaching level performativity is also considered in terms of teachers' subjectivity and agency, with the expression of their teaching being a performative act within the knowledge

economy/market, an act both enabled and constrained by the ELICOS discourse. In sum, the ELICOS discourse is constituted by networks of power that form a structure: flows of performativities and discursive flows of power that when enacted form a structure. At the same time, in the uptake of constructed identities (subjectivity and agency of students and teachers [and Directors of Studies[2]]) performativity is understood also as an individual's act/performance. Thus, performativity in this study was considered both at the structural level and the individual level as used by Ball (2000) and is shown in Figure 1.1.

Global   ⟷   Local
Knowledge economy   *Neoliberalism*
International education/ELICOS

PERFORMATIVITY/power
Neoliberal power

internationalisation   **subjectivity**   **agency**
educational institutions   students/teachers   students/teachers
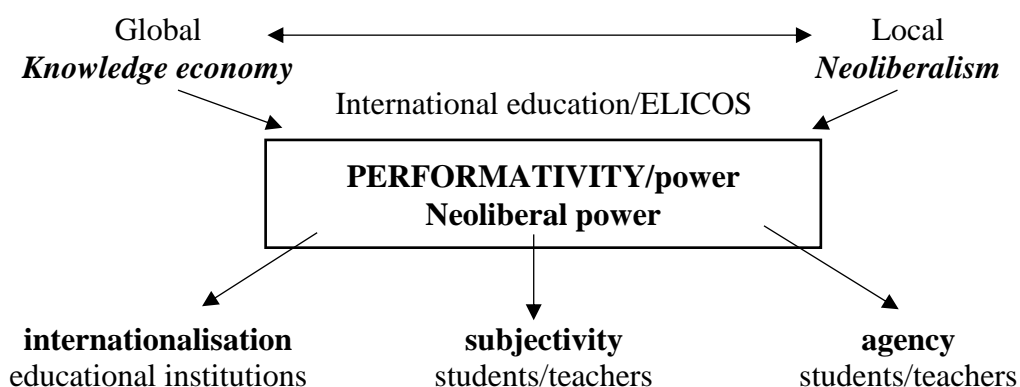
Figure 1.1. Conceptual framework of performativity: ELICOS as a technology/power

This figure represents a refinement of thought and understanding, distilled from multiple analyses of literature in dialogue with personal experience, and shaped by theoretical knowledge (outlined in Chapter Three). The diagram represents performativity of neoliberal power as enabling the relationship between the knowledge economy as a global virtual reality and neoliberalism as a political philosophy enacted on the local level. It is this relationship that constructs the subjectivity and agency of students, a relationship enabled through internationalisation. I developed this diagram in order to clarify my own understandings of the complex relationships that have been mystified through the functioning of discourse. The aim of this diagram and its inclusion in the thesis, was to provide myself and the reader with a simplified view of performativity in international education/ELICOS. This diagram has also proven useful in developing

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[2] The role of Director of Studies (DOS) is not necessarily filled by trained teachers. NEAS requirements of the person in this management role are: a. recognised degree or equivalent; b. five years' experience in managing and/or teaching on ELT programs; plus c. TESOL qualification at postgraduate diploma level or above

my thesis in that it has provided a stable grounded view around my thinking and conceptualising of issues in ELICOS, a diagram I continually returned to in order to ensure cohesion, logical flow, and continuity of thought within the thesis.

In this study, performativity has been the operationalising concept, with power, subjectivity and agency acting as key concepts. However, what has been at the core of the study and what continues to trouble ELICOS are the complex relationships between educational institutions, international students and teachers. These relationships, as constructed within the virtual reality of educational institution, position international students and teachers in particular ways, firstly with the educational institution and secondly with each other. Thus, this thesis interrogates the experiences of both teachers and students.

In the knowledge economy, international students are both consumers and learners. This means that students have a primary and a secondary relationship with the educational institution. Teachers have a secondary relationship with both their students and the institution (through insecure employment). The impact of this construction on students and teachers is the core of this study, the core concern being the effects of the workings of power action within the triadic relationship. It is the performativity of ELICOS on the macro and micro levels that compel an interrogation of ELICOS as a project, product, and process. In regard to the ELICOS product, the triadic core is made even more complex by the delivery of the ELICOS language product. This is an intensive English language course designed as a flexible mechanism to allow overseas students of low level language proficiency to take up an educational pathway within an Australian educational system. These transition courses are flexible in that they can also be purchased as a stand-alone product, for students to have a short term international education experience. ELICOS education is both broad and non-specific in that multiple educational outcomes are possible. This characteristic of ELICOS education is a necessary one for business success as the students that ELICOS is designed to attract have differing motivations, needs, and interests. For example, many students are motivated to enter tertiary education to improve their employability or pursue a particular profession, while other students might engage in an ELICOS course to be able to claim the status that an experience of international education can bring within their home country or to experience Western culture.
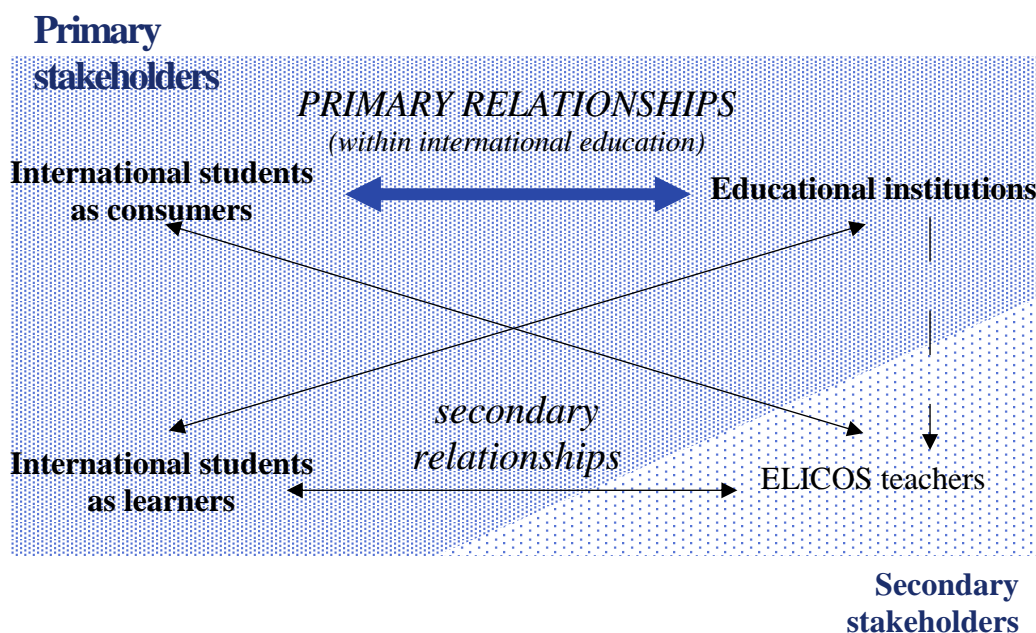
Figure 1.2. Core stakeholder relationships

To restate, performativity in this thesis has been considered in two ways: the way a structure or organisation performs, as well at the performance level of individual teachers and students within the system. The reason for this is that the issues that are being interrogated in this study are ELICOS as a technology (i.e., ELICOS as a power), and the effect of this power on the core relationships in ELICOS that enable the business model.

1.3 ELICOS Transition Courses in Education Institutions

ELICOS as transition courses constitute ELICOS as a form of education, educational products that constitute ELICOS as an industry, a sector, and a business model (Bundesen, 2011). ELICOS centres and the courses they provide can be conducted both within schools, institutions of Technical and Further Education (TAFE), and universities as well as at private international colleges. The way that these transition courses are operationalised differ. Large educational institutions offer educational packages, such as the intensive transition courses, which are offered as the first step in an educational pathway. Stand–alone private English language colleges, which have business agreements with feeder institutions, conduct ELICOS courses that may or may not feed into educational pathways. ELICOS transition courses are usually have a maximum duration of 40 weeks. While all courses come under the heading of 'intensive transition courses', not all ELICOS

courses are transition courses. Because of the flexibility of visa types, all colleges have the flexibility to sell short-term Australian education experiences. This means that the degree and type of intensity differs. The variety of these courses is presented in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1

ELICOS Transition Courses[3]

Academic Preparation	Less Intense Courses	Courses of Lowest Intensity
• English for Academic Purposes (EAP) • English for High School Preparation (EHSP) • IELTS (International English Language Testing System) exam preparation course • English for Teaching (TESOL)	• English for Further Studies (EFS) • English for special purposes (ESP) (such as English for Business, English for Health Professionals, English for Hospitality	• General English (GE) • study-tourism (a course known as Study Tours)

These intensive transition courses are purchased by international students according to their motivation in learning and purpose for the experience[4]. At the same time these courses as educational products serve the financial interests of educational providers and Australian governments. For those students wishing to pursue academic study, these courses are generally purchased as an educational product of improved language proficiency, and the first step in an educational pathway. Students wanting to pursue academic study obtain a student visa, while other students wanting a short term educational experience and attribution of international education to their personal and professional profile are usually issued a holiday visa. This latter visa type it is a far less complex business relationship as these students are considered as only visiting Australia.

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[3] These lists are a general overview of ELICOS courses drawn from my own knowledge, being neither exhaustive or representative of all possibilities for courses.

[4] Due to the flexibility in ELICOS there are exceptions, such as government sponsored programs.

According to recent industry figures, the average time in ELICOS is 4.8 weeks for visitor visa holders, 8.1 weeks for working holiday visa holders and 8.1 weeks for other visa holders. For student visa holders, the average time spent in transition courses before exiting to feeder educational institutions is 16.3 weeks (English Australia, 2015a). Whatever the visa type, whether purchasing an educational package as a long term investment or purchasing a short term attributive experience of international education or even just to have a different education experience, this business exchange—of money for promised services—forms a primary relationship between international students and educational institutions (analysed in detail in Chapter Two). These primary relationships outlined in Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2, have implications within the classroom (implications that have been shown to be of great significance in the analyses in Chapters Six and Seven).

1.4   Research Questions

The research questions for this study are focused on performativity, and are drawn from the literature, my personal experiences, and teachers' experiences. The aim of these questions is to bring forward instances of dissonance, discontinuity and disconnection as a means to illuminate how the illusions that construct the ELICOS business model create dangerous situations and events for teachers' and students' well-being, and for the sustainability of the ELICOS business model. These questions are as follows:

Research Question One:

- In what ways do historical and contemporary influences affect the ELICOS business model as a system?

Research Question Two:

- How have selected teachers experienced working in the ELICOS system?

Research Question Three:

- How are international students constructed to experience the ELICOS system?

These are important questions to ask. In having the potential to evoke new imaginings or even possible answers, they create possibilities to enable change to the

present issues that are problematic for internationalisation, international education, and for ELICOS as a business system.

1.5   The Biographically Situated Researcher

This study arose as a theoretical culmination of my life experiences, and as such was conducted through my quadrifocal lens as an Australian/Western researcher.   This quadrifocal lens emerges from my skills and expertise as a researcher, business person, an educator, and a linguist[5], the latter enhanced by my developing plurilingualism[6].   Without the quadrifocal lens, i.e., if I was to write from the standpoint of myself as an 'ELICOS teacher', it would have been impossible to address those elements of the ELICOS business model that I saw and experienced as problematic, elements which gave rise to this investigation of ELICOS.   It was my business lens that saw the construction of practices and the activity of these practices within the business model as rendering the business model unsustainable in the long term.   On the other hand, my business lens also saw that international education was going to be the way of the future for some time to come, thus needing a more intelligent and sustainable response to the human needs that international education encapsulate.

The quadrifocal approach I bring to this research project addresses ELICOS's complexities, these complexities being present to me through my ways of knowing and constructing experience.   This makes necessary a transparency in my ways of knowing about the ELICOS system as business person, as an ELICOS teacher, as a linguist, and as a researcher.   Further to this, my breadth of education underpinning these areas constructs a complex epistemology that is postmodern, postcolonial and postdisciplinary.   In other words, my postmodern, postcolonial, postdisciplinary

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[5] My linguistic expertise is in areas of linguistics and applied linguistics. To simplify the designation I use the term linguist, however my interest and knowledge covers linguistics and applied linguistics and is the result of responding to the learning needs of the students. At the time I understood if I was to recognise some of the ways in which errors occurred for learners, then it was necessary to learn something about the structures, values, semiotic directionality and logic of some languages. On the other hand, it was equally important to understand the sociological and metalinguistic level, i.e., some of the ways that the social mind as well as the affective level works and these in acquiring an additional language

[6] I am presently working to develop my (intermediate) French language skills as well as my (early learner) Chinese language skills however I have spent time in the past studying Koine (Biblical/academic) Greek as well as Latin.

epistemology enables the articulation of the problem that the thesis intends to address.

My way of constructing and viewing the world is postmodern in that it is based on a refusal to privilege any single authority, method or paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). It is also a view that recognises the fluidity of 'truth', as multiperspectival, temporary, and political (Foucault, 1980b, 1982, 1988b, 2008). My worldview is postcolonial through having a conceptual grasp of the colonising effects of the English language (Phillipson, 2013) while being sensitive to language learners' struggles with identity through and within the learning process (Koehne, 2005; Norton, 1997; Norton & Toohey, 2011). As a developing plurilingual[7], I am also aware of the Eurocentric orientation of the English language (Waseem & Asadullah, 2013) and as well have a recognition of the construction of the second language learner through multiple dichotomies embedded in cultural difference (Reyes Cruz & Sonn, 2011). My epistemology is postdisciplinary in that my way of knowing is not reliant on one institutionalised body of knowledge or system of thought but draws fields together in order to solve problems as well as illuminate the world I interpret (Biagioli, 2009). Thus, my own postmodern, postcolonial, postdisciplinary epistemologies mean that I perceive the world in constructivist terms within the context of social constructionism (Adler, 1997), where the discursive effects of language, culture, ideology, and power is acknowledged as having implications for both ELICOS[8] teachers and international students.

1.5.1 Researcher as business person, educator, linguist

When I came to ELICOS teaching it was as a professional person, as someone who had had 25 years' experience as a small business owner, a linguist as well as an educator, and having just completed four years' experience teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) in China. This meant that I came to ELICOS teaching with

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[7] Having learned additional languages (French, Chinese, Koine Greek and Latin) I have firsthand experience with language learning strategies and with the difficulties of learning an additional language, thus I consider myself plurilingual. While a person with two first languages could be considered plurilingual, they may not have reached a critical period in language learning so that the learner might not have metalinguistic awareness. On the other hand, it is conceivable that the latter language learner could and would be aware of the Eurocentric orientation of the English language.

[8] ELICOS teachers have a complex and troubled identity. Their generic (TESOL) teaching qualification and industry situates them in the English Language Teaching industry (ELT) and within ELICOS as the Australian ELT sector, within ELICOS as an Australian export industry without teachers being made aware of the institutions that construct them. It is doubtful that ELICOS teachers understand the complexity of their identity.

a trifocal lens of business person-educator-linguist. This trifocal lens meant that shortly after I began the ELICOS teaching experience, I could see that ELICOS was unsustainable on many levels. What was immediately apparent was that the educational product did not fit learners' needs while in the delivery of the educational product there were distinct mismatches in expectations. On one hand students usually began to realise that what they had bought and were now committed to, was very different from their expectations. On the other hand, teacher expectations generally clashed with student expectations and learning needs. Teachers, who were mostly monolingual, expected and understood themselves as being equipped for the language teaching task, for facilitating the progress of bilingual/plurilingual learners in a 40 week language transition program.

The transition for students in coming from their home country, was from understanding and using English as a foreign language to now using English as the language both within the ELICOS classroom and in social interactions in the local community. In this period of transition, very often there were intense experiences of acculturation for students, such as identity struggles and resistances to acculturation (Midgley, 2010), the effects of which monolingual teachers themselves also clearly experienced. Often these teachers seemed unable to identify problematic behaviour or language learning issues as part of the acculturation process or respond to the causes of the problems appropriately at the levels of both student and classroom learning[9]. Another aspect of the mismatch resulting from monolingual teachers teaching bilingual/plurilingual learners was that generally these teachers did not have access to the type of linguistic, metalinguistic and cultural knowledge and skills that might support or even would accelerate students' language learning. How could monolingual teachers hasten the language learning experience without any personal experience of learning a second language? Research by Ellis (2004a, p. 90) shows that "teachers' own language learning experience is a resource which is a powerful contributor to their conceptions of language, language use and language learning". In contrast to these findings, some bilingual/plurilingual teachers that I worked with did not have a sufficient enough grasp of academic thinking in English or knowledge of Australian education systems to move beyond a conversational English approach in preparing students for Australian education systems.

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[9] This aspect is supported by analysis in Chapters Six and Seven.

I also observed how teachers struggled to prepare low level language proficiency students to pass an exit test within forty weeks, while many of these also struggled to prepare ELICOS students to enter Australian education systems. This latter teaching concern meant these teachers, as professionals seeking to meet students' needs, were going far beyond what was required for exit testing in making sure, as far as possible, students had some realistic preparation for future learning. These teachers were ensuring that students had an early grasp of what it meant to engage in higher order thinking and to understand the language learning task as one of literacy not language proficiency. These were big shifts for students of lower level proficiency to make. In teachers' demonstrated understanding or in the absence of this understanding, I could see differences in the professionalism of teachers. It was this situation that signalled an anomaly, an illusion underpinning ELICOS, that the language proficiency of these students were expected, by the system, to be at a level somewhat commensurate with domestic students, commensurate with Australian students who had spent their whole life in an English-based education.

Due to the close nature of working within private colleges, I was also sometimes part of the struggles that one Director of Studies (DOS) was engaged in, e.g., building curriculum as part of professional development for teachers. At the independent international college there was always the issue of successful exit testing and the pressures that students put on teachers and even more so on the DOS to get these students into the feeder school of their choice. There was always the issue of borderline students. If these students were successful in being accepted, and they often were, there was then the question of what sort of future we were launching these students into, knowing their educational level as well as knowing that they were insufficiently prepared to use English as their first language within Australian education systems. The ELICOS product students had purchased was sold on the premise that their language proficiency levels needed to be raised. In contrast, their exit testing involved familiarity with English language use in an Australian setting. This was not using English as a foreign language (their home country experience) but now using English as their first language in a foreign country. Most students already had five to eight years of grammar-led learning of English as a foreign language in a school setting. When purchasing the ELICOS product, did these students realise that it takes nearly twenty years of learning a language within a host country to reach an

Anglophone native level standard[10]? This level of language proficiency is only achieved by a small percentage of foreign language learners (Deters, Gao, Miller, & Vitanova, 2014). Yet my experience was that most students' expectation of themselves was to reach native speaker level use of the English language and begin to see themselves as capable of achieving this by the end of the course. It was clear that those who had set up the ELICOS system as well as the marketing of ELICOS were largely responsible for students' unrealistic expectations. Who could help students come to grips with a more realistic view of what they had purchased as well as coming to understand what type of support/knowledge/literacy levels they needed for their future learning?

As consumers and learners, students' attention was focused on what they thought they needed for exit testing and these views were based on their prior educational formation. In addition, business system structures affected the ELICOS teaching experience: as teachers, we worked at the intersection of administration, marketing, and teaching. What often brought us into this positioning were the students' extracurricular needs. Students often considered us their first port of call, particularly regarding the more sensitive issues, asking our advice, which often we were not able to give or able to act as an advocate on their behalf due to the institutional conflicts between administration and teaching staff. On the other hand, in terms of student learning a few things were very clear. Some students recruited by agents did not have enough language capital to begin learning at the lowest ELICOS level and as teachers, we were left wondering how they had qualified in the recruitment process in their own country.

A significant problem I experienced in teaching ELICOS students as low level language learners, was that often their learning difficulties were connected to students' low level abilities in their mother tongue, either as a learning disability or as low level of literacy. Teachers were left with the problem: how to prepare these low level students to enter Australian education systems when their educational formation in their home country together with their personal abilities and capacities were presently not sufficient to the task of learning well within Western culture? This problem was exacerbated when engaging in learning under such difficult and

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[10] For expediency in fulfilling the purposes of this thesis I often use the term native speakers of English to refer to speakers from countries such as Australia, US, UK, New Zealand etc., whilst recognising this is as a problematic term (Kachru, 1985, 1992).

stressful conditions i.e., their experience of the acculturation process within a 40 week timeframe. As well, teachers had to grapple with the effects of business structures in classrooms. Visa availability meant that students could and would enter and exit at any time according to the student's time of intake as well as according to students' perceived academic progress (students were always pushing to be moved up a level or even two). Student intakes could happen at any moment and without warning, which meant it was possible that a class of seven could instantly become seventeen. This particularly common stressful teaching experience was often referred to by teachers as 'teaching roulette', a stressful situation that played havoc with the professionalism of ELICOS teachers who mostly understood learning in terms of process.

Visa availability also played havoc with all teachers in terms of logistics as well as creating impossible conditions for classroom management. With ten students standing at the door excitedly waiting to come into the classroom, teachers were faced with the dilemma of where all the resources were going to come from in that moment (and while teachers were half-way through a carefully focused lesson)? More importantly, teachers were also unpaid marketers working in a teaching context where learners are also consumers, which meant that perception management was par for the course for teachers. Then there were the practical questions that would often impact upon teachers' possibilities for future employment: what type of classroom management was needed for successful exiting of students within a term that for students ranged from ten weeks down to a one week timeframe, according to visa availability? If students' learning was insufficient to enable them to move up a level, whose fault was it? From a teaching perspective, this situation of being able to ensure successful testing in spite of the conditions under which teachers had to work was the bottom line for the ELICOS teaching experience. Successful test numbers meant another teaching contract would be offered at the end of ten weeks.

The effect of different visas for students in classroom learning caused another marketing, administration, teaching interface conflict. While most students had come on student visas, some students had come on visitor visas. This meant motivations in learning varied. Student motivation also depended on the student's circumstances. For example, some students particularly those preparing to enter high school, had been sent by their parents because of their child's teenage problems in

their home country, or as a babysitting exercise. There were other students where many families had put their finances together to sponsor these students' learning. Other students had come expecting that they could experience success, an experience unable to be accessed within their own country due to the sheer number of people and the paucity of opportunities. How to handle these very different motivations or lack thereof to facilitate student learning in a classroom setting, and within an often exceedingly short time frame?[11]

Through my educator/business lens, other elements of unsustainability such as the short-term contracts as the means of employment for teachers not only problematised the teaching experience but showed a basic weakness in the business model. Customer satisfaction lay not in the exchange of monies, but in the delivery and educational outcome. Without ensuring teacher support for the delivery of ELICOS, satisfaction in a multicultural/plurilingual teaching context was at high risk. Short term contracts as a foundation of insecurity for teachers via short term teaching contracts (a few hours a week up to a five day a week 10 week term contract) meant that teachers were not only unsupported in a highly complex teaching situation, but were also constructed to be in competition with each other for their income and their livelihood. This competition amongst peers for their livelihood within the workplace, created a situation of isolation in the teaching experience. It also placed individual teachers in a number of binds. Short-term contracts did not inspire teachers toward ongoing professional development, yet to be competitive as well as to network in order to set up connections for future employment, required engaging in professional development. Professional development cost money while the difficulty of creating an income stream from ELICOS teaching made the rationalisation of spending this money difficult. To further complicate this bind around professional development, the professional development offered by the industry was for many teachers just 'more of the same', i.e., professional teachers often had accumulated knowledge far beyond what was being offered, while on the other hand, there was no domain to which teachers could contribute their accumulated insights and knowledges.

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[11] Some students might stay in the ELICOS program for only two or three weeks, adding to the complexity of the classroom and teaching experience.

Another aspect leading to unsustainability in the business system was the deployment of TESOL as the language teaching qualification. TESOL being a generic qualification did not provide teachers with a strong sense of identity nor did it provide us with credibility in students' eyes, because in students' home countries commercial language teachers have depressed working conditions and so do not have high status. The TESOL qualfication constructs TESOL teachers to be part of a highly competitive industry. As purchasers of an English language product, students are very aware of their power in the circumstances, and quite often exercise that power in negative ways for teachers. For example, in teachers working under conditions of employment insecurity it is not uncommon for students to try to manipulate teachers to change results, and it is not uncommon for students to mount a case to get teachers sacked from their teaching position.

What I experienced of the ELICOS business system was not only about what was glaringly absent but how the system impacted upon teachers and students in ways that were subtractive for the outcomes for all stakeholders. For me, the ELICOS experience was one of always trying to deal with something I could not see but was nonetheless impacting my teaching experience. While I could see business practices that were highly problematic for teaching effectiveness, there were also pedagogical and linguistic issues that seemed to be irresolvable in terms of a collaborative approach to teaching. Teachers were at very different levels of understanding and practice, and one of the things I realised early on was that this was due to the ELICOS system being based on a very narrow and simplistic understanding of language, language learning and education. These low level understandings were also contributing to irresolvable experiences of conflict for both teachers and students.

My experience of continually trying to grapple with multiple unseen forces impacting upon my practice prompted me to investigate further my experiences as educator, linguist, and business person. What were these forces that were controlling how ELICOS could be performed? As well it was the 'missing' factors that bothered me, and what was missing at the heart of ELICOS as a business, was the recognition that it was those who 'interpreted' and delivered the ELICOS product, i.e., teachers, whose role was one of the vital factors in both business success and ELICOS being a successful business model. Unlike lifestyle products such as cars, cereal or shampoo,

business achievement for an educational product is not at the point of sale, i.e., the point of (business) exchange. Business success (i.e., sustainability) for the ELICOS product lies largely in the conditions around effective delivery of the product[12]. These issues and conditions around the ELICOS teaching experience gave rise to my desire to investigate ELICOS as a project, a product and a process. In taking up this research project, my trifocal lens now became a quadrifocal one: that of business person, educator, linguist, and researcher.

1.6 The Rationale of the Study

This study, focused as it is on international education, and in particular the ELICOS English for High School Preparation course (EHSP), is timely. In a recent interview with the current Queensland Government Minister for Education, Kate Jones (MP), the minister described clearly the future of international education for the state's public schools: "Education Minister Kate Jones said education was a key export for the state, and the Government believed there was huge potential for growth within the state school system" (Field, 2016, February 18).

Furthermore, a study of ELICOS is relevant to Australian national and educational interests. ELICOS as a business model that has the ability to raise revenue through education is a model of interest to both Federal and State governments and Australian educational institutions. In addition, Australia-wide, ELICOS represents 4% of school pathways, 43% of higher education pathways and 54% of TAFE pathways (Nerlich, 2011). These percentages, which reflect an overall view of the significance of ELICOS in terms of educational pathways together with the current view of the Queensland government as a positive mechanism for growth, highlight international education, specifically ELICOS education, as an area worthy of significant attention.

This study is needed as a response to the increasing sophistication of the market (Ramachandran, 2010), and can add to the evolving literature on international education (Chowdhury, 2008; Khoo, 2011; Wearring, Le, Wilson, & Arambewela, 2015). What is needed is a study that provides a picture of the multiple and complex issues of international education in the knowledge economy and one that also gives a

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[12] The way in which the ELICOS product is referred to in this thesis is narrowly understood as the actual transition course that teachers deliver.

picture of the consumer as intentional and market-wise. International students themselves are beginning to provide an understanding of being consumers of international education yet still being recruited and educated in generally unsophisticated ways (Chowdhury, 2008). This does not add to the credibility of Australian education. Neither does the way in which international students are treated as developing monolinguals. Some international students who have been through the Australian edubusiness system[13] (Luke, 2010) are now speaking back (Y. Zhang & Mi, 2010), offering Australian educators ways of working with international students to help international students to reach their goals. To improve this situation and increase student satisfaction, Azmat et al (2013) recommend a closer alignment between students' aspirations and expectations and the marketing of educational programs. However, postgraduate research students' motivation and goals were found to arise from their home country, being "profoundly embedded in their social histories and use value" of the target language (Xu, 2012, p. 588). Further to this, international students are describing the ways that they see students are positioned and then interpellated into the system (Chowdhury, 2008), and at the same time they are critiquing the way in which Australian international education is being conducted (Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014). This is evidenced by Chowdhury and Le Ha (2014) who describe the Australian marketing of international education as limited, as still being conceptualised in traditional ways, marketing that can be seen to take a simplistic approach in addressing the complexity of culture, place, and brand (Kavaratzis & Ashworth, 2015).

This study of education as a business model within the knowledge economy is also relevant to mainstream education, particularly with the increasing pressure to internationalise in order to raise revenue (Haigh, 2008; Hénard, Diamond, & Roseveare, 2012; Khoo, 2011; Luke, 2010; Sanderson, 2011). This study which provides a picture of performativity within a fully commercial context, including the interdependence and interactivity between macro and micro levels, has the capacity to add to the growing body of literature grappling with issues for education within the new world order (Dennis, 2016; Temple, Callender, Grove, & Kersh, 2016). This need would seem particularly urgent as education struggles to redefine itself within an increasingly commercial, local and global context (Ball, 2000; Jill Blackmore,

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[13] 'Edubusiness' describes education being treated as a business, a term coined by Alan Luke (2010, p. 2).

2004; Ditchburn, 2012; Knight, 2013; Todd et al., 2015). Education today operates within the knowledge economy and all that that means: linked to economic development, linked to industry, used by governments and global stakeholders to fill self-interested agendas, and linked to the ideology of lifelong learning that reaches into all corners of the globe (Braathe & Otterstad, 2012; Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-b; Schuetze, 2006), these areas operating within a context of increasing competition (Dennis, 2016; Knight, 2013; Lynch, 2014; Marginson, 2014b). ELICOS as education in a commercial and highly competitive context demonstrates some significant effects of unresolved contesting business and education agendas.

Finally, the ELICOS business model, constructed on a set of unfounded beliefs, makes necessary an investigation into the impact of these illusions that underpin it. These illusions affect human well-being as well as the sustainability of the business model, with multiple negative effects that become evident in the many instances of dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnect experienced by teachers and students. While all reasons provided in this section are compelling, the final ones—the effects of the foundational illusions of ELICOS on human well-being and also the effects on the sustainability of the business model—are the more compelling reasons why an investigation of the performativity of ELICOS as a project, a product, and a process was necessary.

1.6.1 Delimitations and limitations

This study of ELICOS is largely based on the way in which the EHSP course is experienced by teachers and students. This course is conducted through ELICOS as a business project that emerges from Australian international education and that Australian international education and international education in general arises from and responds to, capitalises on, and exploits in the knowledge economy. However, the same influences which are present in the EHSP course are experienced to a larger or lesser degree throughout ELICOS, the effects of which are contingent on factors such as the educational setting and the professional knowledge and bias of the DOS and the educational institution towards either business or education, a bias that can significantly affect the ELICOS experience for teachers and students. Furthermore, this thesis cannot include all the considerations resulting from the extensive reading and analyses that I have conducted to produce this study. The major concepts constituting the new world order such as globalisation, neoliberalism, the knowledge

economy, capitalism and internationalisation have been more extensively interrogated elsewhere (Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-a, in press-b). More specifically, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to conduct an investigation of the knowledge economy in a way that reveals in depth some of the benefits that ELICOS as a technology and as a mechanism within the knowledge economy delivers to global stakeholders.

Another limit in this thesis arises from a methodological choice, creating a bounded context for the interrogation of ELICOS teachers' experiences, which in this instance is the EHSP course. Methodological choices included the choices I made in dealing with the data from teachers' accounts. There were extensive ways in which these rich and generous data could have provided many more valuable insights as to how teachers are constructed within ELICOS and the impact of ELICOS on them. For example, one of the teacher participants saw her experience of the insecure employment conditions of ELICOS as being due to a feminised workforce. However, as my focus was broader than performativity in the ELICOS teaching context (my focus being ELICOS as project, product and process), I was unable to incorporate her insight and many others in a meaningful way. While the data could have been a rich source of evidence for exploring the effect of the Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) qualification as a necessary requirement for ELICOS teaching, it was beyond the bounds of this thesis to provide any more than a quick brush across the implications of this qualification for teacher professionalism and identity. Additionally, any substantial and critical engagement with the construction of teachers and their professionalism and teaching identity is negated by the construction of teaching as a workplace activity by the National English Language Teaching Accreditation Scheme (NEAS) (Crichton, 2003; National ELT Accreditation Scheme, n.d.), a quality assurance framework in which teachers are unrepresented (see Appendix B), was also beyond the scope of this thesis.

Another limitation lies in addressing the performativity of ELICOS as an educative process. Part of this limitation is due to the variety of educational settings in which ELICOS can be conducted, the variety of reasons for students' participation in ELICOS courses (represented in the variety of visa types), the construction of international students as developing monolinguals, and variations on teaching

expertise. These variations mean that there is little shared ground in the teaching experiences in ELICOS. As well, the process of international education—the invention of educational services/products for overseas markets as a simulacrum of education, and the work of marketing to produce a hyperreality in which these simulations of education are sold to consumers—could be given only a brief treatment in this thesis. The role of overseas agents in the process of student recruitment and their ongoing mediation role, and their role and participation in students' rules of engagement within the ELICOS system, was unable to be addressed.

I acknowledge that some of the content of this thesis will have changed by the time that this thesis is examined and the knowledge that it contains disseminated. This situation is due to the acceleration of knowledge and learning and shifting political will—i.e., the dynamism of the new world order. It is also due to the increasing sophistication of the educational markets, as consumers become more discerning and as increasingly, students are no longer acting out of previous cultural formations. Having said this, what this thesis offers is a description of larger and deeper complex issues that I anticipate will take time and much human commitment and concerted effort to transcend or at least to find a way forward as we live and work within the new world order. Therefore, while much of the content may be transient, the major part of the thesis, the political, business, psychological, linguistic, and ethical issues raised in this thesis, are issues that will continue to be relevant to the new world order for some time into the future.

1.7   Research Aims and Purpose

The aim of this research project was to investigate the performativity of ELICOS as project, product and process within the new world order. The outcome of this aim has been to illuminate outcomes of the dangerous illusions that underpin ELICOS as a business model/system, the outcomes of these illusions as they play out within the ELICOS classroom so that they have an effect on human well-being. The ELICOS teaching context was shown to be a site where the clash of teacher and student expectations created experiences of dissonance, discontinuity and disconnections. The purpose of this strategy of analysing the areas of mismatch between teacher and student expectations has been to illuminate how these instances

of dissonance, discontinuity and disconnections continue to give rise to psychological, linguistic, pedagogical and ethical concerns for the experiences of teachers and students, which in turn can be shown to raise questions around the sustainability of the business model itself.

The purpose of this research project has been to outline the ELICOS business model in ways that the dynamic complexity of psychological, linguistic, pedagogical and ethical issues in ELICOS can be seen as a microcosm of the challenges that this new world order presents.

1.8   Thesis Path

This chapter has presented an overview of the thinking behind and within the study as well as a short description of the way the thesis has been designed. Chapter Two presents a literature review that outlines the nature of the research context, the virtual realities of the knowledge economy, international education and ELICOS in order to provide justification for this research project. My research has been situated and justified within an analysis of international education, the knowledge economy, and the challenging experience of international students. Chapter Three describes the theoretical framework through the operationalising concept of performativity, with power, subjectivity and agency as the key concepts (gleaned from the literature in Chapter Two), and according to my epistemology and quadrifocal lens. Chapter Four describes the research design, i.e., an explication of methodological considerations necessary for bringing forward evidence of the work of illusions. Chapter Five addresses the first research question using genealogical analyses to reveal external influences on ELICOS as a virtual reality in order to highlight some of the influences in the context in which the business model operates. Chapter Six addresses Research Question Two, deploying thematic and rhetorical analyses to illuminate teachers' experiences of subjectivity and agency within the business model to uncover effects dissonance, discontinuity and disconnection in the classroom. Chapter Seven addresses Research Question Three, the construction of subjectivity for international students and its outcomes for agency as students experience the dissonances, discontinuities and disconnections within the ELICOS classroom.   Chapter Eight provides some answers for the issues evidenced in Chapters Five, Six and Seven with the seeds and the sowing of hope in the

suggestions offered to disrupt the work of the dangerous illusions that construct the ELICOS business model. These discussions and subsequent suggestions contribute to multiple knowledge types: theoretical, methodological, policy, and practice. Chapter Eight closes with recommendations for a variety of stakeholders as well as suggestions for further research. In an Afterword, the thesis concludes with the researcher's reflections, the biographically situated researcher revisited.

1.8.1 A note regarding sources of data

Data sources for this study of performativity in ELICOS are not exclusively drawn from teacher participants' accounts but are much broader, including source documents, policy statements, personal experiences/reflections and scholarly literature. There are two reasons for this. One reason is that teachers' accounts come from the position of subjugated knowledges, that is, teachers' understanding of their experience is part of the dominant discourse and so their understanding is suppressed by the normalcy of their teaching experience. A second reason is that part of the impact of the illusions comes from the incomprehensibility of the ELICOS system in tandem with the effects of marketing, whose initial reach is at the macro level and whose reach continues right down into the micro level of the classroom. While the focus of attention of this thesis is the classroom, it is necessary to address the forces at work in the purchase of the product in overseas markets in order to address how students carry these internalised (at point of purchase) expectations with them into their experience of the delivery of the product by ELICOS teachers.

Chapter 2.   Reviewing Literature

2.0   Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to problematise ELICOS—within international education, and international education as part of the knowledge economy, ELICOS as a business model manipulated by the hyperreality of marketing, and ELICOS as a construction of international students as subject to the set conditions that make up ELICOS. The nature of this research context is described as a series of virtual realities—the knowledge economy, international education, and the ELICOS business model/system[14]. The knowledge economy together with neoliberalism is described in this chapter as constructing an efficient autonomised business system known as international education. This autonomised system makes it necessary to consider the active and controlling properties of neoliberalism (Cachelin, Rose, & Paisley, 2014) as it constructs international students as consumers to be proactive and entrepreneurial in this system. It is necessary to consider internationalisation as a local technique used by educational institutions in deployment of this business model. In this way, internationalisation is synonymous with marketing. Part of this problematising is the interactivity between internationalisation and the knowledge economy that is enabled and maximised by international students being constructed as entrepreneurial consumers (neoliberal subjects), this construction shown in Figure 2.1.

The knowledge economy

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Internationalisation
(local education institutions)

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Neoliberal subjects
(students/consumers constructed as entrepreneurs)

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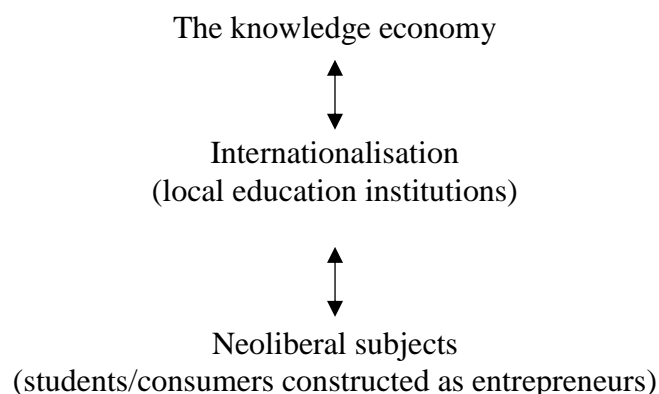
[14] ELICOS as a business model is also a system. This aspect is particularly pertinent to this study that seeks to outline the harm that is done as being systemic.

Figure 2.1. The business model of international education (an autonomised efficient system)

The review of the literature in this chapter explores two areas. The first area is the relationship between the knowledge economy and neoliberalism as a global/local interactive dynamic unit, in order to describe this interrelationship and the world it orders (Bansel, 2007; Grierson, 2006; Olssen & Peters, 2005). The second area is this interrelationship as it provides the conceptual conditions that makes possible both educational institutions and the international students they recruit to be constructed as primary stakeholders. The analysis of this latter construction leads to a description of the experience of international students as a two tier relationship with the educational institutions, as consumer—a primary stakeholder in the knowledge economy and equal to educational institutions—and as learner in a secondary relationship with the educational institutions. This institution/consumer/student relationship has been part of the core concern for this study and has required extensive treatment in order to make clear some of the crucial implications from this construction particularly when this relationship included teachers. In light of the complexity in core relationships, there is a need to reveal what is masked by the normalcy of experience within international education.

The latter part of the literature review and analysis revealed one of the hidden elements that this study has sought to describe—the heightened experience of dissonance and disconnection for international students through extracurricular factors. As primary stakeholders, students' learning experience is exacerbated by hidden forces—whereas developing bilingual/plurilingual students buy a generically presented product that is delivered within a monolingually oriented system by a monolingual approach to teaching, by monolingual oriented teachers (E. Ellis, 2013). This hidden conflict for students as consumers is a micro experience of a macro issue, the fate of the majority of English learners is controlled by the minority of native English users through a monolingual ideology (Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-a), "despite the fact that most of the world's population is multilingual" (E. Ellis, Gogolin, & Clyne, 2010, p. 440). Thus, within the interrelationship of the knowledge economy and neoliberalism and the pursuit of internationalisation as a revenue raiser by Western educational institutions, international students are part of

the world's majority that have been constructed as the exception to the norm, and the norm being directed and constrained by monolingual English speakers.

The route for this chapter that aims to analyse the relationship between two primary stakeholders in international education, commences by describing the interrelationship of the knowledge economy and neoliberalism as these work to construct international education. At this point, the review examines the utilisation of a strategy that links neoliberal subjects and subjectivities within international education to the virtual realities of the knowledge economy and markets, international education/ELICOS. This strategy as the work of local initiatives that reach out to knowledge markets is internationalisation. This local initiative is significant for this study as this strategy involves the marketing of educational products and services. Once some of the more significant implications have been established, the construction of the relationship of educational institutions and international students is explored. These considerations lead to an encounter with the lived experiences of international students, their strategic approach to the experience of learning within Australian educational institutions as well as highlighting the expectations that come into play through being both a purchaser and a consumer/learner. Thus the research context describes the relationship of the knowledge economy and neoliberalism a global/local interactive dynamic unit as well as describing international students as primary stakeholders and integral to the research context.

The illusory nature of the research context as a product of the virtual realities of the knowledge economy and international education as enabled by neoliberalism and internationalisation, illuminates some of the dissonance, discontinuities and disconnections within international education. These negative elements in students' experiences cast doubt on the possibilities for positive sustainable performativity of international education, in turn providing justification for an investigation of performativity of ELICOS.

2.1   The Knowledge Economy as Illusion

The knowledge economy is a result of an ordering of discourses of "political will" (Connell & Dados, 2014, p. 120), which in turn produce a knowledge-driven global society (Gane, 2012; Iversen & Soskice, 2015). Miszczyński (2012) has

described the knowledge economy as a strategically appropriated "concept developed by social scientists, [that] was brought forward by institutions such as the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development, the World Bank or the European Union and is currently followed and replicated by documents, theories, strategies and opinions" (Miszczyński, 2012, p. 5). In this description, Miszczyński (2012) highlights the involvement of political will in the engineering of a new social and economic order, the knowledge economy being "a responsive pattern", with terms such as learning economy, digital economy, innovation-based economy, network economy, being related notions that "emphasise different aspects of the same stream of discussion about contemporary society, roughly connected to globalization and technological development" (Miszczyński, 2012, p. 6). Melnikas (2011) cites numerous scholars such as David and Foray (2002), Farnsworth (2005), Grace and Butler (2005) who believe the creation and development of both a knowledge based society and knowledge economy to be the present answer to global problems, "the main way to solve most of the social, economic, technological, even security and defense problems worldwide" (Melnikas, 2011, p. 523).

As stated earlier, the knowledge economy is driven at a global level by formal institutions (Andrés et al., 2015) as knowledge and education produce economic development. In Chapter Five, I show that it is the political will of the Australian government—its agenda of soft power and facilitating business opportunities for local educational institutions in the face of withdrawal of government funding—that drives international education and ELICOS. The knowledge economy as a responsive pattern that global stakeholders can draw on is also a way to conceptualise society where knowledge and ways of making money form society. This pattern is useful to the business interests of global and local stakeholders as knowledge is "a resource which does not have diminishing returns" (Miszczyński, 2012, p. 7).

Knowledge can be packaged in almost endless variety as well as repackaged and reinvented at any time. As an organising principle for business and society its potential is unsurpassed. Braathe and Otterstad (Braathe & Otterstad, 2012) describe this formation of society in terms of a "cradle to grave" approach to education, an approach known as "lifelong learning". Olssen (2006) analyses lifelong learning as a tool used by governments in their adoption, production, and proliferation of

neoliberal policies: lifelong learning is "a specifically neoliberal form of state reason in terms of its conception, emergence and development. . . . [which] has manifested a uniformly consistent—albeit not exclusive—concern of serving the dominant economic mode" (Olssen, 2006, p. 213). This neoliberal form of state reason is one that adopts a borderless perspective of governance, with governments taking a managerial role focused on creating and facilitating business opportunities, while at the same time privatising public sector entities and proliferating a neoliberal epistemology through policy and public education.

The concept of lifelong learning is linked to the idea of knowledge capitalism, a concept linked with the knowledge economy where education and learning have been broadened out to include business and work (Olssen & Peters, 2005). In this way, education is directly tied to social and economic development rather than socialisation, a knowledge based economy being particularly attractive to issues of governmentality as it provides a secure/predictable assessment of revenue, this form of security being a central concern for governance. Lifelong learning provides a systematic approach to the economic concerns of government as well as a tool for neoliberal/social engineering. In deploying neoliberal policies and approaches, governments can provide a long term level of security for the economy, social stability, as well as providing reasonable predictability of spending by the population. This situation as ideal for governmentality compels Miszczyński (2012) to name the knowledge economy as utopia. I now turn to discuss in more detail the ways in which the knowledge economy creates a virtual reality for edu-business purposes. This aspect is important to this thesis: the knowledge economy is the virtual reality from which ELICOS emerges.

The knowledge economy makes knowledge and education the business of all governments and their populations across the globe (Bastalich, 2010; Caruana, 2016; Marginson, 2009; Melnikas, 2011; Miszczyński, 2012; Peters, 2007; Robertson, 2014; Sidhu, 2009). Linking education to economic development through lifelong learning within the knowledge economy means that the knowledge economy creates a global playing field. Neoliberal policies ensure the knowledge economy and lifelong learning are continually being reinforced on a global scale. In this way the knowledge economy can act as a totalising concept. The knowledge economy with its central concept of lifelong learning also means that "universities are seen as a key

driver of the knowledge economy" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 313). Over the last three decades, educational institutions have changed their modus operandi, forming industry links and venture partnerships that ensure the financial survival of universities (Altbach, 2013; Bastalich, 2010; R. King, 2012; Macias Vazquez & Alonso Gonzalez, 2015; Marginson, 2009; Melnikas, 2011; Olssen & Peters, 2005).

Up to this point, what I have argued and what the literature evidences, is that the concept of the knowledge economy is important to governments, industry, business, and educational institutions as a virtual reality, providing the conceptual means for governments and educational institutions to both repond to as well as utilise. However, not all scholars agree that the knowledge economy is for the benefit of educators, education, and students. For example, wider adoption of the knowledge economy in transnational education is experienced as the progressive elimination of alternatives and the increase of networked institutional power (Caruana, 2016; Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013).

To construct the knowledge economy as a virtual reality, knowledge and language have to be commodified and sold as commercial products, and these products have to be sold to consumers. The conceptual mechanism enabling this construction of a virtual reality is neoliberalism, where the use of neoliberal understandings and values together with the knowledge economy construct an automised system of efficient production wherein educational products are sold to consumers over a lifetime. The principles and values of the automised system inform the framework of the ELICOS business model, which is constructed as both a technology (power) and a recruitment mechanism that sells educational products/services. As a product of neoliberalism and globalisation, the ELICOS business model is a conduit of power between the global and the local levels, and in this way can be seen to function well in the virtual reality of the knowledge economy.

2.1.1 The power of neoliberalism in the knowledge economy

Neoliberalism as an extensively researched political-economic-cultural phenomenon (Peck, 2013), is identified in this thesis as a political philosophy enabling and enlivening the knowledge economy as a system of values. Neoliberalism is also an ideology with a discursive capacity to shape neoliberal subjects to participate within the knowledge economy (Holborow, 2006; Nafstad,

Blakar, Carlquist, Phelps, & Rand-Hendriksen, 2007; Zacchi, 2016). This section looks at the effects of neoliberalism as a philosophy and an ideology. This exploration leads to an illumination of the mechanism of internationalisation, a technique that draws together the knowledge economy and neoliberal values to shape neoliberal subjects to participate in the knowledge economy.

Neoliberalism is driven by the core belief that "subjects, markets, economic rationality, and competition are . . . socially constructed" (Gershon, 2011, p. 539). Neoliberalism also assumes the success of the market as an achieved state (Gershon, 2011) and in this way appropriates the potential for top-down power. However in order for market success to be achieved at the top, neoliberalism needs to be adopted by individuals at a local level. Over time, through public education and adoption of institutional policies and practices, individuals begin imagining themselves differently—with "new conceptions around what it means to be an individual and an agent" (Harvey, 2005, p. 42). This uptake of a neoliberal epistemology, is also the internalised assumption of the "market rationality as an achieved state" (Gershon, 2011, p. 538), and in this assumption of neoliberalism as a conflation of bottom up/top down understandings, neoliberalism gains coercive power. In short, neoliberalism in the remaking of subjects, realigns the public and the private spheres at the same time reconfiguring relations of governance through a process of public education (Giroux, 2004a).

In constructing a virtual reality called the knowledge economy through the adoption of neoliberal values, it is the concept of flexibility that enables economic and social reconfigurations, thus making flexibility a key notion within neoliberalism (Gillies, 2011). This flexibility, this propensity for subject malleability, is also the way in which incremental change has enacted and installed a neoliberal epistemology for both public and private imagining. This change is a shift from a democratic epistemology to a neoliberal epistemology (Giroux, 2004b), a shift that is frequently enacted without the general public being aware of the changes wrought by neoliberalism. This impact of neoliberalism is noted by Harvey (2005), who describes neoliberalism as having "pervasive effects on ways of thought to the point where it has become incorporated into the common-sense way many of us interpret, live in, and understand the world" (Harvey, 2005, p. 3). This adoption of a neoliberal epistemology also constructs the individual as flexible, so that as a worker

the individual is "a flexible bundle of skills that reflexively manages oneself as though the self was a business" (Gershon, 2011).

Within the knowledge economy, neoliberalism also creates 'the consumer', a person shaped to consume products, which in the case of the knowledge economy are different forms of educational products. Thus, the effect of neoliberalism is to enable and enliven the knowledge economy through compelling the construction of consumers as neoliberal subjects in their unconscious appropriation of neoliberal principles and imaginings (Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-a, in press-b). Within the knowledge economy these consumers are also learners who purchase educational products, and as learners these consumers are also constructed in a way that leads them to assume that they are also purchasing a product predicated on their learning needs.

This reordering of society with knowledge, education and learning being conceptualised as the centre, has also initated the reordering of the way in which education is conducted. Education being conceptualised and conducted within the knowledge economy, means that local educational institutions are no longer are constrained by local boundaries. The conceptual tool that educational institutions deploy to reach the global and local knowledge markets is internationalisation, while internationalisation also enables the global stakeholders to interact and benefit each other (Marginson, 2006). As a mechanism, internationalisation is implemented at the local level to connect a neoliberal subject's activity with knowledge markets. Conceptually, internationalisation is the mechanism, i.e., the rational link between the knowledge economy and neoliberalism and the ELICOS business model (as will be addressed later). As a technique, internationalisation draws together the knowledge economy and neoliberal values to shape neoliberal subjects to participate in the knowledge economy making the ELICOS business model possible. These descriptions of internationalisation describe a process, describing different ways in which ELICOS is first conceptualised and then enabled.

2.1.2 Internationalisation

Internationalisation as a conceptual link between the knowledge economy and ELICOS (a conceptual link made possible by neoliberalism) is also both a concept and a local development strategy. As a concept, internationalisation gives rise to international education. As a development strategy of local educational institutions,

internationalisation is also the means by which local universities transform themselves into national and global players. As another development strategy in response to the knowledge economy, internationalisation provides increased revenue for local educational institutions in the face of local underfunding (Altbach & Welch, 2011).

Within the knowledge economy local educational institutional identities and goals are continually being redefined as global stakeholders influence the way that education is being conducted (Sellar & Lingard, 2014). The identities of local educational institutions have taken on a global reach, and work continually to position themseves as global players in competition with other educational institutions both globally and locally (Marginson, 2006). Internationalisation is a phenomenon that 'works' in various ways for educational institutions. Some univerities internationalise by their composition of students and faculty, by internationalising their curriculum (Rizvi & Walsh, 1998). Internationalisation for some Australian universities includes "a variety of overseas strategies, including branch campuses (in Vietnam, South Africa, Singapore, and elsewhere), [or] twinning arrangements with educational institutions and business enterprises of various kinds in Malaysia and elsewhere" (Altbach & Welch, 2011, p. 2). While initiatives in internationalisation undertaken by educational institutions occur in various ways and in varying degrees, internationalisation is still connected to their commercial interests, and in this way educational institutions participate in "a complex, chaotic and unpredictable edubusiness" (Luke, 2010, p. 2).

The knowledge economy is dependent upon educational institutions' will to internationalise. This will to internationalise serves a number of purposes. At an international level, educational institutions largely identify their competitive progress as global players in terms of "the continuing formation and enhancement of international relationships" (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013, p. 367). At a national level, the will to internationalise is rationalised in terms of positive benefits to the intellectual life of educational institutions (Haigh, 2008). The will to internationalise is also the means of recruitment of full fee paying students (Sidhu, 2004). As a mechanism for recruitment, internationalisation at the local level is also another name for marketing. This aspect of internationalisation and its connection to the ELICOS business model is discussed in the following section.

2.1.3 Marketing: "Push" and "pull" factors

Marketing is a garnering of the "push" and "pull" factors—a result of the forces of globalisation and internationalisation—forces that create a flow of business for international education. It is these push and pull factors in foreign markets that marketing taps into to create its affective material. It is this direct involvement of marketing into the lives of prospective consumers that the subsequent creation of a psychological contract comes into being through the purchase of an educational product (Bordia, 2007). It is also through affectivity that marketing in international education achieves its goals and through which students become one of the primary stakeholders in international education. This claim is unpacked in the following sections.

Push factors are those variables in the source country that attract students to study. For example, within Asian countries the sheer numbers constituting the population means that educational opportunities are in short supply within the home country. Within a host country, pull factors are forces created at the local level in response to a perceived lack within 'otherness', and then exploiting this space-time build-up of a desire for what it is the educational institutions can offer, to draw the prospective student into that space. For example, a perceived lack of educational opportunities is usually responded to by offering educational products that collapse time/space so that these products are attractive to international students—the branding of Australian Trade Commission (Austrade) education is Australia Future Unlimited, and Australia Unlimited (Austrade, 2016b). Clearly the implications here in the marketing of Austrade as 'unlimited' are unobtainable, thus creating a hyperreality that the consumer experiences as pull or in other words, a constructed desire (Brancaleone & O'Brien, 2011; Thiry-Cherques, 2010).

Insightfully, Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) describe push and pull factors as forming a triadic model, between factors operating in the source country, in the host country and within students themselves. This triadic model of marketing, where students' emotions have been drawn upon to enable a purchase, create a situation where in the business exchange, the relationship between educational institutions and overseas students is changed. At the point of a contract between the parties being successfully secured, overseas students' status are changed, they become

'international students'. In this categorical transformation educational institutions and international students are now both primary stakeholders.

2.1.4 The ELICOS business model as a technology and a mechanism

What the previous explorations of the knowledge economy, neoliberalism and internationalisation have been leading to is to show how internationalisation functions as marketing, that is to say, it is synonymous with marketing. In exploiting the push and pull factors within an overseas country, the ELICOS business model consolidates the push and pull factors as power, functioning both as a site and conduit of that power; in this mode of functioning, prospective overseas students are attracted by ELICOS as a power, as a technology. The design of the ELICOS business model is as both a recruitment mechanism and as a technology. The functioning of this model as just described is shown in Figure 2.2.

PROSPECTIVE **OVERSEAS** STUDENTS   *push factors in home country*

educational institutions' marketing

creating "pull" factors

ELICOS **MECHANISM** and **BUSINESS MODEL**

DESIRE— EMOTIONS expectations

ATTRACTOR/FEEDER
(dual functionality)
into
ELICOS teaching context

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS exiting to FEEDER INSTITUTIONS
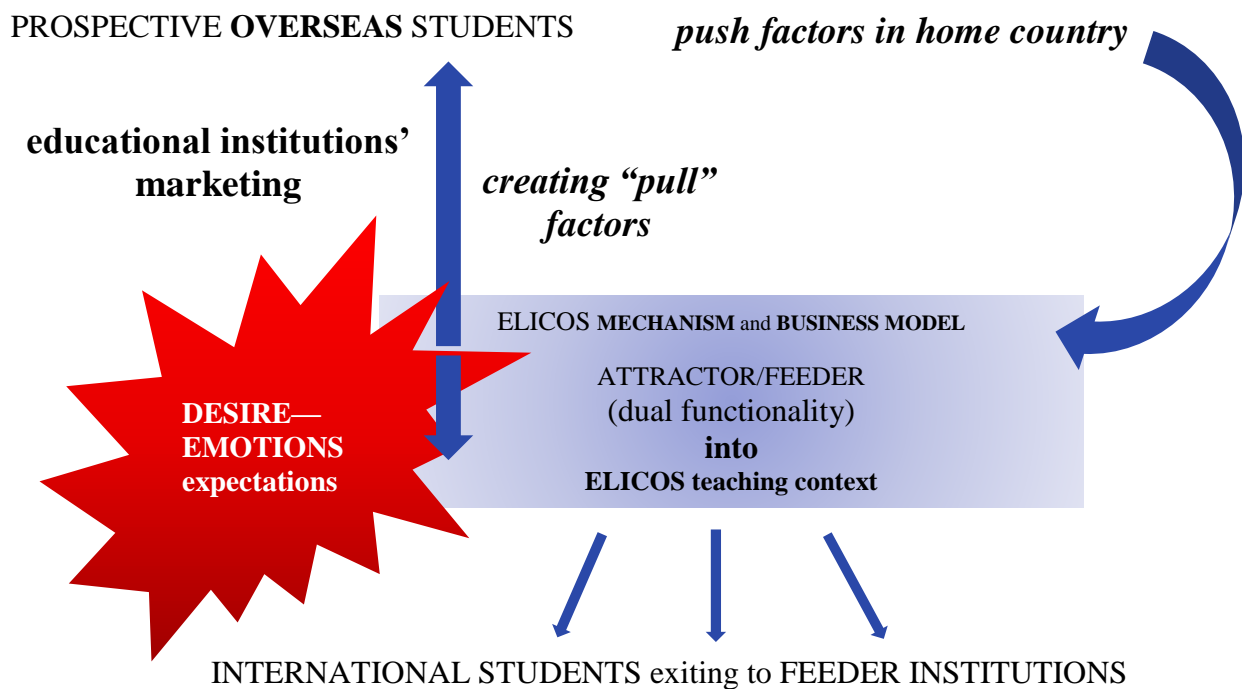
Figure 2.2. The ELICOS business model and marketing

Illuminating how the ELICOS business model works as a technology requires an analysis of the ways in which neoliberalism constructs business models as far as possible, to be risk adverse. Three conditions make this possible. The first involves two assumptions: an assumption of the rationality of the free market, and an

assumption of the success of the market as an achieved state (Gershon, 2011). The second condition is the deployment of the concept of flexibility to free businesses as far as possible from the threats posed by labour costs and social responsibilities (Olssen, 2006; Swan & Fox, 2009). The third condition is the involvement of government in providing business opportunities in which neoliberal business models are able to flourish. Neoliberal governance is a constitutive force that directs ways individuals and groups are conducted through applying interventions (Gillies, 2008) in a 'top–down' manner (Flores, 2013). As this thesis continues to unfold, international education and ELICOS have been shown as two such interventions.

The creation of the first condition in assuming the success of the market is the creation of the business model as a technology (explained in Chapter Three). The second condition is to enable a breadth of applications and freedom from risk as far as these are possible. The third condition is the protection of the theoretical construct by the Australian government and in this way ELICOS as a virtual reality can be recognised as a technology constructed by the Australian government as invention and intervention to create revenue as an export industry as well as revenue raising opportunities for educational institutions (Marginson, 1997).

2.1.5 Marketing and selling techniques

Analysing marketing and selling techniques is important to this thesis, as this analysis shows not only the dissonances and discontinuities at work but also why it is that education and educational products cannot be guaranteed. What I mean by this is shown by a simple analysis of a marketing technique that produces compliance, known as low-balling (Burger & Caputo, 2015; Cialdini, Cacioppo, Bassett, & Miller, 1978; Guéguen & Pascual, 2013). Low-ball as a sales strategy is "commonly used to produce compliance in sales settings" (Cialdini et al., 1978, p. 575), and is a strategy that relies on the seller knowing more than the purchaser, with this non-disclosure as the manipulation of free choice. The seller clearly knows more about their educational product or service that is being sold in the context of international education: educational providers have created the product through a process called localisation (Byrne & Jody, 2012). This process is a necessary one to make the educational product or educational service intelligible and attractive in an overseas marketplace. This process of localisation necessitates stripping away linguistic and cultural complexities in order to make the product intelligible and attractive to

overseas knowledge markets (Anastasiou & Schäler, 2010). Purchasers on the other hand, rely on previous social experiences to enable them to make decision concerning the educational product, this product having been simplified through reducing or hiding the complexity involved through a process of localisation. This process of localisation is explored in greater detail in Chapter Five.

This pattern of low-balling, where the seller clearly hides their greater product knowledge to achieve the sale of educational products to prospective students, is present when the full knowledge of what students have purchased becomes available to them only once students have entered their learning experience. In students' home countries, institutional attractiveness and promises fill brochures and other marketing material, without any accountability or commitment to the reality of what students might experience. The hyperreality that marketing produces is part of the manipulation of the free choice of the individual (Wood & Ball, 2013), and has consequences in the long term not only for students' success in learning, and their affective experience of learning in Australian educational systems, but also for the sustainability of international education itself.

As primary stakeholders, students' expectations of their purchase reveal a discontinuity between what has been promised in the marketing of the educational product/service and the educational experience (Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014; Ellerington & Bayliss, 2004; Wearring et al., 2015). Investigating the depth of the stake that international students place in their education, provides a window into the multiple layers of meaning and expectations that come into play in the purchase of an educational pathway into an Australian educational institution. Not only does the signed contract embody financial exchange but what has secured the sale is the emotional component that marketing has successfully exploited. In other words, marketing has been effective by drawing on the emotions of prospective students. This means that within a purchase resides the emotional investment students have made in imagining this product as part of the development of their life trajectories.

International students are also primary stakeholders because they not only have a stake via their financial investment in their education and their future, they have also risked a known experience for unknown experiences in the process of acculturation for an unknown future with the expectation of success (as promised by the marketing discourse). Attraction and decision-making is based on prospective

students' prior knowledge and experience of English language learning in their home country (these issues are addressed in Section 2.4). Further to this, in entering Australian education systems they have left home, family, friends and other social supports to learn within a completely different culture through the medium of their second, third or even fourth language, engaging in personal risk for the chance of a brighter future through international education. This aspect of emotional investment for students as consumers and primary stakeholders, is visible in the ways in which students' expectations impact in the ELICOS classroom, and this aspect continues to be addressed throughout the rest of the thesis.

Mazzarol and Soutar (2002) recognise student expectations as driving the demand for international education. Marketing builds and directs student desires to the point of narrowing their choice to one particular institution, the choice largely attributable to students' expectations of the ability of the chosen institution "to raise the economic and social status of the graduate" (p. 82). Students' expectations as revealing emotional investment is described by Bordia, Wales and Pittam (2006) on a more practical level: "students devoting time, money and energy to courses expect intellectual and practical gains from them" (p. 10). In a study aimed at increasing student satisfaction, Bordia (2007) explored students' expectations of the educational institution. This study was filled with obligations that students identified as the direct result of institutional promises via marketing material. Bordia comments:

> an Australian TESOL institute may have a brochure with a picture of sand and surf. Although the document does not explicitly state that the institute organises excursions to the beach, a prospective student may interpret from the picture that this is indeed part of the package. By having the picture in the brochure, the institute may have inadvertently created an obligation. (Bordia, 2007, p. 28)

This juxtapositioning of images and text designed to draw upon prospective consumers affective states rather than be representative of the reality of the educational product/service, is the hyperreality that marketing creates as part of the push and pull influencing student choice. It is this hyperreality that in large part causes unmet expectations in the drive inherent in marketing to secure prospective students, that is problematic on a number of levels, one of which is ethical.

In the commercial exchange of signing up with an educational institution through an agent in a student's home country, the way in which these prospective students have been conceptualised, and the way in which they conceptualise themselves, is suddenly changed. Once in the system, overseas students are now considered as international students, and also in this increase in status is an increase of status for students' understanding and goals for themselves. As international students, these students are primary stakeholders in their own education through the way international education as a virtual reality 'works' within the knowledge economy (which is also a virtual reality). With this increased status and students' own recognition of their financial investment as achieving it social ends is also a heightened recognition of the obligations that educational institutions have towards them as consumer and to their purchase (Bordia, 2007; Bordia, Bordia, & Restubog, 2015; Bordia, Wales, & Pittam, 2006). Within international education the business transaction is not a simple exchange of goods, but is accompanied by inverse promises, promises made by the educational institution in their marketing material and those promises that form the basis of students' expectations and understanding of institutional obligations. However, international students as purchasers are not only primary stakeholders they also have a secondary status within the educational system as learners. This construct of students as holding both primary and secondary relationship to the institution is further problematised by some hidden factors, which the following section will explore.

In summary, international education has been described as invented, a virtual reality constituted by push and pull factors which also makes international education a technology and a mechanism. Marketing creates flow of business in international education through creating a hyperreality, creating a desire and enabling the sale of a simplified product/service. This process of localisation and subsequent sale/purchase is through the enactment of the low-balling technique—where the educational institution has simplified a complex product to capture a sale, and where the context of the sale is a hyperreality that has been created through marketing. In this process of sale/purchase, the overseas student gains the status of primary stakeholder which is represented in the change of terminology to international student. This positioning and experience is different from the experience of the educational institution where there is no loss of status/positioning, a change in relationship as the student as learner

is now in both a primary and secondary relationship with the institution. To highlight the positioning of the student, the following section will conduct further exploration of the conditions under which international students purchase their product/service and under which as learners they engage in their learning experience.

2.2   International Education as Virtual Reality: A Western Neoliberal Project

International education as a Western neoliberal invention is identifiable by the managerial aspects of neoliberal rationality, which aims to produce a system of "efficient autonomised economic production" (Debord, cited in Brancaleone & O'Brien, 2011, p. 501). This efficiency serves the interests of knowledge capitalism, an understanding of education that is broader than academia, being inclusive of all types of learning particularly as learning relates to the workplace, business and industry (Olssen & Peters, 2005). At the same time governments see universities as a key driver in the knowledge economy, as a vehicle for the promotion of entrepreneurial skills and industry partnerships, with government policies continuing to utilise neoliberal reason to harness lifelong learning program/s "through discourses of flexibility or flexible specialisation" (Olssen, 2006, p. 214). As outlined in Section 2.1, neoliberal projects within the knowledge economy operate through the mechanisms of lifelong learning and flexibility to serve knowledge capitalism, with the ideology of lifelong learning serving the interests of international education, and international education serving the financial interests of educational institutions. As a business strategy for Western countries, the concept of international education is used to exploit the English language education industry[15] (H. Lin, 2013).

International education is a virtual reality that relies on a worldwide commercial language teaching industry for its legitimation. This English Language Teaching industry (ELT) has largely been the work of the three major English language teacher providers of the United States of America, the United Kingdom and Australia (Holborow, 2006). Construction of the ELT industry has been instrumental in bringing together governments and business to work collaboratively to construct neoliberal forms of governmentalities, in order "to engineer the conditions for

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[15] This naming by Angel Lin is specifically non-Western, indicating a non-Western objectification of international education that does not arise from a monolingual mindset. This naming is the result of the observation of international education as a Western enterprise.

efficient economic production" (Olssen & Peters, 2005, p. 318). Engineering conditions through joint partnerships and collaborations between the USA, the UK, Canada, Australia and New Zealand (Ahern, 2009), has provided these countries "with a new form of international trade: English education industry" (H. Lin, 2013, p. 10). This construction of international education has required the commercialisation of the English language—as product, process and project (Phillipson, 2008, 2009). As well, the co–optation of existing commercial language teaching qualifications, including Teaching English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL), provides legitimation for teachers who are employed to teach English as an additional language. TESOL has generated a service industry in language education within Australian universities (Luke, 2008). Luke (2008) emphasises the potential of TESOL to service strategic priorities of corporate universities providing an "uneven but extensive market for graduates; strong potential articulations with social policy, educational systems, and transnational corporations; major growth in online and digital delivery; and steady publisher demand for instructional and curricular material" (p. 308).

Another element of efficient economic production has been the construction of an international language testing system with global status, "a joint partnership between the British Council, University of Cambridge Local Examinations Syndicate, and the International Development Program of Australian Universities and Colleges (IDP) now IDP Education Australia" (Ahern, 2009, p. 39). In 1996, the Australian government transferred the ownership of the International English Language Testing System (IELTS) to 38 Australian universities. In 2006, SEEK (an online employment agency) acquired a 50% interest in IDP paying $36 million (2009). Presently, IELTS is "jointly owned by British Council, IDP, IELTS Australia and Cambridge English Language Assessment and delivered through more than 900 test centres and locations in over 130 countries" (International English Language Testing System, n.d.). In 2011, over 1.7 million students took the test which, as reported by its owners, makes it the most popular language testing system in the world (D. Thomas, 2012). These constructions arose in sync with the emergence of a highly lucrative publishing industry (Gray, 2010a, 2012), with transnational corporations playing a role in the development of TESOL curricula

(Flores, 2013). These conditions evidence the development of the ELT industry as an integrated system that services the virtual reality of international education.

Another marker of neoliberal influence in efficient economic production is the way that the ELT industry has been further strengthened by English as a hegemonic force where powerful English-speaking nations are both the producers and beneficiaries of English as a global language (E. Ellis, 2006b; H. Lin, 2013: Phillipson, 1992). This hegemonic force has been strengthened even further by a monolingual orientation inherent in the ELT industry as well as in TESOL. This monolingual orientation, built on Eurocentric norms, is in sync with the monolingual-colonial orientations in law, administration and education of these native speaking countries, where the English language operates as a tool for nation building and national unity (May, 2011). This situation has implications for international students, forming much of the considerations in Chapters Five and Six.

Another part of the success of international education as an autonomised system is the construction of consumers in an intentional way so that consumers serve the business system. For example, neoliberalism serves capitalist interests in setting up a paradigm of lifelong learning (described earlier in Section 2.1) a paradigm in which consumers as constructed as neoliberal subjects with agency, constructed specifically as entrepreneurs and managers of their own lifelong learning. This means that international students are constructed as both consumers and learners within a lifetime of consumption. With English as a hegemonic force, these consumer-learners are shaped to look to Western countries for servicing their educational ambitions.

2.2.1 Core concern: Relationships in Australian international education

The construction of primary and secondary relationships within ELICOS is the core concern for this study. This concern arises from the dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection that is hidden within these relationships. Within ELICOS, as Australian international education, teachers and students are in relationship to their educational institution in different ways. The teacher/student relationship, as the core of this study, is involved in a complex triadic relationship with the educational institution identified in Figure 2.3.
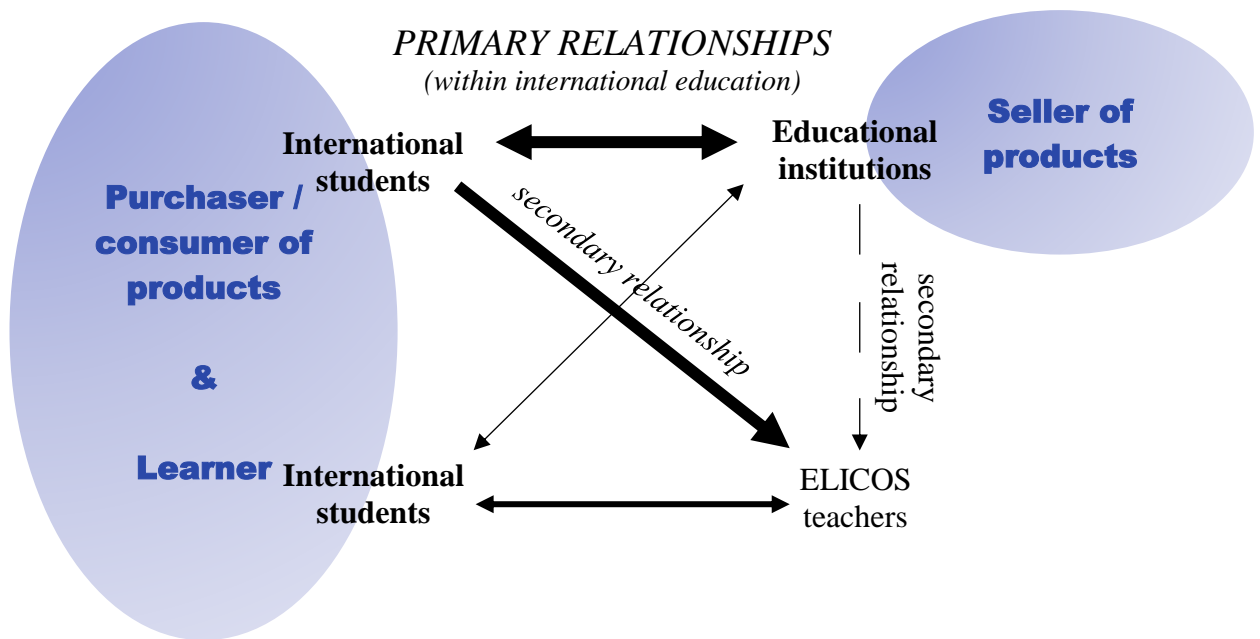
Figure 2.3. Core Relationships in International Education/ELICOS

As Figure 2.3 indicates, international students are constructed to hold dual positionings. The first positioning is as purchasers in the business exchange and is an ongoing relationship; together with the educational institution with whom students have made their investment in their education, students are primary stakeholders within the context of international education. This relationship of being primary stakeholders together with educational institutions in international education, endures as long as the institutional obligations toward the purchaser/international student, as prescribed by law, continue (Australian Government, n.d.-b; Department of Education and Training, n.d.). The second positioning with the educational institution is that of international students as learners. In this role, international students are in a secondary relationship to the educational institution, however they continue to hold their status as primary stakeholder within the ELICOS classroom. Teachers, on the other hand, are in a secondary relationship with both their students and the institution. This latter positioning means that in the classroom, ELICOS teachers are in a secondary relationship with their students who are now primary stakeholders.

2.3 International Students' Experiences as Primary Stakeholders

The following section now turns from ELICOS considerations to explore the human experience of those international students who are not ELICOS students. This

move is necessary to make clear differences in complexity between the experiences of international students who are qualified to enter Australian education systems without any intervention, and ELICOS students. In this thesis, ELICOS students as international students are shown to have extra layers of complexity with which to contend.

Exploring the human experience of international students in general requires analysing the conditions involved in students' learning experience, an exploration that has made necessary a description of hidden factors. In the performativity of ELICOS education, a hidden yet highly significant element is that of students' experience of acculturation (Barker, 2015; Gebhard, 2013; H.-S. Park & Rubin, 2012; Smith & Khawaja, 2011; Suinn, 2010; Wu & Mak, 2012). Another significant element is the part that monolingualism plays in sustaining international education as a Western project. Furthermore, this exploration of monolingualism is especially important not only to resist the international student being 'essentialised', but also because an effect of the monolingual mindset is to hide the complexity of international students: the complexity of their epistemologies as bilingual/plurilingual learners, their capacities and cultural diversities, as well as their agency and their human and learning needs.

2.3.1 Hidden factors

In the literature, international students are usually referred to as a homogenous group, even in literature where international students and international academics are writing out of their own experiences (Ling & Tran, 2015; Tsedendamba, 2013; Xu, 2012; Y. Zhang & Mi, 2010). However, in spite of this strategic positioning that allows bilingual/pluralingual scholars to speak to a monolingual field, international students generally do not see themselves as a homogenous group, and increasingly are providing feedback to Western educators on their cross-cultural learning experiences in efforts to improve their experience in Australian education systems (Tran, 2011; Yu & Shen, 2012; Y. Zhang & Mi, 2010; Zhou & Todman, 2009).

Although the literature evidences that students themselves are beginning to articulate their learning needs, what this chapter highlights and emphasises is that the effects of monolingualism in international education seem to remain hidden to the students themselves. These students in writing about their learning needs as international students are also writing as primary stakeholders within the knowledge

economy, and in this construction are unable to recognise that their humanity i.e., their learning needs, are not considered within the business framework of international education. One reason for this is that international education trades in, as well as is supported by, monolingualism, a concept that is discussed further in Section 2.3.2.1, with the effects of monolingualism being discussed in detail in Section 6.1.1.1.

2.3.2 Subjectivity within a monolingual framework

The concept of monolingualism is utilised in this chapter to illuminate some of the power differential that exists through its functioning, and in order to display this potential and its effects for the experiences of students both as primary stakeholders and as learners. The effects of monolingualism are evidenced through the presence of dissonances, discontinuities, and disconnections in international students' experiences, where the effects—beneficial or detrimental—are contingent upon how international students are able to respond to their experiences. Having formed a framework of understanding, I draw upon various data sources to bring forward some descriptions of ELICOS students' experiences, using teacher accounts and literature as a methodological strategy to illuminate the degree of contingency and possibilities present in students' exercise of agency. The sources for my data analyses continue to be the literature, personal experience and teachers' reporting, as interpreted through my quadrifocal researcher lens.

Addressing the research question by drawing on the literature and teacher accounts to describe international students' experience of the ELICOS system, requires a description of the way that English as a monolingual tool functions for both Western governments and educational institutions around the world, and then bring forward ways in which international students can and do exercise agency within this monolingual framework. The following section further develops an understanding on monolingualism

2.3.2.1 Monolingualism

Monolingualism is the means by which international education is able to be conceptualised. Some of the import of monolingualism for international education comes to light when considering that "most of the world's population is multilingual" (E. Ellis et al., 2010, p. 440). As an ideology, monolingualism is

deployed in the service of nation building as well as functioning to serve national interests, being part of the way in which social cohesion is constructed and maintained at a national level (Lo Bianco, 2010; May, 2011). Monolingualism underpins Australian society through the hegemony of English: "the Australian Constitution makes no mention of an official language but the monolingual operations of its institutions sanction only English" (Lo Bianco, 2010, p. 50). English is identified by Ellis, Gogolin & Clyne (2010) as the means of a functioning monolingual epistemology, that is to say English as the vehicle that creates the 'norm' "held by individuals and captured within institutions (such as schools) and societal structures" (E. Ellis et al., 2010, p. 440). In this way, monolingualism is a mindset that "forms part of a powerful national discourse that finds its way into the enacting of language policy and education policy" (p. 440). In so doing, monolingualism can be seen as inherent in the construction and purposes of Australian international education.

A limitation of a monolingual mindset is its inability to represent all members of society and its consequential propensity to skew the enactment of social justice. In a comparative study, E. Ellis et al. (2010) provide numerous examples of a monolingual mindset and its effects. One such example in Australia is a recent instance where the government employed a Swedish company to identify evidence in the speech of Afghani refugees to identify if they were Pakistani trying to enter Australia "under false pretences" (p. 443). The company's analysis, as reviewed by a group of linguists, was shown to be seriously flawed. The analysis did not factor in the effects of language contact and the sociolinguistic context: these Afghani refugees had lived for years in Pakistani refugee camps before coming to Australia and this was reflected in their speech (E. Ellis et al., 2010). In identifying further a monolingual mindset as being blind to the relationship between language and the sociolinguistic context, this blindness "include[s] a suspicion of other languages and those who speak them, and a lack of understanding of sociolinguistic principles" (p. 443). Thus, recognition of a monolingual mindset requires an analysis of the ways in which a national language functions. In Australia a monolingual mindset can be seen as functioning through its national constitution: the Indigenous peoples remain unrepresented in the national constitution, and while they remain unrepresented the

Australian narrative and identity remains that of a white European English speaking nation (E. Ellis et al., 2010).

A monolingual mindset accentuates and valorises Australian identity as a white European English speaking nation, and it is this identity that gives Australia a Western identity, in spite of its geographical location in the Asian region. It is this Western identity that has made possible Australia as stakeholder in constructing international education as well as strengthening Australia's market share in international education. At the same time, English as a global language is a global hegemonic force that strengthens further international education and in this way functions to serve the monolingualism of Western countries (Guo & Beckett, 2012). The force of this ideology becomes visible as the myth of the native speaker[16] serves to enhance international education. This myth of the native speaker as the best qualified English teacher, is debunked by Phillipson (1992) as a fallacy of ELT professionalism, a fallacy that continues to be exploited by marketing agents and governments. Recently Guo and Beckett (2012), pointed out that "there is no empirical evidence to support the assertion that English is best taught monolingually" (p. 65).

At a micro level, the presence of monolingualism affects the way in which students are taught. This particular aspect of language—the effects of monolingualism within the learning and teaching of English within Australia—has long been the focus of scholar Elizabeth/Liz Ellis (E. Ellis, 2004a, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2013; E. Ellis et al., 2010; L. Ellis, 2004b). On the other hand, little if any research has been done on the performativity of monolingualism in international education and the effects of the structural disconnect between bilingual/pluralingual learners as they learn within a monolingual oriented educational system, a disconnect that has implications for the experiences of a diverse international student cohort. Although this may generalise the multicultural identities of international students, my aim is to identify an effect, common to all international students, because of their non-western status. Additionally, identifying the effects of monolingualism is

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[16] The image of native speakership is used in the marketing of English courses in private language schools in overseas countries. For example, in Japan, "commercial advertisements abound with such phrases as *native speaker no eigo* ('native speakers' English'), *hommono no eigo* ('authentic English'), and *native speaker no koshi* ('native-speaker instructors')" (Saito & Hatoos, 2011, p. 108) to attract business.

important because in purchasing an ELICOS product, these students as primary stakeholders and learners have, purchased agency.

It is the agency of individual students as primary stakeholders that the following section addresses: international students as people with hopes, dreams, wishes, and goals whose purchase of an educational product represents and encapsulates a plan in their life trajectories. Significant differences between the general experience of international students and ELICOS students are largely due to the lower level of language proficiency (Rusina, 2008). Therefore, in order to reveal specific implications of the ways in which ELICOS students experience the ELICOS system (Research Question Three) there is a methodological need to differentiate international students from ELICOS students. ELICOS students as second language learners of English are lower level learners in English language proficiency, and as lower level learners, experience far greater challenges, which is discussed further in Section 6.3.

2.4 International Students as Primary Stakeholders

In a host country, international students have varying degrees of negative experiences as a result of "language shock, culture shock, homesickness, lack of study skills and language proficiency" (Y. Zhang & Mi, 2010). These negative experiences are part of the process of acculturation (Barker, 2015; Briones, Tabernero, & Arenas, 2011; Cheung-Blunden & Juang, 2008; Padilla, 2003; Samnani, Boekhorst, & Harrison, 2013; Smith & Khawaja, 2011; Wichert, 1996). Samnani (2013) defines the process in this way: "the acculturation process refers to the behavioural, cultural, and psychological adjustments individuals experience as a result of intercultural contact" (Samnani et al., 2013, p. 167). The pressures that newcomers encounter determine how newcomers respond in the process and to the environment, thus the process is driven and determined by both dispositional as well as situational factors.

These negative experiences are the result of the sudden changes in many areas of students' lives "including their language, identity, social status, relationships and network system, attitudes, values and beliefs, behaviours, cognitions, personality, and cultural orientation" (H.-S. Park & Rubin, 2012, p. 612). These experiences that are part of a complex process requiring multiple forms of adaptation to the host

country, are experiences of dissonance, disruption, discontinuities and disconnection. While presenting as negative, these experiences can be, and often are for the international student, the 'stuff' of learning another language, the challenge of expanding consciousness in learning in a different culture, as well as providing possibilities for multiple identities and personal growth (Barker, 2015). However, positive outcomes depend on the maturity, imagination and the resilience of the student.

Another aspect of negotiation by international students involves resisting the assimilatory effect of the English language. At the same time there are psychological implications issuing from the significant part that TESOL continues to play in the English language education industry (A. Lin & Luke, 2006; H. Lin, 2013), an industry where English acts as a hegemonic force, and a situation where TESOL teachers often unwittingly reinforce a deficit view of the learner. Overcoming this positioning and the futility of the battle for the learner is effectively captured in the question posed by Lin & Luke (2006, p. 65) "Can a spider weave its way out of the web that it is being woven into just as it weaves?" The highly problematic nature for the identity and agency of international students another point made well by Lin & Luke (2006, p. 64):

> The naming "TESOL" already assigns dichotomous Self-Other subject positions to teacher and learner. It interactionally and officially positions the Anglo-teacher as Self, and positions the learner in a life trajectory of forever being the Other—continuing the colonial storyline of Friday: the "slave boy" resigned to the destiny of forever trying to approximate the "master's language" but never legitimately recognized as having achieved it, being forever assigned the "non- native" or ESL/EFL speaker status.
>
> (p. 64)

The effects of this struggle with identity, that this quotation suggests as the struggle for learners of English, can be ameliorated through critical pedagogies, where engagement in class discussions can provide new and different, and even

multiple subject positions and social identities for the language learner (Block, 2007; Brumfit, 2006). While it is beyond the scope of this thesis to deal with the relationship between language and identity in international education, the plethora of literature around language, culture and identity and the way that learners negotiate their learning (e.g., Chanock, 2010; Cox, Jordan, & Ortmeier-Hooper, 2010; Koehne, 2005, 2006), provides ample evidence of the intensity of the struggle that language learning initiates and generates, particularly within in the acculturation process (Canagarajah, 2004).

However, international students handle experiences of acculturation differently, and what often remains hidden from monolingual teachers in facilitating the learning process, is their students' continuing identity struggle as part of language acquisition[17] (Block, 2007; Chowdhury, 2008). This lack of awareness is problematic, as language learning and identity struggles are inextricably intertwined, with identity being "a site of struggle, negotiation of difference, ambivalence, structure and agency" (Block, 2007, p. 867), this site requiring specialised support in the facilitation of learning. Negotiating identities can be a particularly difficult experience for students from former colonised countries, students who are very often aware of English as a legacy of empire or at least are aware of its assimilatory potential (A. Lin & Luke, 2006; Phillipson, 2013). In these instances the part that TESOL teachers play in their facilitation of learning is crucial to students' successful negotiation of difficult issues. Many of the international students from Asia are vulnerable to the effects of power relations in language as the teaching of English in Asia "is closely tied to the vicissitudes of the history and the politics of places depending on whether each country was colonized by reasons of proximity, trade, or political and military confrontation" (Sung, 2012, p. 24). In short, teachers' knowledge of the power relations in language and teachers' ability to help their students negotiate multiple identities is an important aspect that can enable or constrain students' experience of language learning.

While identity is a common struggle (Norton, 2000), not all students are described as negotiating identity issues in the same way. Some students may decide it is more beneficial to take an assimilatory approach to their language learning.

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[17] Second language acquisition as a field of study, with its roots in linguistics and cognitive psychology, has made links between language learning and identity. For an account of the rise of identity in SLA research see Block (2007).

Gebhard (2013) conducted a study of EFL students studying abroad, and found successful students focused on assimilatory practices, for example, using an uncritical deployment of observing and imitating, doing and reflecting. In contrast, Western educators who are dedicated in their efforts to make students' experiences of the acculturation process transformative, may not be aware of the issues of language and identity, and what it is these educators, as people of goodwill, are asking of their students in an effort to help them flourish.

Culture shock is connected to international students' experience of having to use English as a native language (Y. Zhang & Mi, 2010). This requires an instant switch from their native language to using a foreign language as their first language. English as a foreign language, a decontextualised form of English that gains its semantic field from the home culture, was part of students' prior learning and socialisation and will be discussed in more detail later in this section. A further difficulty for students is that learning English as a foreign language (EFL) is based on a structural view of language, where "language learning (as) is a gradual individual process of internalizing the set of rules, structures, and vocabulary of a standard language" (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 416). Training in EFL is an approach to language learning where striving for competence precedes performance, for example, in an exam context. Thus, the immediate shock for international students is in the experience of language use is a reversal of their formative experiences in language learning, where performance demands challenge all claims to competence in the transition from learning English in a controlled environment to actually using English as a first language in both social and academic contexts. This struggle to gain control over their medium of communication offers an explanation as to why international students continue to understand their most pressing and significant problems for their social and academic life to be language difficulties—difficulties in listening, speaking, reading, writing—at least for the first two years of their learning experiences in a foreign context (Y. Zhang & Mi, 2010).

Students' agency within international education is also contingent on their choice of study discipline in an international context, with some disciplines being more linguistically-demanding than others. This phenomenon—some academic areas being more linguistically demanding than others—has been identified by Yu & Shen (2012) who found "students from the Faculty of Engineering and Information

and those from the Faculty of Economics and Business respectively reported the highest and the lowest level of linguistic confidence" (p. 72). This is further confirmed by Love & Arkoudis (2004) in a study of the academic and language learning needs of Chinese international students in an Australian high school: "Commerce/Economics subjects (as) are those which many Chinese students seek to study at university, but which present particular challenges for them at school level" (p. 58).

In this section I have begun to outline experiences such as acculturation, that are not advertised in the purchase of the educational service by primary stakeholders. International students (as primary stakeholders) generally experience a series of negative experiences as part of acculturation e.g., culture shock, however many of these negative experience can be a source of personal and professional growth, especially for students who are mature, imaginative, and resilient. This issue of contingency at the same time raises the issue of student agency, which has further been identified as an important aspect in considering enablements and constraints in language learning, especially in overcoming the deficit view of the language learner. In the latter part of this section, I suggested that monolingual teachers were unable to meet students' needs in successfully negotiating multiple identities as part of the language learning process. Highlighting this aspect begins to bring forward a significant issue for this thesis, and that is the difference in perspectives—between how international students view of their learning/support needs and how differently monolingual teachers in the host country might view and facilitate students language learning needs. As primary stakeholders, international students are confronted by challenges inherent in the acculturation process while simultaneously experiencing the discursive effects of the language they are learning. While often successfully meeting many of these challenges that Australian international education poses, international students are unable to acknowledge and articulate how their view might to be different from those teaching them (Xu, 2012; Y. Zhang & Mi, 2010). It is this issue—of conflicting student and teacher perceptions—that is embedded in Research Questions Six and Seven, and is analysed specifically in Section 7.2.4.

2.4.1 Effects of prior social and educational formation

As described earlier, international students' view of their learning needs not only arises from their present learning experiences but more significantly, is largely

based upon their prior educational and social formation. Students' prior learning of English as a foreign language (EFL) was described earlier as based on a structural view of language. Prior learning in EFL is, for Asian students, an educational formation based on a method of learning the English language that generally deploys a grammar/translation method, text-based learning that focuses on reading comprehension (Midgley, 2010; Tsedendamba, 2013; L. J. Zhang & Wu, 2009). In China, good learners in English are equated with being good readers in English (L. J. Zhang & Wu, 2009). Consideration of this approach to language learning is particularly pertinent to Australian international education, a context where Asian students dominate the international student intake. This emphasis on reading and reading comprehension in home country contexts, can account for the results of a study by Zhang and Mi (2010) in which international students identified reading as the least problematic area in their second language use. The emphasis on reading and reading comprehension by home country teachers of English, teachers who are usually unable to communicate in spoken English, can also account for these students' lack of confidence in speaking in English, with speaking in English being identified as being one of the more serious learning difficulties that students face in a foreign country (Sawir, 2005; Yu & Shen, 2012). Lack of confidence and a low level of skills in English language proficiency, particularly speaking skills, is shown in Chapter Seven to be an important factor in the difficulties of the ELICOS student/teacher relationship.

Low confidence in speaking in English can also be seen as having a correlation with students' financial investment in their Australian education, As Norton Peirce (1995) noted in her study: all participants "felt uncomfortable talking to people in whom they had a particular symbolic or material investment" (Norton Peirce, 1995, p. 19). What is further emphasised here is the correlation between language use and anxiety. In the sudden transition from language learning as competence to language as performance in a foreign country, is the added imperative of language acquisition for conversational purposes that was not present in earlier educational and social formation[18]. This imperative towards rapid acquisition intensifies the correlation between the intensity of investment that learners have in language performance and

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[18] The tension in this difference between language learning as competence and language acquisition can be seen in the work to bridge the divide that exists between explicit and implicit learning (Andringa & Rebuschat, 2015; Dörnyei, 2009).

the level of anxiety that is experienced. This is explored further in Section 7.2.4 in regard to student expectations.

In the sudden change of countries and cultures and the imperative to perform in their second language, international students' solutions are biased towards the needs of the present moment. Thus, in the present moment, international students attempt to solve their academic and social problems in the classroom using familiar approaches based on a formation developed through their experience of learning in their own culture (Stanley, 2013; Tsedendamba, 2013; Xu, 2012). This formation can be entirely different and usually quite opposite to the educational formation within Western academic systems. Naranchimeg Tsedendamba (2013) describes her experience of learning this way:

> most of my schooling and part of my university life was spent in the socialist period in Mongolia. I grew up believing in the importance of listening to one who is in charge, and of respecting them without reservation. I was taught not to have an opinion of my own and this has stayed with me. (p. 2)

The effects and significance of prior educational formation, as part of students' cultural capital has also been shown in the agency of international students studying in Australia. In a study of the experiences of three Chinese research students, Xu (2012) found that "the agency [international students] applied in Australia was an extension of their fundamental desires and goals for learning, established when first learning English in China" (p. 593).

Language learning goals are often motivated by students' experiences of learning English in their home country. Learning English is central to an Asian way of life, where English language learning has been 'big business' in Asian countries for over three decades. In learning English, students attend in-class as well as after school programs, often with an attendant goal of language testing, as a normal experience. In Korea and China, private language institutes are fuelled by the phenomenon of "English fever" which in turn initiates "an excessive zeal for private tutoring" (Sung, 2012, p. 27). This excessive zeal compels more than private tutoring in English. English fever creates a desire for "study-abroad, and test-oriented ineffective practices for which [costs are] incurred upon families regardless of their financial status such as in China and Korea" (Sung, 2012, p. 27). These

desires around English language learning, that have their cultural expressions in English fever in students' home country, mean that international students come with well-entrenched formation practices, a particular style of English language learning, and particular expectations of teaching within their home country, as being the proper or correct way to learn a language. In coming to Australia, the effect of prior educational formation is that it creates a mismatch between prior educational formation and the Australian academic culture, academic English, and ways of learning, adding pressure to the triadic relationship between educational institution, students, and teachers.

The educational formation of Korean students is influenced the importance of placed on English. This importance is promoted through a *hakbeol* ideology, which places "high social and economic 'profits of distinction' (Bourdieu, 1991) on students who are admitted to prestigious universities" (Pederson, 2012, p. 11). In supporting the claim of the importance placed on English, Pederson (2012) reports that in 2005, "Koreans spent 1.3 billion dollars on private English education—[and] 650 million dollars on standardized English proficiency tests, such as TOEFL and TOIEC, numbers which are undoubtedly higher today".

In China, similar social formation exists as the business of private English language institutes are also supported and promoted by government policies, and by default, promoting these institutes to be highly competitive as well as lucrative businesses. English language learning centres in China are literally on every street corner. Students' experiences of English in their home country mean that they have seen the power of English to lift individuals to financial success. Guo & Beckett (2012) provide a compelling example in their description of Yu Minhong's 'New Oriental School' (新东方学校), a private language school that was

> established in 1993 with fewer than 30 students. By the end of 2010, however, the number of students had soared to 10 million; from a private school with an investment of less than US$304, to an educational enterprise with a total net revenue as high as US$95.7 million in 2010. (Guo & Beckett, 2012, p. 56)

These instances point to students' belief in English as a means to secure their future. Hence, students educational and social formation includes the imbibing of success

stories such as the 'New Oriental School', as well as the promotion of English by Asian governments. These have an indelible influence on students' attitude and motivation in learning English, as the previous paragraph testifies and as researchers have found to be the case (e.g., Xu, 2012). At the same time, "the role model of English in the EFL context generally remains—[a] native speaker one" (Saito & Hatoos, 2011, p. 109) which together with English fever as a cultural phenomenon and a major driver of the national economy means that international students come to a host country with prior cultural, educational and social formation, and with English fever as the basis for future expectations of teachers and their practices, expectations of what learning looks like, which they bring to their ELICOS classroom experience.

Another aspect of international students' prior educational formation and socialisation is their experience of Western EFL teachers. Stanley (2013) provides some general observations of Western teachers in China—insider observations that, from a Western perspective, are compelling insights of how Chinese international students may have experienced Western teachers in their home country. In China, Western teachers are constructed to perform: teachers are expected to behave in particular ways to distinguish *Chineseness* from *foreignness*, to function as an outgroup that is identifiable in terms of otherness, i.e., as the exotic other. While this strategy is aimed to empower Chinese people by strengthening their national identity, this technique is costly to Western teachers, an aspect that Guo and Beckett (2012) highlight when they note: "cultural differences are often trivialised, exoticized, and essentialized as ends in themselves" (Guo & Beckett, 2012, p. 66).

Performativity for Western teachers in China is constructed so these TESOL teachers are "gently entertaining—similar to the 'authenticity' imagined and expected in some tourist contexts of 'primitive' people" (Stanley, 2013, p. 40). While Western teachers may try to resist such a construction, they are pressured into performing this function for Chinese social and educational formation. Stanley (2013) notes that in this construction, "even qualified, experienced Western teachers are pressured to perform 'foreignness' in Chinese TESOL" (p. 43). Chinese TESOL is a product approach to language teaching and learning that contrasts with Western approaches to language teaching and learning as an educative process. In a product model of education and language teaching, Western teachers, as well as their

teaching approaches and techniques, are interpreted as nonsense to the Chinese learner. As Huang, a Chinese student, describes:

> The foreign teachers, they don't bring books to class and the students think the teacher . . . doesn't have a lot of plans. They just pick a topic and write on the board and say, 'This class we just talk a topic'. This is not a way Chinese teacher do a class, so this is not a good teacher. We think the foreign teacher is an idiot. (Stanley, 2013, p. 42)

China is not the only Asian country where teachers are constructed to perform in particular ways. Kirkpatrick (2007) gives an example of a Japanese ELT recruitment company who "advertises in England for native speaker teachers to work in Japanese primary and secondary schools. These people do not have to be trained, but 'they must like children'" (Kirkpatrick, 2007, p. 32). However, not all Asian countries have this approach to Western teachers and their approach to teaching, as a Korean high school teacher doing TESOL Masters course revealed. Although this Korean teacher had been a certified public school teacher for the last nine years, she felt inadequate to the task of teaching listening and speaking. Her lack of confidence was due to her self-perception of not being a native speaker. This teacher described her lack of confidence being due to the fact that she didn't see herself as modern, as advanced, because she could not be certain that she was living and working in an advanced modern culture. Being modern was clearly something she and the rest of the class admired and valued. When the Western teacher asked the class what a modern person might look like a student said to him, "You" (Pederson, 2012, p. 2).

In summary, this section has described some aspects of students' prior educational formation as setting up different expectations at different levels. For example, the exceptional business success of language schools in their home country, give students an instrumental view of language and language learning as well as internalising a consumer mentality where value for money is a paramount consideration. Further to this, students come with different expectations of what a teacher might look like and opinions about how credible their teaching might be. These are important factors in Chapters Six and Seven (addressing Research Questions Two and Three), as these chapters deal with ELICOS students' struggle with the language learning experience.

2.4.2 Student adaptation

International students' need to adapt to their host country compels them to engage in a process of "self-monitoring, self-management and personal change" (Kettle, 2011, p. 9). While adaptation is not a new phenomenon to language learners, language learning is itself is a process of adaptation. In a different cultural environment where the learner has to use their second language as their first language, adaptation takes on a much broader meaning. The need to deploy strategies, techniques and other modes of operating in order to facilitate cross-cultural learning as well as cross-cultural living is common to all overseas students. Students have to cope with both socio-cultural adaptation and psychological adaptation, due to experiences, "such as feeling depressed, anxious, and lonely due to the loss of their social support networks" (Yu & Shen, 2012, p. 73).

At an ideal level, success in personal and intercultural adaptation is achieved through processes of transformation. This is seen in students that are able to achieve a level of functional fitness, that is, students are able to operate competently within the host country (Pitts, 2009). Transformation happens also where psychological fitness is achieved, that is, students overcome the emotional, mental, and/or physical trauma associated with acculturative/transitional stress, and also the gradual transition toward an intercultural identity (Pitts, 2009). However, most students experience themselves, within the processes of transformation, in a constant state of disequilibrium and instability, exercising agency by accepting as well as resisting subjectified positions in academic and educational institutions' discourses (Koehne, 2005, 2006).

Adaptation on an academic level can be argued as the focus for most international students, as their primary goal is "to obtain good academic results in the foreign institutions" (Yu & Shen, 2012). Tran (2011), a former Vietnamese international student, explored the writing experiences of eight Chinese and Vietnamese international students and found three patterns of adaptation: surface adaptation, committed adaptation, and hybrid adaptation. Surface adaptation is where students withdraw their own beliefs for the sake of their investment. Committed adaptation is where students try to achieve what is required of them, and hybrid adaptation is where students have been able to synthesise inner imperatives and form a new writing practice. These patterns, as an interactive dynamic in

varying degrees, are what I have observed in students' engagement of their academic work within the acculturation process. Students' efforts in adaptation was my general experience of student learning, where I observed their behaviour as moving from appearing to conform to the demands of academic English (surface adaption), to wanting to interpret their learning about how to learn and what to learn as a mixture of their prior educational formation and Western approaches to learning (hybrid adaption). In applying a proactive approach to their learning, adaptation practices that international students deploy reveal these students and their learning as dynamic and complex, with their academic challenges and growth often provoking shifts in their personal and intercultural subjectivity (Tran, 2011).

These articulations of adaption reveal the inherent struggles students have as primary stakeholders. This is partly because these extracurricular goals, strategies and experiences are not included in the marketing of international education. What is apparent in the construction of international students within monolingual frameworks is that the structure of international education means that most students are unprepared for their overseas learning experiences. This negative aspect is heightened in the case of ELICOS students, an aspect that the data analysis chapters reveal.

2.5   Teaching International Students

The experiences of international students have been explored by many researchers, however the experiences of ELICOS teachers have not. One study that interrogated the experiences of ELICOS teachers conducted by Crichton (2003), revealed the pressure that ELICOS teachers experience in their professional practice, their experience of pressure arising from their inability to meet their expectations of professional practice. Crichton (2003) understood his study as "preliminary" (p.6). However, this preliminary work stands alone, and a paucity of literature around the experiences of ELICOS teachers continues to exist.

Because of the bridging nature of ELICOS courses, ELICOS teachers have experiences that are qualitatively different to the experiences of other teachers of international students. One of the reasons for this is the increased complexity of teaching students who are not competent in speaking and listening in English, but are required to function in a learning context that operates as if English were a first

language. Often, teachers are not adequately prepared for this complexity. However, in addition to being inadequately prepared for the demands of teaching students with complex needs, teachers are constructed in a secondary relationship to both students and their employers, further reducing their agency (as described in Figure 2.3). This anomalous situation is somewhat ludicrous considering the pivotal role that teachers play in both student success and business success.

In short, without teachers international education could not exist, and without ELICOS teachers, ELICOS would not be a business model within international education. Yet, within the present construction of ELICOS, the secondary relationship that marks the construction of ELICOS teachers represents a denial of the centrality of teachers in their delivery of the ELICOS product, and their importance in the flourishing of the business model.

Chapter Summary

In problematising the founding illusions that constitute the research context, this chapter has made visible some elements that construct the knowledge economy, international education, and ELICOS. These constructions were shown to be conceptual inventions by dominant stakeholders who benefit from their conceptual inventions. The interrelationship between the knowledge economy and neoliberalism identifies internationalisation as a local initiative synonymous with marketing. This symbiotic relationship produces a hyperreality which is exploited to attract international students as consumers. In this way, marketing makes clear the interrelationship between the knowledge economy, neoliberalism, and internationalisation and the construction of educational institutions and international students as primary stakeholders in international education. This construction of primary stakeholders is a complex one in that students as consumers are both primary stakeholders and learners. This creates not only a dual role for consumers, but one in conflict with the educational institution. In this positioning, with prior social and educational formation influencing their present lived experience of acculturation and learning, students are disempowered, in spite of being in a power position as primary stakeholders.

It is these troubled relationships outlined in this chapter that problematise the illusory context. The triadic construction of internal relationships (as described in

Figure 2.3), was shown to be especially problematic as this construction of relationships is constitutive of, and embedded in ELICOS as an industry, as a sector, and as a business model. In other words, this triadic relationship is the lynch pin that makes possible all the multiple interacting concepts that make up ELICOS, this triadic relationship making possible ELICOS as neoliberal project, educational product, and educative process. Yet, this triadic relationship is one characterised by outcomes of dissonance, discontinuities, and disconnections.

Chapter 3.   Theoretical Framework

3.0   Overview

In problematising the research context in the previous chapter, two areas of ELICOS emerged as key areas of concern regarding performativity. One area was the core relationships within international education, This was problematised by highlighting the dissonances and disconnections within international education, these dissonances and disconnections illuminating the complexity and conflict in the core relationships embedded within international education (see Figure 1.2, and Figure 2.3). The second area shown to be problematic was the ELICOS business model as a technology (the process of successful marketing from the recruitment stage to students exiting to feeder institutions), technology as a power at work within the core relationships in the ELICOS teaching context. This chapter builds a theoretical framework in order to address these issues embedded in the research questions (i.e., influences on ELICOS, teachers' experiences of the system, and how the system constructs international students). The insight that the construction of ELICOS as a technology/mechanism to recruit students impacts negatively on teachers and students within the classroom, extends to this institutional power affecting the sustainability of the ELICOS teaching context as well as the business model. Thus, the interrogation of performativity in ELICOS as a technology at work within core relationships is an interrogation of the work of power—how power is appropriated and transformed in the production of ELICOS to determine its effects.

This chapter outlines the theoretical framework used to interpret data in the data analyses in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven. The goal of these analyses was to illuminate instances of dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection in order to show the damage being wrought within the ELICOS business model. The following paragraph provides an example of the ways in which disconnection has raised issues of power, subjectivity, and agency, which are the key concepts forming a conceptual framework. This example justifies the need for a postmodern framework by foreshadowing the analytical needs involved in interrogating effects arising from the illusions underpinning ELICOS (see Section 1.1). The key concepts of power,

subjectivity, and agency, together with the concepts of discourse, truth, normalisation and neoliberalism, were operationalised to allow me to go beyond the normalcy of the ELICOS business model, to illuminate the type of harm being wrought by events of dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection, particularly between teachers and students.

To introduce some of the type of issues that this theoretical framework is designed to address, I have created an imaginative context in the form of a narrative. The aim of this narrative is to highlight some issues that are often discussed in tea room conversations, and the way in which these issues construct the conversations that ELICOS teachers have. This imaginative construction reflects something of the working experience of ELICOS teachers. While being my own construction, this vignette is not an entirely fictitious (although, in a real tearoom conversation, teachers identities and experiences are much more nuanced). The vignette as an imaginative construction has taken an ideological stance on monolingualism and plurilingualism to serve narrative interests. However as mentioned in the Foreword of this thesis, I am not idealising plurilingualism or unintentionally demonising monolingualism. Rather, it is my goal to suggest, finally, and in relation to ELICOS, that moving beyond monolingualism is necessary. The inclusion of plurlingual considerations in ELICOS pedagogy offers a more comprehensive and effective approach. This approach is more respectful of learners and, at the same time, overcomes the illusion, widely held in Australian international education, that international students are developing monolinguals.

THE SCENE: ELICOS high school staff room, morning tea, a mix of monolingual TESOL (previously mainstream) teachers, and two plurilingual TESOL teachers.

So begins a shared narrative - "my class this term looks like being a real ratty class—you know—very undisciplined, sleeping in class, the ones you just can't get to learn because they play computer games all night". Murmurs of agreement among other monolingual teachers. The two plurilingual TESOL teachers look away, unable to look at each other. These teachers (who learnt other languages while living and working in another country) know of perhaps more accurate reasons that might account for these students sleeping in class, the least of which could be a lack of mental and emotional energy, energy that is required in learning a language within a

foreign country. How can these plurilingual teachers speak into the conversational space to offer their insights? The monolingual teachers continue— "yeah—I had a couple of 'sleepers' this morning too—and guess what, admin came to get two students to do banking– you know, as usual, in the middle of this morning's test. So we all know what that means - having a couple of 'sleepers' in my classroom during a test will filter through to the DOS for sure, that is after all the admin staff have had their say over my class management".   Another monolingual teacher chimes in— "well, my start to the term this morning was with X, you know the one from Level 3 last term who caused the huge ruckus about wanting to move to Level 4". Another teacher joined in— "yeah, like most of them. They always think they're better than what they are". "Oh, she told me that she wants to move up half-way through the term, because of the money her parents have paid for the course and it's my job to make this happen **one way or another**—well, at least that was underneath what she was saying". Leaving the table, another teacher called over her shoulder "—now you know how I lost my last job—" All the teachers nod in a shared knowing.

In the beginning of the text it is evident that not all teachers share the conversational space equally—there are moments of shared understandings where the monolingual teachers experience a common view, but clearly the two plurilingual teachers do not share this conversational space. In their turning away from the conversation of monolingual teachers and also from each other, the text evidences the experience for the plurilingual teachers as a series of dissonance and disconnection, events that suggest an inability and/or an unwillingness to join in. The plurilingual teachers are in some way affected by the monolingual teachers' conversation and are unable to look at each other (in shared understanding). What might be the cause of this disconnection? Why is it that these plurilingual teachers are unable to speak into the conversational space at that point of time? What is preventing them from doing so? This disconnection with their teaching colleagues however does not continue, and very quickly following on from the disconnection and as the vignette comes to a close is an event of shared understanding (as all teachers nod in agreement). This shared understanding concerns a complex negative situation which is obviously a familiar, common, and an ongoing one. How is it then that these teachers accept this situation, and why don't these teachers take collective action for change? What constructs them to be passive? These issues in the vignette

act as a prototype, a dramatic enactment of the type of issues that this thesis seeks to address.

The vignette also shows that teachers' experiences arise not only from their working conditions but also from what teachers believe to be true. The plurilingual teachers did not share the same beliefs about students that monolingual teachers were applying to student learning and classroom management issues. On the other hand, at the end of the vignette, as all teachers nodded in agreement, it was clear that the plurilingual and monolingual teachers shared this same understanding, assenting to what they heard as true. This vignette has provided an example of the differences in 'truths', which caused dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection between teachers. Interrogating these issues of differing truths, as typical within an ELICOS teaching context, has required a theoretical framework that allowed the causes of the events of dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection, to be seen.

3.1 Postmodern Framework

Postmodernism is a theoretical stance that takes a critical view of the status quo, a critical view of the taken-for-granted worldview of everyday living. Postmodernism is part of the evolution of Western thought where developments in linguistic theory, semiology, phenomenology, and modernism created conditions for thinkers such as Edmund Husserl (1913), Martin Heidegger (1996), Jean-François Lyotard (Lyotard, 1984), Michel Foucault (Foucault, 1970, 1980a, 1982, 1995, 2008), Jean Baudrillard (Baudrillard, 1994), and Jacques Derrida (Derrida, 1976, 1978), to move beyond the constraints of modernism and structuralism (Fischer & Graham, 2014). While Western thought has continued to develop, with more 'post' views of the everyday being used to critique social issues (e.g., postcolonialism) these 'posts' remain dependent on postmodern insights and in this way remain strongly tied to cultural theory (Fischer & Graham, 2014).

Postmodernism is characterised by its resistance to grand narratives (e.g., belief in a knowable world, belief in a single unifying logic) through deploying a hermeneutic of suspicion towards reality. This theoretical standpoint of critique provides the means to engage reality as a social construction, where the goal is deconstruction, deploying a view of language as social practice that makes deconstruction possible (Malpas & Wake, 2004). At this point, postmodernism also

allows for the possibility for newness, for a new construction. In utilising postmodern concepts for the analysis I am also utilising Foucauldian thought to investigate international education. This choice of Foucauldian thinking for conceptualisation and analysis is based on two considerations: (1) the aim of this thesis to address the illusions in international education and ELICOS, by utilising the ability/capacity of Foucauldian descriptions of discourse (power/knowledge nexus) to address the illusory nature of international education and ELICOS; (2) my own epistemologies (see Section 1.5) being influenced by Foucault's treatment of the subject and subjectivity throughout his oeuvre, archeological, genealogical, and ethical analytics (Foucault, 1970, 1972, 1980a, 1980b, 1982, 1988a, 1988b, 1995, 2008).

The term 'postmodern framework' is understood as a collection of postmodern concepts such as immanence, difference, simulacra, hyperreality that connect to enable a framework of understanding. This framework is underpinned by a postmodern epistemology, a worldview (as stated in Section 1.5) that recognises a fluidity of 'truth', i.e., truth as multiperspectival, temporary, and political, that recognises the subject as a social construction arising from the political will of others and embodied in discourse (Foucault, 1980b, 1982, 1988b, 2008). In recognising the fluidity of truth, and truth as the work of discourse, a postmodern epistemology refuses to privilege any single authority, method or paradigm (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). This study's focus on truth comes from its focus on illusions, where revealing the work of competing truths is the means by which the work of illusions was interrogated. Thus, the concept of truth in a postmodern framework will be fleshed out throughout the rest of this chapter.

The choice of a postmodern framework arose from: (a) a need to interrogate ELICOS as a dominant discourse; (b) a need to analyse teacher interviews as narrative accounts, narratives as similar and differing truths that reveal a deeper reality, i.e., experiences as consonant and dissonant, continuous and discontinuous, and connected and disconnected; and (c) a need to investigate the subjectivity and agency of students and teachers as co-constructed in order to demonstrate the impact of illusions inherent in the ELICOS neoliberal business model. Thus, a postmodern framework offered a conceptual terrain where the concepts of subjectivity, agency and power provided illumination through the lens of discourse, truth, normalisation,

and neoliberalism, concepts which describe ELICOS as a technology. These concepts as analytical tools provided answers to the research questions as well as evolving a narrative of performativity in ELICOS as project, product and process. Therefore, the analytical needs of addressing ELICOS's performativity by interrogating ELICOS as a technology/power, were met by using a framework with a capacity and ability to presume immanence – a conceptual space in which multiple realities as well as conflicting realities could be addressed in the historic present. Immanence, as one of the defining elements of postmodernism (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1997), is important to this study because of the conceptual capacity of immanence to reveal difference. In this way, this study was able to reveal different and new knowledge regarding ELICOS. In order to do so, it was necessary to be able to articulate difference beyond the dominant discourse, allowing subjugated knowledges to come forward, making what was previously hidden become thinkable. As the conceptual terrain in which the analyses in this thesis are were conducted, immanence also signals a postqualitative methodological approach to this enquiry, a theoretical approach that utilises the theory of postmodernism to achieve its conceptual ends.

Immanence is the conceptual foundation on which a postqualitative approach depends in order to build a conceptual landscape to consider the evolutionary nature of embodied experience, extending the concept of immanence by qualifying it as an immanence of doing (Lather, 2016). It was my deployment of a quadrifocal lens that situated me as working within an immanence of doing. My approach in this thesis can also be seen to be postqualitative in that I grappled with illusions in order to understand the forces I experienced as an ELICOS teacher, forces that are still operative in the ELICOS system. My approach is also postqualitative in that I worked within a *not knowing* paradigm in order to build a *know enough* paradigm that enabled me to develop and write this thesis (as described in the Foreword). My approach was also postqualitative in that the "call of the other" was made indeterminate (Lather, 2016) through meaning being understood as co-constructed (by teachers and students). It was also postqualitative in that the outcome of my research values ontology over epistemology. This characteristic identifies a postqualitative approach as being a theoretical orientation which values epistemology

over ontology. This difference is important, as the aim of this thesis is to emphasise and illuminate the affective dimension.

Thus, a postqualitative approach was necessary for addressing the research questions which focus on the effects of power in the ELICOS system (Research Question One), and how power in the ELICOS system affects teachers and students (Research Question Two and Three). As Research Questions Two and Three has addressed embodied experience this has meant that a postqualitative approach was particular necessary for Chapters Six and Seven, as these chapters targeted the construction and co-construction of meaning by individuals within the ELICOS system. In line with earlier reasoning, the choice of a postqualitative approach is that this theoretical approach resists the orientation in Western thought to privilege epistemology over ontology (Lather & St. Pierre, 2013). This is an ontological turn that values indeterminacy as no longer being motivated by the "call of the other", an insistence that characterises the postmodern (Lather, 2016). A postqualitative methodology refuses to essentialise individuals by breaking with the linear evolution of Western thought and its problematic privileging and valorisation of concepts such as (a metaphysics of) *presence* (Ringmar, 2016) where "the intelligible is posited as a realm beyond becoming and change" (Söderbäck, 2013, p. 254). Within this positivist conceptualisation, the individual is conceived as an essential separate object, the result of the Enlightenment epistemology, where epistemology was decontextualised, thus separating it from ontology, a move that makes methodology unthinkable (St. Pierre, 2014). On the other hand, a postqualitative methodology maintains a connection between epistemology and ontology and in doing this allows individuals to conceptualise themselves and others in their social context beyond the totalising constraints of neoliberalism (Lather, 2012). A postqualitative epistemology conceptualises individuals in relationship as both subject and object engaged in construction and co-construction, and this dynamic as a way of being in the world that recognises that the new that is coming is already in the world (Lather, 2012).

In describing the a postqualitative methodology as maintaining a connection between epistemology and ontology, the importance of the ontological dimension for the thesis, and the relationship between postmodernism and a postqualitative approach as the difference between theory (its elements) and a theoretical

orientation, I return again to the theoretical framework for this study. The aim of this return is to provide further rationalisations for some of the foundational elements of the framework. A postmodern framework provided the means to interrogate multiple perspectives within a single study through the valorisation of immanence, a realm/conceptualisation where all things occur at the same time (Williams, 2005). Immanence as one of the defining elements of postmodernism provides the postmodern framework and the study with internal validity (Lather, 1993) i.e., this principle of internal validity arising from within immanence (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1997). In deploying immanence, postmodernism is also committed to a disruption of settled understandings, and in this commitment takes a critical stance, which in this study enabled a disruption of ELICOS as an acronym, which hides the collection of interacting concepts and discourses that constitute the acronym. This disruption of the functioning of ELICOS as an acronym and the acronym as a single concept, was enabled through recognition of the process that constituted ELICOS as a series of discourses. In this way, postmodernism was able to describe performativity in terms of power and power relations, i.e., the business model as a technology. Disruption of settled understanding is also a necessary component to an investigation of ELICOS because of the effect of normalisation as a consequence of discourse (to be discussed later in this chapter).

At the same time, this commitment to disruption resists any conceptual moves to systematise content and accompanying identifications (that effect hegemony). This resistance to any orientation to systemisation is another important factor in this investigation, this research having been conducted as a postqualitative study (Lather & St. Pierre, 2013). In using this methodological approach that refuses to privilege epistemology over ontology (Lather & St. Pierre, 2013) this study needed to reveal ontological experiences of teachers and students which was enabled by bringing forward areas of difference, difference as it constructed events of dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection. In addition, commitment to disruption in this thesis made possible the seeking and provision of seeds of hope, as reflected in the possible answers put forward in Chapter Eight. Investigating difference made necessary a framework of understanding able to admit difference as the truth and the core of knowledge (Williams, 2005) rather than difference as an external force as in a positivist view. This founding principle means that a postmodern view challenges

traditional (positivist) perspectives of truth, which constructs a singular shared objective reality, the dominant discourse of 'everydayness'. This latter worldview is one based on external certainty, a view that confounds its own ability to reflect on its performance, that is to say, the dominant discourse is subject to its own performance (this insight is shown later to be at the heart of ELICOS concerns). The ability to able to accommodate difference is central to the analysis of a teaching context that is constituted by diversity (ELICOS as a multilingual, multicultural teaching context).

Interrogating international students' experiences required a postmodernist understanding of truth because this standpoint is able to consider these students in their multiple identities and experiences. In this way, a postmodernism resisted essentialising international students, resisted describing these students as a homogenous group and as mentioned earlier, it also resisted essentialising individual students and teachers. Postmodernism rejects the idea there is any 'essence' within concepts, any 'essential quality', so that names, labels, and categories are considered as constructs (Foucault, 1970, 1972; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999), inaccurate, but always necessary constructs (Hook, 2001b). It is this view of human constructions using categories and labels that are inaccurate but necessary that renders truth as multiple, uncertain, and perspectival (Harwood & Rasmussen, 2012). It is this acknowledgement, together with immanence as the principle of internal validity, that legitimises teachers' narratives as having equal importance and validity as the institutional narratives that make up the structure of the ELICOS discourse. Thus, using a postmodern framework, ELICOS was able to be accessed as multiple interacting discourses in which equally valid viewpoints could be considered. This insight is important to seeing the results of differences in terms of empowerment or lack thereof, in the triadic (institution, student, teacher) relationship at the heart of ELICOS.

Another factor in rationalising a framework that can identify and articulate difference, is that truths are always understood as socially and historically situated. This is particularly relevant to an investigation of ELICOS that considered ELICOS as an invention. A postmodernist view is interested in the truth conditions that form ELICOS, a business model that is embedded in social and historical conditions. The teachers in the vignette at the start of this chapter were affected by the truth conditions of the ELICOS teaching context when an event of disconnection (i.e.,

meanings associated with 'sleepers') was created through teaching conditions (i.e., monolingual vs. plurilingual) that made co-construction of meaning impossible. In this text, monolingual teachers held deeply different truths and interpretations of student learning issues to the plurilingual teachers. Truth conditions of a discourse are "extremely stable and secure—highly situated—and part of the order of discourse" (Hook, 2001a, p. 525). These truth conditions are the multiple interacting concepts that form the working conditions of ELICOS teachers and the ELICOS business model. Recognition of the impact of the extreme stability and situated nature of the truth conditions of ELICOS is heightened by a postmodern view of truth, truth being understood as a function of discourse, operationally contingent upon founding assumptions, which, in relation to ELICOS, have been shown at the outset to be disingenuous (Section 1.1).

This interrelationship between truth conditions and underpinning assumptions, as well as truth as a function of discourse means that the 'truthfulness' of a discourse is perspectival and can only be determined through investigation, where the inquirer must refer to "a carefully delineated set of conditions of possibility under which statements come to be meaningful and true" (Hook, 2007, p. 525). It is from this perspective of discourse that the conditions of possibility of ELICOS as project, product and process are under question in investigating ELICOS as a technology.

3.1.1 Deploying Foucauldian thought

This section represents my synthesis of some of the major concepts in the Foucauldian oeuvre. While I have been influenced by Foucauldian thought, Foucault's own thought can be linked to the work of other scholars such as the philosophical treatments of the human subject using such concepts as the 'will to power' and the dispositive—Nietzsche (Bussolini, 2010), Edward Said's work in embracing an exilic existence and emphasising the demystification of constructed truths (Sazzad, 2008), and research on sexuality and the inscription of power on the body influenced by the work of Judith Butler (1993). Another way in which Foucauldian thought influences this thesis is that it utilises archaeological analysis[19], as the ordering of discourses, genealogical analysis as revealing the historical social, political conditions from which subjects emerge (Hook, 2001a) together with ethical

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[19] At this point, the term archaeological analysis has been used for expediency. In Chapter Four this term is expanded to become topological analysis (Collier, 2009), so that it includes the relationship between the macro levels of power and the micro/individual levels of power.

analysis as "a responsive engagement with the problems of one's present" (Gilson, 2014, p. 76), and these three analytics as interactive and interdependent.

Archaeology for Foucault was a topographical investigation and articulation of social ordering as the work of historical languages—"orders of language which laid down the conditions for articulating 'truths' (languages)" (Powell, 2015, p. 162). Archaeology is a form of historical analysis of the present that Foucault used "to recognize, uncover, and dissolve the taken-for-granted structures built into and unquestioningly assumed within established systems of discourse" (Hamilton Dewey, 2016, p. 455).

Archaeological analysis—an analysis of systems that describe the construction of subjectivity and the emergence of the subject—investigates how certain discourses became dominant, discourses constituted by local networks of power relations that determined "local discursivities and possibilities of knowledge" (Hook, 2001b, p. 41). At the time of its development, many scholars thought this form of analysis was too deterministic to be useful to describe human experience. In the wake of this criticism, Foucault responded by adopting genealogical analyses in his work. Hook (2001a) describes Foucault's work in *Orders of Discourse* (which historicises the social sciences) as signalling Foucault's future genealogical work, indicating his turn to utilising a form of analysis which could "account for the constitution of the subject within a historical framework" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 117). More specifically, Foucault considered genealogy as:

> a form of history which can account for the constitution of knowledges, discourses, domains of objects—without having to make reference to a subject which is either transcendental in relation to the field of events or runs in its empty sameness throughout the course of history. (Foucault, 1980b, p. 117)

In short, the focus of genealogical analysis is in the field of action that brings the subject as an object of knowledge into being (Hook, 2005).

Genealogy is a political analysis that descends below the topography of social ordering, a critique of "non-discursive mechanisms of power which shape the way individuals see the world and act within it" (Powell, 2015, p. 162). Foucault's commitment to the subject across archaeology, genealogy, and ethics is evident in

the increasingly sustained tension between epistemological considerations (modes of thought), and the ontological (practices enabled by modes of thought). The third form of analysis used by Foucault was ethical, which brought forward the subject's agency in exercising personal power as technologies of self. These were insights which Foucault then built upon through historical and political analyses, conceptualising the subject as biopolitical, the self at the intersection of governmental power over life, and the self as agent who enacts personal ideas or truths in their life to enact change (Foucault, 2008; Prozorov, 2015). This thesis has utilised all three Foucauldian analytics—archaeological, genealogical, and ethical. Archeological analysis is the method mostly used in Chapter Five to create a topological view of international education through deduction, while genealogical and ethical analyses provides Chapters Six and Seven the ability to conceive the human experience of subjects within the system.

This choice to adopt Foucauldian thought, was a methodological move that has minimised misalignment between epistemology, ontology, and methodology in the thesis (St. Pierre, 2014). Adopting Foucauldian thought for critique and analysis of international education/ELICOS is in line with the work of Chowdhury and Le Ha (2014) who also utilise a Foucauldian model of power to interrogate Australian international education. In creating a case study that provides evidence of the work of ELICOS as a technology, Foucauldian lines of thought have some strengths and limitations. The Foucauldian oeuvre as a work focused on the subject, the creation of subjectivity, and the subject's response renders Foucauldian thought useful for critiquing the work of power within ELT, a critique that focuses on both the subject and subjectivity[20] (Block & Gray, 2015; Block, Gray, & Holborow, 2012; Can, 2014). However, while Foucauldian thought is useful when critiquing issues such as the effects of textbooks on learners, it is at the same time limited in its ability to desconstruct neoliberalism as economic and political forces, a limitation made clear by Zacchi (2016) when he states:

> many theorists who, mostly influenced by Michel Foucault's
> discourse theory, usually place social inequalities in terms of

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[20] The issue of subjectivity is a huge field of sustained critique within ELT and TESOL literature in various areas. Two significant issues are the role of textbooks interpellating the learner of English into white middle class Western individualism (Gray, 2010b, 2012) and the role of teaching and learning which many scholars understand as serving a return to empire (Edge, 2006; Phillipson, 2009, 2013).

discourses and narratives rather than as the result of economic and political practices. Thus, when conceptualized via Foucauldian discourses, the analysis of neoliberalism becomes overly individualized and preoccupied with issues of representation. (Zacchi, 2016, p. 163)

While Foucauldian thought is considered useful for deconstruction, many political theorists, although conceptualising power differently to the traditional objectified view of power as working through dialectical binary hierarchies, consider Foucault's thought as resisting reconstruction or construction of new realities. Critics are concerned that "activism has no focal point when power is undifferentiated, locally effected and broadly dispersed" (Bignall, 2008, p. 132). This aspect is not problematic in this thesis, as my aim is to describe the effects of power in terms of teachers and students subjectivity and agency through co-construction of meaning.

Other concerns that theorists note arise from different concepts of discourse being used in different disciplines often prevent this theoretical move, as "an exclusive focus on language undercuts political analysis by refusing to engage with 'material reality'" (Bacchi & Bonham, 2014, p. 173); that is, a strongly linguistic view of discourse does not fit easily with a strongly political view of discourse (Yang & Sun, 2010). Bacchi and Bonham (2014) point out that a Foucauldian understanding of discourse refers to knowledge rather than the intricate workings of language. Also critics of Foucault's early works described his substantive critique of humanism in terms of the death of the subject, and have yet to be convinced that the focus throughout his works is the subject, as Foucault claims (Allen, 2011). My own position is to read Foucault's work as a development of this thinking, not as an absolute theory of the subject, taking up his invitation to work with methodological tools he has provided. I have done this through deployment of his major concepts such as power, subjectivity, and agency, and interrogating these through three Foucauldian analytics (archaeological, genealogical, and ethical analytics) in order to interrogate the effects of power on human experience within ELICOS.

Another field where the work of Foucault continues to be a site of appropriation and contestation is feminism, with Foucauldian theory being an object of sustained critical feminist analysis and interest (Amigot & Pujal, 2009; Bignall,

2008; Deveaux, 1994; Huffer & Wilson, 2010; Rogowska–Stangret; Sawicki, 1986). The major concern for feminist scholarship is that Foucault's approach is gender neutral, rendering invisible the gender dichotomy configured in networks of power. Through a feminist lens, gender can be seen as an apparatus of power that specifically functions to subordinate women both individually and collectively (Amigot & Pujal, 2009; Blackmore, 1999; Blackmore, 2013; A. King, 2004). Despite the strong evidence of androcentrism in the writings of Foucault (Amigot & Pujal, 2009; Sawicki, 1986), and despite his gender neutral approach to issues of subjectivity and agency for the subject, Foucault's work remains a strategic ally for feminist understanding and agendas. For example the self-surveillance that the Panopticon constructs provides "a compelling explanatory paradigm for women's acquiescence to, and collusion with, patriarchal standards of femininity" (Deveaux, 1994, p. 225), while a Foucauldian understanding of practices of freedom is useful for illuminating "the misguidedness of the recent ban on full veils in French public spaces", an insight appropriated to empower a group of Islamic women (Valdez, 2016).

However, both feminism and Foucauldian theorising are beset by the crisis in representation that presents a fundamental challenge to humanist and scientific approaches (Petersen, 2014), whose teleological foci and outcomes within an assumed objective reality are incommensurate with the immanence and fluidity of postmodernism. Foucault made it clear that his theoretical intent was not to bridge the theoretical divide: his project was "not to formulate the global systematic theory which holds everything in place" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 145). Rather, Foucault's (1980) focus was on the specificity of power, the microphysics of power, providing "a *logic* of the specificity of power relations and the struggles around them that could act as a theoretical toolkit" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 145, italics in orignial) for researchers to work with. This toolkit offers the means to circumvent the crisis of representation embedded in a realist ontology/epistemology (Petersen, 2014), and in this way minimising the risk of a return to the free rational subject in theoretical closures.

Realist descriptions that continue to reveal little progress beyond humanist and ideological descriptions are problematic within this study as these play into neoliberal and commercial agendas: in a neoliberal context "professionals and

policy-makers have no interest in, or need for, onto-epistemological questions; that all they want are facts and 'best practice' recommendations" (Petersen, 2014, p. 2). In addition, in confronting the ways of viewing the world as natural and universal is a work of ideology, one in which ideology can be seen as *mis*-representation, as the world conceptualised from within an ideological paradigm is built on unfounded assumptions (Downey, Titley, & Toynbee, 2014). However, Downey, Titley, and Toynbee (2014) situate ideology outside of history, and so dismiss Foucault's theorising of power/knowledge nexus as depthless, arguing Foucault's work is unable to represent the ideological power of dominant stakeholders as naturalising their constructions, for example employers' view of the world as natural and universal. Foucault's work is also unable to critique the bearer of ideologies, such as media institutions.

These criticisms presented here are not an exhaustive representation but are part of ongoing theoretical debates to which Foucauldian thought has made outstanding contributions. Thus it has been my intention to reveal some strengths and limitations of Foucauldian thought to signal areas where I have moved beyond Foucauldian theorising to consider the impact of dominant stakeholders as well as representations by the marketing media in my analyses. My aim was not to change political structures and practices through direct engagement but to call for change through the elucidation of the effects of ELICOS as a technology/power within core relationships as effects of unfounded assumptions (St. Pierre, 2014) and the damage caused by these illusions underpinning the ELICOS system.

Before leaving this section, a point of clarification is needed regarding Foucault's methodology of discontinuity and my use of discontinuity within this study. In conducting his research, discontinuity for Foucault (1980) was a sign or a signal that something else was at work: "a modification in the rules of formation of statements which are accepted as scientifically true" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 112). While our agendas differ, it is in this same sense of signalling something at work that I have used discontinuity, together with dissonance and disconnection. It is these three concepts as breaks in rationality that have provided the ability to identify and describe the impact of the work of illusions. The following section describes ways in which the key concepts of power, subjectivity and agency have been understood within the data analysis chapters, with descriptions of concepts of discourse, truth,

normalisation and neoliberalism that, in later chapters, help to form an emerging narrative. In describing these concepts (deployed to illuminate various areas of ELICOS constructions in this thesis), I have provided a number of diagrams to aid the reading experience. There is no intention that these diagrams have an integrative function.

3.2   Conceptual Tools

The conceptual tools of power, subjectivity, and agency, discourse, truth, normalisation and neoliberalism have been expanded in the following sections as these concepts are embedded in the research questions. This section is an explication of these concepts which are important to the thesis for the following reasons:

Discourse:

- is important because it is the medium by which and through which power comes into existence (Foucault, 1970, 1971, 1972);

- is important because it is the medium by which subjectivity and agency come into existence, without discourse, there is no context for subjectivity and agency;

- is important in terms of discursivity, i.e., teachers and students are shaped by the discourses and the practices they embody and enact (Foucault, 1982, 1988a, 1988b, 1997).

Truth:

- is important because it is the competing truths of different discourses that cause events of dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection (Foucault, 1970, 1972, 1980b). In other words, competing truths that act as irresolvable competing discourses are the cause of harm and damage by the illusions that construct ELICOS.

Normalisation:

- is important because the extent that normalising power is active and effective at work in situations on the bodies of human beings (Foucault, 1970, 1980b) is the extent to which those human beings will lose awareness of the situation they are in, i.e., the power of normalisation will

determine how much agency is available to a human being within the situation they are in.

Neoliberalism:

- is important because it is the power that acts on the bodies of agents to shape their subjectivity and agency (Gershon, 2011).

- is also important in that it has a strong influence on the subjectivity and agency of human beings (Giroux, 2004a, 2004b; Harvey, 2005). The discursive effects of neoliberalism are the determiner of the type of subjectivity and the possibilities for agency for subjects (Crowley & Hodson, 2014; Foucault, 2008; Hursh & Henderson, 2011).

Thus, discourse, truth, normalisation and neoliberalism are the major discursive elements in ELICOS. As the objective of this research has been to interrogate different experiences of subjectivity and agency of teachers (Chapter Six) and students (Chapter Seven) as identities constructed by powerful stakeholders, it has been also relevant to be able to recognise ways in which teachers and students remain unaware of their constructions through the normalising power of discourse and the effect this has on their agency. In this way, the emphasis and use of the concepts of truth, normalisation, and neoliberalism, has been in order see the effects of ELICOS as a technology/power. The issue of truth has been an important one for this study as the overall aim of this study has been to interrogate power in order to disrupt the work of damaging illusions.

action

DISCOURSE

POWER

SUBJECTIVITY

truth/s
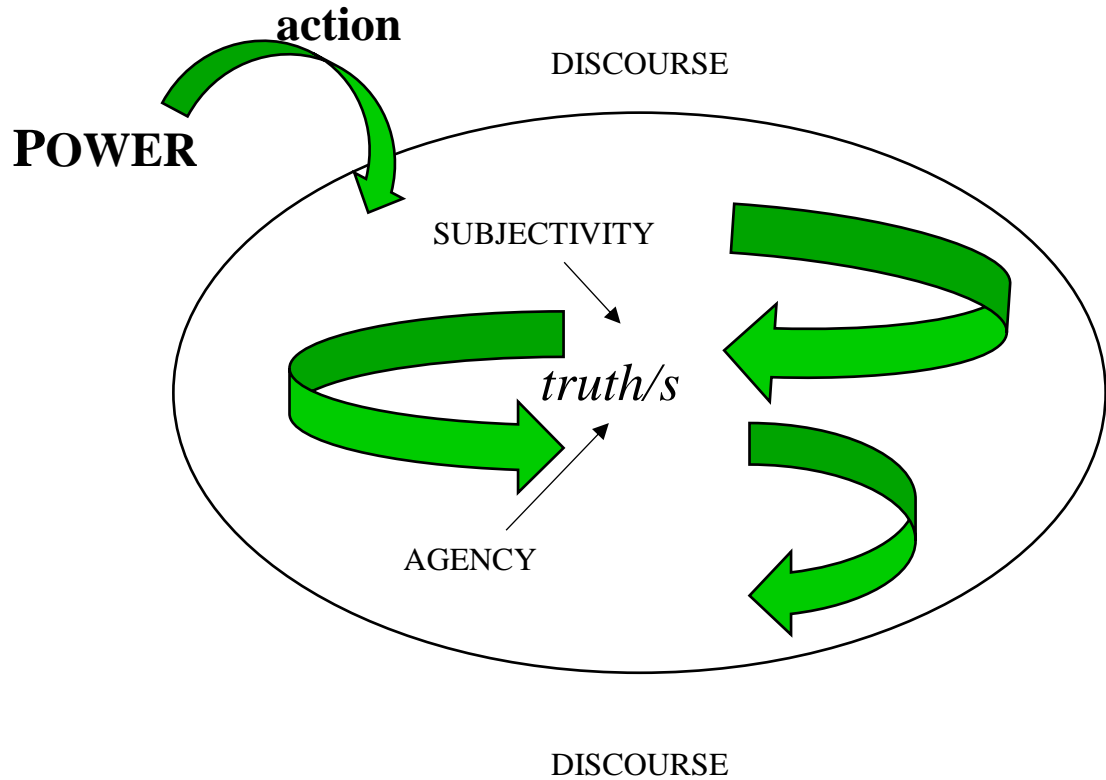
AGENCY

DISCOURSE

Figure 3.1. Relationships between key concepts

3.2.1 Discourse

As discourse, according to Foucauldian thought, is the medium for subjectivity and agency, the goal of this section is to provide an overview of discourse as an initial step in laying out ideas of subjectivity and agency in terms of a Foucauldian analysis. In other words, providing a Foucauldian understanding of discourse is necessary because it is discourse that sets the conditions for exploring subjectivity and agency (Foucault, 1982, 1995). Also discourse provides a spatial perspective, and this is important to this study as affectivity is the central concern of core relationships within international education (Section 2.2.1), and affectivity is made visible through a spatial model of power in that it compels acknowledgement of the co-construction of meaning. Thus discourse, in providing spatial and discursive theoretical constructs, has, in this study, provided the means to explore the key concepts of power, subjectivity, and agency, utilising descriptions of power and power relations. Through a discursive framing, power is described as producing knowledge, in turn constructing subjects as objects of knowledge that function within a dominant discourse. Discourse is described and understood as a 'truthful' in so far

as it represents the view of an individual stakeholder as well as a shared view generated by a group of stakeholders.

Discourses work to objectify reality in that discourses "systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Foucault, 1972, p. 49). On the other hand, power constructs a regime to be accepted as true through mechanisms, procedures, and techniques. It is those subjects who create the regime and other subjects of status who benefit from this regime, who validate the regime/discourse. That is to say, discourse is validated by those who construct the discourse and by those who benefit from the discourse. Within a postmodern/Foucauldian framework, truth is the result of a set of conditions that constitute discourses and the subjects (as the work of discourse) within these discourses. A Foucauldian understanding of discourse is both political and linguistic, constituted by a particular ordering of statements that form a conceptual landscape, a terrain from which knowledge is produced (Foucault, 1972; Hook, 2001a). It is from this conceptual landscape that the possibilities of knowledge are enabled or constrained by the material arrangements of power. This materiality of power is the work of arrangements of rules, systems, and procedures, that constitute and are constituted by the 'will to knowledge' of individuals. This 'will to knowledge' is reliant on historical *a priori* conditions. It is this situation of reliance on historical *a priori* conditions that makes it virtually impossible to think outside of these conditions. These conditions are the reason that a postmodern framework needs to be part of the methodological considerations for this study. (Truth conditions will be discussed later in the treatment of agency; Section 3.4.1.)

The work of discourse is to create 'normal' conditions. For example, discourses (as embodying ideas) normalise the way in which education is objectified and students/individuals become objectified and recognised as educated (Popkewitz & Brennan, 1997). Discursive practices constitute individuals through knowledge/power regimes to become a normalized subject (Alvesson, 2010). The orientation to 'normal' is an important component in the status quo, providing a linear, sequential, unexamined view of reality through which 'the everyday' is constructed and experienced and through which individuals are able to connect and interact with each other. The dominant discourse as constituting 'normal' also constitutes the status quo in which individuals are defined by social expectations of what is good. Conversely and confusingly, the dominant discourse is filled with

illusions of certainty, underpinning systems of knowledge that shape human experience (L. Thomas, 2009; Yates & Hiles, 2010). The 'good citizen', the 'good police officer' and the 'good teacher' are not accurate representations but are 'fixed' identities for the self to emulate (Alvesson, 2010). This occurs in sharp contradistinction to a Foucauldian framework which takes a postmodern perspective and rejects any notion of 'fixed' identities. Rather, a Foucauldian framework requires a critical ontology that seeks to provide as far as possible authentic representations of lived experience. A critical ontology is important for this study as a major aim is to reveal the effects of power on teachers and students.

The production of truth is a central concern within the theoretical framework as developed within this chapter, as the production of truth within a neoliberal paradigm is tied to economic production and political power. Foucault describes neoliberalism as the new regime of social truth (Foucault, 2008; Read, 2009). The way truth operates within the context of neoliberalism is significant because the doctrine of *laissez faire* is the founding principle of neoliberalism, a principle constituting an economic climate where individuals are compelled "by reason, knowledge, and truth to accept the principle of freedom of economic agents" (Foucault, 2008, pp. 284-285). This will also be a major consideration in the construction of subjects, which are understood as a double layered construction—as a subject through the exercise of disciplinary power and then as a particular type of self with defining qualities through the exercise of neoliberal power (Chapters Six and Seven).

3.2.2 Subjectivity

Subjectivity refers to the set of conditions that objectify human beings. More specifically, Foucault (1982) inquired into "three modes of objectification which transform human beings into subjects" (p. 777). Individuals cannot experience their humanity without subjectivity, being the set of conditions that give rise to the subject's experience of the world. However, this means that human beings are subject to the conditions that give rise to their human experience. In being subject to experiential conditions, a human being is both a subject and an object in the world. In light of these understandings, the path that this section follows in outlining conditions of subjectivity begins by addressing the human being as a subject, describing the conditions that determine what human beings are subject to as well as

how and what it is that human beings make subject to themselves. Tracing these conditions of subjectivity requires addressing the subject as a product of power, and subjectivity as constituting the subject through discourse while addressing the subject's own construction of their subjectivity. It is within the following discussions of subjectivity and the subsequent implications for agency that the concepts of power, subjectivity, agency, discourse, truth, normalisation, and neoliberalism are to be utilised to form a framework of understanding for analysing the data in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, as shown in the Figure 3.2.

SUBJECTIVITY
as an experience of power

Subject and power

Power and co-construction

Constructing the subject

Subject and space

Normalising the subject

Neoliberal power

Neoliberal power as normalising the subject

AGENCY
as an exercise of personal power

Discourse as truth conditions

Subjects and co-construction

Neoliberal subject and power

Neoliberal subjects and co-construction

Figure 3.2. Subjectivity and Agency

This focus on the subject as central to the concepts of subjectivity and agency is in line with Foucauldian thought with the general theme of Foucault's research being the subject. As stated earlier, Foucault's objective was to create a history of

the modes of objectification by which human beings have been transformed into subjects (Foucault, 1982). His research efforts were an inquiry into ways in which the speaking subject had been objectified to labour and produce in a context of economics, and the ways that the subject had been objectified in texts in terms of aliveness. Foucault's research focused on the objectification of the human being through "dividing practices" (Foucault, 1982, p. 777), where the individual is divided either internally or divided from others, and how it was that in their experience of subjectivity, human beings turn themselves into subjects (Foucault, 1982). The following descriptions of subjectivity and agency proceed from these Foucauldian concerns to describe ways in which the transformed human being as subject experiences subjectivity and agency. This philosophical issue whereby objectivity transforms human beings into subjects with subjectivity and agency is important to the outcome of this study, which has shown the effects of power on subjects as being in reality effects on human beings, with these effects having consequences for human well-being, consequences such as experiences of pressure and subsequent stress.

3.2.3 The subject and power

Human beings are born into a world that is not of their own making. This means from the outset that human beings are divided within themselves, this phenomenon being an important consideration in the interrogation of co-constructed nature of meaning and thus human experience within this thesis. Human beings as subjects are divided from who they are at the present moment by being conscious of being a subject while also being an object to others in shared meaning systems (Foucault, 1982). According to Foucault (1970), human is a mode of being that operates a transcendental-empirical doublet, where a human being is at once "the object of knowledge and the site of the condition making such knowledge possible" (Webb, 2005, p. 124), capable of being misunderstood (Foucault, 1970). Human beings as both subjects and objects, have inherited a legacy of arbitrary patterns of thought that originated from past ways of making meaning represented in a set of forces, embedded in structures, conceptualisations, and experienced through practices—conditions that provide initial frameworks of understanding for individual (Foucault, 1982). In this way, individuals in making meaning in the world are subject to their social conditions, providing the subject with rationality and meaning for their experience of self and also their life.

In response to the external forces of their social conditions, individuals experience internal forces, their experience of these forces calling forth a deployment of technologies of the self (Foucault, 1988b). These technologies are ones of human will that individuals use to transcend negative experiences of their social conditions either individually or in connection with others. In this context, an individual as both subject and object can find a greater experience of themselves by drawing upon, being challenged by and challenging their existential experience, and where possible, transcending their present experience in ways that remain in sync with their social conditions. ELICOS teaching is an example par excellence of the process of negotiations and the deployment of the technologies of self as teachers negotiate their professionalism within a context that is structured to deny teachers' professionalism. Thus social conditions as subjectivity for the individual is both a given and also a product of power. Social conditions are the result of competing discourses that on one hand construct the individual both as a subject and an object of knowledge within the social environment. At the same time, the individual contends with their experience of self within these constructed social conditions. This means that the subject can be understood in two ways: "subject to someone else by control and dependence; and tied to his [sic] own identity by a conscience or self-knowledge. Both meanings suggest a form of power which subjugates and makes subject to" (Foucault, 1982, p. 781). This subject/object dualism lies at the heart of human experience, where human beings become subjects through a process of subjectification, a process that objectifies human experience through an experience of others.

This subject and the process of the subject's objectification in its duality is a necessary condition in order that a person might perceive and understand their self in their human existence. The dualism, however, is not deterministic as power is both relational and productive, as well as disordered and fragmented in nature (Coleman & Agnew, 2007). Thus, it can be seem that the process of objectification of the subject in its duality is also necessary for the evolution of humanity; without the objectification of individuals and their subsequent participation in social meaning systems, the process of and presence of civilisation would cease to happen. Also what is necessary is that the subject has the capacity to transcend their present situation and experience, where, as a human subject, they have been "placed in

relations of production and signification—placed in power relations which are very complex" (Foucault, 1982, p. 778). In summarising these ideas, Figures 3.3 and 3.4 provide a simplified view of an evolving subject/self as embedded in these complex relations, a view of the subject/self motivated by their own ideals within 'norms' set by authorising individuals. The 'gap' as shown in both figures represents the operation and flow of power in division of self as subject and the subjectivity that the self is embedded in.

Figure 3.3. The divided subject and flow of power
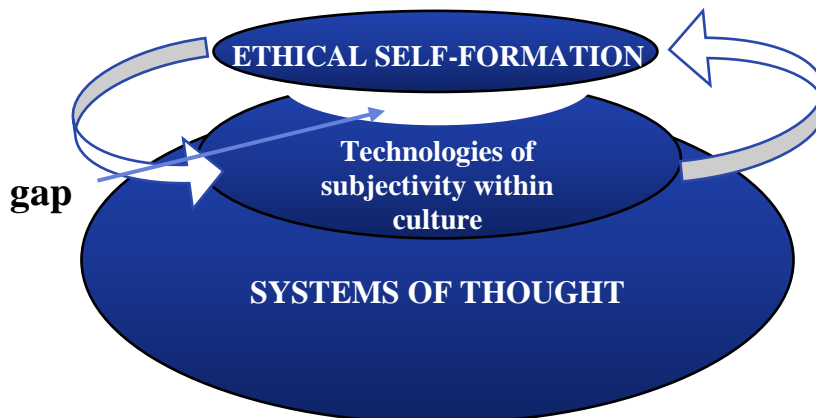
Figure 3.4. The development of the subject/self

This complexity of power relations and the process of subjectivity in which the subject is interpellated and embedded is described in material terms by McLean (2013), when he says:

human beings become subject to arbitrary patterns of thought and practice that come to be recognized, by themselves and others, as integral to their being. These taken-for-granted patterns of subjectivity are closely linked to political governance in contemporary Western societies; governance is accomplished in such societies not through violent and explicitly coercive tactics, but rather through the construction and disciplining of self-governing citizens. (p. 10)

McLean (2013) raises questions of power within Western societies as constituting human beings' experiences. Power, when conceptualised within a phenomenological paradigm, is an objectified force acting on the subject as power. However, when power is understood in terms of relationship, that is to say when power is seen to bring things and people into relationship, power is then understood as being involved in co-construction within the social environment, in relations of power that require the consent and participation of the subject to enact their subjectivity. In both conceptualisations, the self is involved in self-regulation. The exercise of free will in Western societies is a prerequisite for the exercise of power in that "power is exercised only over free subjects, and only insofar as they are free" (Foucault, 1982, p. 790). On the other hand, it is the exercise of power that "produces the very form of the subject" (Foucault, as cited in Yates & Hiles, 2010, p. 56). The following section that describes relationships as acts of co-construction, relates to the three research questions: Chapter Five highlights the lack of awareness of co-construction while Chapters Six and Seven deal with the core relationships within ELICOS as acts of co-construction.

3.2.4 Power and co-construction

Power, according to a Foucauldian perspective, is productive, ubiquitous, diffuse, and "exists only when it is put into action" (Foucault, 1982, p. 788). Furthermore, "power circulates and becomes invested in people and things (Foucault, 1980b, p. 98). While power cannot be observed directly, it becomes visible through the network of relations between things and people. Although these power relations always contain the possibilities of resistance, what is most often observable, is that most power relations are unequal. This means that most power relations at are not shared equally or to benefit the 'other' but instead are productive in that they act upon the actions of others, aiming to guide and structure their "possible field of

actions" (Foucault, 1982, p. 221). However, the orientation of power at the level of its microphysics is to act upon others in a network of power relations: the exercise of power is involved in an act of co-construction. This is made clear by Foucault (1982), in describing the exercise of power as a structure of actions:

> It is a total structure of actions brought to bear upon possible actions; it incites, it induces, it seduces, it makes easier or more difficult; in the extreme it constrains or forbids absolutely; it is nevertheless always a way of acting upon an acting subject or acting subjects by virtue of their acting or being capable of action. (p. 789)

This orientation of power as involved in a work of co-construction is further emphasised by Foucault in highlighting the capacity of power as being its relational nature as it brings into play relationships between individuals as well as between groups: "the term 'power' designates relationships between partners" (Foucault, 1982, p. 786). According to this definition, subjects are intimately involved in the co-construction of meaning, an important aspect in addressing performativity in ELICOS where teacher and student are intimately involved in meaningful teaching and learning experiences. Therefore it is necessary to interrogate how teachers and students are constructed by the ELICOS system to see the effects of this construction.

Subjects can be seen as involved in more tangible forms of co-construction as marketing techniques utilise consumers' bodies in a co-construction of subjectivity and space (Wood & Ball, 2013). Subjects exist in interiority (time) and observe exterior conditions (space), so that subjects' relation to space and time is not passive: bodies are an active component in identity and identity formation (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999; Butler, 1993). It is the positioning of the body within space, giving an individual a point of perspectival access to space as well as being an object for others in space, "that gives the subject a coherent identity and an ability to manipulate things" (Brutt-Griffler & Samimy, 1999, p. 92). Individual subjects exist within the social body not so much as an exercise of freedom of selves, or as a consensus of wills, but as an effect of power and "of the materiality of power operating on the very bodies of individuals" (Suzuki & Byrne, 2013, p. 55). This materiality of power is seen in observable differences between human beings and in their behaviours as it is "one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain

gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals" (Foucault, 1980, p. 98).

The subject as an effect of power, is a site of cultural inscription within the social body, and the social body as "a product of a relation of power exercised over bodies, multiplicities, movements, desires, forces" (p. 74). The social body is also the means whereby individuals construct themselves (Foucault, 1988b). Butler (2005) notes the difficulty of becoming a subject, this difficulty being in part because the "terms by which we give an account, by which we make ourselves intelligible to ourselves and to others, are not of our making" (p. 20). Making meaning through a priori constructs of meaning was a point made earlier when referring to the world that the individual enters is one not of their own meaning constructions. On the other hand, subjects in positions of authority who construct less powerful subjects for their benefit, through some form of conceptual work, create discourses that operationalise power at different micro, meso, and macro levels.

In revealing this aspect of power further—powerful subjects creating subjects for the benefit of powerful stakeholders—makes necessary a description of the body that is purposively inscribed in order to gain material effects. This knowledge of subjectivity, i.e., the malleability of the subject (Wood & Ball, 2013) is a way that unknowing subjects become inscribed as an effect of power. This malleability of the subject can be seen as power circulates and invests itself in the body, involving the body in a political struggle (Foucault, 1980b), so that subjects and their bodies become a site of action in a field of political activity. While power invests itself in the body, the body itself then becomes vulnerable to a counter attack in the movement of meaning creation. This vulnerability points to the ambivalent and disinterested nature of power that it is not localised, having an ability to retreat, to reinvest, and/or to re-organise itself within different or competing discourses.

It is the vulnerability of the body, both social and individual, that is the cause of individual and collective urges to protect the body. When the body becomes an intense object of analysis and concern, the more it is examined and controlled in an intense way and the greater "the intensification of each individual's desire, for, in and over his [sic] body" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 57). The desire to self-regulate, intensified by a subject's body being an object of knowledge for stakeholders, is significant when considering the subjectivity and agency of less powerful subjects.

These subjects are unable to 'see' the workings of power, so these subjects are involved in a co-construction of themselves through powerful stakeholders' intentional use of space (Wood & Ball, 2013). This articulation of power as co-construction between the dominant stakeholders and the less powerful stakeholders has enabled me to address the questions of teacher and student subjectivity and agency.

Co-construction can be seen in that power is also somewhat analogous, being neither an institution nor a structure, but is "a name given to a complex of strategic relation in a given society" (Gordon, 1980, p. 236), and encountered only through its effects. Understanding how power is exercised is central to being able to 'see' power, that is to say knowing the means by which power is being appropriated is the way we can 'see' power at work. Power is not a mysterious substance that is generated but is an unknowable entity that, through human intention, "exists only when it is put into action" (Foucault, 1982, p. 788). It is stakeholders who locate and garner power in order to appropriate benefits. These stakeholders are people who understand that power can be garnered. This knowledge is something that less powerful subjects do not have or at least of which they are unaware. It is through the act of being garnered that power forms a microphysics of power which then flows throughout the social body as different forms of power, for example disciplinary power, regulatory power, normalizing power, state power: types of power exercised by certain individuals in order to cause a targeted effect. Garnering and enhancing power effects is the purveyance of marketing, where individuals train in techniques for manipulating cognition and affective states in consumer subjects (Wood & Ball, 2013).

It is disciplinary power that initiates as well as maintains social subjectification through a process of normalising and subduing, the subject being produced and reproduced through everyday practices. In this field of ontological action, power relations are made active through the norms operating within the social constructions. These 'norms' in being constituted through practices as relations of power, are understood as subjectifying practices, wherein practicing subjects are constructed by as well as construct their subjectivity in response to prevailing conditions of possibility, the construction of self being enacted through techniques of self-mastery (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983; Foucault, 1988). It is these aspects of

power, as they relate to performativity, that are the means whereby the triadic relationship can be addressed in terms of power, enabling a recognition of the relations of power in the co-construction of meaning between educational institutions, international students, and ELICOS teachers.

Individuals are engaged in the ongoing construction of themselves through deployment of technologies of the self, a process of accepting as well as resisting subjectification. This movement between accepting the secure conditions of discourse and the self's negotiation with these conditions is a movement between certainty and uncertainty (L. Thomas, 2009). In this ambivalence, disciplinary technologies create their own standards of normalisation (Dreyfus & Rabinow, 1983). As stated earlier, the process of subjectification is also simultaneously a process of objectification, objectification being "the way the subject experiences himself [sic] in a game of truth where it relates to [sic] himself" (Foucault, as cited in Peters, 2004, p. 54). "Games of truth" contrasts 'regimes of truth' in that regimes of truth refer to the materiality of discourse (McKerrow, n.d.; Peters, 2004) while "games of truth" describes the discursive practices human being enact that constitute experience. Practices are seen as "sets of procedures that lead to certain results which, on the basis of the principles and rules of procedures, may be considered valid or invalid" (Crampton, 2001, p. 250).

Having addressed relationships in terms of co-construction, the following section addresses the issue of co-construction in terms of space. The element of space is a crucial one for this study as in Chapters Six and Seven it is through considerations of space in the ELICOS classroom that the effect of power at work between teachers and students becomes visible. Making visible the workings of power brings the psychological, linguistic, and ethical issues, hidden within the virtual realities of ELICOS and international education, into the light and so able to be questioned.

3.2.5 Subjects and space

This section focuses on subjects in space and addresses human subjectivity. These descriptions address how individuals understand themselves as situated within a social context, how individuals become subjects by virtue of the fact that their body is inscribed with meanings from culture. These description also highlight the inscription of bodies being an act of choice that individuals make, determining the

ways in which their bodies become inscribed and the particular meanings for those individuals. This vulnerability of human bodies to conceptual space and conceptual inscription is enacted through appropriation of the cultural narratives as individuals draw upon these discourses to make sense and meaning of their human existence, an enactment that provides them with identity and rationality.

What is significant for this study is not only the way in which individuals construct themselves through an exercise of power and their agency, but that it is power that constitutes the individual and is visible in and through the bodies of individuals. Foucault (1980) describes this when he says: it is "one of the prime effects of power that certain bodies, certain gestures, certain discourses, certain desires, come to be identified and constituted as individuals" (p. 98). In presenting subjects as recognisable bodies in space, subjects who are continually constituting themselves by their experience of the space, has implications for this study in two ways. Individual subjects in relationship to that space makes the space a site of the construction of affectivity, an act co-construction with that space. The second way that space is important in this study is in considering the phenomenon of group co-construction, where human interaction is a site of co-construction that intensifies affectivity. Both these aspects of subjects and their subjectivity in human interactions foreground the issue of human well-being. These aspects of embodiment are relevant to addressing Research Questions Two and Three.

Affectivity can be made visible through co-constructions within a spatial model of power, a model which Foucault describes as constituting individuals to a particular type of self-awareness. This section addresses this model of power in order to bring forward how it is that normalisation then puts human beings into a pressure-cooker environment as they seek to continually make meaning with others in that interactive space. Spatiality, for Foucault, is a technique of power that can be described as forming an architecture of space, a geographical sense of space. A model that Foucault offers is the Panopticon, an invention by English political philosopher, Jeremy Bentham in the 19th century, to incarcerate prisoners in a more humane way. It was designed as a "new mode of obtaining power of mind over mind, in a quantity hitherto without example: and that, to a degree equally without example, secured by whoever chooses to have it so, against abuse" (Bentham, as cited in Gane, 2012, p. 615). The Panopticon was never built exactly to Bentham's design, however the

model that was constructed as the Panopticon retained Bentham's envisioning of "mind over mind" in that the architecture of the Panopticon was and is an ideological model of maximising visibility and so control. A circular building anticipated to be approximately three to five stories high, with prisoners' cells in the outer perimeter (the cells were backlit by a small high window), and a high central tower from which authorities could observe every prisoner in their cell. This gave authorities maximum control by giving the powerful stakeholders maximum visibility while the backlighting of the cell made prisoners aware that they could be seen at any given moment. Gane (2012) describes this efficiency of the model for powerful stakeholders in this way:

> Visibility in the Panopticon works two ways: the prisoners can always be seen from the central control tower, but through the use of blinds or screens the presence of guards can be concealed. This means that the power of the Panopticon rests on the limitless capacity for watching, or what Bentham calls the "apparent omnipresence of the inspector". (p. 615)

Gane (2012) further describes the Panopticon as producing a power that is verifiable, a model that normalises the conduct of the inhabitants, this normality of being in the gaze of the powerful producing self-regulation of the inhabitants, "who act as if they are being watched" (Gane, 2012, p. 615). Thus the Panopticon is both an economical as well as efficient model of power.

Using the Panopticon as a model of power, Foucault offers a model of institutional power in that it represents a hierarchical ordering of power through determining the way that 'less important' subjects are positioned in space while rendering the powerful stakeholders invisible to the lesser[21] subjects. However, the Panopticon is also a model of disciplinary power in that powerful stakeholder subjects in determining the positioning of less powerful subjects also determine ways in which the less powerful subject are able to experience their subjectivity, so in this sense the Panopticon as a model of power is also a discursive space. This model of power is discursive in that disciplinary power shapes docile bodies (Foucault, 1995; Lemke, 2001). Within this institutional model of power there are clear benefits for

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[21] This term, lesser, is used throughout this thesis to describe a positioning of subjects and stakeholders. It is not intended to convey any form of value judgement.

powerful stakeholders who hold the power of the gaze, the power of control, a power that is defined by flexibility (Gane, 2012), thus making flexibility the proof of stakeholders having maximum control.

Discursive pressures arising from disciplinary power are not entirely deterministic as "power relations develop in tandem with spatial relations, each exerting a distinct but not necessary deterministic pressure on the other" (Mills, 2007). These relations between power and space involve negotiation, something that Foucault is insistent about, and as Mills (2007) notes:

> the relation between power and space is complex, particularly if one defines power in a productive way as Foucault has, and insists that power is a network of relations between people, which is negotiated within each encounter, and also if one defines space relationally and relatively as Foucault suggests. (p. 49)

The complexity of the relationships of power and space are integral to co-construction of meaning. What the Panopticon as a model of power makes clear is that there is an interrelationship between power, space, and subjects. This model of power has enabled the effects of institutional power and normalising power to enable the conceptualisation of teachers and students in both a geographical and discursive space. This model can be applied to the NEAS framework, a neoliberal project whereby teachers are conceptualised as subjects and constructed to work within an institutionalised hierarchical framework as managers of their own employment. In this way self-monitoring is inherent in the employment conditions of ELICOS teachers, particularly with short-term contracts being the normal mode of employment. Other conditions making self-monitoring necessary for ELICOS teachers is the construction of students as primary stakeholders, a situation where students have the power to negatively influence teachers' employment possibilities.

What this section has foreshadowed is that the model of institutional and disciplinary power described in this section has constructed teachers and students to interact within a geographical space that has discursive and affective consequences, thus foreshadowing questions of teaching, learning, as well as human well-being. The following section now turns once again to descriptions of the individual subject, their relationship with power and what that means for their subjectivity and possibilities for agency: "power manufactures a particular subjectivity that is

internalised and made the truth about oneself" (Prado, as cited in Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014, p. 96).

3.2.6 Normalising the subject

Normalising practices are integral to subjectivity, agency, and experiences of harmony. For example, within educational institution's practices of performativity, teachers and their teaching practices in the 'normality' of the classroom construct a rational atmosphere conducive to self–regulation. Normalising practices produce docile bodies (Foucault, 1980b). Docile bodies are important to the functioning of institutions as it provides a compliant workforce. However, compliance requires a compromise in agency. While disciplinary technologies are able to be co-opted to create mechanisms that materialise power, e.g., the materialisation of practices, it is at the level of the body that that disciplinary power functions (Gore, 1998). In power being realised in practice, subjectivity and agency in Foucauldian thought have the capacity to be extended to represent the embodied and affective experiences of human beings.

This effect of power on the embodied experience of individuals is emphasised by Foucault (1980b, p. 39): "in thinking of the mechanisms of power, I am thinking rather of its capillary form of existence, the point where power reaching into the very grain of individuals, touches their bodies and inserts itself into their action and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives". This articulation of a networked conceptualization of power, an articulation of reality that encapsulates the ambiguity of the embodied subject, also encapsulates a crossing over of archaeological and genealogical concerns, an articulation of the workings of power wherein teaching subjects are constructed, while at the same time, these teaching subjects construct their subjectivity through teaching practices (Yates & Hiles, 2010, p. 59). This interactivity is the working conditions of teachers as seen in Figure 3.5 as a process of normalisation, where teachers work within a dominant discourse created by powerful stakeholders. The normalising power of the dominant discourse has a containing effect on teachers' experience.
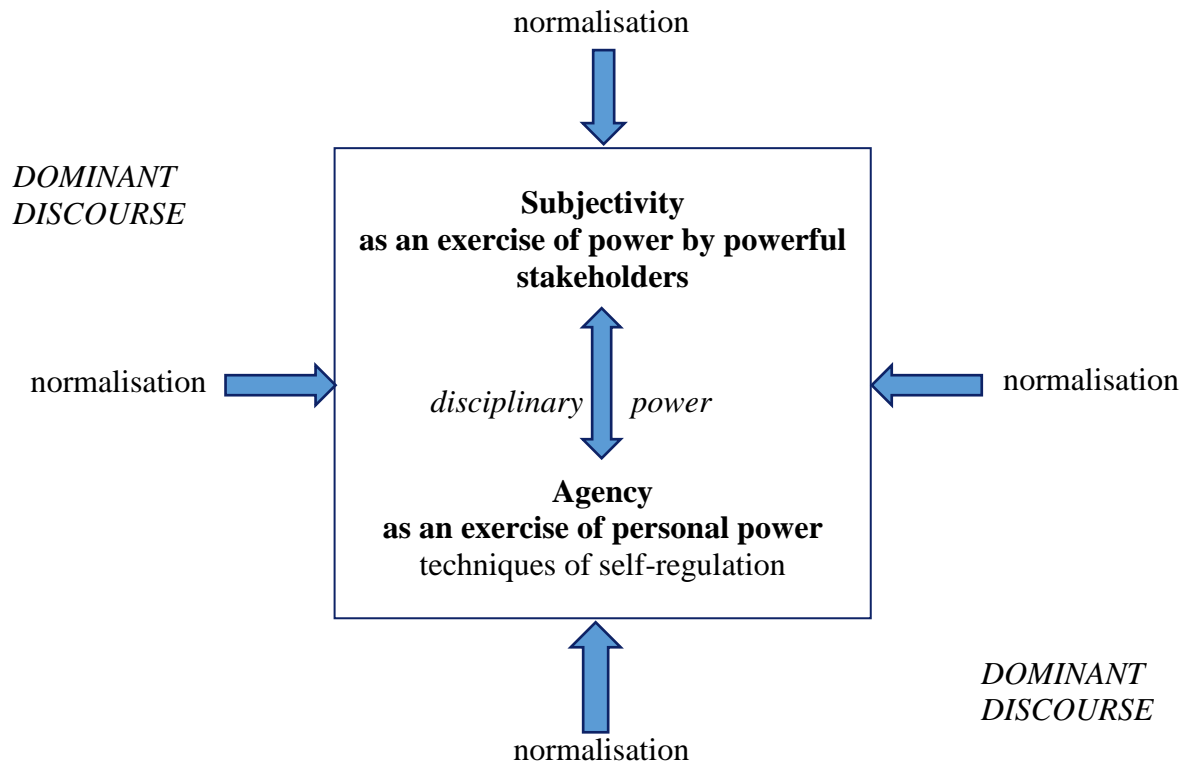
Figure 3.5. The normalising power of the dominant discourse

The development of Foucauldian thought from an overly determined subject (in his archaeological concerns) to a subject exercising agency through a critical ontology of self, an ontology of the present, required a genealogical approach, an analysis in which subjugated discourses and subjugated/local knowledges could emerge (Peters, 2004; Yates & Hiles, 2010). In light of the oscillation and ambiguity identified earlier between certainty and uncertainty, this description for self-constitution raises concerns regarding the limitations of subjects' possibilities for agency as discourses enable and constrain what is thinkable, sayable, and doable. Addressing possibilities for agency requires a return to the concept of discourse in order to highlight ways in which truth is constructed by individuals and in order to see the contrast between personal construction of truth wherein a subject's values, ideas, and identities are embedded in their personal discourse. A return to the concept of discourse is also required in order to see truth as constructed by powerful stakeholders whose values, ideas, and identities are also represented in discourse.

As discourse is constructed from a set of truth conditions, the goal of the following section is to describe these conditions. The aim of illuminating the process of the production and work of discourse is to make visible the contingent nature of truth and its illusory foundations, the origin of truth as residing in the intentions,

values, and beliefs of individuals. This aspect is particularly relevant to Chapter Five, where competing discourses/relations of power can be seen as competing acts of political will and as competing truths.

3.3   Agency and Discourse

This section aims to address agency as being contingent upon truth, with truth being contingent upon power, which only comes into existence through human action (Foucault, 1982). On an individual level, personal power lies in the truth that individual people construct for themselves as they interact with their social environment and condition themselves by their appropriation of dominant or counter narratives of culture. These narratives and beliefs about their humanity and social experience together with their cultural environment, form the lives individual people live out in the world. This contingency in agency points to the liquid and illusory nature of truth at the heart of the construction of human experience. This constructivist view on the individual level emerges in the division and dynamic between the truths of the subject as embedded in their personal discourses and the subject's interaction with the discourses inherited through the individual's subjectivity.

The subject's personal construction of their human experience is on a moment to moment basis (Dinakar, 2015). Additionally, from a semiotic perspective, the crisis of representation is enshrined in the media. For example, a subject, thing, or institution presented as an image or in a series of catchphrases, cannot represent the discourse. This lack of 'fit' that results in reduced meaning, is clearly evident within advertising, with marketing providing evidence of "truth as a universal semiotic problem" (Nöth, 2003, p. 10). Thus, agency is contingent on the subject's way of making meaning as the subject negotiates the gap between the self and their subjectivity (see Figure 3.1 and Figure 3.2). This conceptualisation of agency applies both individually and collectively, with collective truth being an agreement between stakeholders, who benefit from holding the position that certain statements are true.

In addressing agency, this section will develop an understanding of the construction of truth as preceded by a 'will to truth' leading to the 'will to power' leading to the 'will to knowledge' (see Figure 3.8). This unfolding of how discourse

is formed is in order to reveal truth as a discursive invention, a discourse which in the new world order is shaped by neoliberalism, a force that has particular effects. This unfolding also leads to envisaging subjects as objects of knowledge as bodies in neoliberal discourse. Remarkably, and foundational to the work of neoliberalism is the postmodern insight of the constructed nature of reality, an insight appropriated for capitalist purposes. This constructivist insight on which neoliberalism is built is the basis of the economically advantageous belief that everything can be commodified and sold, and from a capitalist perspective, everything that can be sold should be sold, a belief that has been then taken up into the positivist worldview of business stakeholders as the beneficiaries of this belief. Thus, the way in which truth has been constructed was an underlying question when engaging in data—the influences that shaped the ELICOS business model (Research Question One), as well as how teachers' and students' subjectivity and agency were constructed and experienced (Research Questions Two and Three).

3.3.1 Discourse and truth conditions

What the previous section has described is that human experience is contingent upon both the prevailing conditions of experience as well as an agent's interpretation of their experience. Thus truth can be only understood in terms of the conditions that make agency possible. In addition, agency not only depends on subjectivity but also on the subject's own interpretation. In this way subjectivity and agency are both contingent on the conditions surrounding them.

3.3.3.1   The will to truth

Discourse, when seen through a Foucauldian lens, is a complex invention. This invention arises from the desires of individuals, where a 'will to truth' leads to a 'will to power' which then leads to a 'will to knowledge', a process that results in the emergence of a discourse. This chapter addresses reality as a form of human inventing, beginning with the invention of discourse (see Figure 3.8).

STAKEHOLDERS
  'will to truth'
  'will to power'
  'will to knowledge'

STAKEHOLDERS
  'will to truth'
  'will to power'
  'will to knowledge'

Power/knowledge
nexus

Discourse

Objects/subjects of
knowledge

  'will to truth'
  'will to power'
  'will to knowledge'
STAKEHOLDERS

  'will to truth'
  'will to power'
  'will to knowledge'
STAKEHOLDERS
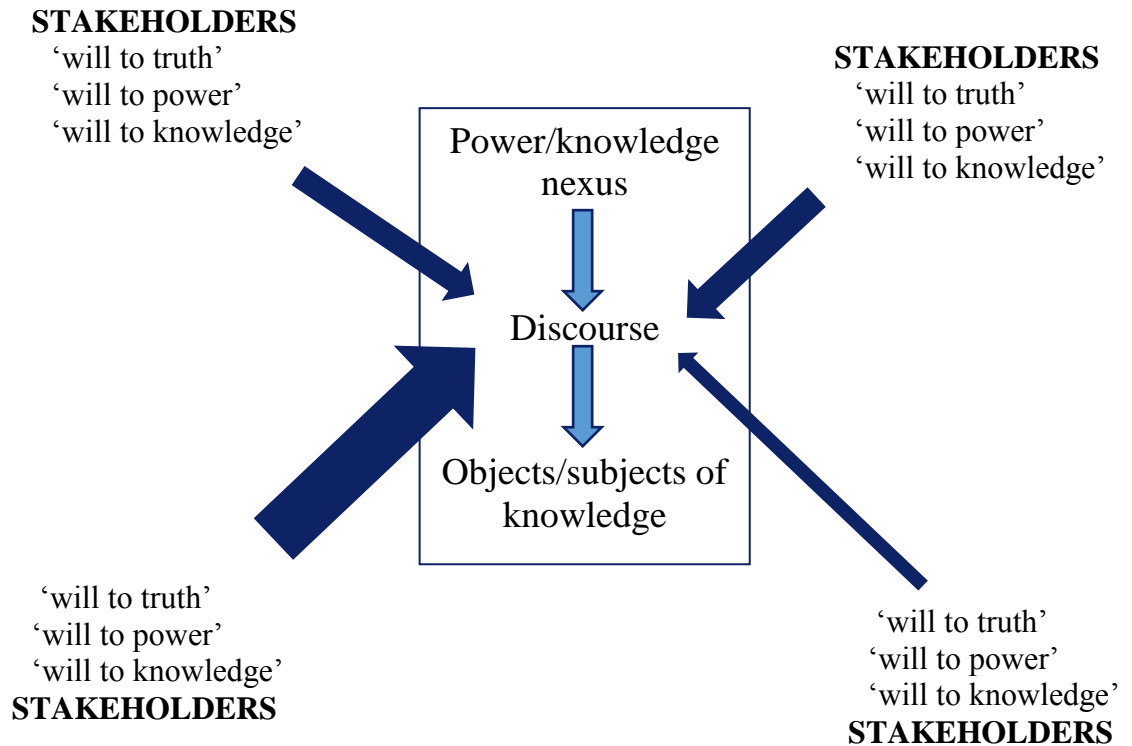
Figure 3.6. From illusion to discourse: The work of power in creating discourse

According to Foucauldian thought, truth and discourse are connected in the sense that discourse can be traced back to the intentions of those whose statements are taken up as credible and acted upon (Foucault, 1970), i.e., the purpose and values (intentions) provide the impetus for the construction of discourse. Thus, the 'truth' of a discourse is connected to the values embedded within it (Koro-Ljungberg, 2008). These embedded values emerge from "system[s] of ordered procedures, production, distribution, regulation, circulation and operation of statements" (Collier, 2009, p. 133). The will to truth in its emergence as 'truth' is a product of the workings of power and discourse, a process of a displacement of the 'the will to truth' by 'the will to power' (Hook, 2001a), which activates a space/time event.

The 'will to truth' is a sensibility described by Foucault as part of the order of the discourse of space, a sensibility based on the opposition between true and false, "the play of a primary event—always reconstituted by falsification" (Foucault, 1977, p. 203). The 'will to power' as part of the space/time event is a semiotic/linguistic battle, "a process of 'incessant deciphering'–figurating, interpreting, signifying [of the Other] through apparent identification [with the Same]—which contains within itself an element of domination" (Poster, as cited in Scheurich, 1996, p. 55). This battle of signifiers, which leads to a displacement of the 'Other', is the struggle

between domination and resistance as part of the politics of knowledge that creates discourse, so that discourse can be described as "a given politics of knowledge" (Hook, 2005, p. 26), a continuous and continuing process of competing discourses.

Truth is a function of discourse and operationally contingent upon founding assumptions, while on the other hand the truth conditions of a discourse are "extremely stable and secure—highly situated—and part of the order of discourse" (Hook, 2001a, p. 525). This interrelationship between truth as a function of discourse and truth conditions means that the 'truthfulness' of a discourse is perspectival and can only be determined through investigation, where the inquirer must refer to "a carefully delineated set of conditions of possibility under which statements come to be meaningful and true" (Hook 2001a, p. 525). This behoves me as researcher to make this careful inquiry into the conditions of possibility that have contributed to the constructions of a discourse, as it is these set of truth conditions provide the discourse with rationality. This methodological imperative to uncover the conditions of possibility means that it is important to interrogate the elements that go towards constructing a discourse as "discourse constitutes a rationality context in the sense that it constitutes social actors, motivations, and the rules according to which action may be validated and consequences identified" (Kjcer & Pedersen, 2001, p. 226). Thus, rationality constructs a regime of truth, an ordering of reality that is a product of the political technology of individuals (Foucault, 1988a).

Discourse as an ordering of reality is described by Kjcer and Pedersen (2001) as both a symbolic order and an ontology that "establishes the condition of possibility of experience (of observation and interpretation) in a particular social setting" (Kjcer & Pedersen, 2001, p. 228). Knowledge, once institutionalised as a regime of truth is then enabled by discursive practices of formation and constraint, of production and exclusion (Koro-Ljungberg, 2008). These truth conditions of discourse that provide rationality and as well as possibilities for institutional and ontological appropriation for the discourse, are the conditions that make an educational institution and/or product appear to be possible/true. In this way, a dominant discourse in the business world can be seen as the product of a carefully thought out and intentional conceptualisation of a way of being in the business world that can act as a regime of truth that can link with other regimes of truth, and in this way appropriate power.

The following section will discuss agency for subjects in ways that address how it is that their participation in a dominant discourse is an act of co-construction, as they act not only as subject to their subjectivity but as bodies constructed in discursive space. This conceptualisation is then followed up by a description of what this construction means for the agency of less powerful stakeholders, as neoliberal subjects in the new world order. As neoliberal subjects who share the risks with their employers, ELICOS teachers not free to exercise their professionalism while being bound to act according their construction.

3.3.2 Subjects and co-construction

This section brings together previous articulations of power—its nature as relational, relative, and existing only when actioned, as well as a conceptualisation of power showing power to also be contingent upon time and space, with the Panopticon as a model of institutional power. In this connectivity it becomes clear that subjects are involved in an act of co-construction through their enactment of power. As embodied subjects in time and space, their constructions of truth reveal that any participation in their subjectivity as conditions of truth is the result of a subject's orientation to truth. These conditions of truth are contingent on the subject's body having been experienced as a site of conscription and inscription by the various discourses, the subject's creation of self as a body in time and space through the subject's response to the relations of power in which a subject is inevitably embedded, a subject's unique dynamic engagement with their cultural environment.

Agency and subjectivity require a continuing act of making meaning, a continuing act of 'will to truth' to continue being the self they are in time and space i.e., to be the subject that they have desired to be. For example, a trained teacher has constructed and developed a teacher-self that, through employment, is legitimated by a dominant discourse/system. If the teacher-subject decides to no longer participate within that system/discourse, the subject can no longer can be defined by the system. However, the teacher-self is at will to see their self as a teacher even though they are no longer being empowered/legitimated by the system. If however, every teacher-subject in the system decided to relinquish their role, the system could no longer exist although the teaching discourse could still exist as an ideology, to be reactivated at any time by any stakeholders who might benefit from this ideology,

even if the benefit was only altruistic in intent. Therefore, individuals as subjects engage in acts of co-construction whether directly or indirectly with elements in their subjectivity. This same process of agency and subjectivity is the same for dominant stakeholders as for the less powerful stakeholders, the same whether a subject is co-constructing their personal subjectivity or whether it is a group or groups of individuals co-constructing a dominant discourse. All meaning comes into existence through acts of co-construction arising from a 'will to truth'.

3.3.3 Neoliberal subjects and agency

Within the new world order, a global world constructed by the relationship between neoliberalism and the knowledge economy, a context driven by competition and economic concerns, subjects are shaped to experience their subjectivity in a way that is different from previous possibilities for co-constructions of self and subjectivity in a democratically oriented context. While governance has always required docile and willing subjects for successful governance, the knowledge economy, as a global ideology designed for efficient automated production, requires different type of bodies, subjects that have embodied neoliberal principles so that subjects are compliant to these principles, enacted by subjects being at once both docile and entrepreneurial. This subjectivity and agency is enacted in a context where "subjects and markets are made, not given" (Gershon, 2011, p. 538), both subjects and markets being "normatively coerced" by the mechanisms of neoliberalism (Olssen, 2006, p. 229).

As mentioned in Chapter Two, neoliberalism is a term with considerable currency as it acts as a system, culture, and governmentality, this flexibility making of neoliberalism difficult to define (Hilgers, 2010). In this study, neoliberalism has been considered as a philosophy that is continuing to be enacted through discourse at the global, national, and policy levels. However, at an individual level, neoliberalism is enacted as an ideology, where, in the new world order, each subject whether knowingly or unknowingly has been shaped to experience themselves and act as neoliberal subjects (Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-a, in press-b). The neoliberal self is one that is both constructed, and coerced to construct itself as a productive subject in the new world order. The agency of this subject is predicated on accepting their construction as a "a self that is a flexible bundle of skills that reflexively manages oneself as though the self was a business" (Gershon, 2011, p. 537). This

subject is a corporatised enterprising self whose agency is experienced as "an autonomous, flexible, and innovative subject . . . able to adapt to the rapidly changing contexts of our sociohistorical period" (Flores, 2013, p. 503).

3.5.3.1 *Neoliberal subjects and co-construction*

Neoliberal discursiveness engenders a neoliberal epistemology, a view of the new world order as natural and inevitable (Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-a), to work in an accelerated sense of time (Bansel & Davies, 2005; Hassan, 2011). This has significant implications for the agency of neoliberal selves, particularly as being distinctly different from the previous liberal self within a democratically oriented context. As described in Chapter Two, a liberal self is one that was historically constructed within the ideal of democracy. In a discontinuous conceptual move, a neoliberal self, rather than being a transition from a liberal self, is an entirely new conceptualisation of self, a self no longer bounded by democratic ideals, now an unbounded self, a self that has been placed in a context of raw competition (Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-a, in press-b). This is a radically different self to the liberal self; the neoliberal self having radically different enablements and constraints for agency. This means that a neoliberal self is no longer a passive form of self that has freedom to act within society but is now conceptualised as an active self, a self conscripted to act within institutionalised frameworks (Gershon, 2011). No longer protected from business risk, the neoliberal self now shares in business responsibilities that were previously responsibilities that business bore as part of the (liberal) social contract, such as in the recognition of business having a more powerful position within society than the individual.

This conceptualisation of the neoliberal entrepreneurial subject brings the subjectivity and agency of different stakeholders into much closer relationships with each other, which in the new world order are commercial relationships. For dominant stakeholders, their experience of neoliberal discursivity brings benefits to their subjectivity while enacting and legitimising their agency to further accumulate benefits. For lesser stakeholders such as teachers and students, it is the promise of neoliberalism to accrue benefits to dominant stakeholders that requires these subjects to act as entrepreneurial selves in a competitive world. The benefits that accrue to these subjects are not so clear or so easily determined.

This section in providing descriptions of the concepts of discourse, truth, normalisation, and neoliberalism as these work to produce subjects, their subjectivity as well as possibilities for agency, has also described different types of power as operating through a series of networks where discourses act as conduits according to the intentions of the founding individuals. These different types of power constructing the experience of teachers and students constitutes their discursive practices they need to enact in order to be students and teachers.

3.4 Chapter Summary

The analytical needs in this chapter were derived from those concerns associated with an interrogation of the work of illusions, with the concept of truth directing the accompanying concepts of knowledge, power, discourse, normalisation, and neoliberalism. These concepts required a postmodern framing in order to interrogate a level of reality that the acronym ELICOS hides. This chapter has provided conceptual tools and understandings to address the research questions as well as foreshadowing ways in which these have been applied in the following chapters. In other words, these tools have provided an illumination of agency for the ELICOS business model as well as tools to uncover its subjectivity, including the historical and contemporary influences that affect the highly situated, extremely stable and secure truth conditions of the ELICOS business model. These conceptual tools have also provided the means to reveal the type and degree of impact of the ELICOS system on teachers and students, and these effects as they affected the sustainability of the business model.

The conceptual tools developed in this chapter have enabled this study to provide descriptions of power, subjectivity, and agency, discourse, truth, normalisation and neoliberalism as the means to disrupt the normality of international education and ELICOS. These conceptual tools have functioned within the analyses conducted in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven to illuminate the workings of the ELICOS business model. Discourse has been utilised to reveal ELICOS as a construction and subjectivity of students and teachers as constructed. Power has enabled these subjectivities to be seen as vulnerable to co-constructions, and agency as contingent upon co-construction as well as teachers and students perception of their agency. Normalisation has functioned to reveal teachers as students as blind to

their constructed subjectivities and neoliberalism has functioned to reveal the type of subjectivities that students and teachers experienced. In the final chapter, it is these tools that have enabled conceptualisation of new possibilities, new imaginings, as well as enable some suggestions, the promised seeds of hope for a more ethical and sustainable future. This future I anticipate is not just for ELICOS and international education. What the use of the conceptual tools has meant in the subsequent chapters is to also offer possibilities for thinking new thoughts about ethical ways of negotiating the effects of power within the new world order. In seeing these effects in new and different ways provides more choices and more ideas about who we might want to be in the new world order as well as different ways we might want to order our societies of the future, and ultimately, in addressing the aims of this thesis, why it is necessary to disrupt the constitutive illusions of ELICOS that are dangerous to human well-being.

Chapter 4.   Research Design

4.0   Rationale

Performativity in international education/ELICOS was problematised in Chapter Two using a genealogical approach. As a genealogical approach presupposes a postmodern epistemology, my quadrifocal approach has meant that a postmodern epistemology was instrumental in the work of the literature review that illuminated issues in Chapter Two. My postmodern epistemology was more precisely explicated in Chapter Three, together with a detailed description of the key concepts of power, subjectivity, agency and concepts of discourse, truth, normalisation, and neoliberalism, concepts that functioned as tools to illuminate and interpret data.

Issues of dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection within ELICOS in Chapter Two described the core concerns for the study—the triadic relationship of educational institutions, international students, and teachers (and their permutations)—as these relationships are affected by ELICOS as a technology. Teachers being in a secondary relationship with both their students and the institution was shown in Chapter Two to be part of the commercial construction of the virtual realities of the knowledge economy, international education and ELICOS. The unequal relations in the illusory contexts gave cause to explore and describe experiences of teachers' and international students' experiences of international education as part of the research context. These unequal relationships formed a research context that provided justification for interrogating power, subjectivity, and agency as key concepts for this research project.

Data in this thesis was drawn from source documents, policy statements, personal experiences/reflections and scholarly literature. As outlined in Section 1.8.1, the sources of data were not confined to teacher participant accounts. Also outlined in Section 1.8.1 are specific reasons for this, the most significant being the reach of marketing that stretches from the positioning and considerations of prospective overseas students in their purchase to their experiences of product delivery in the ELICOS classroom. As teachers' experiences are subject to the

effects of normalising forces, data produced from teacher accounts would not adequately provide the means for illuminating something of the breadth and depth of negative effects of the founding illusions of ELICOS, which is the purpose of this study.

The rationale and outline of the methodology in this chapter continues by examining more explicitly the links between the theoretical orientations of the study and the methodological approach. This is followed by outlining key procedures in the methodology where details of participant selection, details of their involvement, as well as a description of relationships between participants and myself as researcher provide a picture of the process of investigation, while also providing an audit trail. In using predictive lexical articulations that belong more to the language world of quantitative than a qualitative methodology, I have been careful not to use these words in a way that conflicts with my postqualitative approach. Using these terms was a conscious decision in order to describe my methodological decisions as a form of accountability to the reader, transparency for the research project, as well as to honour the literature and the work of scholars that I have used to inform and shape the project (Lather, 1993).

4.1 Methodology

Methodology in this thesis has been understood as a series of strategies, techniques, and applications that have provided links between scholarly literature, the research questions, data analysis and subsequent data production. Choices around my methodology have organised the data in both a deductive as well as inductive manner (Elo et al., 2014; Fereday & Muir-Cochrane, 2006). By saying this I mean that I came to this research with an experience of unseen forces affecting my teaching practice, with my lived teaching experience including fuzzy level knowledge of unsatisfactory subject constructions. In addition, I also knew that short term contracts created highly competitive employment conditions for ELICOS teachers. Working in these conditions meant that teachers were isolated from each other by this competition. Thus, I had two levels of analysis to contend with in my data analysis: the first level was my own ongoing development of knowledge of the ELICOS system deduced from the literature and the material I was working with,

and a second inductive level, as I sought to bring evidence forward to engage with my research questions. This constituted an organic process in data analysis.

The organic nature of my methodology meant that Chapter Five included analyses of personal communication, personal experience, website information, and scholarly literature. Analytical strategies applied in Chapters Six and Seven required that personal experiences as well as teachers' accounts functioned as the means of producing knowledge, and as central to the development of this thesis. Initial engagement with data from teachers' accounts validated my own experiences. However, analysis of the data also brought forward other ways of expressing shared experiences and insights, with some teachers giving much more detailed and explicit accounts of what I have understood and experienced often only at an intuitive level. The naming of some of these phenomena has led to major transformations of what could have been less insightful outcomes. An example of this is Paula's account that names and describes monocultures as highly problematic. The concept of monoculture in the context of ELICOS teaching refers to the presence of an oppositional language group within a classroom, i.e., the presence of one culture/linguistic group that acts as a dominating force in the classroom. While I had experienced this phenomenon in the classroom as typical, and had strategies for classroom management to deal with this issue, the naming of this phenomenon as a 'monoculture' was new to me. Paula's gift of this terminology opened up the way to make connections between the presence of monocultures, the effect of monolingualism (E. Ellis, 2005), and the escalation of intimidation and bullying, which together opened the way to critique the construction of students within ELICOS in Chapter Seven. This analysis also gave a means to provide another explanation for the experience of teachers as well as allowing the negative impact of student behaviours to be explained, with these and many more insights providing evidence that the present construction of the ELICOS business model is unsustainable and unethical.

A major consideration for methodology has been the nature of the research context as illusory (see Sections 1.1, and 1.1.1). Another consideration has been a methodological stance towards international students that has necessitated working in conceptual and descriptive ways that avoided 'essentialising' international students or the experience of international students (Ruble & Zhang, 2013; Yu & Shen, 2012;

Zhou & Todman, 2009). This made necessary the incorporation of the concepts of monolingualism (E. Ellis, 2005; E. Ellis et al., 2010) and acculturation (Barker, 2015; H.-S. Park & Rubin, 2012; Smith & Khawaja, 2011; Wu & Mak, 2012) as part of the ways in which the human experience of international students could come forward as part of the considerations of this thesis.

A major component of the research design has been a narrative approach to produce data from teachers' experiences. A narrative approach is one that uses the stories of individual ELICOS teachers with the understanding that narrative has the capacity to produce rich and meaningful data (Bamberg & Demuth, 2016) that has enable me to respond well to the three research questions. Narrative approaches draw strongly on constructivist and interpretive theories, which through the medium of talk are able "to connect the participant with their past, their roles, surroundings or workplaces, and other possible ties" (Carey, 2012, p. 174). Narrative can be claimed as historical (Elliott, 2005)—historical narratives that are consistent with both the genealogical approach and the postmodern epistemology that has driven this research project as the site/medium of both data collection and production (Elliott, 2005). Narrative data collection has provided the means whereby the experiences of ELICOS teachers could be listened to as they relayed their experiences of TESOL teaching within ELICOS contexts. This capability is important. While genealogy has been used to open the way for a deeper analysis through breaking open the monolithic discourse of 'normality', it is also a move which, through thematic analyses as well as a consideration given to the rhetoric within the structure of the narrative, has allowed teachers' voices to be heard in dialogue with each other and with the literature. However, it was the rhetoric of teachers' narratives that provided a deeper level of evidence of participants' experiences of their exploitation and disempowerment on both personal and professional levels. In this way it was teachers' experiences that became central to the development of this thesis, and provided a window into the negative consequences of ELICOS as a technology at work within teachers' relationship with international students and between students and their educational institution (see Section 2.2.1). Yet, as I have flagged in this section, as well as Section 1.81, due to the extensive reach of ELICOS where its impact begins in marketing activities in students' home countries and comes to bear

in the classroom, I have needed to utilise sources of data in addition to teacher participant accounts.

4.2   Data Collection and Production

As stated earlier, data were collected from a variety of sources, including source documents, policy statements, personal experiences, reflections and scholarly literature. Teachers' accounts also played a significant role in the development of the thesis through my creation of an organic methodology. This methodology was marked by its capacity to be iterative. Data were collected and produced to address the research questions. The ways in which data were collected for the research questions were initiated by performativity as the operationalising concept and in response to the underlying question of power: "what connects these various discourses to become a dominant discourse?" The following table (Table 4.1) situates the documents, scholarly literature, and person experience as data sources.

Table 4.1

Use of Data Sources

Research Questions	Data Sources	Method
Research Question One		
In what ways do historical and contemporary influences affect the ELICOS business model as a system?	Websites, scholarly literature, personal experience, personal communication	Archaeological analysis Genealogical analysis Autoethnographic analysis
Research Question Two		
How have selected teachers experienced working in the ELICOS system?	Teacher accounts Personal experience Scholarly literature	Thematic analysis Rhetorical analysis Genealogical analysis Autoethnographic analysis
Research Question Three		
How are international students constructed to experience the ELICOS system?	Teacher accounts Personal experience Scholarly literature	Interpretive/rhetorical Autoethnographic analysis

The following sections describe the sources for data production.

4.2.1 Documents, scholarly literature, personal experience

In determining how ELIOS has been operationalised, both in the past as well as the present in order to highlight the performativity of ELICOS as project, product and process, it was necessary to gather together literature that would provide something of the history of ELICOS, to understand something of the functioning of the international education sector, and to understand how ELICOS is situated and affected. Online searches and subsequent analyses of website content provided a background picture of the various government and industry bodies and their

competing agendas. For example, the ELICOS National Standards (ENS) produced by the government department, Australian Education International, as compliance standards were separate to the NEAS Quality Assurance Framework produced by an industry body, which recently NEAS has annexed by mapping one on to the other (National ELT Accreditation Scheme, 2014).

It was through engagement with official websites and policy documents that I was able to investigate the outside forces that came to bear upon the ELICOS classroom. Faced with the hiddenness of ELICOS as a dominant discourse I sought to break through this resistance for information about this construction in order to gain some clarity about the construction of ELICOS. I contacted NEAS by way of their website. This strategic approach resulted in gaining an answer to the source of the NEAS framework, the quality assurance framework that determines the construction of teachers, and standards within ELT/ELICOS centres. Scholarly literature was another source of data, to deepen further my knowledge of the ways in which ELICOS had been drawn together as a series of concepts that create a dominant discourse. Scholarly literature also provided the explanations for marketing as the production of a hyperreality and the creation of education as a simulacrum[22]. The reliance of the ELICOS business model on marketing to initiate the business model made its inclusion as part of the data analysis and production necessary to address Research Question One.

4.2.2 Teacher accounts

Teacher accounts were a significant source of data. Seven participants were recruited to enable data production from teachers' experience of ELICOS. These participants were recruited in various ways. The first approach was to ask individuals at an ELICOS conference. At this conference I gained only one participant, however I was invited to visit a workplace. During this visit another three ELICOS teachers as well as the DOS volunteered to be part of the research project. Another participant was a former work colleague, and this participant recruited the second DOS, this snowballing technique described by Waters (2015) as useful when suitable participants are hard to reach. Due to the nature of the ELICOS

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[22] Education as a simulacrum is used by Branclaeone and O'Brien (2011) to address the commodification of education. They describe learning outcomes as a simulacrum, "appear(ing) meaningful (although they do exhibit meaning) but are ultimately incapable of delivering what they promise: transferable skills, at most, but not education" (Brancaleone & O'Brien, 2011, p. 501)

industry, characterised by insecure employment (i.e., teachers had worked at multiple sites) and a small workforce, all teacher participants were also former work colleagues.

Teacher interviews were conducted over a period of four months. I began the process with a list of questions, with slightly different question lists for those facilitating teachers' experiences of the EHSP course, the DOS (Appendix C: 23 open questions and 1 closed question), and ELICOS teachers (Appendix D: 17 open questions and 5 closed questions). There were more questions for the DOS participants because their knowledge promised to be much broader as the DOS has a bird's eye view of the ELICOS teaching context and different ways in which teachers work within the system. This broader view of ELICOS teaching context met my need for greater insights into ELICOS as a system. The purpose of the closed questions for teachers was to help narrow and clarify some of the data that might not come from the open ended questions. The reason for this, as well as using a question list for teacher accounts, was that I was wanting to validate the issues I experienced personally as being common concerns for ELICOS teaching. An overarching aim of the interview process was to gain working accounts of ELICOS that might capture the breadth and depth of the ELICOS teaching context and teaching experience. The average duration of interviews was approximately one hour.

I avoided constraining teachers' accounts of their experience by using open ended questions and prompts. My use of prompts was for clarification or to probe the thinking of the teacher in order to elicit greater depth of data. For example, when Tina was describing her experience of weekly testing and being pressured by students to move up to the next level, I felt she had more to say about this subject I asked—*what happens when you don't move them up?* Tina described her experience of feeling stressed. I was then able to follow up with another prompt—*why did you feel stressed?* These prompts produced rich data. Another example of producing rich data using prompts was when Carol described some extremely negative behaviours she observed in her students which she saw was due to acculturation. I wanted to clarify her understanding of her responsibility in regard to this, as well as to elicit some possible information regarding the frequency of events. I asked Carol: *is it part of your teaching practice to have to deal with that (the student pulling out his hair in class)?* I also found this strategy of using prompts helped interviewees

relax during the interview process, while at the same time producing much richer data, further strengthening the trustworthiness of participants' accounts.

I also used prompts as a probe to extend my investigation. Generally this occurred when asking a closed question, for example when asking Paula if she had engaged in further study since becoming an ELICOS teacher. Her reply was yes, so then I probed to find out the effect further study for her: *would you like to describe something about the effect of this study?* In asking an open ended question meant that I had reduced the risk of probing in a way that constructed parameters for her answer. This probe did not refer to the effect in the classroom, or for her teaching practice, or for students' learning thus leaving it open for the participant's interpretation. Her answer revealed a freedom as Paula described the effect of further study not in any of the terms I have mentioned here but as an increase in pay. Teachers did not always answer the set questions directly so there were occasions when the probe I used was in the form of a direct question to gain information so I could compare teachers' opinions about students' expectations, for example: *And do they (the students) expect things from you?*

Using prompts and probes was in line with my aim of using semi-structured interviews, which was to allow ELICOS teachers the space to articulate common teaching experiences so that knowledge that was hidden or I may have forgotten might be illuminated as when Paula described the effects of further study being an increase in pay[23].

4.2.1.1 Narrative/story approach to data collection for teacher accounts

My aim of maximising teacher's responses to my questions meant that I needed to find an approach that gave teachers the freedom to speak and tell their story their way, while at the same time offering me as researcher, opportunities to collect information around the experiences of ELICOS teachers. The approach I was seeking needed to maintain the integrity of teachers' accounts as an act of storytelling yet at the same time allowed me create enough distance between myself and my teacher participants to listen and prompt to elicit rich data. These considerations were especially important due to my postqualitative approach in this study, an approach that privileges ontology. Story as an approach to teacher

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[23] The highly competitive nature of ELICOS teaching means that certain types of knowledge are not common, particularly around how to receive higher wages.

accounts valued their humanity, however in its singular form, story did not provide the means to engage in interviews and analyses that could address and evidence the affective dimension. To collect data from teacher accounts, I utilised an approach I describe as narrative/story, using a dual term rather than a singular use of the word *narrative* or *story* to describe teachers' accounts for numerous reasons beyond those already discussed. It is these reasons that I now lay out in this section.

Narrative can be conceptualised in various ways (Bamberg & Demuth, 2016). Its simplest form i.e., at a prima facie level, narrative can be thought of in terms of 'story'. One of the ways that Bowman (2006) describes the relationship between narrative and story is to describe it in terms of a continuum, where the pole at one end is "mere narrative" and the other end is "story". However, conceptualising narrative and story as on a continuum is limited in that it does not describe how these two are fundamentally different in the purposes they serve, and how that difference might affect the type and quality of the data produced.

Story is an act of someone telling of, and telling about something to someone else. To describe it in this way is to see story as consisting of two individual acts, the act of telling and the act of listening. The term narrative, however, describes the telling of a story in terms of process. In this way, conceptualising narrative/story as process provides access to the complexity involved in the production of a story, where elements of co-operation, co-contribution and co-construction are at play (Bignold & Su, 2013; E. Park, Caine, McConnell, & Minaker, 2013). The interaction, within the interview process, in which both the individual telling the story and the individual listening are engaged, is not two separate acts but one collaborative act of meaning making (Twiner, Littleton, Coffin, & Whitelock, 2014). In this sense, story is not something done to someone else. Rather, story understood through the lens of narrative, is a shared act, an engagement in meaning making between the individual telling the story and the listener. In this consideration narrative can be seen as an act of co-construction and it is this act that constructs narrative as relational research (E. Park et al., 2013).

Narrative as a relational form of research, acknowledges the influence of the individual to whom the story is told, largely determining the manner in which the story is told, e.g., the sequencing, emphases, and focus in the telling of the story. For example, the interviewees as former colleagues, may be inclined, even if

unconsciously, to respond to me more as a (former) professional ELICOS teacher rather than responding to me in my role as researcher. On the other hand, if a person without any background in ELICOS were to conduct the interviews, the way in which teachers' accounts would be constructed would be different from how I, a researcher with a background in ELICOS teaching, would hear and respond within the interview. If the interviewer were a non-native speaking ELICOS teacher or were a DOS, the dynamic of the co-operation/contribution/co-construction in each instance would be different again.

Another reason that a narrative approach was important to the way in which data was collected and later analysed is that narrative recognises the element of conflict. A narrative approach within the interview meant that I, as researcher, could listen with a heightened sense to hear conflict in teachers' accounts of their experience, in turn shaping my prompts to produce richer data. A further reason for the appropriateness of narrative is the evaluative element of narrative wherein the *meaning* of the conflict can also be pursued in the interview as well as later within the transcription of the narrative/text (Elliott, 2012). Narrative in being accessible to the theoretical aspects of story, e.g., its elements of construction as well as the possibility of conflict within the account, enhances the trustworthiness of the research. A narrative approach also allowed me to embed my reflexivity into the research project wherever relevant and possible (reflexivity is referred to and discussed throughout the rest of this chapter).

Narrative/story allows individuals' knowing to be translated into telling so that personal narratives are first person disclosures where the person in exercising agency reveals aspects of the speaker's subjectivity. At the same time, because stories connect individuals' knowing and telling to the flow of power in the wider world, stories are also political (Carey, 2012). This recognition of the political makes stories/narrative even more desirable as the medium to produce data for the research project as teachers' experiences can be seen to result from the flow of power within the wider world, which in this research project is the knowledge economy and neoliberalism. Finally, narrative is desirable as theoretical medium because narrative shifts the balance of power from the interviewer so that the interviewee is more fully empowered to describe their experience (Elliott, 2012). However, in the context of the research project, particularly as it refers to data production through the medium

of semi-structured interviews, an emphasis on narrative rather than story allows for consideration around the production of the story/narrative.

As outlined at the beginning of this section, at the time of the interviews, these semi-structured interviews needed to be viewed as teachers' stories of their experiences, accounts that contained their own interests, agendas, and biases. This aspect of teacher participation required me, the researcher, to take into account myself as a participant within the interview process, participating as listener, prompter, interpreter. This meant accounting for myself as involved in co-construction of meaning with my teacher participants. Thus, there was a need to describe and also control the use of reflexivity within the interview process, considering reflexivity as part of an ongoing process of building trustworthiness within the thesis (Finlay, 2002).

Before concluding this section, a further clarification is required. While narrative is central to the production of data around teachers' experiences, this project is not a narrative enquiry into ELICOS teachers' experiences. That is to say, this investigation does not seek to illuminate cultural patterns as these constitute people's lived experience. Nor does it specifically seek to show how language functions to create people's experience in order to change their experience (Clandinin, 2006) or conduct a metaphorical inquiry into a particular field of lived experience to develop theory. In this research project, data that are derived from storied accounts considered in terms of narrative can respond to the Research Questions in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven by their combined ability to reveal and evidence dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection in ELICOS, thus contributing to the illumination of the work of illusions constructing the ELICOS business model as dangerous.

4.2.1.2 Participants

My participants for the research project were Paula, Adam, Brianna, Tina, Rebecca, Jane, Carol. These names are pseudonyms as I have assured participants of anonymity. This is important in a commercial teaching context, particularly in a relatively small localised context where reputation is paramount for employment opportunities, and where places and people are easily identifiable[24]. The following

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[24] This aspect receives further consideration in Section 4.6.

background of teachers was elicited from the first question of the interview, and using prompts (see Appendix D).

Two of the participants were in administrative roles. Adam had held a DOS role with three years' experience in facilitating the EHSP course. His working experience of ELICOS had been at a private international college, run within the grounds of a private college. The major part of his tri-focused role of academic director, client services and marketing manager was as an academic director, facilitating the college's delivery of the EHSP course. Adam's approach to high school preparation was to provide a curriculum that sought to equip students to exit from the ELICOS stage of education to feeder high schools in a meaningful and, as far as was possible, well-resourced way. Prior to his employment at the international college, Adam was a registered secondary school teacher with forty years teaching experience, teaching refugees and ESL students in main stream secondary schools, as well as experience of high-level leadership roles within Australian private colleges. The second DOS, Brianna, was employed in an international college located within the grounds of a mainstream school. Initially, Brianna's work experience was in an Australian government department. Coming into ELICOS education as a trained high school teacher, Brianna had experience both in teaching the EHSP course and also facilitating the course as a DOS. Altogether, Brianna had nine years' experience in ELICOS.

Paula, who had previous training as a science teacher, had been an ELICOS teacher for 21 years. She had lived and worked in other countries and was plurilingual. Paula had teaching experience in various educational contexts such as stand-alone private colleges, TAFEs, and privately run ELICOS centres within universities. During these years Paula had three years of teaching the ELICOS EHSP course. Her employment was, and had always been on a casual basis, but not by choice. Tina had been an ELICOS teacher for eleven years. She had spent five of these eleven years teaching the EHSP course in a large variety of educational settings. Tina was also plurilingual and had lived and taught English overseas for many years prior to coming into ELICOS education. She was not a registered teacher; Tina had a Bachelor of Social Science and a TESOL qualification.

In contrast, Jane worked in the international department at a mainstream college, where, within a stronger more established institution, she has slightly more

secure employment. Jane had ten years' experience as an ELICOS teacher. She held a Bachelor of Science and a TESOL qualification. Jane was also not a registered teacher. Prior to her experience in ELICOS education, Jane had broad employment experience, including managerial roles. Jane came into ELICOS education through the encouragement of a friend already teaching within the ELICOS system.

Another participant, Rebecca, was a teacher at the same international college as Jane. Rebecca had been an ELICOS teacher for eleven years and taught the EHSP course for this period of time. Prior to becoming an ELICOS teacher Rebecca was a mainstream/registered science teacher for twenty years. Rebecca came into ELICOS education through a desire to broaden her teaching skills through experience in international education. Rebecca had been head teacher in the international school/department for the past five years.

Rebecca's colleague Carol had twenty five years' experience as a primary school teacher in another Australian state before going overseas to teach English. After returning to Australia, Carol realised that she needed to resource herself more in order to continue to teach English to second language learners. Carol completed a Graduate Certificate in TESOL and following that had been teaching the EHSP course for the past five years.

4.2.3 Method of data collection for teachers' accounts

The process for data collection was to email an invitation to prospective participants. Once a participant agreed to participate in the research project, I sent them an information letter (Appendix E) together with a consent form (Appendix F). Each interview commenced by revisiting both the information letter as well as signing of the consent form. Prior to meeting, each participant was given the choice of location, which the first interviewee (Paula) chose as my home office. Subsequent most interviews were held in the workplaces of ELICOS teachers, while one was held in a private meeting room of a public library (Adam) and another in a participant's home (Tina). Each interview was transcribed either immediately following the interview or the following day. Once an interview was transcribed, participants were sent a copy for their verification of the transcription, with the invitation to change, add, or subtract details at will. In light of the method of data collection being that of storytelling, this invitation strengthened authenticity as returning the transcription for revision and/or verification gave participants time to

reflect on what they had said, and what they had said was all that they wanted to say. All participants reported back confirming the accuracy of the translation. With data collection as an iterative process, moving between the reflections after each interview and the reflections during each transcription, was of significance to me as an interviewer and a researcher. At these points I found ways in which improvements could be made to interview techniques and the development of my interview skills for future interviews, which in turn further enhanced their authenticity and integrity. For example, in exploring language issues I thought it could be best to identify how teachers conceptualised language. I provided five ways in which language could be conceptualised. When asking about language I could see that rather than clarifying a teacher's understanding it felt to me like I was testing them. Also I observed that teachers became self-conscious and even a little embarrassed, and ultimately my strategy did not lead to greater clarity. I decided at this point not to proceed and just left language issues as something participants could interpret in their own way, which they did.

Interview questions were constructed using themes in the literature that coincided with my own experience of common areas of concern to ELICOS teachers embedded in the working conditions of teachers. These themes constituted a "list of constructs" (Carey, 2012) for data analysis. This list of constructs (themes, categories and concepts) were: TESOL qualifications, teaching role and teacher expectations, student expectations, visa constraints, the marketing/administration/teaching interface. Later when constructing the research questions these themes provided the means to engage with concepts of subjectivity, agency, and performativity.

4.2.4 Procedures and reflexivity

My own experience in ELICOS education has made necessary extra vigilance in terms of reflexivity, reducing bias not only in the interview process but also throughout the research project. Considerations have been given to be neither 'absent' or 'above' participants in the interview process, neither succumbing to, or constructing unequal power relations but rather purposely constructing a situation of mutual exchange (Bott, 2010). Application of considerations of reflexivity has meant changes to the interview process as well as interview questions. These changes were also in order to respond to opportunities which could elicit richer data,

while providing a more adequate data analysis through the process of interviewing and transcription as a process of refinement of my interview skills (Silverman, 2010). The most significant change was in allowing participants' responses to the open questions to become much more like biographical accounts. I adjusted my interview style and questions accordingly, making sure I was using familiar ELICOS teaching language that empowered participants' response, with open ended questions acting more like prompts (Elliott, 2012).

4.2.5 Complexity in teacher and student data production

One of the greatest challenges I faced in data production was that of producing data from a single interview of each participant. From the beginning of the data collection I became increasingly aware with each interview, that my theoretical ideal—two in-depth interviews for each participant—would not be possible. What became clear was that the vulnerability of the participants evident in every interview (with one exception, Brianna[25]), would allow only one interview for each participant. Although I was aware of an earlier study of the ELICOS business model that evidenced the pressure that ELICOS teachers experienced (Crichton, 2003), these implications did not come home to me until the point of doing my first interview. In realising my participants were more vulnerable than I anticipated, I quickly discovered that I needed to be clear about the line between research and therapeutic involvement. This also raised ethical concerns around probing, and the need to construct a limit in my use of prompts and probes into ELICOS teachers' experience. This limit was monitored reflexively throughout the interview, teachers' limits being discovered through observation of elements such as body language, pauses and hesitancy, changes in skin colour.

4.2.6 Strategic thinking: unexpected benefits and methodological choice

As described earlier in this methodology section, the development of an emerging narrative required the use of both deductive and inductive thinking. In this subsection, I describe my deployment of strategic thinking in more detail regarding the benefits received from my experience of reflecting on teacher accounts as well as addressing the methodological choice around student experiences.

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[25] Brianna as DOS was working in a system where the international college was part of the main school. In this context of strong leadership and the school's direct connection with the international college, Brianna had a clear framework in which to make decisions.

Strategic thinking meant some unexpected benefits from the deployment of inductive thinking during the analysis of teacher accounts.   This approach (of inductive thinking) brought new insights into play, as teachers expressed their experiences in language that was not yet part of my own. For example, although as a teacher there was the constant pedagogical and classroom management challenge of separating students in facilitating learning, I had not yet seen this in terms of a monoculture (as described earlier, my understanding of this term is the development and/or presence of an oppositional language group within the classroom).   This insight when considering other data in teacher accounts, for example accounts of intimidation and bullying, provided the means to draw together evidence that led to the approach to student experience in Chapter Seven—this chapter addressing the behaviours of students as a result of their construction within the ELICOS system. Chapter Seven also addressed students' co-construction of subjectivity with the ELICOS space/classroom according to the other two stakeholders, teachers and the educational institution.

The experience of international students in Chapter Seven was the result of a methodological choice in the use of sources and the analyses deployed. Rather than conducting student interviews, I chose to produce the data of international student experiences through the use of the literature, teacher accounts and personal experience.   While there were numerous reasons, the main reason for this methodological choice was that it allowed me to provide a variety of possible meanings for student behaviours in the acts of construction of meaning between teachers and students. This analytical strategy provided evidence of dissonances, discontinuities, and disconnections.

4.3   Methods of Analysis

Five major methods of analysis have been deployed in this research project – genealogy, archaeology, thematic, rhetorical analysis, and autoethnographic analysis (see Table 4.1).   Archaeological analysis was used to describe the topgraphy of power relations in Chapter Five.   Chapter Six and Seven deployed genealogy, thematic and rhetorical analyses, This alignment of genealogy, thematic and rhetorical analyses was appropriate in that genealogy and rhetorical analysis share the same assumptions of language and discourse: language as social practice and

discourse as specific events of language use (Anaïs, 2013), while thematic analysis uses the metaphorical nature of language. In addition, the interesting tensions that this triangulation of analyses draws together, enhanced the richness in the data—drawing the external influences on the ELICOS model together with addressing teachers' narratives as historical. In this strategic move teacher narratives were treated as 'text' where hidden knowledges such as the ways the affective dimension of teachers' experiences can be interpreted in relation to student behaviours. This complex triangulation enhances the trustworthiness of the study. Before continuing on, it is important to note that in conducting the analyses some teacher accounts have been repeated in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven to meet analytic needs.

Table 4.2 outlines the multiplicity of analyses that a qualitative methodology applies, and which my quadrifocal lens brings to bear on data analyses and data production.

Table 4.2

Multiple Methods of Data Analysis through my Quadrifocal Lens

Chapters	Form of Analysis	Areas of Analysis
Chapter Five	Archaeological	Industry bodies (Section 5.2.1)
	Genealogical	Marketing (Section 5.2.3)
		ELICOS business system (Section 5.4)
	Autoethnographic	NEAS communication
Chapter Six	Genealogical	Teacher accounts
	Rhetorical	
	Autoethnographic	Personal experiences

This theoretical move—using a quadri-modal approach to data analysis—has been revealing of the interplay of hidden relations (e.g., the limitations of monolingualism, and the presence of monocultures leading to intimidation and bullying, as suggested earlier).   Therefore, in order to undertake the construction/emergence of a narrative of the ELICOS teaching experience, a historical ontology was deployed as part of the method (i.e., narrative as historical ontology).   The validity of a genealogical approach lies in the balance obtained between "theorizing subjectivity without tipping over into resituating the subject as the centre of meaning and investigation" (Yates & Hiles, 2010, p. 53).   To avoid this situation of theorising an ahistorical subject which risks creating an approach that essentialises participants in research work (L. Thomas, 2009), it is necessary to use a form of analysis that acknowledges both the differences as well as the similarities of teachers' experiences.   This component is described by Foucault in terms of an "analysis of ourselves" (Yates & Hiles, 2010, p. 60), where analysis as a critical ontology assumes subjects as historically constituted, using data drawn from the narratives of individual ELICOS teachers.

4.3.1 Topological (archaeological) analysis

Topological analysis is an extension of an archaeological analysis as an analysis of power relations.   A topological analysis "examines the 'patterns of correlation' in which heterogeneous elements—techniques, material forms, institutional structures and technologies of power—are configured, as well as the redeployments through which these patterns are transformed" (Collier, 2009, p. 78).   Collier (2009) notes this form of analysis to be a more supple form of analysis than an archaeology.   The decision to use this form of analysis for the work of this thesis was that a topological analysis capably accommodated the biopolitics of neoliberalism, a political philosophy that constructs the governance of the individual to be synonymous with the governance of state (Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-a, in press-b).   Topological analysis is a form of analysis where power is understood

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[26] My postqualitative approach in this study means that these analytic methods as described in this table are not singular stand-alone analytic approaches but are employed interactively as part of my quadrifocal lens.

in terms of the microphysics described in Chapter Three, where power circulates and becomes invested, it is not repressive but is productive, flowing through the capillaries of society. This topological form of analysis was used to address the research question in Chapter Five, which examined the relationship of power relations as well as the microphysics at an individual level.

4.3.2 Genealogical analysis

Genealogy as a method of analysis is that enables the mobilisation of previously subjugated knowledges (Hook, 2001a). Genealogy enables a descent into events as well as human experience, an approach which constitutes a deconstruction of existing regimes of truth. The genealogical approach utilised in Chapter One and Chapter Two highlighted international education as emerging from the knowledge economy and international students as consumers that enabled international education. Genealogy as applied to Chapter Five allowed a descent beyond a positivist view of the world to explore the "infinitesimal mechanisms" of discourse, mechanisms with their "own history, their own trajectory, their own techniques and tactics" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 99). Infinitesimal mechanisms in this project are the various entities that construct ELICOS (as project, product, and process) as being subject to external and internal influences. On the other hand, genealogy also implies an ascending analysis of power (Anaïs, 2013). This ascent allowed subjugated knowledges to arise so that a picture from 'below' could emerge and the rhetorical nature of individual teachers' accounts could be investigated. The purpose of analysing rhetoric in the text of the narrative was to further illuminate the affective dimension that became evident within and across teachers' narratives. This was particularly important as the effects of intimidation and bullying were evidenced through some patterns that are common to teachers' speech.

Genealogy, with its focus on practice, provided truth conditions whereby 'games of truth' (Peters, 2004) could be studied. As an historical analytical approach that uncovers relations between truth and power, genealogy was able to examine how statements came to be regarded as true or false. This was particularly relevant when examining marketing material. Genealogy also allowed an investigation of the political force of knowledge (Hook, 2005), such as the practices that constituted stakeholder subjectivities, as well as the power-effects of ELICOS as a technology on international students and teachers. Genealogical analysis as a research tool

"allows the analyst to trace the ways in which discourses constitute objects that can be examined as either true or false according to the codes of the discourse" (St. Pierre, 2000, p. 497). These codes, or inscribed knowledges, mean that genealogy offered the researcher another research tool, that of "freeing inscribed knowledges, through the possibility of opposition" (Thomas, 2009).

Inscribed knowledges as a result of the centralising powers linked to institutions, are a result of the hierarchical ordering of knowledges, a process which subjugates local knowledges to knowledges privileged by institutional discourses. Inscribed knowledge in the NEAS Standards for ELT Centres was seen to hide the institutional construction of teachers from public view. Genealogical assumptions, that acted as research tools, provided the means whereby the key concepts of postmodernism were able to investigate the experiences of ELICOS teachers, in order to give voice to these subjugated knowledges. As a methodology of suspicion, defamiliarisation, and critique, genealogy as a critical methodological approach provided the way to articulate differing experiences of hidden knowledges, and in so doing served the goal of this research work.

4.3.3 Thematic analysis

Thematic analysis is an analytic tool (Braun & Clarke, 2006) that is both inductive and deductive. Thematic analysis is a nonlinear process of analysis that deploys description and interpretation. Additionally, thematic analysis emphasises the context while working to integrate as well as manifest latent contents in the "transformation of data during the data analysis process from description to interpretation" (Vaismoradi, Turunen, & Bondas, 2013, p. 399).

This form of analysis does not need peer checking (Vaismoradi et al., 2013). Thematic analysis is a flexible and useful research tool, providing a rich and detailed, yet complex, account of the data, "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 79). This meant that in the task of interpreting data I was engaged in a search of, as well as in identifying common threads—firstly within a single interview, and then secondly across the set of interviews. In taking this single interview approach I was able to check first for any identifiable patterns that could create data and in this way be useful as a basis for a comparative analysis across the data set.

4.3.4 Rhetorical analysis

A rhetorical form of analysis takes into consideration the role of human agency, the role of symbols, and the power of co-construction (Finlayson, 2014). The data that teacher accounts constructed displayed minor rhetorical moves, displays of pleasing and persuading that conveyed mixed messages. It occurred to me that perhaps the reason behind such juxtapositioning of thoughts and ideas was probably to avoid full exposure of their views in the interview. What led me to interpret the data in this way was my own experience of competition, of needing to be careful around other ELICOS teachers as something I might say, even inadvertantly, could affect my opportunities for employment. Although these participants were assured of anonymity and had signed a consent form, it was clear by the presentation of their thoughts and ideas that they felt it necessary to couch their linguistic expression in a shrouded form, this light misting of their subjectivity and agency meant their rhetoric was political. It did appear that their reticence to openness in the interview may have arisen from employment concerns, as the speech of Brianna and Adam (the two DsOS) did not display the same characteristics such as the disconnection between ideas in their communication. On the other hand, teachers' use of rhetorical moves may have arisen from their experience of pressure (see Crichton, 2003).

4.4   Procedures of Analyses: Teacher Accounts

As described earlier, I was already aware of the complexity of the data I had collected from the interview process. Teachers' accounts of their experiences were generally expressed in language far beyond the normal support of 'ums' and 'ahs' of conversational speech. Their accounts were often expressed as a collection of juxtaposed ideas – *the money speaks louder, so it definitely affects education and it affects your ability to educate because you have to make sure that the students are there and no matter what, you have to make them happy, which means it can be really very difficult if you are— somebody who is genuine about (teaching)*, crafted expressions as part of rhetorical moves – *from what I've seen - just observations – of*

other ELICOS things— ridgy didge[27]*—you know rodgy dodge. You know like some of them, I couldn't STAND to go to a place where you've got to teach out of one book, and only teach from that book. That would drive me stir crazy. It's an insult to your professionalism,* and also using the technique of 'feeling the way' forward - *we won't get any financial benefit from it—it would just be extra time—I can't see any—you'd have to be—you see if you do any extra training you need to be getting— if you need to train further you can increase your salary rate. If you are not getting increased salary, I really—I can't see any point in it. Because it's your know—yes you could say—yes you would develop professionally, but—yes—but at whose expense—at the teachers' expense—the teacher has to pay for that, so there is just no gain.* My own experience of the ELICOS system interpreted the speech of the teachers as 'thinking on their feet', being perhaps concerned (in spite of the assured anonymity of the interview) of where this information might go, and how it might impact on their employment. Their pressurised speech perhaps also evidenced a common dilemma - so much to say but how to say it in a way that did not have negative consequences for them.

The way I dealt with this complexity in data production from teacher accounts was to create a table with five categories that would be common to all seven participants: system, teachers, teaching, students, and professionalism. It occurred to me that running a 'pilot' analysis could help simplify the complexity I was facing, so I analysed the accounts of the two DsOS according to five categories: system, teachers, teaching, students, and professionalism. What became immediately clear in the comparisons of the accounts of the two DsOS, was the significant difference in the number of statements each had made about the 'system'. Brianna's account evidenced 14 reasonable clear statements about the system whereas Adam's account evidenced 27 statements, with the distinct possibility of more as there was often categorical overlap in the accounts of his experience. What was also significant was that both interviews were of the same duration (one hour). I realised at this point that this difference in talking about the system needed further analysis. Continuing to use the other categories in the table (teachers, teaching, students, professionalism), the analysis accounted for the difference as a difference in the educational settings in

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[27] ridgy-didge is Australian slang, a term meaning true, honest, authentic. I interpret Carol's use of the term rodgy dodge as rhetorical play, indicating Carol's need to cover her tracks so that she was not seen to be saying anything overtly political, saying anything than might disadvantage her.

which Brianna and Adam worked. Brianna worked in an educational setting where she was supported by the system while Adam worked in an educational setting where he was unsupported by the system.

The following description is the path of my analytical deduction that led to this conclusion: nearly all Brianna's statements in each of these categories were measured and comfortable (*registered teachers know about child development and classroom management, non-registered teachers know about language*), while Adam's statements in each of the categories were about issues and examples of significant conflicts (*people in wrong jobs, people with no understanding of what they were supposed to be doing with the students. Teachers with PhDs and Masters TOTALLY incapable of moving across the spectrum of high school preparation*). Brianna's measured statements came from her experience of working in a school based international college (within the main school grounds), where she facilitated an integration program whose curriculum was clearly in sync with the main school curriculum, her facilitation supported by the professionalism of teachers within the international college - *we need to understand all the subjects that WE are doing and what WE ARE preparing them for*. In sharp contrast, Adam worked in a private international college, a separate business situated within school grounds, a business with no connection to the main school. In his role as DOS, Adam had inherited a problematic ELICOS system which included curriculum problems. At the same time Adam was having to manage teachers in ways that contrasted Brianna's experience - *classroom visits showed links between prescriptive teaching and students falling asleep, not engaged, bored, absolutely bored, learning nothing (the greatest shock to my system)*. Adam was also unsupported by the college leadership - *division in leadership team of college—lack of understanding of education process and teachers' role—the bottom line was costings*. Overall, the analysis showed Adam as unsupported in his role while Brianna was shown to be supported. At this point, I realised that what began for me as a 'pilot project' to simplify the complexity of the data, was actually the first level of analyses, analyses that would assist in engaging the research question in Chapter Five (historical and contemporary influences on the ELICOS system).

In developing a second level of analysis, I turned to the five ELICOS teachers' accounts (relevant to Chapter Six) and used these same five categories: system,

teachers, teaching, students, and professionalism. What appeared in the analysis of individual teacher's accounts, was a clustering of data. For example, because teachers had said a lot about the ELICOS sector, this cluster of data could reliably be used within the category of system. Proceeding according to this principle, i.e., the clustering of data that could be identified as themes, meant that a multiplicity of themes emerged. This multiplicity invited a further iteration to reduce the number of themes, where in creating a dialogue between my experiences, the literature and the participants' accounts, I reduced these themes to enable engagement with the research questions. This distilling process was further repeated, producing a single theme for each chapter, (this theme guiding my thinking in developing Chapters Five, Six, and Seven): systemic devolvement (Chapter Five), systemic deprofessionalisation (Chapter Six), and student disenfranchisement (Chapter Seven).

Upon reflection, participants' vulnerability was in large part because the participants were all former work colleagues, and the conviviality that we enjoyed as professionals tended to cover over the angst that came to the surface in the context of the hour long interview. Participants' ways of answering within each interview revealed dissonances and inconsistencies in their ways of relaying experiences. The methods participants employed in responding to my questions and prompts, suggested that they had never been asked about their experiences before, in spite of coming together professionally in spaces of shared understanding (as suggested in the vignette at the beginning of Chapter Three). Thus, what I understood I was encountering was teachers' pressurised speech, a challenge for data production and as the following section describes.

4.5   Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness in this thesis is evidenced in the rigour that I have applied throughout the development of my research work. Having begun an audit trail in previous sections, including description around the interviews, the data collection process and subsequent analysis processes, this section will continue to describe in more detail other influences in my decision making. These influences, such as personal positioning, personal bias, personal awareness, as well as contextual influences, required thoughtful consideration to ensure as far as possible the

trustworthiness of my research project. Trustworthiness was ensured in the ways in which preparation, organisation, and reporting was designed and conducted (Elo et al., 2014).

To ensure credibility I used a genealogical approach throughout the thesis, particularly in data production as a means to get beyond the 'taken-for-granted' of phenomena encoded in language, the normality of everyday experience. This approach worked together with a narrative approach to capturing teachers experiences of the ELICOS system. A narrative approach enabled the participants to give voice to their experiences of institutional power while at the same time allowing for subjugated knowledges to emerge.

Ethical co-construction of participants' accounts was insured by deployment of reflexivity (Berger, 2015). This was especially important for this research project as I already had rapport with each of the participants through past collegial relationships. These prior relationships were further considered in that leading questions were avoided, while attention was paid to the process of the interview, making appropriate changes to the process where necessary. For example, upon realising participants' need to talk, I used prompts as an invitation as well as a technique to open up the space for participants. Attention was paid to those participants whose accounts did not have the same strength as others (Elliott, 2012) , which in this case was the difference was between the DsOS and the ELICOS teachers. The accounts of the two DsOS were acknowledged as accounts of people in positions of power, and were dealt with, and considered separately. As well, the deployment of reflexivity included consideration of political implications for each of the participants, for instance considering how each participant in my study might be disadvantaged workwise by their participation, paying particular attention to anonymity through the process of de-identification (e.g., removing identifiable speech patterns, and being prepared to leave out any statements that could identify any locations or persons within those locations).

I enhanced the credibility of my research project through considering the three dimensions of transparency: data, analytic, and production (Moravcsik, 2014). Providing thick descriptions further maximised the transparency of these three dimensions as did the strategies of prior prolonged engagement with the data as well as persistent observation. In addition, the authority of my voice in this study was

enhanced by personal experience. Personal experience was integral to this study and was one of the three sources of data for this research project. Another enhancement of credibility was in the research design. I chose an interpretive framework within which I consistently applied reflexivity throughout the research project – in the development of the thesis argument, in the various analyses, and subsequent emergent ELICOS narrative.

Dependability of the research work can be seen in the process I deployed to ensure consistency of the data throughout conceptual development and within analyses. Dependability was also ensured by making my research work transparent to other scholars (Moravcsik, 2014). This transparency maximised dependability, and to further ensure this, I engaged members to check the accuracy of the data produced, checking my data sources, checking explicit decisions, as well as the checking the consistency in and between the data produced. Transferability was also checked by members, to ensure a 'fit' between the research I had conducted and future applications of the insights that the research brought forward. Member checking also provided confirmation of my research work in their confirmation of credibility, dependability, transferability of my research outcomes. In concluding this chapter, I turn to considerations of working ethically and thinking ethically, addressing personal positioning, personal bias and the reflexive compensations I deployed to ensure the credibility and dependability of my project.

4.6 Ethics and Politics

In the previous section I began to address my position as researcher as being a former colleague of the participants, admitting the need for a high degree of reflexivity. Another aspect that was very much part of the process of development of the thesis and the relationship with the participants, was that during this time I experienced changes in identity, as I moved from being a former ELICOS teacher conducting research into ELICOS to, as I am now, a researcher conducting research into the performativity of ELICOS. My choice of participants was influenced by the difficulty in finding participants for an ELICOS study that met the criteria I had applied, which necessitated accepting participants who were former colleagues. Thus, the interview process, that involved a shift in identity over time, meant revisiting some of my earlier writings to bring further reflexivity to bear upon the

way I had previously understood myself and had previously thought and written about ELICOS and ELICOS teachers.

In this process of research, thinking and writing, I also experienced a healing of the angst that I had brought with me from the experience of ELICOS teaching into the research work. In this way, engaging reflexively through the interview and transcription process initiated personal shifts as well as shifts in identity, accelerating my inner movement to becoming a researcher. Also part of this reflexive process I was engaged in, was the experience of personal growth: my developing awareness of possible risks for participants, awareness of the possible disadvantages or harmful effects on the participants engaged in my study. This meant that during interviewing, I was constantly involved with identifying changes needed to interview techniques. For example, this growing awareness allowed me to see (even after one interview) the possibility of psychological harm if I were to pursue my original plan (of a number of interviews for each participant). This awareness of possible harm also increased my attention to details in my reporting of teacher accounts that required de-identification.

4.7   Reflexivity: Autobiographical Considerations

From the perspective of scholarship, reflexivity is becoming increasingly recognised as an important part of qualitative and postqualitative research, being "part of a broader debate about ontological, epistemological and axiological components of the self, intersubjectivity and the colonization of knowledge" (Berger, 2015, p. 220). As a former colleague of my participants, I shared with them an insider view. The role that reflexivity played is demonstrated in the ways I consider and utilise reflexivity throughout the research process. For example, I saw my task as a researcher to make myself as aware as possible of the complexity involved and how I gave in-depth considerations regarding my use of reflexivity throughout the research process. While I was engaged in creating a narrative from the work of my data analysis, my data analysis of teacher accounts was conducted in a way so as not to present an illusion of an objective truth. As my study utilised a postqualitative methodology, my research was still a truth oriented practice requiring consideration

of credibility[28]. My deployment of the strategic use of the biographically situated researcher (Section 1.5) enhanced credibility of the research project. This positioning also enhanced my awareness of co-construction, this positional reflexivity improving the accuracy and the credibility of the emerging narrative (Berger, 2015).

Some of the strategies I used for maintaining reflexivity included prolonged engagement with the data, the use of members checking, triangulation of sources, a peer support network, keeping a research journal for 'self-supervision', and the inclusion of an 'audit trail' of researcher's reasoning, judgment, and emotional reactions (Berger, 2015, p. 222). As stated earlier, like Lather (1993), I used these traditional concepts and ways of working reflexively, in ways that convey to the reader my work in policing my research and development of the ELICOS narrative.

4.8 Chapter Summary

Data in this thesis were drawn from source documents, policy statements, personal experiences/reflections, scholarly literature, and teachers' accounts of working within the ELICOS system. The specific reasons for drawing on such a wide range of sources was that ELICOS as a business model is situated within the knowledge economy, while being a business model activated by marketing. In this thesis, the reach and effect of marketing stretches from the positioning and desires of prospective overseas students to affective experiences of students and teachers in the product delivery in the ELICOS classroom. Teacher accounts were given an intense focus as this data source provided some of the strongest evidence for the emerging narrative.

Various methods of analysis were articulated as they were used to produce data to be used in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, these Chapters being purposed to address Research Questions One (historical and contemporary influences), Two (teachers experiences of working in the ELICOS system), and Three (the construction of ELICOS students as international students).

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[28] Credibility is considered here not as an absolute form of reality but in terms of the degree of connection with others. The credibility of my analysis resides in the co-construction of credibility, hence the need of a strong audit trail that evidences a strong tension between epistemological and ontological considerations.

Chapter 5.   Research Question One

5.0   Performativity in ELICOS

This chapter, in responding to Research Question One (which addresses external and internal influences on the ELICOS business system), describes ELICOS as a collection of institutions in order to describe some outcomes of their institutional power. To achieve this aim, this chapter draws on theoretical understandings from Chapter Three, where institutions can be seen as discourses, and these discourses as human inventions where the 'will to truth' is consolidated by the 'will to power'. In employing these theoretical understandings, discourses as inventions are revealed as constructions arising from individual and collective imaginings, where public acceptance/conceptualisation of the imagined and named concept by various stakeholders—the imagined entity—becomes a virtual reality. Thus, ELICOS as a virtual reality as part of a greater virtual reality, i.e., the knowledge economy, can be shown as having both subjectivity and agency, a subjectivity and agency that ELICOS as a dominant discourse obscures.

The subjectivity and agency of ELICOS is explored by outlining some major influences acting on the ELICOS business model. To uncover what the ELICOS business model is subject to, I have utilised source documents, media releases, policy statements, personal experiences/reflections and scholarly literature. Agency, on the other hand, can be seen in the techniques and strategies that operationalise the business model. The aim of these analyses is to reveal the complexity of the ELICOS system and its resistance to comprehensibility while generating business through marketing initiatives. The reason that both these aspects are important is because these influences are the major source of the negative experiences of teachers and students in the ELICOS classroom. Also, effective delivery of the ELICOS product is contingent upon these external and internal influences as they shape and, to a large extent, control the ELICOS teaching experience and students' learning experiences, particularly through what students' bring into play in their expectations of the product that they have purchased. The extent and type of damage to these stakeholders' experiences—teachers and students—cannot be calculated without an

appreciation of their constructions by the system. One notable problem, is a global/local construction, where the industry within which teachers and their work are constructed, is defined and publicly promoted as an export industry, while the majority of ELICOS teachers work in a local situation to prepare students for a local educational experience. It is constructions of dissonance and disconnection such as these that call forth serious analyses of the macro level (Research Question One) in addressing performativity in ELICOS.

5.1 Incomprehensibility of the System: Justifying Analyses

Analysing the macro level of ELICOS as a system has required an interrogation of the ways the ELICOS business model is affected (Research Question One). This interrogation of the performativity, i.e., the agency of the ELICOS system, has been in order to analyse its subjectivity. This means that the work of this chapter has been not only to uncover ways in which external and internal forces affect the system but to discover what ELICOS is subject to, what it is that presently constrains the ELICOS system. This chapter will uncover influences that construct the subjectivity of the ELICOS system in three key areas: (1) Australian international education; (2) ELICOS as neoliberal project, mechanism, and brand; and (3) marketing.

One of the outstanding features of ELICOS as international education, is the resistance to comprehensibility as a whole system. By this I mean that most stakeholders, including teachers, do not seem to have an understanding the business model as a whole. The cause of this lack of understanding becomes clear when considering ELICOS as a dominant discourse, as collective truth, as agreements and alliances between stakeholders that benefit from holding the position that certain statements are true. ELICOS as a dominant discourse normalises the experience of all stakeholders within the system, and as the work of discourse being to normalise human experience, the work of normalisation is also to obfuscate. Thus, it is difficult to be clear about how those stakeholders, who are subject to ELICOS, actually think of ELICOS: whether these stakeholders see ELICOS as international education, as part of an educational package, or as part of an educational pathway, or if their particular knowledge of ELICOS is in terms of their employment. In this chapter, this theme—the issue of stakeholders' understandings—underpins my interrogation

of the various investments in ELICOS by various stakeholders. This chapter aims to reveal ways in which external and internal influences shape the performativity of stakeholders. These stakeholders range from Austrade, international education, and industry bodies, to teachers working in the ELICOS business system as well as students learning within the system. Uncovering ways in which stakeholders influence the ELICOS system also uncovers ways in which ELICOS is constrained.

Investigating ways in which knowledge of the system does not flow to people within the system, requires the deployment of both archaeological as well as genealogical analyses, these analytics overlapping and intersecting to reveal events of dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection. These two analytics overlap in their use, however they are identifiable within the chapter: archaeology is concerned with systems and relations of power that form these systems, while the focus and goal of genealogy is subjectivity (Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014). An example of how these two analytics overlap can be seen in the interrogation of the ELICOS business model as a system, where flexibility as a key concept of neoliberalism has been used to provide business advantage. However, flexibility has negative implications for teachers' subjectivity and students' subjectivity, thus raising questions of possible advantages for subjects, in turn raising questions of agency. Thus, the interactivity of archaeological analyses and genealogical analyses are applied to interrogate external as well as internal influences that prevent a comprehensive understanding by primary and stakeholders in the system. As well, the combined analytics work to interrogate the construction of the ELICOS educational product as marketed and sold/purchased in overseas markets, these constructions being the underlying concern and what Research Question One is targeting in asking the question—*in what ways do historical and contemporary influences affect the ELICOS business model?*

The following vignette, as it applies to the micro level of ELICOS, provides an analogy for the incomprehensible nature of the ELICOS system at the macro level. The vignette is an excerpt from Rebecca's account of her ELICOS teaching experience, contrasting her experience of working in a stand-alone private English language college to that of working within an ELICOS centre within a private school system. My understanding of Rebecca, constructed as a secondary stakeholder who is not represented in the system (Appendix B), Rebecca as constructed in a secondary relationship to both her students and to the institutions (Section 3), behoves me to ask

does Rebecca have a clear understanding of the ELICOS system, an understanding of how she as a teacher is constructed within the system as well as the product she is delivering? Does she know, as an ELICOS teacher, she is constructed within the international ambit of the global English Language Teaching (ELT) industry, and her teaching constructed by the National ELT Accreditation Scheme Limited (NEAS) as a workplace activity in the ELICOS system? Does she know that quality in ELICOS teaching and learning is determined by industry and not by education?

> *When I was at Highlands (private English language college), that was purely ESL. They weren't reeeaaallyy training people to go to high school, they were really teaching conversation English. They didn't really—staff weren't valued, they came and went, you got a book on arrival, they had no lesson plans, nobody was accountable, whereas in the private system everyone is accountable, teachers have to step up to the mark and if you're not, you'll be questioned. Whereas at Highlands, you could be really under the radar, you could be very bad, no preparation, lazy, and still get by. I don't think it is giving a very good product.*

Rebecca's inability to reconcile the differences between stand-alone private colleges and school systems is evident in the vignette above. Her recognition of the difference however is clear—that the product sold to international students at the stand-alone English language college was not a good one while indicating that when teachers and the system itself are accountable the product can be good. Rebecca, as a trained high school teacher, is clear about the low standard of teaching at her previous place of employment. However, she does not question why such differences do exist, or how it is that there is no apparent accountability, that is why it is such differences can exist, or the impact that this construction of different educational setting might mean in terms of the effects of her teaching practice.

Rebecca does not seem to know that her teaching is constructed by NEAS as workplace activity and not education (Crichton, 2003) and that what Highlands was delivering, i.e., a level of language proficiency that would get consumers into high schools seem to have met NEAS quality assurance standards (Scheme, 2010). While the EHSP course is named as high school preparation, for teachers it seemed as though there was no mandate or expectation by the system that students learn about

Australian high school culture or in any way be prepared for their high school experience at the time of the interviews for this study. These expectations appeared to be local knowledge, or ways in which teachers expressed their professionalism.

The Queensland government has recently become a stakeholder in international education offering a High School Preparation (HSP) course as a NEAS endorsed program, a transition course conducted at three state high schools (Education Queensland International, n.d.). This HSP course has the same characteristics as the EHSP program, however run within the grounds of a state high school, where graduating students transition into mainstream school. On the same Queensland government website, ELICOS pathways are offered at four private English language institutions, these institutions partnering with state government high schools that act as feeder schools (Education Queensland International, n.d.). These also offer HSP courses. Has the name for this course changed? Or is it a local interpretation? Not all high school students do this particular course, English for Academic Purposes is also being offered as a high school preparation course by a private college (Browns, 2015). How do international students know which product to choose? What resources do they have besides marketing material and agent advice to inform their decision making? How do they gain knowledge around the cognitive demands of the English language in the particular course they choose? In researching these aspects I was left wondering how much reading is required and how long it might take international students to have gathered enough resources to make an informed decision around what might suit their career goals: choices they might make that are not influenced by the self-interest of dominant stakeholders.

Another area of confusion I found lay in the evolution of ELICOS. With the Queensland state government now supporting initiatives to recruit international students into some Queensland state schools, it is difficult to see any identifiable link or connection between those initiatives that historically have been in operation over the last three decades in private schools and as stand-alone English language colleges. It is not clear whether the HSP course is a replacement for the EHSP course? Or if it is a locally named course that is different from the EHSP course. These emerging players and their course offerings contribute to the blurring of projects, products, and process in ELICOS, this blurring contributing to the difficulty

of gaining a conceptual grasp of ELICOS as a system within the system of international education.

In applying an archaeological approach to relations of power between systems in ELICOS, e.g., the industry bodies of international education and the ELICOS industry body English Australia (EA) as functioning in and for the ELICOS business model, the topography of ELICOS comes into view so that enablements and constraints of their agency can be revealed. However, as described earlier, this chapter utilises archaeological analyses to enable genealogical analyses to reveal how subjects/stakeholders without any coherent and cohesive understanding of ELICOS as a business system, experience their subjectivity and agency. These experiences of subjectivity and subsequent agency require a genealogical approach that allows a description of various subjectivities as lesser stakeholders are also affected by external and internal influences.

Performativity and power in this chapter (and also Chapters Six and Seven) is revealed through the concepts of dissonance, discontinuity, disconnection. In the series of analyses that follow, identification of the concepts of dissonance and discontinuity while highlighting the operation of illusions can also offer seeds of hope for providing a consistently good product that is ethically sustainable. These seeds are taken forward into the conclusions and suggestions in Chapter Eight.

The following section focuses on international educations in terms of institutions and their institutional power to further evidence the work of discourse as generating complexity and hence greater confusion. Drawing on a number of data sources—scholarly literature, media releases, personal communication, website analysis, and personal experiences—I address the question about historical and contemporary influences that shape ELICOS. External and internal influences have four themes that overlap and influence each other: resistance of the systems of international education and ELICOS to comprehension; the hard politics at work in relationships within Australian international education; the slipperiness involved in marketing international education and ELICOS; and, institutional identities. These themes underpin the route of this section which proceeds by looking at the confusion at work at both micro and macro levels. This is followed by the way in which international education and ELICOS are positioned as an export industry, a construction that constitutes a confusion of external and internal forces. This leads to

considerations of the mechanisms and technologies of marketing, interrogating how it is that Australian educational institutions gain credibility in the eyes of prospective students through the medium of hyperreality, a conceptual move that reduces education to a simulacrum. These are some of the conditions that impact on international education within Australia.

5.2 International Education: External and Internal Influences

Australian international education serves different purposes for different stakeholders. This situation can be clearly seen when considering Australian international education as a series of discourses constituted by various interest groups for these stakeholders' benefit. Thus, Australian international education as a series of discourses, as seen through a Foucauldian lens, are different competing constructions arising from different interpretations according to institutional needs within existing conditions. Chowdhury and Le Ha (2014, p. 95) describe this situation of multiple interpretations and appropriation of international education by dominant stakeholders in terms of "learning supermarkets in the national interest" (Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014, p. 95). For all Australian governments the potential of international education exists more as a tool for influencing other nations, for servicing its diplomatic and trade agendas, a tool for exercising 'soft power' (Nye, 1990; Thirlwell, 2015) than as a tool for the significant contribution it makes to the Australian economy. International education categorised as the export of educational services provides income for the Australian federal government, contributing \$15.0 billion in export income to the Australian economy in 2012 (Australian Education International, 2013). International education as an area of keen political, economic, and business interest therefore requires protection from threats as international education is subject to the vagaries of global monetary systems and political agendas in foreign countries Ongoing government responses to incidents/problems in international education as "damage control" have tended to operationalise complexity (Gallagher, 2011). For example, over time, interconnected governments' responses in law, policies, regulations and regulatory bodies have increased the complexity of the original construction of international education. Damage control strategies continue to constitute and maintain international education and thus ELICOS education.

For educational institutions, international education functions in a number of ways. At an international level, Australian educational institutions largely identify their competitive progress as global players in terms of "the continuing formation and enhancement of international relationships" (Tadaki & Tremewan, 2013, p. 367). At a national level, the will to internationalise is rationalised in terms of positive benefits to the intellectual life of educational institutions. However, in the main, as a technology, international education is the means of recruitment of full fee paying students (Sidhu, 2004), deploying technologies of internationalisation to service local Australian educational institutions in the face of local underfunding (Altbach & Welch, 2011).

As part of the topography of business systems in the knowledge economy, and at a local level, Australian international education and ELICOS are part of a complex of industry bodies that have emerged and changed over time. The present complicated relationships of regulatory bodies and industry groups hide the simple beginnings of ELICOS, i.e., with Columbo students studying at an "ELICOS" college in 1965, this college being a business response to a foreign aid program, namely the 1950 Columbo Plan (Kendall, 2004). This program was an Australian government initiative mainly involving universities that brought students from poorer nations to Australia to advance their intellectual development, according to Western culture. The Columbo program (now understood as a colonial initiative) was to evolve as integral to Australian foreign policy, a local educational program which morphed from being a foreign aid initiative into being an opportunity for Australian business interests, a move by government from aid to trade (Gallagher, 2011). Development in Australian international education has been identified in several stages, these stages reflecting inherent tensions and sometimes even competing objectives of different portfolios within Australian government policy foci (Gallagher, 2011).

5.2.1 Industry bodies: institutions with institutional power.

The change from Australian government aid to trade coincided with the advent of globalisation. The Australian federal government response was to invent Austrade as a neoliberal response to globalisation. Between 1985 and 1990 significant initiatives were undertaken. International education began in the wake of a string of initiatives: the Australian Council of TESOL Associations (ACTA) was formed, the

first Austrade led promotional missions overseas was conducted, the IELTS test was launched, Australian Council of Private Education and Training (ACPET) was established, a visa-compliant health cover for overseas students was introduced, the Australian government established a government/industry advisory committee, and ELICOS/English Australia established NEAS to provide a quality assurance framework (Blundell, 2008). Since that time, there have been many external influences on the ELICOS industry, such as the Asian financial crisis, the assault on Indian international students and the global financial crisis. The outcome of these pressures has meant that the ESOS legislative framework has been revised a number of times, and that many international education industry bodies have evolved, i.e., been established, changed, re-invented, or superseded. For example, Australian Universities Quality Agency (AUQA) operations have transferred to the Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency (TEQSA; Tertiary Education Quality and Standards Agency, 2012b). What is clear is that while international education was exercising agency, there were also external influences, such as global financial crises that affected how international education was experienced by dominant stakeholders. Figure 5.1 represents some of the present day complexity of Australian international education (see List of Abbreviations for acronym legend).

However, these pressures on the international education industry have also been a result of national infighting as industry bodies acting in their own interests have historically been in competition with each other. This competition can be observed in the ways in which various bodies describes themselves as being the 'peak industry body' for international education, yet their difference is not always clear. English Australia (EA) describes itself as "the national peak body for the English language sector of international education in Australia" (English Australia, 2012, p. 61). In this self-naming, is also confusion created by the blurring of boundaries that have traditionally divided areas of mainstream education and international education, for example, the naming of "Australia's education peak bodies" in which international education is allied with mainstream education (Communique, 2013). Two of these (Australian education) bodies are directly representative of international education, one of which is EA whose alliance is with the ELT industry.

IEAA

AIUDF

ACPET

ENGLISH
AUSTRALIA
(EA) peak body
for English
language sector

ELICOS
Regulatory Bodies

COPHE

ISCA

NCVER

INTERNATIONAL
EDUCATION

NEAS

National
Code
2007

CRICOS
Commonwealth
Register

TDA

ELICOS
National
Standards

The
Group
of Eight

Universities
Australia

ESOS
(law)

ISANA

VTI

AUSTRADE
Education

Educational
Institutions
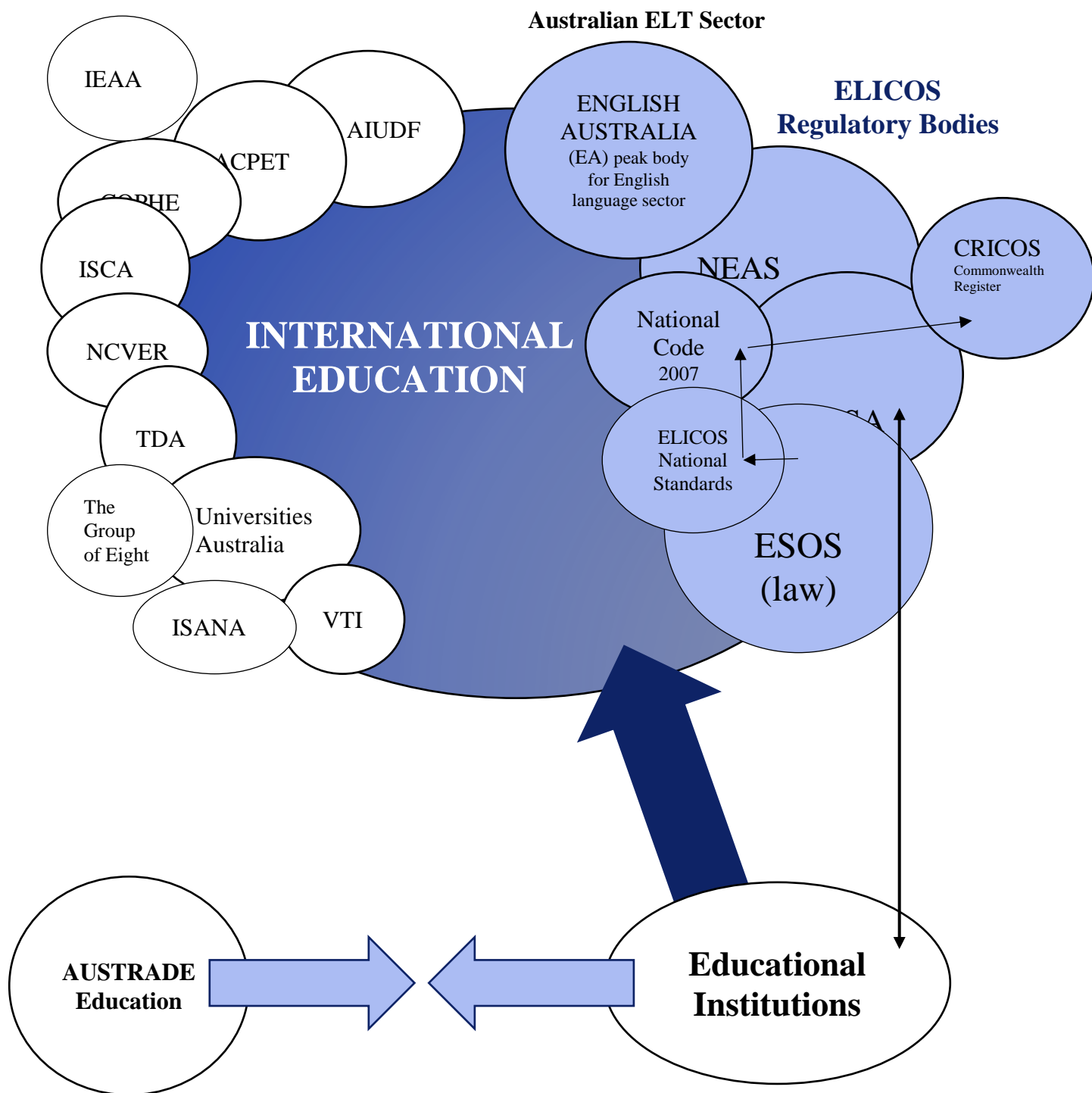
Figure 5.1. Industry Bodies in International Education

The evolution of these bodies in response to industry needs and threats have formed alliances which now work to put pressure on Australian governments to perform in more appropriate and timely ways, ways that are responsive to business needs. For example, in a joint communique the group of Australia's education bodies not only outlined publicly their lack of confidence in the Australian

governments' response to their business interests, they also described their present experience when they said:

> Lack of vision, strategy drift, policy turbulence and uncertainty, regulatory confusion and the fundamental failure to adopt a long-term planned approach to the international education industry undermines confidence and constrains business innovation. Emphatically, there is an urgency to resolve all this if the international education industry is to achieve what it could and should for the Australian community. (Communique, 2013, para. 4)

Another aspect of industry bodies in international education is the normality of their descriptions being often couched in weasel words, slippery articulations where they give themselves room to move. For example, in the not so clear changes made in regulatory power, where in 2012 areas of ELICOS as NEAS responsibility were superseded in authority by TEQSA, it is now difficult to find where TEQSA stops and NEAS starts. TEQSA appears to act on behalf of the interests of international students. As well, TEQSA's description of ELICOS shows wriggle room when describing ELICOS: "English Language Intensive Courses for Overseas Students are nationally recognised courses that provide students with a way of learning English that increases their level of English proficiency and may equip them for further study" (TEQSA, 2012a, p. 3). The expression "may equip" clearly avoids any responsibility towards ensuring quality for the ELICOS product in terms of future study in Australian education systems.

Within the neoliberal context of raw competition, the boundaries between politics, education, and business are indistinguishable (Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-b; Lynch, 2006; Marginson, 2012; Miszczyński, 2012). Within this context of raw competition—hard politics as good business—is being played out in the arena of international education with industry alliances and endorsement now the norm. For example, EQI is endorsed by NEAS, and the 2016 NEAS conference announced IELTS as the premium sponsor. In describing itself as the key ELICOS industry body, EA consistently produces material such as media releases (English Australia, 2016c), industry figures (English Australia, 2015b), a bi-annual journal (English Australia, 2016b), as well as providing an award for academic leadership (English Australia, 2016a). All of these types of material outputs particularly those that focus

on academic excellence look promising, yet the link between what the industry offers and how these are taken up by teacher stakeholders is unclear. Greater questions need to be raised in light of the fact that the industry itself is run on very short term contracts as the norm, and these very insecure employment conditions[29] creating an anomalous situation in terms of professional development. This aspect was made clear in Tina's response to a question around more specialised training for ELICOS teachers. Tina saw the issue of more training as a problem. Insecure working conditions mean insecure pay conditions, making further professional development a nonsense:

> *I can't see any benefit from it. We won't get any financial benefit from it—it would just be extra time—I can't see any—you'd have to be—you see if you do any extra training you need to be getting—if you need to train further you can increase your salary rate. If you are not getting increased salary, I really—I can't see any point in it. Because its your know—yes you could say—yes you would develop professionally, but—yes—but at whose expense—at the teachers' expense—the teacher has to pay for that, so there is just no gain.*

This anomaly generated by insecure employment and career risks becomes further exacerbated when yearly professional development conferences function as networking opportunities rather than as opportunities for teachers to explore and enhance their professional agendas. Insecure employment conditions create a bias where both in the short and long term, business agendas eclipse education agendas (Brancaleone & O'Brien, 2011; Gibbs, 2008).

On the other hand, one of the enduring characteristics of international education is the concern over declining academic standards through "soft marking", plagiarism, and general compromise of academic standards, particularly at tertiary level (M. Saunders, 2008). Another enduring concern is that of the low language standards of international students when they graduate from Australian tertiary institutions (Australian Universities Quality Agency, 2009). These issues, of soft marking, plagiarism, and the general compromise of academic standards, raise

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[29] I am not aware of all the employment conditions of ELICOS teachers. Even some of my participants who worked in an international college that was part of the school system were on negotiated contracts. However ELICOS is set up for very short term teaching contracts which could be as short as three hours per week.

significant questions around the sustainability of the business model of international education, particularly with the increasing sophistication of the market where in recent times international students have become more knowledgeable about their Australian education (Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014; Xu, 2012; Zeegers, 2002), having a more informed experience of Australian educational institutions.

The play of power in alliances are oriented towards complexity and confusion rather than comprehensiveness and empowerment of stakeholders. A move that further complexes and confuses any opportunity to gain a view of the system of international education and ELICOS is the positioning of these industries within the category of export industry. From a local perspective, this positioning convolutes the conceptualisation of local industries, as well as the subjectivity and agency of those work in it. For example, a teacher must ignore the designation that defines and describes teachers as working within an export industry when in fact they are delivering locally. This constitutes a disconnection for teachers—who are constructed to think of as well as experience themselves as working locally to develop international students' language proficiency in order for students to exit students to learn within local Australian educational institutions—while being constructed and identified by dominant stakeholders as working in an export industry. This description doesn't make sense in terms of conceptual directionality, yet these conceptualisations are part of the working conditions for teachers within international education and ELICOS.

5.2.2 Austrade as soft power

As the previous section has explored, Australian educational services have been constructed as an export industry, these educational services being marketed by Austrade (Adams, Banks, & Olsen, 2011; Bundesen, 2011). This Australian government initiative, as a neoliberal response to a neoliberal governmentality of Australia, benefits Australian governments as a means of soft power (Nye, 1990). The economic and diplomatic leverage as well as varieties of opportunities provided to Australian governments and other interested stakeholders, are no secret as these affairs of government tended to be in times past. Through the branding of Australia Unlimited, Austrade boasts that its key priority is not that of developing local education but is "the development of transnational education opportunities in growth and emerging markets, especially in Asia" (Austrade, 2016a). This mix of

bureaucracy, commercialism and education as a means to an end for the interests of government does not augur well in terms of empowerment of the interests of local stakeholders. The focus on trade by Austrade marketing is about creating possibilities for revenue, possibilities that are to be garnered and transformed by Australian educational institutions to generate income, some of which goes back into government coffers for exchange of services. These conflicting agendas, between business and education, continue to become further complicated by the marketing of international education by both Austrade and by local educational institutions (Marginson, 2011). Differing policy objectives function to distract and detract from each stakeholders' investment as confusion and complexity define agency for stakeholders (Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014; Marginson, 2011), while at the same time external and internal influences continue to act on multiple levels of international education.

This is an aspect of international education that Chowdhury and Le Ha (2014) boldly question as they analyse issues around the internationalisation of education. They point to the descriptions by politicians and also government articulations on websites, that use "a style of language that is more familiar to the world of agriculture and mineral export commodities, than to learning and higher education" (Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014, p. 106). Chowdhury and Le Ha critique the lack of sophistication and implied lack of intelligence in Austrade marketing. They particularly highlight the manipulation in Austrade marketing as the intentional positioning of prospective students. These scholars, as former international students, go further in referring to the complex, multilayered approach to internationalisation as learning supermarkets that act in Australian national interest, suggesting that perhaps something else might be at work, something "perhaps even insidious" (Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014, p. 97). Some former, as well as many intending international students do have an impression of Austrade marketing and other internationalisation initiatives as being insidious (Chowdhury, 2008; Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014). This suspicion around marketing in general echoes a common impression of mistrust expressed by participants, which is my experience as well as being reflected in the literature. The following chapters (Six and Seven) show the impact of these marketing events as they play out in the ELICOS classroom.

5.2.3 Marketing: Illusion, hyperreality, simulacrum

Marketing in Chapter Three was described in terms of creating an assemblage of representations that represent the message of dominant stakeholders. These representations are in the form of images or a series of catchphrases and other various forms of rhetoric. This assemblage of representations forms a crisis of representation as the event of marketing such as brochure or other form of advertising cannot fully represent the institution's discourse. On the other hand the work of marketing e.g., in the brochures they produce, was seen as a work of garnering power (production stage) as well as enhancing power effects, and also in Chapter Three it was noted that individual subjects train in techniques for manipulating cognition and affective states in consumer subjects (Wood & Ball, 2013). In a marketing discourse, only the dominant stakeholders' interests can be represented, this work of power seen only through an analytical lens.

What is clear in the crisis of representation, that marketing exploits, is a lack of 'fit' between the rhetoric employed and the reality of the experience. This lack of fit that results in reduced meaning also evidences "truth as a universal semiotic problem" (Nöth, 2003, p. 10). This section builds on this insight of lack of fit, recognising marketing techniques as involving subjectivity and space (Wood & Ball, 2013). In drawing on this relationship between subjectivity and space, marketing rhetoric builds expectations of a product that has been reduced in order to make it saleable (discussed further in Section 5.2.3 as it applies to the ELICOS educational product). This reduction is shown to involve loss as finally, marketisation reduces education to a simulacrum.

5.2.3.1 *Influences in marketing education in the knowledge economy*

This section addresses contemporary influences that determine the way in which education is shaped and marketed within the knowledge economy. As marketing can be understood as a garnering of power it also connects with other discourses that are part of the neoliberal ideal of an automated system of efficient economic production. As part of this network of power relations, the concept of lifelong learning and the sale of educational services function to work in the interests of the knowledge economy. At the same time neoliberalism shapes consumers to consume learning over a life time. This section that takes a closer look at this construction also analyses how a loss of the educative component reduces education

to a simulacrum. At the same time, there are increased efforts by marketers to become more sophisticated in the techniques of marketing. This analysis of power I am conducting in this chapter begins in recognising the advanced technologies at play in the hands of marketers, followed by second analysis that reveals how education was co-opted to participate in the autonomised system of economic production that is the knowledge economy. This section concludes by drawing together these analyses that can describe marketing as counterproductive to academic concerns, while providing a picture of prospective student as increasingly subject to the work of marketers.

As a way of increasing the reach of marketing power, brands and branding are increasingly central to economic success, the knowledge economy being a context where semiosis is "open to processes of economic calculation, manipulation and design" (Fairclough, 2002, p. 164). With increasing developments in technology, brands and branding are intensifying the reach of power through the creation of *brandscapes* (Wood & Ball, 2013). A brandscape is a linking of brand and landscape to conceptualise in a way that brings together the elements of space and subjectivity. This neoliberal ordering maximises control over marketing outcomes in a context such as international education, a series of discourses that can be conceptualised as a landscape. Through techniques such as data mining and other forms of information through surveillance, a brandscape "recodes the consumer subject as a spatialised, desiring, networked body produced through a complex of marketing techniques designed to analyse buying behaviour, target consumers, and seduce them with strongly affective experiences" (Wood & Ball, 2013, p. 47). The increasing influence on subjectivity where the consumer is constructed as an immaterial labourer, generates an increase in the level of hyperreality being produced through marketing. As Foucault has noted, an increase in focus on the body increases the desire within the objectified subject. This heightened desire in a heightened hyperreality, a world of illusion and stimulation created through marketing, becomes a major contributor to the work of illusions as being dangerous within international education and ELICOS, as these illusions wreak harm and damage not only in education but also in learning.

Marketing to prospective overseas students is an objectification of institutional promises to prospective students as purchasers (Bordia, 2007) in foreign markets. As

the preceding paragraph concluded, the work of the marketing discourse is reliant on the affective level of human experience, including the functioning of the marketing discourse at a largely unconscious level, a work of social practice that relies on semiotic functioning (Jessop, 2004). As the previous paragraph also indicated, consumers have been constructed to work as immaterial labourers in this affective economy, subjects attracted to a space where their subjectivity has already been constructed in a scientific manner, through analysis and strategy (Wood & Ball, 2013).

Marketing within the knowledge economy presumes a prior construction of education and educational products that has involved co-opting educational concepts for business purposes (Chowdhury, 2008; Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-b; Olssen, 2006). This is very clear in the construction of life-long learning where the concept has been co-opted for multiple purposes: the concept of lifelong learning within the knowledge economy serves educational, political and commercial interests, (Schuetze, 2006), and is used as a market mechanism in the production and reproduction of education (Olssen, 2006; Schuetze, 2006). Permanently available in 'bite–sized' pieces and able to be delivered over a life–time, lifelong learning is marketed to all age groups while broadening out the business potential to any and all forms of education and educational settings. Thus, the subject is set up to consume continuously over their life span. Peter Bansel (2007) describes this construction as part of the discursive practices enacted through neoliberal government and neoliberal institutional policies, discursive practices whereby "the subject is constituted as a subject of choice—subjects whose life trajectory is shaped by the imperatives of a labour market in which they will become mobile and flexible workers with multiple careers and jobs" (Bansel, 2007, p. 283). It is this multiplicity of jobs and careers that ensures the need for continual learning.

The commercialisation of education reduces education to a simulacrum. This can be seen in a series of losses that occur through the marketisation of education. Loss of the educative component occurs when producing an educational product for overseas markets. This production requires a reduction of linguistic and cultural components in a process of product simplification, a necessary move to create a marketable product in a foreign country. Loss can be understood in that a short term educational product can be constructed and offered for sale: marketization is a

foreshortening of educational horizons and in this way an effect of marketization (Gibbs, 2008).

Another loss occurs when education is objectified within a neoliberal framework, this objectification described by Davies (2005) as a loss of creativity and imagination. Within the business model the "all-pervasive language of neoliberal managerialism" (Davies, 2005, p. 1), is a language of mastery devoid of emotion that forecloses the liveliness of the intellect (Davies, 2005). Ylijoki and Mäntylä (2003) identify this loss as the result of a loss of control over many aspects of teaching, learning and research. This concern is shared by Brancaleone and O'Brien (2011), who describe educational horizons as being eclipsed by quantified learning outcomes, with education being reduced to a simulacrum, i.e., having the appearance of education but capable of delivering only transferable skills (Kjcer & Pedersen, 2001, p. 501). The reduction of education to a simulacrum "signals the loss of the intrinsic value of education" (Brancaleone & O'Brien, 2011, p. 5). Gibbs (2009) understands this intrinsic loss as referring to education as a loss of *paideia* (transitional personal growth) and suggests this loss—of how individuals might understand their being—has significant implications for international students as developing bilingual/plurilinguals engaged in learning within a process of acculturation.

Another area of loss engendered by marketization is the clash of temporalities that "creates a tension which directly effects the provision of education" (Gibbs, 2008, p. 269). David Harvey describes the effect of the clash of temporalities in terms of the work of academic professionals, operating within "retarded" time wherein the "future becomes present so late as to be outmoded as soon as it is crystallized" (Harvey, 1990, p. 224). This has implications for ELICOS teachers as they work to prepare 'marketised' students for their educational future within Australian educational systems. Marketing operates in a sense of "time going in advance of itself (rushing forward)", a sense of projected time in which commodities and business possibilities are created (Harvey, 1990, p. 225). The tension between business and education for Gibbs (2007) becomes significantly problematic when the tension/conflict between business and education is resolved by marketing: "marketing resolution constrains, enframes and forecloses what education might be" (Gibbs, 2007, p. 1000).

This section in addressing some of the counterproductive effects arising from historical and contemporary influences both external and internal, has highlighted the relative incomprehensibility of international education and the ELICOS system as a whole. Confusion can be seen as the work of competing discourses, making confusion inherent in the various systems that constitute these virtual realities are often in competition and/or at odds with other systems. Marketing professionals are deploying increasingly sophisticated techniques that position consumer subjects to work for the brand in buying the brand. In contrast, the marketing of education by educational institutions continues to constitute and sell education as a simulacrum. These aspects have implications for the ELICOS business model where consumers are in a dual relationship with the institution, as both consumer and learner (see Figures 1.2 and 2.3).

5.3 The ELICOS Business System/Model as Institutional Power

The aim of this section is to analyse this model as a neoliberal construction, a neoliberal project that constructs ELICOS as a technology of power and as a recruitment mechanism, a discourse whose truth conditions (described in Chapter Three) are "extremely stable and secure—highly situated—and part of the order of discourse" (Hook, 2001a, p. 525). Chapter Three provided a model of institutional power that described dominant stakeholders as taking a position of power that made subjects visible to them. In taking a position of power, dominant stakeholders would gain maximum control in the situation. This model of power, as the institutional power and disciplinary power of international education and ELICOS, is one where numerous dominant stakeholders have constructed control and surveillance through the institution of laws, government policies, and regulatory bodies to govern international education in Australia. This model of power also constructs dominant stakeholders to connect only with other dominant stakeholders of equal status. What this construct of power can engender is that the secure, stable, truth conditions of the construction are so certain that lesser stakeholders can cease to exist in the mind of the dominant stakeholder. This was my experience in the early stages of my research, where I sent an email to NEAS from the NEAS website. What I was wanting from NEAS was to locate the source of the framework responsible for my

experience of unseen forces in the ELICOS system at the micro level. In response to my questions, I received the following information over two emails:

> The "framework" used was developed by industry bodies about 20 years ago. It is for non-award ELT courses. It is used internationally ie: in UK and NZ (C. Hollister, personal communication, June 10, 2010)

> NEAS' quality assurance framework was developed 20 years ago when the federal government at the time requested the ELT industry to monitor providers (C. Hollister, personal communication, June 21, 2010).

Without a context and as the words of an ELICOS authority, these responses might seem to inspire confidence, they might even seem laudatory. This was not my experience. Rather than finding evidence of quality in the ELICOS system, I found only mayhem and even madness in ways of operating. Adam in his role as DOS also evidenced this:

> *well—from my experience at the English college it was um—the rush, it was chaos—confusion, frustration, children ringing parents, agents applying pressure schools, agents getting harassed by parents who had borrowed huge amounts of money.*

As an educator and a linguist these replies left me experiencing a number of shocks. The first shock was concerning the courses that ELICOS teachers were delivering. Realising that these were non-award courses in a commercial context (Hollister, personal communication), also meant that what ELICOS teachers were doing had no legitimacy in terms of the institution of education. The second shock, which was even more shocking, was that ELICOS centres, courses, and teaching were being conducted within a twenty year old generic framework to assure quality (Hollister, personal communication). The third shock was that this framework assuring quality was not generated or driven by the ELICOS industry. It was a generic framework that was imported from overseas for a different purpose. The fourth shock was to realise that the framework that ELICOS courses were conducted within, and which was continuing to construct ELICOS teachers, did not in any way reflect or have the capacity to accommodate the extraordinary gains made over the

last twenty years in the areas of language education, applied linguistics, and second language acquisition (Calvino, 2012; Dörnyei, 2009; Guo & Beckett, 2012; K. A. King & Mackey, 2016; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pederson, 2012; Prat, Yamasaki, Kluender, & Stocco, 2016). This quality assurance framework was a twenty year old generic framework that had not evolved, been reviewed, transformed or informed in any way. All these shocks were in contrast to the previous research I had conducted regarding industry bodies (Communique, 2013), research that had revealed not only the increasing complexity but also the numerous ways in which those industry bodies that construct ELICOS were continually evolving in response to historical and contemporary influences, both external and internal. Furthermore, the claims of quality made by the stakeholders who constructed teachers and their working conditions, were verified by students: "NEAS Quality Endorsement supported by the most demanding critic—our students" (National ELT Accreditation Scheme, 2016a). I was left wondering if all this information about the working conditions of ELICOS was general knowledge for ELICOS teachers? Was it only me who had not understood this?

The information revealed by the NEAS representative provided contrast. The competing discourses of industry bodies, government agendas, and external forces such as the volatility of global monetary system was in sharp contrast with a business model that utilised a twenty year old stable, secure, industry framework to frame educative practices, standards and teaching qualifications. I found this discontinuity and disconnect difficult to reconcile at the time. This realisation proved to be a defining moment in my research, in seeing the disconnection between what ELICOS teachers were working to achieve and the framework in which they worked, a quality framework that did not have the promotion of excellence in second language teaching in mind but was focused on the ways in which ELICOS centres set up and conducted their practices. It was a framework that did not include any overt consideration of education or linguistics. Furthermore, NEAS as an industry body positioned itself in the field of education and learning without any teachers being represented in the industry's understanding of itself (see Appendix B, Figure B-1).

In these interactions there was a sense of assurance and even pride with which the NEAS representative's email communication was conveyed. This way of communicating meant that there was no awareness that this framework could be

something of an anathema to someone such as myself, as an educator and a linguist. This attitude of the NEAS representative was in line with the Bentham's vision for the Panopticon, the model of power which Bentham saw as a "new mode of obtaining power of mind over mind" (Bentham, as cited in Gane, 2012, p. 615). The mind of the representative did not seem to even consider my response or reaction, his mind being the ruling mind. The self-interest of the industry representative that I encountered created an impetus to interrogate the twenty year old framework, i.e., the valorised conditions in which teaching and learning was, and still is being conducted, to understand further the cost of this framework for teachers and students.

It was clear that this was a framework in which students' learning needs as developing bilingual/plurilinguals are not represented. I also wanted to know what this meant for teachers' practices in teaching bilingual/plurilingual learners. My fears of teacher invisibility (Appendix B) were later further confirmed when reading Crichton's (2003) analysis of the NEAS framework, this analysis revealing this quality assurance framework constructed teaching as a workplace activity and not as education (Crichton, 2003). What the subsequent interrogation of the NEAS framework found was that this framework was a neoliberal construction, a generic framework co-opted to construct the operating conditions of ELICOS, with subsequent analyses revealing ELICOS as a neoliberal project and work of institutional power.

5.3.1 ELICOS: A neoliberal project and work of neoliberal power

The aims of Section 5.3 has been to analyse the ELICOS business model as a neoliberal project in order to highlight the conditions of subjectivity for teachers. As flexibility is a key notion within neoliberalism (Gillies, 2011), deploying the concept of flexibility is a useful analytical tool for illuminating ways in which ELICOS working conditions have been formed. The concept of flexibility is also useful in revealing how subjectivity and agency have been enabled for teachers. At the same time, this interrogation can suggest possibilities for ways in which teachers and their practices are constrained.

Flexibility in a business context provides business advantages in that the concept of flexibility functions to maximize the business potential of all imaginable situations (Olssen, 2006). One of the ways that flexibility has been used is to create standards for ELT centres by co-opting a generic quality assurance framework

(Australian Education International, n.d.; Hollister, 2010, June 10) and by offering non-award ELT courses (Hollister, 2010, June 10). As referred to earlier (in my personal communication with a NEAS representative), the NEAS' quality assurance framework was a response to the request by the federal government that the ELT industry monitor providers (Hollister, 2010, June 21). Flexibility is also evident in the structural conditions that protect the business interests of educational providers. For instance, each centre can be an independent business entity, with its own curriculum, without the demands of a coherent common assessment policy (Carroll, 1996) and without the responsibility of providing career pathways and very significantly without labour constraints. The employment period for ELICOS teachers ranges from a few hours per week up to a 10 week five days per week casual contract.

Employment conditions that are constructed as open to employers' discretion and teacher availability, evidences this flexibility for educational providers. The criteria for 'specialist staff' is flexible in that teachers can be either registered or non–registered (50% of teaching staff are to be registered secondary trained teachers). There is also flexibility in the minimum acceptable entry standard for ELICOS teachers: "a recognised degree or equivalent and a recognised TESOL qualification; or a recognised degree in education with TESOL method" (National ELT Accreditation Scheme, 2016b). Deployment of a generic (TESOL) qualification for ELICOS teaching is another instance of flexibility; a generic teaching qualification negates the need for any institutional teaching affiliation or institutional accountability in teaching standards. The course content is also flexible in that the curriculum can be task-based, theme/topic-based, text/genre-based, or grammar-based (NEAS, 2008a). The provision of multiple types of transition courses for tertiary, TAFE, secondary and primary school levels also maximises the business advantage as does flexibility in the types of educational settings in which ELICOS centres may conduct their businesses (university, TAFE, school, independent private colleges in office style settings). Flexibility in its many applications makes possible the recruitment of students from a variety of market niches. However flexibility as a concept that constructs the business model creates many more benefits for the two primary stakeholders (ELICOS and students) than

for the stakeholders who are in secondary relationship with both primary stakeholders, i.e., teachers.

Flexibility in the NEAS framework is further evidenced in the deployment of a generic teaching qualification. The TESOL qualification, as a globally recognised commercial language qualification, is embedded in the ELT industry. However it is the association with the ELT industry that has been co-opted by NEAS within this acronym. A brief analysis of the name NEAS is revealing. Despite the TESOL qualification being deployed as part of quality assurance, TESOL does not appear in the NEAS name. The 'E' in NEAS stands for the acronym ELT (English Language Teaching), i.e., National ELT Accreditation Scheme. This insertion of ELT in the (NEAS) name forms a connection with business advantages as with the incorporation of this terminology (ELT), NEAS aligns itself with a highly lucrative global English language teaching and publishing industry (Gray, 2010b).

The concept of flexibility is beneficial to business interests in that it constructs a framework within which risk is minimised. One of the ways these benefits are constructed is through shaping teachers to conceptualise themselves as entrepreneurial selves. Once this conceptualisation—a teacher as a manager of their own career and career opportunities—becomes part of teachers' epistemology, it is only a step away for teachers to accept short term contracts as part of their employment conditions. However, acceptance of short term contracts through the internalisation of an entrepreneurial self, means that teachers, perhaps largely unknowingly, are internalising a corporate form of agency. What also may not be known by teachers is that a corporate form of agency is produced by dominant subject stakeholders, consciously "using a means-ends calculus that balances alliances, responsibility and risk" (Gershon, 2011). Thus, acceptance of an entrepreneurial self is in reality an acceptance of risk, business risk that is distributed to all stakeholders without recognition of the differences in scale, i.e., without taking into account the power differential between stakeholders to respond to that risk. The implications of this construction for teachers' agency is that it requires employees/teachers to bear part of the business risk (e.g., accept insecure employment). This form of agency and its acceptance, resulting in bearing the inherent business risk, becomes increasingly problematic when considering that teachers are in a secondary relationship to both institutions and students, a

relationship in which there are less benefits for teachers. In other words, teachers share the risks with the primary stakeholders—sharing risks with the educational institutions who employ them as well as with sharing risks with their students—yet teachers do not receive the same or similar benefits as the primary stakeholders. In this way it is teachers who bear the greater risk.

Ensuring success of the ELICOS business model in terms of the delivery of ELICOS courses/product relies on a managerialist approach, where a neoliberalising form of governmentality actively shapes ways in which people work (Cupples & Pawson, 2012). Managerialism is a significant technology of governance focusing on market competition (Brancaleone & O'Brien, 2011) that assumes a common-sense view of management. In this view, management skills are not applicable to a particular context but are considered generic skills. Managing a business, according to managerialism, does not require any in-depth knowledge of the product (Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-a, in press-b; Lynch, 2014). This approach to conducting business means that educational concerns are subject to and serve business interests. The concept of flexibility ensures this bias. This is a bias that continually confounds teachers' decision making and practices, as managerialism constrains teaching practice itself, reducing second language teaching to concentrating on the technicalities while constructing teachers as technicians (L. Thomas, 2009).

5.3.2 ELICOS as a mechanism (an attractor/feeder model)

This chapter commenced by describing the ELICOS business model as both a work of institutional power and a mechanism. This construction is another example of the neoliberal bias to efficient automatisation for productivity that maximises economic return. This section describes the ELICOS business model as an attractor and feeder (see Figure 5.2), i.e., as a recruitment mechanism that also functions as a feeder to other Australian education sectors (Bundesen, 2011).

push factors in overseas markets

PROSPECTIVE **OVERSEAS** STUDENTS

International "push" and "pull" factors

ELICOS **MECHANISM** and **BUSINESS MODEL**

ATTRACTOR/FEEDER
(dual functionality)
into
ELICOS teaching context

INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS exiting to FEEDER INSTITUTIONS
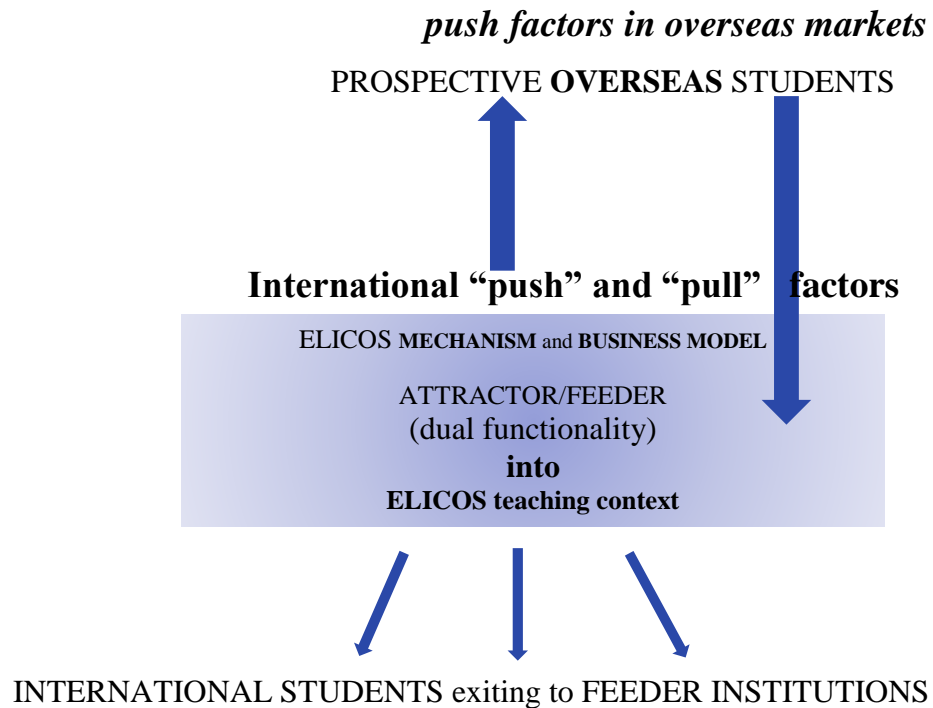
Figure 5.2. Marketing: Push/pull factors

This model that garners power from the push and pull factors, described in Chapter Two as created by marketing techniques (Mazzarol & Soutar, 2002), also "attracts large numbers for English–only studies for study–tourism, career progression, professional purposes, migration or work purposes in Australia, and/or as a pathway to further studies either in home countries and/or third countries" (Adams et al., 2011, p. 153). This attractor/feeder model with its dual functioning is the nub of ELICOS that benefits educational providers. It is also the nub of ELICOS employment in providing employment opportunities for teachers. As an attractor and a feeder servicing a breadth of educational institutions' business needs through flexible constructions, the ELICOS mechanism acts not only as a recruitment mechanism/tool but as a technology, a concentration of power.

As a mechanism, ELICOS also acts according to the purposes of global stakeholders, and according to its 'parented' purpose as a mechanism in the creative play of business. Engineered to serve international purposes utilising a hierarchical form of governance, ELICOS serves both global and local purposes and agendas for multiple stakeholders and at various levels. For example, as with international education per se, marketing trade in education at the international level provides Australian governments with trade as well as diplomatic opportunities. On another level, technologies of internationalisation service local Australian educational

institutions in the face of local underfunding (Altbach & Welch, 2011), while positioning higher education institutions as global players through global competition and national competition feeding into each other (Marginson, 2006). In this way, the ELICOS attractor/feeder model operates well in the knowledge economy, described in Chapter Two as a responsive pattern that functions in international conversations for the purposes of stakeholders, a rationale for the business imaginary to exploit business possibilities through manipulations of time and space (Harvey, 2001). Thus, the knowledge economy as a series of networks is the economy within which ELICOS acts as a mechanism and is constituted by conflating a binary opposition, i.e. attractor/feeder (Bundesen, 2011). In this conflation, power becomes concentrated. While this concentration of power is advantageous for the marketing efforts of educational institutions by creating the business model as a dominant discourse, at the same time it hides the construction of the relationships of teachers to their students as secondary because this relationship is subject to the business model as dominant discourse.

The ELICOS business model as a mechanism means that ELICOS teachers are positioned to teach within international education as an export industry, an industry that responds to a globalised world. This outward focus of the industry signals a series of gaps–gaps between the marketing interests and sales in foreign markets, the product purchased in a foreign market by international students and the local delivery of the product by ELICOS teachers; gaps between how teachers are constructed as entrepreneurial selves, what they know as ELICOS professionals, and what they need to perform in order to meet students' learning needs. Teachers in the ELICOS business model in working within Australia, work in isolation from the focus of the business model that both enables and constrains their teaching. Without structural recognition of their professionalism, ELICOS teachers under the threat of insecure employment are compelled to deliver quality education. There is a distinct clash of performativities–ELICOS as a 'stand–alone' (neoliberal) business model, and a 'top–down' process requiring teachers to perform as entrepreneurial selves. The following section addresses a further complexity for teachers, in that they are required to deliver/expand/interpret a simplified educational product. This product is part of teachers' construction of their experience, as part of the co-construction of their own subjectivity in geographical space and discursive space.

5.3.3 ELICOS: Brand and product

The power of brands and branding was discussed earlier as creating influences that shape space and subjectivity (Wood & Ball, 2013). ELICOS as a brand within the brandscape of international education is a further concentration of power because it garners power from a meta-level of information about subjects as bodies in space within time. In this way it garners power from the level of space/subjectivity/consumers and from information about how consumers act in time. Thus power is garnered from subjects' space/subjectivity (how subjects act) and subjects' space/subjectivity actions can be conceptualised over time. How this concentration of power occurs is further discussed in Section 5.4. The brand of ELICOS sells a product and the product that ELICOS sells is an educational one, a transition course as part of an educational pathway or as an education experience or other reason. This section analyses the production of this product as marketed to overseas students. The sale of this product involves a business exchange and in this exchange the identity of the student as consumer is transformed, as a change of subjectivity and agency is enabled.

The ELICOS product is a product of localisation. Localisation is defined by industry as the adaption of a product or aspect of a product for another market. However what is important is to consider how and why that adaption takes place—which is through "the isolation of linguistic and cultural data" (Schäler as cited in Anastasiou & Schäler, 2010, p. 2). This isolation is a stripping away of linguistic and cultural data is for marketing purposes, stripping away linguistic and cultural data in order to simplify the product *per se* to ensure its saleability in overseas markets. This means is that the complexity of the ELICOS educational product in selling English language proficiency allows the educational component to be reduced to four macroskills—i.e., reading, writing, speaking, listening. The act of localisation, as a reduction of complexity to make an educational product attractive and intelligible to overseas markets, means that delivery of the product in the host country is an act of recovery, a reinvention of the educative component. In this way, ELICOS teachers' role can be seen as one of re-localising/reinventing the ELICOS educational product within the educative process of preparing students for future learning in Australian education systems.

Inside the purchase of this localised product, is hidden a change in status for the student, a change in identity and a transformation of status—from overseas student to international student.
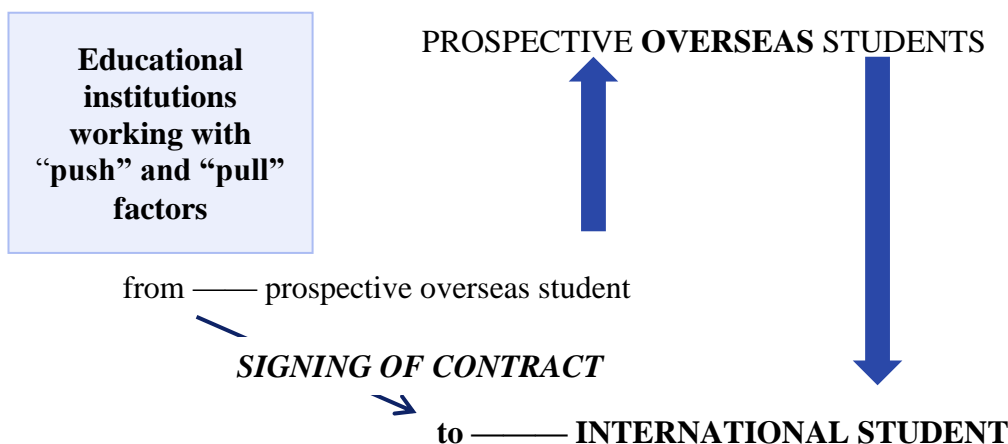
Figure 5.3. From overseas student to international student: Change of status

This increase in status has further benefits for the student in that these students are now publicly conceptualised as well as these subjects conceptualising themselves within an international context, a new identity now at national and international levels. This transformation from local student to international student also releases these students from any border constraints, and so with both money and mobility and the freedom to choose, international students are and can act as 'free radicals'[30]. In this way, the recruiting institution is always in a secondary relationship to the international student. This situation of the international student as a free radical creates not only a threat to educational institutions and their commitment to education but also intensifies the need for marketing and the need for marketing to find new ways to attract students. On the other hand, as is discussed in Chapter Eight, students as free radicals can also offer seeds for hope.

5.4   ELICOS outcomes: Illusion, Invention, Hyperreality, Simulacrum

Marketing has already been analysed in this chapter and shown to play a significant role in ELICOS. Educational products were revealed to be constructed as a simulacrum and sold/purchased within a hyperrealised discourse. Analyses also

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[30] This construction of the international students as a borderless mobile 'free radical' means that international students are beyond the institutional constraints and able to disrupt, corrupt, destroy systems. An example of this ability can be seen in the decline of academic standards through the entry of international students into national monolingual systems.

showed that in international education and ELICOS there are hidden layers of complexity in students' purchase of a simplified product. This purchase that enables a dramatic transformation of student identity is the result of internationalisation, i.e., local Australian business initiatives by Australian educational institutions. This interactive complex of structure/institution, subjectivity and agency just described, together with the effects of marketing, is particularly significant in considering the illusions that constitute the ELICOS business model. These founding illusions (Section 1.1) rely on the realisation of possibilities for commodification of language and education. These founding illusions are created from the possibility that education can be reduced to a simulacrum and sold within the hyperreality of marketing, and in this way provide the groundwork for successful recruitment and income generation from within a foreign market. What is not present in this assemblage of strategic illusions is that education is about human beings and their flourishing, human experience being the raison d'être of education. In this way, to reduce education to a simulacrum is in some way a reduction of humanity, while the creation of a hyperreality in which human beings are caused to desire to act can be seen as a further reduction of humanity. Following on from the analysis in Section 5.2.3, marketing now has an additional way to conceptualise possibilites for the elements that constitute the areas of interest that enable marketing success and so another way to garner power. This section analyses how it is that neoliberalism intensifies power and how marketing has another layer of conceptualisation to further intensify power.

Reliance on creating and intensifying brands and branding is evident in the invention of ELICOS, being itself a brand name for a niche market in Australian international education. The invention and success of ELICOS, a business model that functions as a technology and a recruitment mechanism, is an example par excellence of what Norman Fairclough has called the "technologisation of discourse" (Fairclough, 2002, p. 164), i.e., an intentional intensification of discourse so that a discourse becomes a technology. In this way the ELICOS discourse, instead of being a conduit of power, functions as a technology, a coercive relation of power.

The potential of ELICOS as a technology is enhanced by the influence of neoliberalism, where the concept of flexibility as a central concept was shown to offer brands and branding the means to offer almost limitless potential. Flexibility

also occurs in marketing in that it is only necessary to make loose links between the creation of brands, the promise that the brand projects, and the aspirations of prospective overseas students to create interest in a product. A direct correlation exists between the strength of the brand and the strength of the influence on the prospective consumer. Drawing on the Foucauldian insight that the scientific objectification of an object of knowledge intensifies the desire within the object to monitor and self-regulate the object's own embodied experience, it is possible to see the intensification of desire within the prospective overseas student and the effect of self-regulation being the purchase as a rationalisation of desire. Two dominant stakeholders construct the international student as an object of knowledge. The object—the prospective overseas student—is the subject of the penetrating gaze of the marketing company and the agent selling the educational product/pathway. These two concentrations of power by dominant stakeholders are involved in a co-construction of the international student as an object of knowledge.

The outcome of the marketing discourse is the production and use of material designed as an objectification of power. Shiny brochures with lots of smiling faces on the front cover, and inside appealing images that accompany and exemplify the text, materials that promote institutional promises in attempts to persuade purchasers to buy, are no longer the simple means by which a product purchase is accomplished. Marketing has become much more than brochures and other such like promotional material. Brands and branding as an intensification of hegemony has resulted in the technologisation of discourse, this technologisation described by Fairclough (2002) as the "application of expert knowledge to redesigning workplace practices in their semiotic aspect" (Fairclough, 2002, p. 164). This intentionality in garnering power through their semiotic aspect is evident in the construction of English language program textbooks, texts that function to increase the branding of English as a commodity. In an ELICOS context, marketing is a tangible demonstration of the semiotic battle of signifiers, where, in the sale of ELICOS educational products, the process of the construction of discourse (the will to truth displaced by the will to power) creates a marketing discourse.

This process of ongoing displacement in constructing educational commodities by commodifying semiosis, culminates and is completed in the purchase of an ELICOS product, and at the same time raising issues of the manipulation of the will

of prospective students. In the concentrated objectification of the prospective consumer through technological approaches to marketing in the enactment of a sale, marketing turns a simple attraction to an identifiable object into something more than a simple exchange as a condition of a sale. Further to this, complexities in technological advances have provided a new opportunity to garner power. What is now different from how marketing has been previously understood is the presence and work of technology. Advances in technologies have meant that "developments in marketing, urbanism, technology and surveillance [have constituted] a new apparatus and a mode of order in neo-liberal capitalism" (Wood & Ball, 2013, p. 47). This new apparatus, described in Section 5.2.3 as a brandscape, provides an experiential quality to the marketing space in turn drawing into play consumers' cognitive and affective processes to participate in the field of action that marketers have constituted as a conceptual landscape of interconnected brands and branding. What this means in real time is that the *unknowing* consumer as an object of knowledge through marketing theory and application by *knowing* subjects, is drawn into a subjective co-construction of brand space. This conceptual move of the subject as enabling the construction of networking of brands is one where the status and freedom of the *unknowing* consumer is co-opted to work for the marketing regime, for example by the *unknowing* consumer as learner branding themselves (addressed in Section 7.1). This loss of status and freedom for the consumer/learner is constituted by information that marketers now have to enhance the marketing reach. This information that marketers have, information that now energises and informs their thinking, is focused on groups of subjects and their behaviours and employed to exploit this information to serve business interests, for example analysing consumer behaviour over time. This extra level of information is now a source of power for marketers.

Adding to this depleted situation for the consumer as an object of knowledge within the marketing discourse, is the application of psychological ownership theory as part of marketing and consumer behaviour foci: there is an intellectual push to further extract power by extending this theory of ownership "that fully encompasses both individual and group ownership phenomena" (Hulland, Thompson, & Smith, 2015, p. 145). By involving the object of knowledge, i.e., the consumer, in a way that garners their sense of ownership of a product, extends the reach and power of the

marketing discourse. Deployment of strategies and techniques that now operate at a meta-level, strategies, techniques and considerations of subjectivity that act on individual consumers without their knowledge or permission, are now visible manifestations of power in the set of conditions that capture a sale through co-opting the subjectivity of the consumer to be part of the efficient automatised system of production.

From the standpoint of prospective students, the process of purchase can be seen in terms of displacement—of the will to truth as desire that has been created, displaced by the will to power/the decision to buy—and that in this decision and payment for the product, the expectations and promises of the ELICOS product are internalised. As described in the previous paragraph, engagement with the marketing material is a process by which the expectations and promises of the ELICOS product is internalised. Students as subjects in the ELICOS invention, read and hear the ELICOS discourse through marketing (in reading marketing material as well as the encounter with marketing rhetoric of the recruiting agent). This experience of marketing is an affective one involving students' hopes and dreams for a positive future, and an experience that is built on reasonable expectations of the product. These reasonable expectations lead to the purchase of that product. This purchase of an ELICOS product is also a recognition of the power at work at a psychological level, where inherent in the purchase are the expectations of the product. The sale and purchase of a product is identified in the literature as creating a psychological contract (Bordia, 2007) an insight strengthened by earlier considerations of application of marketing theory and brandscapes. In international education as a context of intentional manipulation of consumer behaviour, student expectations of the product they have purchased can be considered as having an effect on learning and on their experience of being taught. These students as consumers take on a sense of ownership of their purchase which in their dual construction, i.e., now as consumers and as learners, has certain and clear expectations that play out in the classroom. This insight forms the basis of the concerns addressed in Chapters Six and Seven.

5.5 ELICOS Institutional Identities

This section returns to the triadic relationship outlined in Section 2.2.1. In this section the teacher/student relationship was described as the core of this study, the teacher/student relationship being involved in a complex triadic relationship with the educational institution, identified in Figure 1.2 and Figure 2.3.

What was identified was unequal relations between teacher and students—students having two roles within the institution—the first being as a purchaser, the second as a learner, while the teacher was identified as being in a secondary relationship with both the student and the institution. These unequal relationships have significant implications in terms of power, subjectivity, and agency, as students have been constructed to have power over teachers while being reliant on teachers for the facilitation of their learning and successful exit from the ELICOS centre. These relationships also signal a complex institutional identity for international students as well as an institutional identity for ELICOS teachers that is drawn not from the ELICOS framework of quality assurance but from the ELT and TESOL industries.

5.6 Chapter Summary

In providing answers for the research question—*in what ways do historical and contemporary influences affect the ELICOS business model?*—this chapter has taken on political, economic, and ethical concerns. It has moved from considerations of the complexity in competing relationships between industry bodies and Austrade to considering ways in which techniques in marketing have developed to a point of co-opting the subjectivity of the international student in an intensified garnering of power. ELICOS as a virtual reality was shown to be influenced by these historical and contemporary forces. However the ELICOS business model itself has been shown to have remained largely impervious to change.

Foundational to the truth conditions of ELICOS are the illusory beliefs outlined in Chapter One. While these truth conditions provide an extremely stable business model, what it is these conditions have also meant for the business model is that the model is subject to its own illusions. Thus, the truth conditions of the ELICOS business model are also the weakness of the business model in that the model is

unable to reflect on its own performance in its ways of recruitment and the construction of experience for students and teachers. This situation of conflicting forces within the ELICOS business model further exacerbates this conflict in the neoliberal business model as it is built on a certainty, built an assumption of the success of the free market (Gershon, 2011). However, this assumption of success is an illusion, in that the free market does not ensure business success as the market itself (an illusion) is a product of capitalism, thus founding business success upon capitalism requires the denial of capitalism as a highly unstable concept. This denial of the instability of the market and with highly questionable practices in marketing are significant influences in and on the business model.

ELICOS is a business model that cannot reflect on the impact of the missing elements in its model, such as consumers' learning needs, as well as being unable to monitor or analyse the effect of external forces on the success of the business model in the classroom. Outcomes for teachers highlight some of the effects of these disconnections, some of which are articulated well in two teacher participant's accounts:

Jane: *I think the marketing at the moment needs to be rethought because the market is just not coming at the moment. And the level of students we get—oh I don't know some of the people say they're not as good as we used to have, but I don't know if they are or not.*

Carol: *Even in our marketing there's total propaganda. Because all the marketing in our website and in our brochures, is the beautiful stuff down there..(indicating towards the main school)—and they don't have...there isn't even one picture of the international college up here—in their marketing brochures—not one. And even in our marketing there's total propaganda on our website. And that is— total propaganda or to my mind. And the marketing lady, the lady that shows all the new students, doesn't even come up here to the international college. And we've been asked numerous times different things, what would you like to do, what would you like and I've told them, and I've been here twelve years and nothing's ever been done. They've done nothing. Not one improvement, nothing.*

These teacher's accounts draw together the correlation between marketing, business, and education agendas in teachers' experiences, as marketing, business, and education work to recruit international students.

Adam, a DOS, provided an even more compelling account of the ways in which the global reach of marketing and education agendas affect the ways in which ELICOS is conducted:

> *Marketing and the numbers of students coming into the college was top priority over the actual outcomes of the education system we provided. I —l will never get over that, that was disgraceful. The priority, and the accolades, and the um — the success stories all— that were linked with marketing, and linked to AUSTRADE and— and awards. We're the best because we have the most number of students—it had <u>nothing</u> to do with the quality of work that we put in as we send these children out to secondary schools—nothing at all— (said slowly) there was noooo comprehension – at all – about that. None. It was a business that was operating... awards everywhere—we are the best—we are the best.... we are the best and yes you're doing a good job with no knowledge of what job I was doing, or my teachers— the teachers actually became secondary, secondary citizens, secondary people, incidental to the whole business of marketing and study tours.*

Adam's account set within the considerations of this chapter reveals the reach of contemporary influences as global ones that come to bear on ELICOS teachers and the teaching context. More significantly, Adam's account reveals the secondary status of education. While teachers have been constructed within the educational institution to have an institutional identity, to be responsible for the experiential outcome of the model, the reality of the educational product, they are made invisible within international education.

Chapter 6.   Research Question Two

6.0   Teachers in Secondary Relationship

In this chapter, I draw on the understandings of the key concepts: power, subjectivity, and agency and the concepts: discourse, truth, normalisation, and neoliberalism as theorised in Chapter Three, in order to address the effect of normalcy embedded in the question: How have selected teachers experienced working in the ELICOS system?

The context for this question is the normalcy of the neoliberal teaching context in the ELICOS business model, this normalcy being the outcome of the political will of powerful stakeholders who constructed the ELICOS business model.   The teaching context is constructed by teachers' secondary relationship to both their students and the educational institutions that employ them (previously outlined in Chapter Two).   This triadic relationship between educational institutions, students as consumer/learners, and teachers, constitutes a network of power relations.   Teachers are neoliberal subjects who are teaching students who are also neoliberal subjects. Teachers having been constructed in a neoliberal teaching context to exercise power within the classroom.   As a neoliberal project the ELICOS teaching context, in constructing the NEAS framework, nominates and regulates teaching practices and can be seen as an exercise of institutional and disciplinary power by dominant stakeholders.   In this context, it is this exercise of power in creating these structures within ELICOS that enables the work of institutional and disciplinary power to be seen.   However teachers' secondary relationship with their neoliberal students as consumers and primary stakeholders constrains their possibilities to exercise power. Thus, the aim of this question is to bring forward the causes of some effects, outcomes, and implications that the normalcy of the ELICOS teaching context hides from view, especially from teachers themselves. Research Question Two focuses the analysis upon ways in which (selected) teachers exercise/experience agency as a secondary stakeholder to be identified within the neoliberal teaching context.   The purpose of this investigative move is to illuminate discontinuity, dissonance,

disconnection, factors that come into play within this invented teaching context affecting teachers and students.

In Chapter Five, which focussed on the macro level of the ELICOS system, dissonance, discontinuity and disconnection were understood respectively as disharmony/disagreement, as a lack of rational cohesion, as a confusion of institutional powers and as structural division. In illuminating the work of these concepts, and in continuing to use a quadrifocal lens[31], this chapter examines ways in which the business project constructs teachers' subjectivity, as it both empowers and disempowers teachers, giving examples from teachers' experiences in their delivery of the EHSP course[32]. More specifically, due to the nature of the data (an importance given to teacher accounts through personal interviews), most of this chapter will illuminate teachers' agency in the ways in which teachers have been supported/unsupported, enabled or constrained. In an investigative move, international students are purposely constructed as vulnerable so that teacher experiences are made visible. This move of constructed vulnerability is reversed in Chapter Seven so that in using teacher accounts as a data source, the conditions that construct the negative behaviour of ELICOS students can come into view.

This chapter recognises other influences at work beyond neoliberalism that construct teachers' subjectivities. Some of these influences include the reason why teachers take up ELICOS teaching and why they continue working in the system, despite the challenges and frustrations they face. It would seem important when reading about the challenges and frustrations arising from the dissonances, discontinuities, and disconnections that this chapter reveals, to remember the reasons these teacher participants give for staying within the ELICOS business project.

In addition, I have chosen to use teacher accounts verbatim (not editing out the ahs and ums) as editing would remove the richness of the data and the insights arising from the metadata would remain hidden. In other words, a rhetorical analysis attends to these metadata in a way that reveals a deeper layer of meaning. In this way, teachers' speech can reveal even more clearly the complexity of working within

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[31] A business, linguistic, educative, and research lens as described in Chapter One.
[32] This ELICOS course has been identified earlier as servicing a market niche for high school recruitment

the ELICOS system, providing further evidence of the pressure that Crichton's (2003) study illuminates.

Teachers work in the ELICOS system for a variety of reasons: Jane, unhappy in a management role was recommend ELICOS teaching as *a nice little job*; Paula, whose traditional teacher training did not prepare her to work as a Science teacher, said, after returning from teaching English in an overseas context, *it kind of what happened in that way*; Rebecca after 20 years as a Maths/Science teacher came into ELICOS teaching, needing a change for personal reasons; Tina was introduced to English language teaching by a friend while travelling the world. She found she had a gift for languages and teaching, so she continued teaching English upon returning home; Carol, previously a mainstream primary teacher, needed to upgrade her qualifications: *I had done all the literacy stuff, you know like I'd been teaching for years, and so I thought I would do some TESOL stuff in my you know part of my upgrade of my qualifications.* All of the teacher participants have continued on in their TESOL/ELT profession. Tina and Paula while continuing as professional TESOL/ELT teachers, no longer teach in the ELICOS system per se, while Carol, Jane, and Rebecca work within an international college that is part of a mainstream school. The latter participants are ensured of reasonably secure employment. Paula and Tina on the other hand both continue to work in insecure employment conditions (month by month contracts). During the interview, when asked about their reasons for continuing to teach English as a second language, Paula's reply was, *I keep doing it because I feel I make a difference for people, and I just think I have great communication skills and I just love the actual work,* and Tina replied, *I was good at teaching English as a second language, and I learnt other languages quickly and so stayed with it because I really loved it.* Without exception, all teacher participants remained committed to teaching international students.

The data revealed some participants' experiences as similar to my own: I loved the challenge and the rewards that teaching within this complex environment offered, with the opportunity to make a timely and significant difference to people's lives. It was the unresolvable issues that drove me from ELICOS teaching and towards investigating the ELICOS system: my aim has been to elucidate the damage both within and as a consequence of ELICOS experience, as well as to work towards a hopeful outcome, so that this research can point to new ways for teachers and

students to experience the ELICOS system. As stated earlier, my quadrifocal lens (as teacher, linguist, business person and researcher) leads me to understand ELICOS as a microcosm of the many ethical challenges of the new world order.

6.1 Teachers' Performativity: Secondary Relationship in the ELICOS Classroom

The bounded context for this research is the EHSP course, i.e., selected teachers who were teaching or had taught the EHSP for more than two years. Within the ELICOS teaching context teachers have been identified as being in a secondary relationship with their students and also the educational institution that employs them. As already described, the teaching context is a NEAS construction where teaching is constructed as workplace activity, and not as an educative process (Chowdhury, 2008). The normalcy of the ELICOS discourse suggests that it is highly unlikely that this construction and structural disconnect is known to ELICOS teachers. Neither does anything in the data suggest this construction and disconnect was known.

Before analysing teachers' experiences of being constructed in a secondary relationship to their students, there is a need to describe the teaching context in which they worked. As distinctly different from mainstream working conditions, the ELICOS teaching context is a multicultural and plurilingual classroom, in which the facilitation of a monolingual oriented learning process for developing bilingual/plurilingual learners is conducted. This complexity of the teaching context is further increased by the diverse and multiple motivations of those teachers working in the ELICOS system. Thus, performativity of ELICOS teachers working within the ELICOS system is not only affected by the structural disconnects, but are also affected by many outside influences that converge within the ELICOS classroom and affect their teaching practice.

The result of analyses in this chapter is that three areas of concern came into the foreground—the effect of visa conditions in the classroom; working at the administration/marketing/teaching interface; and teachers experiences of the acculturation process. These themes are the way by which this chapter proceeds: analysing the way in which visa conditions affect the ELICOS teaching experience,

followed by the analysis of the marketing/administration,/teaching interface, concluding with teachers' experiences of the acculturation process for students. Although acculturation is part of a 'normal' epistemology for international students, ELICOS students, as bilingual/plurilingual learners of lower level language proficiency, are challenged by further complexities. Within Australian educational systems, the experience of 'normal' for ELICOS students is different from that of local/domestic students, students whose 'normal' epistemology has a monolingual and thus monocultural orientation[33].

Students come to Australia to study for a variety of reasons, such as to complete an international education (student visa), to experience what it is like to study in an international environment (holiday visa). Often students' motivation is also linked to their parents' desire to invest in Australian property (Davis & Mackintosh, 2011). Differences in student visas have an effect in the classrooms, in the teaching and learning dynamic. Teacher participants noted some of the effects of visa conditions.

6.1.1 Visa conditions and performativity

Visas and visa conditions have a history of being connected to the social and economic development of Australia. Immigration has long been the answer for the problem of an aging Australia and the Australian government's need for a more youthful population profile (P. Saunders, 1996). This issue for the Australian government (of a youthful population profile) is partly serviced by international education: with international education being cited as one of the five pillars of Australian economic growth (Australian Government, 2015). This relationship between international education as a revenue raiser for the Australian economy and the Australian government's need for perception management of Australian identity as being young to service the need for economic growth, provides a window into the provision of visas for international students as tied to numerous government agendas. This situation for government also provides a window into the need for visas to have an enormous range of flexibility, where visas conditions are responsive to government needs and can be changed at any time. This intertwining of government agendas and the provision of visas to whom and for what purposes, has a troubled

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[33] This aspect becomes important later when considering teachers professionalism

past which continues into the present, particularly in the way visas function within the ELICOS classroom.

Visa conditions create one of the most significant effects for teacher performativity. Flexible visa conditions create the problem of mixed ages in the classroom. While this may not be an uncommon phenomenon in a mainstream educational setting, within an ELICOS high school teaching context, the flexibility in visa conditions means that a bright twelve year old can be in the same class as an 18 year old with learning difficulties, with teachers challenged to successfully exit these low level students within forty weeks. Further complexities abound: different types of visas mean students have different motivations for learning. Having provided this background, the following analysis of the effect of visa conditions on teachers and their practice in multicultural, multilingual classrooms, working with bilingual or even plurilingual learners, some of whom have learning difficulties, delivers a complex picture.

Rebecca's account of her experience reports the implications for herself as teacher, her teaching practice and also the implications for students' learning as well as the role that administration plays in her experience of dissonance and disconnect:

> *it's very stressful to have these students who are nearly 18 in Level 1 and there is more pressure for you to get him up to a higher level after 50 weeks, when a lot of them by that age, come in with learning difficulties—and I don't think administration at the higher levels understand what it is like to have that type of student in this environment because you have them in classrooms with students who are twelve and ah—you've got all the differences that come with the twelve year old and 18 year old and um—I'm not sure that that learning experience that that older child is getting, here, is necessarily going to prepare them for where they actually will want to go, to uni or whatever. I'm not sure.*

In Rebecca's account a number of issues are conflated: the presence of Level 1 learners in the classroom, despite Level 2 being the acceptable legal level of entry; 18 year old students at that level in a high school context usually indicate learning difficulties; the role of administration in creating this student mix in the classroom;

and, the pedagogical issues emerging from this student mix, including teaching and learning goals. The following section unpacks the background for these issues.

Prospective ELICOS students are tested in their home country for eligibility in an ELICOS educational pathway, with a required language proficiency testing rating of Level 2 to be accepted in an ELICOS program. This entry level leaves teachers with questions as to how students can enter the Australian system at a level lower than this Australian requirement. Jane highlights this phenomenon as well as its situatedness, i.e., the complexity of teaching within a multicultural, multilingual classroom with these Level 0 and Level 1 learners:

> *We've got 4 different language sets here. Because they just don't even understand the most basic things such as 'open your book' and 'close your book' and 'do this homework', and I think that [having these phrases] would just help them get along much quicker.*

Both Rebecca's and Jane's accounts reveal the role of administration in constructing the classroom without any apparent recognition of the implications of these complexities for teaching effectiveness, or possibilities for delivering student satisfaction. As well, this situation is one where my business lens identifies a highly problematic situation, creating issues for performativity of the ELICOS business model. This situation of mixed ages and very low level learners within a highly complex teaching situation introduces a significant threat into the business model and its sustainability, with teachers being unsupported in a highly challenging and difficult teaching situation and learners not being positioned to flourish by the product they have bought, with learner needs not being represented within the ELICOS product.

Another concern that comes into focus through my business lens is the lack of transparency that exists as students come in with limitations outside of their language proficiency. Visas do not effectively screen out students with physical and/or mental disadvantages. For example, I have experienced teaching a class that included a student with Tourette's syndrome. I, and other teachers, have also experienced students with significant psychological problems, something Paula describes as coming back onto the teacher:

> *So I mean.. ..the whole—its become quite poisonous in a lot of sectors,*
> *because you could have some really emotionally unstable students and*
> *if they're not happy—ah you know— its your problem again.*

This inability of visas to screen out students with severe physical and/or mental disadvantages is fraught, from the point of view of the student's learning as well as the class' learning, both being compromised as students accommodate their fellow students' struggles to improve all student's language proficiency within the required time frame. In compromising the learning potential of the class for the learning needs of one student constructs a substantial business risk. For individual students who come with undisclosed physical and/or mental disadvantages, these students come without their social supports and so come to the host country at great risk to themselves. At the same time these students, and the educational institutions who enrol them, place teachers at a distinct professional disadvantage.

Visa conditions set up a teaching and learning conflict: different visa types mean different motivations in learning, within a multicultural, multilingual classroom, providing significant pedagogical challenges. For instance, students who come into the ELICOS classroom on student visas are much more likely to take their work seriously compared to students who come into the classroom on a holiday visa. These latter students are generally wanting only the experience of Western education, so there is no pressure on them to succeed, as exit testing does not apply. Students on a tourist visa do not have the same parental or self-pressure as those international students who are enrolled in an educational pathway.

Teacher accounts are instructive of some of the effects of visa conditions for learning and teaching. Carol said:

> *The kids can only stay for 50 weeks and then they have to move out of*
> *it—or our kids if they come in Level 1 then they haven't got enough*
> *time to repeat, and some of them do need to repeat. You know it's*
> *their disadvantage if they don't—so as I'm not really up with all that*
> *so I can't really answer.*

Paula reported on visa conditions:

> *Most definitely it makes a big difference if the student is on a tourist*
> *visa they feel they are on a holiday——students visas mean that they*

have to attend 80% of classes or they can be sent back to their country. So that makes them attend class but that doesn't make them happy about attending class— it depends on whether they want to be there or if their parents have forced them to be there. Um—then there's —ah —there's a tourist visa they kinda—see—that like that you know it not a very serious country—especially with some cultures where they have what they consider to be a really old culture compared to ours which is no culture— Um—there—they may not take us or the whole situation very seriously they just see it as something they do until they go home again—so um—that can definitely impact how they are studying and how they behave in a class situation.

In short, teaching in ELICOS means teaching a multicultural classroom and teaching developing bilingual/plurilingual learners as though they are developing monolinguals, with different visas in reflecting differing learning motivations within a multicultural classroom exacerbating the complexity of the teaching experience. Futher to this, the challenges for teachers as neoliberal subjects teaching under neoliberal conditions of visa flexibility means that the teaching experience constitutes an indictment of teaching ability. This structural constraint for teaching ability means that teachers are further disadvantaged by visa flexibility, where within a commercial context the promotion of repeat business is tied to teaching ability, and part of the teaching task as well as an unspoken condition for employability.

For Jane, changes in visa conditions influence the types of students she taught as well as possibilities in teaching practice:

One or two when the Korean mothers could come with their children, I don't know what that visa was but then we started to get primary students then, and the mothers would come as well. The age can be— I think one of the good things that have happened is that they have taken it down so that you can only stay for 50 weeks, because we previously had students who were 19 & 20 who did no work at all, played all night and sat in class with their heads on the desks during the day—because they were sitting out, staying out and they were level 1 & 2 and they were Level 2, and Level 2, and Level 2 and never went

anywhere. We had to put up with that. So now at least they only have the 50 weeks so they have to move on.

This account revealed numerous issues: the development of the ELICOS system, and some of the ways in which teachers are not informed about institutional changes and therefore unsupported in their role. Interestingly, teachers are given some agency in that students' visa information is provided in their classroom roll, yet they are unsupported as a result of the decision-making of the institution and changes in regulation. This disconnect represented in a lack of support and lack of understanding of the system has implication for teacher agency and teacher effectiveness.

While visas for students are now under the purveyance of universities and schools, the implications from visa conditions continue to impact on teachers and their practice, and so the threat to business sustainability arising from unsustainable teaching conditions remains in place. Both DsOS reported visa availability as problematic: Brianna said of visa availability *(it) creates a disruptive situation* while Adam provided an insider account drawn from his experience – *visas are structured so parents would not send students too early.* While Brianna's response to this issue referred to the situation that teachers and also administration experience, Adam highlights the intentionality behind the structuring of visas. What Brianna's and Adam's account of visa availability highlight is a complexity that evidences visa availability as being more than a procedural issue.

6.1.2 Marketing, administration, teaching interface

The marketing, administration, and teaching interface represents a node of power relations, a networking of power relations that affect the conduct of ELICOS as a business. Hidden from view in the construction of the ELICOS teaching is its constitution as a multicultural multilingual teaching context, a teaching context constituted by the ELICOS business model, where teaching is constructed as a workplace activity and not an educative endeavour (Crichton, 2003). The classroom as a workplace means that administration and marketing have direct effects within the classroom – in relation to classroom management, pedagogy, teachers' professionalism and their teaching practices. In a study investigating the nature of students' perceptions in two ELICOS institutions, Bordia (2007) reported teachers' considerations   of   students'   complaints,   which   highlighted   the

teaching/marketing/administration interface. Teachers observed that "an efficient mechanism (is needed) to record and respond to students' queries and complaints—an obligation the institution should meet" (Bordia, 2007, p. 27). At the same time, students were critical of educational institutions not meeting their obligations: "I think the teachers and administrators should be very sensitive to this, it helps a lot by explaining what are [the issues] in class and what are [the issues] on the street" (Bordia, 2007, p. 27).

The analyses in this section reveal how teaching, when constructed as a workplace activity, is not conducive to encouraging 'return business'. This was clear in the analysis of three teachers' accounts: Carol's, Rebecca's, and Jane's, who each gave a different interpretation of how marketing, administration and teaching affect each other. The data show that overall, teachers do not respect or have faith in the marketing of the ELICOS product. This lack of faith by teachers in marketing efforts was a result of teachers being constructed and thought of in a secondary relationship with their students.

In the previous section, Carol saw her school's particular ELICOS product as a quality product, speaking about it with pride—*I think that WE offer a fantastic product*—in contradistinction, Carol spoke disparagingly about the way it was marketed. Carol observed that in that the marketing activity ELICOS teachers and their work were not represented. Thus, dissonance, discontinuity and disconnect occurred at different levels because Carol saw herself as not being represented, while at the same time Carol had no confidence in the genuineness of the marketing activity itself. Carol saw this particularly, in the way that marketing used a low-balling technique to bring students into her classroom, and that marketing as a workplace activity did not connect her to the person who was 'selling' the product that she was delivering. All these aspects are present in Carol's account of her experience of the administration/marketing/teaching interface:

> *And even in our marketing there's total propaganda, because all the marketing in our website and in our brochures, is the beautiful stuff down there—(indicating the main school)—and they don't have—there isn't even one picture of the international college up here—in their marketing brochures—not one. Or on our website. And that is—total propaganda or to my mind. And the marketing lady, the lady*

that shows all the new students, doesn't even come up here to the
international college. And we've been asked numerous times different
things, what would you like to do, what would you like and I've told
them, and I've been here twelve years and nothing's ever been done.

Carol's response shows that she sees marketing as an exercise in administration, and while there is an effort to include teachers, she is left unsure about the reason for this as no connection was made between what was being presented to the public and what teachers were doing. Carol's expectation of the quality product was that this quality should be consistent—the product and the way in which it is marketed should reflect the quality of the product in its delivery.

While Rebecca also showed a lack of confidence in the marketing activity, Rebecca held marketing directly responsible for recruiting the type and quality of students she had to teach. The change in clientele, changes in the quality and type of students she taught had an impact on her teaching practice:

Well marketing—the type of students that I would see and that would
be in my class, um USED to be very very good at maths and science—
and it was just a matter of getting them up to speed with vocabulary
terminology and a few simple structures. Now it seems the clientele I
am getting, don't seem to know how to work in science and math
areas. They are very limited. So there's a lot of structure and back to
basics and um being able to—I—I find students—its takes a long time
for them to analyse and think in another language or in English, and
um they seemed to be able to pick it up a lot more quickly than they do
now.

Marketing for Rebecca changed not only how she has to teach but also her teaching effectiveness.

Jane shared Carol's opinion regarding the propaganda aspect of marketing. What Jane describes was her experience of the fall-out from marketing, having to bear the consequences of this deception, when what has been promised students is not what students come to experience when they come to the international college. What the marketing activity drew on was the prestige of the main school, and what was sold was the main school experience. In this way, the international college was

not represented in the marketing activity. Yet it was the international college that students came to, a place that is not of the same standard as the prestige that students have bought. It is this series of disconnects, between what is being marketed to students, what students purchase, what they expect of their ELICOS course, and what students experience, that had an effect on Jane. At the end of her account, Jane noted the fall-out she saw from marketing, the human cost involved and the impact on the teachers at the international college.

> *Well I think we paint too much of a—in terms of the physical setting here it paints a picture of a beautiful college by showing the things, or the wonderful things of Moore College and then the students walk in here and come into our classrooms I think it's a bit of a—I think they think 'well this is not what we saw in the brochures'. I think sometimes the students don't quite understand how hard it's going to be for them to get to a higher level of language proficiency. Um——and. I don't know [why] they started going into Vietnam and they got a couple of girls very much from an inland village, who caused us problems by running away.*

Jane, who has a background in management, was sensitive to perception management, particularly as it applies to the physical setting. The implication in Jane's account is that marketing sets the students up to expect something different, and it is teachers who have to take the fallout from the shift in students' impression, i.e., the students' experience of being let down.

Another significant point that Jane brings forward is her experience of the way in which marketing, administration and teaching intersects in a way that disadvantages and even exploits students. Jane questions the decision of administration in this student being accepted into the schools educational pathway—*I don't know [why] they started going into Vietnam and they got a couple of girls very much from an inland village.* Jane's description of the girls from Vietnam *who caused us problems by running away,* suggested that it affected her as a teacher— were these girls her students? Were the girls' parents influenced by the beautiful brochures? One of the ways of interpreting the girls' running away, is to see their behaviour as an acculturation issue. On the other hand, Jane describes an aggressive form of marketing that has no consideration of the effect of the purchase on

consumer. Her description clearly reveals a relationship between marketing, administration and teaching.

In turning to the administrative aspect of this relationship, administrative decisions in regard to marketing were not easily supported by teachers. What seemed important to the institution was to market a course with a unique edge. Jane's described some of the effects of the decision to market a course with a unique edge. Jane's story unfolds itself:

> *A response to marketing so we can say we are the ONLY people, the only people, the only school that offers Certificate 3 which when you finish Grade 11 and 12 gives you an OP 16. So that's a marketing tool. But we have —we've been told it's not educational, not relevant to our students in the way it had changed into practically a—a— It started with foundation skills, which was actually just listening, speaking, reading writing. But then it got into business, and a lot of the electives were business subjects that were taken straight out of the Grade 11 course, and the resources were Grade 11, resources that our [domestic] students couldn't even understand. For instance 26 page booklets on something. So the whole thing had to be rewritten and that's getting me crazy for the last—I quite like writing things, so I like the writing of it, just getting it right and getting it signed off and—being what was required—and ohhhh—it's been hellish.*

The Certificate 3 course that was being marketed, involved introducing the content and delivery to teachers in a series of moves—of teachers being told that it was not educational, then finding out that it was, with teachers then having to create the resources and learning to teach a course, well beyond their present abilities/capacities, and within the short timeframes of ELICOS transition courses. Further to this, translating concepts across language is difficult, and this is especially true of business concepts (Love & Akoudis, 2004), something that makes Jane's remark, *it's been hellish,* even more understandable.

6.1.3 Acculturation and teachers' experiences

Acculturation is not addressed in the ELICOS business product or educative process. Also within this project/model and in the purchase of the ELICOS product,

students' actual learning needs are not addressed, neither is there any provision for the utilisation of insights of the acculturation process, insights drawn from the literature and teachers' experiences, in the facilitation of teaching and learning. As Chapter Two began to address, these areas of lack may be due to a monolingual mindset. On the other hand, within the knowledge economy a monolingual mindset works to create a business advantage, and aligns neatly with a neoliberal epistemology, where both monolingual and neoliberal thinking act as mechanisms of control in the knowledge economy (Olssen, 2006).

ELICOS students' experiences of acculturation are ones of conflicted desires. Acculturation is a process mediated by a person's "desire to maintain their original culture and their desire to adopt the values of the dominant culture" (Samnani et al., 2013, p. 167). For ELICOS students, this latter desire, the desire to adopt Australian educational values, is driven by learning goals. To achieve these goals, the learning experience for ELICOS students is intensive, focused on improving language proficiency while, at the same time, dealing with identity struggles (Norton & Toohey, 2011). ELICOS students' learning experience is one of "overlapping linguistic, academic, sociocultural, and psychological challenges" (Gebhard, 2013, p. 1). A study by Barker (2015) highlights the intensity of this struggle, which shows that at the end of a learning process characterised by students' constant negotiation of academic demands and cultural adaptation as well as their negotiation of mulitple identities, students maintained identification with their own culture. These things considered, ELICOS students' learning experiences illuminate the ELICOS teaching context as a site of complex and multiple challenges for students as well as for teachers and their teaching practice.

In the ELICOS system, educational institutions are required by law to provide access to psychological help for students at risk. This provision of health and safety support has its limitations, because the student has to be identified as being at risk. In a cross-cultural situation where there is difficulty reading cultural signs of the 'other', the present means of providing adequate support seems to be a highly unrealistic approach. With cross-cultural complexities, by the time the student is identified as being at risk, the problem has become really severe. On the other hand, students in the ESHP transition course are under 21 years of age, so relying on their own monitoring their own mental health also may not be realistic. Furthermore, as it

was shown earlier, speaking is the most difficult skill for international students. If these students could identify their own mental health issues, these speakers of lower language proficiency are limited in their capacity to speak about their problems to their English-speaking teacher. Thus, ELICOS students are at risk in the experience of acculturation, "acculturation being an identifier of risk rather than a direct predictor of psychological distress" (Wu & Mak, 2012).

6.1.3.1 My acculturation experience

I learned about the acculturation process when I went to live and work in China. I learned what it was like to be surrounded by an environment that was completely unfamiliar, and it took time before I had gained enough cultural capital to be able to operate, at least comfortably, within the new environment. This experience of a new cultural space challenged my experience of subjectivity, where my co-construction with the new cultural space raised fears and anxieties in unexpected ways. Being in the process acculturation to my new space meant that I experienced an avalanche of anxieties and fears which, I learned through reflection, are a normal part of the process. Acculturating to my new environment took about two years. While these years were an intensive learning period, I had choice around my experience. I was a person of mature years and rich life experience in this environment that was making demands of me. At the same time, I was doing something for which I was being paid, something that did not require structured learning that depended on gaining cultural knowledge in a hurry.

In many ways ELICOS students' experience is different. They have purchased a product and have expectations around performance, not only of the product they have purchased (Bordia, 2007), but also have expectations of their own performance (discussed further in Section 7.1). Although my experience of acculturation was not the same as that of ELICOS students, what was clear in my own experience of acculturation was the life-changing potential of this process. Rather than only viewing acculturation as creating risk, acculturation as a process is something that could be harnessed to enrich and accelerate ELICOS students' progress. Ignoring acculturation in the business product and educative process not only blinds students and teachers to the risks that acculturation introduces to the ELICOS classroom, it also limits the capacity to capitalise on this process as offering experiences that can enrich students' (and teachers') lives.

6.1.4 Teachers' observations of acculturation

This section continues the analysis of students as primary stakeholders in their learning process in which teachers are in a secondary relationship to their students. Drawing on the literature (Chapter Two) and the data from the five teacher participants, I analysed these teachers' experiences to see some of the ways they saw that students' learning experiences were affected by acculturation and to find out what strategies students' employed to address these difficulties. I also sought to identify how teachers dealt with these issues in teaching and learning, as well as in classroom management. I found that each of the teacher participants was able to identify troubling behaviours that I could attribute to acculturation. However the teachers' experiences did not reveal any form of overt recognition or expertise at the intersection of students' experience of the acculturation process and the process of bi-lingual/plurilingual student learning. In contrast, the data revealed teachers were unsupported in their understanding of their experiences of these troubling behaviours, and so unable to deal effectively with these. This meant that student behaviours remained a background anomaly, as teachers focused on what they could control and what it was they saw was needed, i.e., preparing students for their future learning experiences. Because these teachers were not able to bring meaning to these student behaviours, they were not able to address them.

This structural disconnection between teachers and the business model that constructed their working conditions, exposed the extent of what was going on for most participants. Teachers appeared to be conflicted by their concern for their students and puzzled by their behaviours. However teachers' understanding of their task as future oriented did not provide them with an awareness of how they might reconcile the competing agendas of students' learning needs and their pedagogical needs. This unresolved conflict was evident in Carol's response when asked about her experiences of students' acculturation:

> *[it] makes a huge difference if they stay with a homestay. Even then their attitude to the homestay—some of them just go in and just lock themselves in the room so they don't acculturate at all—and like when I'm teaching I try not to put the different nationalities together so they're not speaking the same language.*

Carol's conflict between being concerned to see that students do acculturate and yet work together demonstrates classroom management and pedagogical concerns (having to separate them from their cultural group within the classroom), further evidence of the challenging teaching context that ELICOS teachers have to work within.

While Carol recognised the possibility of the ELICOS provision of homestay as having a significant influence on students' experience of acculturation, she was also aware that successful acculturation depended on the student's willingness and ability to acculturate, a view supported by the literature (Barker, 2015). Carol went on to say:

> *if they embrace—if they are in homestay it's a huge thing to help their acculturation, because at least they are miles ahead of the others— who are just with their own families or something like that. Even though it might not be the best thing for them emotionally, but at least if they're in a homestay they're speaking English for a lot longer than the others are. And, and if they interact with a homestay family then really they go great guns and acculturate really well. But it depends on whether they go into the bedroom and shut the door—which some of them do. So some of them acculturate well but definitely homestay is definitely a HUGE help for that.*

The shifts within Carol's response is revealing on a number of levels. At the end of account, Carol identifies the ideal that homestay as a 'huge help', while prior to that statement she notes that homestay may not be good for students emotionally, a response that suggests she is searching for words and ideas that might cover all bases. In ways similar to the analysis of Carol's response, Jane's response suggested that she also was oriented to cover all bases:

> *Well, the students who live with—a lot of the Chinese—some of the Chinese students live with Chinese people so that—there's no acculturation at all. They just—live in a Chinese world. Some of the homestays are really magnificent and take them out places, and show them the Gold Coast and you know the places which is fantastic. Um—so I guess it depends on who they live with, because we don't do anything.*

On one hand, Jane considers some of the homestay experiences for students to be no help at all in terms of acculturation. Jane's last remark—*we don't do anything*—reveals her experience as a teacher indicated that institutionally there is no overt consideration of the acculturation process as important in the teaching/learning/education process. Institutionally, no pedagogical link is made between the emotional and psychological well-being of students and students' learning. Jane's remark also suggests that she too is unaware of how these two might be linked pedagogically[34]. Jane went on to say*:*

> *a lot of them seem to do pretty well, in all the years I've been here I haven't really seen too many students have too many big problems. Homestay parents—well wait a minute, homestay parents take the brunt of that. We used to have a homestay co-ordinator who was VERY very involved, you could—the parents could ring her up at any time at all, the homestay parents—even on the weekend. And she used to have some quite big issues, but she was you know quite confidential with them, so didn't really tell us unless we really needed to know. Um—but now, for quite a few years they have been using an outside, an outservice—it's on the board over there, you just ring this number on the weekend if you've got problems.*

Jane's reporting provides further evidence of her teaching approach as that of staying detached. Her observation of institutional changes in ways of dealing with the issue of acculturation—from providing a dedicated person dealing with 'some quite big issues' to being reduced to the provision of a telephone number on a board—is also indicative of changes in institutional response. As well, Jane's response indicates that she is not really aware of exactly how the institution is dealing with acculturation issues so cannot be confident that in her classroom the students she observes as being at risk are having their emotional and psychological needs met.

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[34] It is beyond the scope of this thesis to address how this might be done, suffice to say that in taking a multilingual rather than a monolingual oriented approach to pedagogy in ELICOS teaching, a more collective than individualistic approach, international students' well-being could be better served (Samnani et al., 2013; Suinn, 2010).

Rebecca's response to the question of her experience of student acculturation also evidences conflict around the issue of student acculturation. When asked about her experience of student acculturation, Rebecca replied:

> *I have to say that I feel I don't have a lot of time for that, you have the academic side you're really pushing, and at the same time you do see them 'not fitting in', or they're struggling with puberty, or whatever— in fact I have just suggested to [the DOS] that we need to form a committee to look at how to help students who are experiencing puberty as they move through here at the college. I said to her I see huge problems with girls that are going from 12 to 14 and 15 and boys and you can see them changing and ah—developing emotionally, but no-one to share with, no mother or father or anybody to turn to.*

In her account, Rebecca also shows a significant shift in her ways of answering—from her perspective as a teacher distancing herself from the behaviours she is observing because of pedagogical demands, to admitting that what she was observing so troubled her that she felt that an institutional response was needed, and approaching the DOS with a suggested institutional response. This shift reveals an underlying dissonance and disconnection.

In responding further to my prompts about acculturation issues, Rebecca reported being—*very sensitive to it, and we refer it to—usually the teacher does a lot with that, now that we have a college psychologist we've referred many students in the last couple of years to him.* This account conflicts with Rebecca's account in the previous paragraph, suggesting a distance and a disconnect between what teachers initiate on students' behalf and what happens to students once the concerns/behaviours/attitudes have been reported to the DOS/institution. This account of the 'many students' also suggests there are a larger number of students with acculturation issues than other teachers are willing open to admit.

Tina's response to my 'acculturation' question was to refer this issue as the students' responsibility. Even my prompt aimed at opening up a discussion did not result in Tina revealing her experience in a personal way. Tina's reply was detached:

> *students who have come back to me and said—I learned that you have to think like an Australian, and that REALLY influenced my English*

and then I was able to succeed really well in high school. So those
who acculturated–they still kept their culture but they understood that
culture and language are not separate–did really well

In analysing Tina's positive response within the framework of her interview was to see Tina as having made choices that would bring advantage. As manager of her teaching career in a commercial context, Tina described her students as clients and consumers, whose acculturation issues were not part of the purchase of an ELICOS product or an outcome of the construction of the ELICOS project.

6.1.5 Teachers' observations of acculturation distress

Teachers described troubling behaviours that are to greater or lesser degree, observed by teachers. Carol observed:

of course some of them do. Some of them have <u>HUGE</u> [issues]. I had
a little boy who was too young and —the administration—and he used
to pull his hair out—he was so stressed you know.

Carol's report only gave one instance yet later her account of how she deals with acculturation issues showed that her experience of these issues is more of an everyday one, this disconnect in recall being an effect of normalcy.

Kids are a bit stressed, upset or a bit tired—often kids are tired and I
think that can be culture stress. And not just because—I mean some of
them stay up late and play computer games, but I think some of it is
definitely culture shock, culture stress, and that can affect their
learning.

This account again reveals some of the multiple levels at which teachers experience and deal with students' experiences of acculturation. There is an obvious recognition of students' stress however as Carol said:

I give support as much as I can, you know moral support and
emotional support and—whatever, and even sitting with them and
trying to help them. We can do that because we've got small classes.

Without institutional support in the classroom, Carol is only able to respond in limited ways.

Carol does not claim to be an observer of acculturation distress (as Paula's insightful account of class behaviour provides in the following paragraph). However, when asked if she does experience acculturation issues in her classroom, Carol replied strongly: *Absolutely.* **Absolutely.** What Carol does observe is that students' acculturation needs are often not met, this being due to the intensive nature of ELICOS courses. At the same time, Carol's professionalism as a teacher compels her to provide extra care for her troubled students. Like Rebecca, Carol also reports having experienced numerous students with emotional difficulties, while other accounts they give suggest pedagogical and classroom difficulties arising from issues of student acculturation to be a greater than teachers are prepared to assert. Carol in saying about her students that *kids are a bit stressed, upset or a bit tired—often kids are tired and I think that can be culture stress* does not evidence any level of knowledge/expertise of differentiating between normal behaviours and behaviours attributable to acculturation. In a teaching context constituted by diversity, Carol reports her experiences dissonance and discontinuity as a teacher, where in the severe disruption of class learning through a student's distress, she must make the choice as a professional teacher to go on with class learning—*we can see them and help one-on-one, but um—I would never hold a class back because of one student.* Her account that follows does not reveal any confidence or knowledge that she is supported to address these issues in her teaching role, the frequency of occurrence revealing her need for support—

> *I don't personally—you know we refer it on, if its extreme—to the school psychologist and everything. But very few of them get down there because [the students are] all so busy and its just— . But over the years I've had lots of different issues, with different kids.*

From this statement Carol is also not confident that her students' acculturation distress will be acknowledged or dealt with by the student. Could Carol's multilayered experience of student acculturation be one not only of dissonance and discontinuity, but also of her own as well as her students' disconnection from the system and within the system?

Paula' observation of the acculturation process in terms of group behaviour is a telling one:

I usually find if you have a 10–12 week group, that the first two or three weeks they're kind of like frightened rabbits and by the third week they're finding things they're not liking about the culture. As a teacher you are at the coalface and as a teacher it can really tend— tend—tend to take it out of you—its extremely difficult. So you can't— that's where it's important to not have a monoculture because they can kind of gang up and decide there is something really wrong with Australia and Australians and—you as the key Australian person that they interact with, sort of embodies that for them. That's where a lot of these kind of problems come from.

Paula provides a clear description of group behaviour as it is affected by newness of the ELICOS experience. She is the only teacher participant who speaks from her professionalism at this level. As a highly experienced ELICOS teacher, Paula's sensitivity to experiencing students' feelings and struggles in their initial experience of acculturation, means that her observation of students' acting out of these feelings in group behaviours, impacts on her in a negative way. She is personally and professionally compromised. Paula sees the acculturation process that students experience as a group as the cause of monocultures in the classroom, the significance of monocultures being explored later).

Rebecca's response to my prompt about identifying student acculturation distress showed she was clearly comfortable with her limitations in this area:

Well, um—ah—that's a hard one. I don't think I could answer it (Rebecca gives a slight laugh).

Rebecca went on to then describe what could be identified as homesickness—

I could see the other day one of the boys was having a HUGE problem and he came here to talk and I could talk to him but— he really just wanted a hug, he just wanted somebody he could identify as a mum — but you can't— so—yeah I'd say because I see all the classes for limited time um those types of problems are probably handled more by the um the people who see them every day like XX.

While Rebecca believes that she would find identifying acculturation distress difficult, when prompted to comment on emotional and psychological changes

Rebecca responded very quickly, concluding emphatically: *So— you DO see it, and you um—* At this point Rebecca's voice trailed away, and she also looked away for a few seconds as if slipping into a short space of unresolved memories. On the other hand, Jane's and Tina's accounts both displayed strategies of avoidance when prompted to describe their observation of students' acculturation. Jane began by describing a 'one off' instance and then turned the observed behaviours into gender issues, while Tina dealt with acculturation by placing responsibility with the students: if students acculturate well then they are successful in developing their language proficiency, if students are not open to acculturating and stay with friends from the own culture, then they take much longer to acquire language proficiency. Tina's tight surface level response and Jane's spinning off topic, suggests their unwillingness or inability to engage in a difficult topic.

When this analysis was placed in the context of Rebecca's and Tina's full interview accounts what became clear was that they both failed to recognise or acknowledge that in the first instance it was the business project/model that constructed students' experience of acculturation. Neither did any other teacher participant demonstrate this recognition, or attribute any responsibility to the system, except to acknowledge the institution's provision of access to a psychologist, which was mandated by law.

What has become clear from analysing the data to this point, is that ELICOS teachers are largely unsupported in their role as they deal with student acculturation issues even though they might have experience of as well as hold significant insights around student acculturation. Through a business lens and using Paula's experience as an example, Paula's insights of acculturation in terms of group behaviour could be very useful to improve the business system as well as to ameliorate unwanted risk and/or threats arising from this phenomenon, and to which this phenomenon contributes. The lack of evidence of teacher support indicates that the educational institutions who employ them fail to appropriate teachers' insights around the acculturation process, such as the way this knowledge might be used in facilitating learning, and in so doing construct a way of valuing and supporting the work of ELICOS teachers. As an exception, Tina was the only teacher who reported that the head of school and head teachers were interested to gather teacher insights.

What Paula's insight of acculturation as forming monocultures also raises is the question of how do other teachers experience the presence of monocultures in their classroom? What are the effects for teaching practice? For learning? What do monocultures in the classroom mean in terms of power relations? and for teacher subjectivity and agency? These questions fuel further investigation, continuing to build evidence that can provide some answers to the research question: *How have selected teachers experienced working in the ELICOS system?*

6.1.6 Monocultures and teaching

In this section, the analysis of teachers experiences reveal some of the outcomes that result from the secondary relationship that teachers have with primary stakeholders. The secondary relationship of teachers to their students comes into view in a pronounced way through the presence of monocultures in the classroom. Monocultures (as described earlier) refers to the cultural mix of students within the classroom, where one culture dominates the student mix in a teaching context and forms an oppositional language group. Or said another way, where the student cohort is almost exclusively from one culture so that the 'will to truth' of this student group becomes a 'will to power' that shapes the parameters of and possibilities for learning. Analysis of teachers' experience of monocultures in the classroom brings teachers' risk of disempowerment (Lee & Nie, 2014) into view. Rebecca's account reveals in part how monocultures form, and how this aspect functions negatively in the ELICOS business model:

> *marketing determines the type of students that will be in the classroom. School leaders are involved in marketing and so drive the classroom. When enrolments are high they are selective, but when low they will take anybody.*

Rebecca identifies the link between the type of student recruited, the type of classroom the ELICOS teacher experiences, and the role of that administration plays in teachers' classroom experiences. Significantly, Rebecca's interpretation of her teaching experience as a marketing issue reduces the complexity of ELICOS teaching into a single issue—Rebecca sees marketing as the source of issues in her teaching experience. On the other hand, what Rebecca's statement also identifies is the need for institutions to give consideration regarding the mix of cultures within the

student cohort, and raises questions about what this might mean when educational institutions *will take anybody.*

My educator/business lenses problematise marketing and visa availability when there is no consideration given to the mix of students coming into the classroom. This lack signals a threat, not only to the classroom environment, but to sustainability of the business. A considered mix of cultures within the classroom can work well for class and individual learning. In contrast, lack of institutional regulation of the student mix within the classroom leaves teachers, classrooms, and businesses open to the development of monocultures. Jane describes the effect of monocultures in terms of language issues, where students' use of their home language in the classroom becomes normative:

> *Well, if they don't want to speak English it's very hard to get them to do it. And they just speak their own language in class there—very few of them want to talk to anybody's whose not—whose not—even in Level 5 they just speak their own language in class. It's terribly hard to get them to speak English. There's only ever one or two who WANT to. And if they **want** to speak English their friends say to them 'why are you speaking English'. You know 'who do you think you are?'*

Carol also observes a problem with monocultures in her classroom:

> *if there's many kids from one country that's annoying when they're— when they all come from one country and you can't separate them. That's a BIG issue.*

This development that Carol describes arises from the incentives being offered as a recruitment incentive. This initiative that serves the educational institution's financial and other needs, creates a situation where students with athletic ability often understand this 'specialness' evoked by the scholarship as the prerogative to promote their cultural primacy, thus removing the reason for using spoken English in communicating. As Carol also describes, these students on a scholarship also often influence what happens in the classroom.

And like when the soccer boys all get together and they speak Japanese and when they come to class and they all speak Japanese that's a big issue.

In this instance, the teacher/learning dynamic is co-opted by the student body, so that the ELICOS course begins to be driven by students. What teacher accounts evidence is that monocultures have a debilitating effect on teaching, learning, teacher professionalism, as well as teacher and student morale.

Jane' account highlights this problem of students' co-optation of the teaching/learning dynamic as a shift of power from teacher authority to primary stakeholders when she says: *"I said to the students "speak English" and the students said "why?"* This shift in teaching authority and dynamic becomes particularly problematic as the English language product has been sold to students as the improvement of their language proficiency[35]. In this instance, and at the same time, teachers' professionalism is severely compromised. Additionally, a monoculture can test teachers' professional abilities. While Carol admits the difficulty of separating students, Rebecca's experience of monocultures identifies that experiences of frustration as well as isolation from the group can tend to be somewhat normative in ELICOS teaching—

At times I get VERY <u>annoyed</u> with students talking in their own language and it can make me <u>very</u> anxious. But continual talking and dialects of 4 or 5 different groups can be overwhelming AND—at the moment I have a whole class of all Chinese except one, you can feel very isolated from the group—which is a strange thing to say when you're the teacher.

Rebecca's experience of monocultures leads to another more worrying effect of the presence of monocultures, the situation where teachers become a target.

6.1.7 Monocultures, intimidation and bullying

Violence against teachers is an under-researched area of concern (American Psychological Association, 2015; Dzuka & Dalbert, 2007; Wilson et al., 2011) and a

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[35] In the past it was a practice in international colleges to adopt an English Only approach. However more recent developments in language teaching have shown this approach as ill-advised (Sampson, 2012) while at the same time an English Only policy can act as an acculturation stressor, particularly within an intensive learning context

global phenomenon of worrying proportions (American Psychological Association, 2015; Dzuka & Dalbert, 2007; Kajs, Schumacher, & Vital, 2014; Lokmić, Opić, & Bilić, 2013; Byongook Moon & McCluskey, 2014; B. Moon, Morash, Jang, & Jeong, 2015; Wilson, Douglas, & Lyon, 2011). Different forms of violence against teachers is also a common phenomenon in Australian mainstream schooling (Colman, 2002). As Wilson et al. (2011, p. 2356) state, "violence against teachers is a common problem that potentially is associated with serious adverse consequences in the domains of personal functioning (physical and psychological health) and teacher-related functioning (teaching effectiveness, classroom management)". These concerns around teacher as victims of violence, that the literature addresses, are generally describing mainstream institutional settings. In a commercial setting, such as ELICOS, this issue of violence against teachers has not, to my knowledge, ever been addressed. Yet violence against teachers is endemic to ELICOS. It was my own experience of victimization as an ELICOS teacher that prompted my desire to investigate performativity in ELICOS. Data analysis will show that intimidation and bullying was the experience of all five participants who endured forms of violence as part of their everyday teaching practice.

Paula who has 21 years ELICOS teaching experience reported her experience of being targeted:

> *as a teacher you are at the coalface and as a teacher it can really tend—tend—tend to take it out of you—its extremely difficult—so you can't— that's where it's important to not have a monoculture because they can kind of gang up and decide there is something really wrong with Australia and Australians and—you as the key Australian person that they interact with, sort of embodies that for them. That's where a lot of these kind of problems come from.*

Paula's choice of words in describing her experience reveals an avoidance to describe herself as both intimidated and bullied. Paula's description of violence is to describe students as 'ganging up', but does not extend her description to actually admit to being targeted by students. However, her vivid description reveals the intentionality of students. Paula's recognition of the depletion of her agency is limited to a difficult experience, where *as a teacher it can really tend—tend—tend to take it out of you—its extremely difficult*. Paula's account also indicates that she

experiences monocultures as a normal experience. As well, Paula's account suggests a lack of support as a normal experience. This 'normality' aligns with my own experiences of monocultures in the ELICOS classroom, although the effects are dependent on the educational setting, the expertise of the DOS and the administration of the educational component in general. However, in spite of the educational setting, intimidation and bullying is often the modus operandi for international students as consumers—the way things are done.

In exercising their rights as consumers, international students are constructed to see it as their right and even duty to put pressure on teachers and the institution. International students have different social and educational formation to Australian domestic students, and in Asian countries, education is overtly commercial. My awareness comes both from the literature (Byongook Moon & McCluskey, 2014; Stanley, 2013) and from having lived and worked in China. In their home country Chinese students usually attend school from 7.30am until 10.30pm, six days a week. Very often the schools are boarding schools, with students' parents quite often living and working in separate provinces. These students are generally the only child in the family, the product of the Chinese 'one child' policy. During the time of living and working overseas, students reported to me their need to support one another as their parents generally spent their weekends gambling. In students telling me their experiences, and from what I observed and experienced, it became evident that students had their systems of support and rules of engagement within educational institutions. In the ELICOS classroom, it was this type of social and educational formation (students having their own internal support system and rules of engagement within an institution) that I saw reflected in many international students' attitudes and behaviour.

Many students, as primary stakeholders, are part of the rising middle class (Krahas, 2010). This social and economic situation is one of the effects of globalisation with many individuals rapidly gaining wealth. An implication of this phenomenon is a lack of the social and educational formation that typically accompanies wealth. Another implication of the sudden rise to status and power is that parents make enormous demands of their children's academic performance, the parents having significant expectations of what they have purchased—their child's future. With this comes the cultural expectation that when one person rises, all of the

family/social group rises. Thus collective responsibility is placed upon the child and their academic future as realising their parents' and their social group's investment.

In analysing a fuller account of Paula's experiences, it is clear that Paula can identify a monoculture in the classroom as problematic, the forming of a coalition among students, however she does not demonstrate any real awareness of herself as being targeted, as subject to the collective power of students. Rather, she talks about students as 'ganging up' and this 'ganging up' as one of the problems she encounters as part of the ELICOS teaching experience:

> *I usually find if you have a 10–12 week group, that the first two or three weeks they're kind of like frightened rabbits and by the third week they're finding things they're not liking about the culture—that's where it's important to not have a monoculture because they can kind of gang up and decide there is something really wrong with Australia and Australians and—you as the key Australian person that they interact with, sort of embodies that for them. That's where a lot of these kind of problems come from.*

However, Paula does see students' unhealthy attitudes as well as her experience of intimidation, as coming from wealth:

> *I actually find it too hard working with international students from wealthy backgrounds because they are just like I say— teacher is slave. So if I don't do exactly what they want they can—you know— write up petitions and tell my boss to get me sacked and all sort of things.*

Putting teachers' employment at risk is another way of students' exerting their influence as primary stakeholders, as Tina reported:

> *when a student came up, and he knew when I showed him the results that he hadn't passed his response was, 'so will you be teaching me next week? How do I go about changing my teacher then?'*

The nuances in this student's remarks are telling—are these student's questions related to his test results intended as insults? Are they meant to intimidate? Or are they threats? Paula's account shows her resignation to structural weaknesses that provide a doorway for intimidation to be possible. Paula said:

> *once they pay the money you just have to do what you are told or they*
> *can complain and you can lose your job.*

Again, at another time in the interview, Paula gave another instance of student influence that shows overt intimidation and bullying:

> *So if I don't do exactly what they want. they can—you know—write up*
> *petitions and tell my boss to get me sacked and all sort of things.*

Tina's experience of students' exerting power over her employment is also illuminating. Tina said:

> *if too many students leave your class you can —.your hours can be*
> *reduced.*

In this neoliberal teaching context, it is not only Tina's hours that are reduced or Paula's professionalism that is compromised but also their agency.

Another effect of teachers being in a secondary relationship to their students and the institution comes an even more subtle form of pressure to perform, the discursive effect of power, the effect of being in the system. The insecurity in employment that teachers experience, means that the teacher is shaped to serve the educational institution and the student. Paula states:

> *I know that the government for a long time was trying get the*
> *universities and schools to gain a lot of their funds from international*
> *students so —ah—the money speaks louder, so it definitely affects*
> *education and it affects your ability to educate because you have to*
> *make sure that the students are there and no matter what, you have to*
> *make them happy, which means it can be really very difficult if you*
> *are— somebody who is genuine about..um.. teaching people and not*
> *just going in and waiting 'til it is 3'o'clock so you can leave again.*

Again, the many layers of meaning in this account show Paula's experience of a conflict of business and education. Her account shows her awareness of institutional interests, where, as a neoliberal self, she is a manager who takes responsibility for institutional needs (making sure the students are there to teach), while knowing both her teaching professionalism and employment to be fully open to risk. As a neoliberal self, it is evident that Paula has internalised a corporate identity in taking

on business responsibility and risk (Gershon, 2011). Without any means to directly affect the business process (yet expected to encourage repeat business), this institutional/business tension that teachers internalise leaves them with experiences of dissonance and discontinuity.

The effect of two primary stakeholders having power over teachers' employment can be seen in the following account of Tina's experience of intimidation which is, from my experience, a typical one. By typical I am not only claiming the experience as a normal experience in ELICOS teaching but also that within ELICOS as a neoliberal project, teachers have been constructed to be vulnerable to intimidation, and that this construction *invites* intimidation to enter. The data in Tina's account suggests that she willingly and unquestioningly accepts her construction as a neoliberal entrepreneurial self, and sees the student as her client, her student as a consumer as well as her employer. She is, however, unaware that she has constructed her subjectivity through these choices, a subjectivity that disempowers her while reducing possibilities for agency. When asked how she sees the ELICOS sector, Tina replied:

> *well it's a business.. and it is um —very similar to the tourism industry*
> *in that the students are clients—um—its—and they are transient—*
> *they're—they're—they book themselves in for short or long periods*
> *not like a fixed high school or a university where you are —um—are*
> *booked in for a fixed long period of time, and because of that short*
> *period of learning time that they're book into and the fluidity within it*
> *um—that influences our teaching techniques and what we can offer*
> *and do as a teacher because we also have to make our programs fluid*
> *with that as well.*

As a teacher, Tina clearly accepts all these working conditions and more, something that she makes clear:

> *if —our employers adjust something to keep clients —we don't*
> *question it because it will affect our employment. So we will—we will*
> *follow those instructions in that we will adjust our teaching. We will*
> *teach what they are asking.*

While Tina accepts these working conditions, what the data does not make clear is whether she understands fully the situation of this neoliberal construction, that the student being both a client and her employer, puts her in a secondary relationship with her student. On the other hand, her student as a purchaser of the ELICOS product means that her student is in a primary relationship with the educational institution.

Tina as an ELICOS teacher, is in a secondary relationship with both the institution and her student, and in this construction is structurally disempowered. In this secondary positioning, the student has greater power in the relationship, something that opens the way for intimidation to become part of the experience of ELICOS teaching. Although the data showed Tina to be keenly aware of intimidation as par for the course, what is not so clear is whether she understands the connection between her acceptance of her working conditions, the construction of the students, and her experience of intimidation; that in being an ELICOS teacher she is complicit in her own disempowerment. When prompted to explain how students' expectations affected her teaching practice Tina replied:

> *Good example on Friday when I had this class, this beginner class for a week, we test them on Thursday of every week— just a review test of what they have learnt and—and we are talking a very beginner, low level—but their expectations were extremely high because culturally, in their culture— if you're a client and you pay cash you are um—you know you can reasonably expect that um—people will perhaps manipulate a little bit—or—ah—you know you have this—you learn that as a client that perhaps you can put on a bit of pressure. The students were saying 'have I levelled up?' You know unreal expectations, having studied for 4 days in the beginner class and believing that they could possibly level up to the next level—not having any understanding of (sharp intake of breath) the skills and their own abilities to match that level of ability to move up.*

I have included this whole text because the complexity in this text provides a meaningful source of information.

In the interview, the question to which Tina was responding was: *what are some of the ways that student expectations affect your teaching practice?* In the

recounting this example, Tina's storytelling did not flow. Tina's report was constructed by a juxtapositioning of ideas, the provision of a series of conceptual/emotional/psychological worlds: functional workplace descriptions (e.g., teaching and assessment schedule), student expectations of themselves, business exchange expectations, ethical questions, (Tina) confronting unrealistic expectations, experience of pressure (was the student's question about 'levelling up' a question or a threat?), and the impact of student's lack of knowledge.

At the conclusion of this example, I observed Tina's sharp intake of breath, with Tina's body language suggesting that this experiential knowledge came at personal cost. Tina did not set out to provide me with an example of intimidation. The fact that Tina chose this scenario as an example of a way in which student expectations affect her teaching practice frames intimidation as a 'normal' experience. This framing continued in Tina's response to my prompt—*so what happens when you don't move them up?* Tina's reply provided another more explicit example of intimidation and a description of personal cost.

> *Well that was very stressful—I felt it was very stressful—because when a student came up, and he knew when I showed him the results that he hadn't passed his response was 'so will you be teaching me next week? How do I go about changing my teacher then?' I felt pressured, I felt under undervalued and um—and I felt stressed.*

Other more subtle influences on teaching practices in ELICOS, come not from student expectations but from teacher expectations, reasonable expectations of professional teachers that conflict with business agendas. Teachers do not seem to perceive their secondary relationship to their students. As Carol observes:

> *It's all about 'we've got to keep the kids happy, we've got to keep the kids here', so discipline maybe and other matters or different other sort of things does get wiped under the table.*

The business and education conflict come sharply in to view when looking at Carol's following statements, of her beliefs as a professional teacher, her confidence in the school's ELICOS product, and her confidence in her teaching colleagues,

> *You know, I think this is a great school and I think that we—I think that WE offer a fantastic product. I'm not just saying that. I think*

that every teacher here is really committed and really dedicated and
are experienced teachers. And I think the product we offer the kids is
REALLY good quality.

What could be very desirable elements for sustainability, from both an education and business point of view, is brought into conflict the way in which discipline is handled by administration.

Support for teachers in their teaching role also appears to be of secondary importance. Jane identified this lack of support by also citing discipline as an issue, one that impacts on her in her classroom.

It's a bit of a joke for some students to get into trouble because they
know that nothing is going to happen— we think there's a lack of
respect that's not being reinforced for the teachers.

When I prompted Jane to find out more about this by asking: Does that reflect on your teaching practice? Jane responded emphatically:

*Well it **does**.   I don't ask students——I don't just walk around*
playground duty and really ask students to pick up papers. Because in
the past I've asked them to pick up papers and they've looked at me as
if I was a piece of dirt. And they wouldn't do it or they've argued with
me. So I pick my people very carefully or I just walk around and pick
it up and think 'oh well, it is stretching exercise for me'. And if there
is something in the garden I'll just wait and ask someone I know
would do it for me and ask them to do it.

Jane's response is revealing: when asked about how the discipline issue reflects teaching practice, she uses a scenario from outside the classroom to create a compelling description of her teaching experience. Jane's account suggests another effect of normalcy, where Jane is aware of the effects of lack of support in the area of student discipline only outside the classroom through the ways in which she must avoid confrontation with students in order to meet her institutional responsibilities of playground duty.

In considering the competing agendas of education and business, and comparing Carol and Jane's experience, it becomes clear that teachers expectations and opinions of a quality product does not necessarily lead to student satisfaction and

repeat business. On the other hand, earlier analyses showed that student expectations developed through marketing also do not lead these students to expect their education as being of same type and cultural quality that ELICOS teachers deliver.

6.2   Chapter Summary

In response to the research question of how selected ELICOS teachers have experienced the ELICOS system I have analysed the ways in which teachers have been constructed, ways in which they have experienced normalcy, i.e., their subjectivity, to highlight ways in which teachers have exercised agency. As neoliberal subjects constructed to experience their subjectivity and agency as entrepreneurial selves, an analysis of teacher accounts revealed teachers' experience of vulnerability to the system in three areas of concern in this chapter: visa availability, working at the interface of marketing, administration, and teaching, and in teachers' experiences of the acculturation process.

What the data also reveal is that these teachers seemed unaware of the co-construction of their experience, that in the geographical space of their classrooms and their experience of monocultures within those classrooms, were material effects of power. No teacher participant registered any awareness that their experiences of intimidation and bullying had been part of a co-construction within the construction of the ELICOS system. These insights now lead to the third research question, which interrogates students' experience of their construction.

Chapter 7.   Research Question Three

7.0   The Co-construction of ELICOS Students' Experiences

This chapter seeks to explicate subjectivity and agency for ELICOS students as international students[36]. What has been previously mentioned in Chapter Two and alluded to in Chapter Six, is the fact that ELICOS students experience greater levels of complexity than the international students described in Chapter Two. In this way ELICOS students differ from the ideal international student who enters an Australian education system as the result of testing that has validated their English language proficiency as sufficient to meet the demands of an Australian education system. The ELICOS student, in contrast, does not have enough proficiency in English to gain direct entry into a mainstream Australian educational institution. Also, a lower level of language proficiency, more often than not, can be indicative of deficits in a student's proficiency in their native language. This dual disadvantage results in increased learning difficulties. Furthermore, ELICOS students can often experience increased pressure as a result of their motivation for pursuing international education, a motivation which, in the case of collectivist societies, can often be fuelled by family and cultural expectations and desires for upward mobility. Thus these students are often ill equipped, but experience high expectations to succeed.

ELICOS students, as students with a lower level of English language proficiency, must engage in a transition course that can enable them entry (Australian Government, n.d.-a). Students at the lower end of English language proficiency levels are the target market for the ELICOS business model which was invented as a mechanism to create, as well as access this market, a market created by envisioning new consumers, individuals who could be turned into prospective students by making the dream of international education accessible to them. From this perspective, ELICOS is not only an invention but also a business intervention to meet business needs. As well, from this perspective, of ELICOS as a self-serving intervention, ELICOS is inherently oriented towards business: this brings to the fore

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[36] This is not to suggest ELICOS students as a lesser form of international student but to emphasise how ELICOS students carry a much greater load.

the importance of this chapter as it purposively endeavours to represent students and teachers in their

embodied co-construction of student learning experiences within a commercial context.

As described in Section 4.4.1, the complexities of students' construction by the system are unable to be addressed directly in this chapter, as I did not include student interviews. Instead, evidence of student co-construction is drawn from an analyses using teacher accounts, the literature, and personal experience. To create the context for this co-construction I have once more utilised a vignette drawn from a teacher participant's account in a way that makes visible teachers and students in their co-construction of experience. In a reverse move to Chapter Six where I gave an uncritical view of student vulnerabilities, in this chaper I am highlighting teacher vulnerabilities. In this way, these analyses that draw on a teacher's account are artificial constructions that privilege students' experiences while not admitting student vulnerabilities i.e., students as human beings are prone to negative behaviour.

Thus, this chapter engages in a series of analyses aimed at highlighting the dissonances, discontinuities and disconnections in the events of co-construction. These analyses are included and acknowledge the greater complexities in the way that the system has constructed ELICOS students' as subjects and objects. These complexities involve addressing a series of *doubles*: international student and ELICOS student; consumer and learner; *knowing subject* of the system and yet *unknowing subject* in their learning. These series of doubles further complex the relationships at the centre of international education and ELICOS (see Figure 2.3).

The route for this chapter in addressing the research question—*how are ELICOS students constructed by the ELICOS system?*—is to begin by analysing scholarly literature in order to describe the complexities of student subjectivity and agency. This leads to an engagement with the issue of co-construction, beginning with teacher/student co-constructions leading to the triadic relationship that was described as being at the heart of international education (Section 2.2.1). This reveals the role that curriculum can play in empowering student agency in ways that accelerate student learning. The chapter continues by analysing the effects of international students' multiple identities in their co-constructions of identities as primary stakeholders in relationship with ELICOS teachers. The final section of this

chapter brings together the negative behaviours of students (described in Chapter Six) with teacher interpretations in this chapter to understand the nature of the co-construction.

7.1 ELICOS Student Agency

Students are both subjects and objects of knowledge in the invention of ELICOS. This means that what these students are subject to is the set of conditions that also makes possible the invention of the ELICOS business model. Students' agency is a different matter and how students interpret their agency is also contingent on their subjectivity, on the world that they inhabit and that shapes them. As primary stakeholders within the knowledge economy students are also living and operating within the knowledge economy, a neoliberal context in which "the way for individuals to survive—is effectively to brand themselves" (Gray, 2010a, p. 718). Students are engaged in technologies of self (Foucault, 1988b) as they seek to communicate their identity to the world. In the same way that commodities are branded in a way that gives them a distinct market identity, individuals also work to give themselves some distinctiveness (Marginson, 2014a), to stand out from the crowd as neoliberal entrepreneurs. Students' motivation in pursuing international education can be seen as tied to their brand, to their identity, to the neoliberal imperative of individuals shaping themselves into being worthy human capital (Read, 2009).

Conversely, the work of internationalisation is to apply a concentrated focus on student recruitment, and in doing so, educational institutions draw on their own discourses to conceptualise students and make assumptions about the nature of students' goals. Chowdhury (2008) emphasises this positioning of students within the discourse of international education as the way things are: the "dominant discourses of international education construct identities and subject positions for the international student" (Chowdhury, 2008, p. 56). Thus, ELICOS students' subjectivity as primary stakeholders is complex, driven by self-interest and competition (Read, 2009) in order to pursue their future. Commencing, prior to the point of sale, as a hyperrealised subject who wishes to purchase an Australian education, often in pursuit of upward social mobility (Chowdhury, 2008), this subject is drawn to marketing material by their 'will to truth': "Is this particular course of

education for me? Will it benefit me?". Purchase is enacted by their 'will to power', an action of displacement: students' 'will to truth' being displaced by their 'will to power' in the business exchange. This business transaction is the mechanism that transforms a student's experience of being an object of knowledge in the knowledge economy to being *subject to* the discourse of international education. At this point, the prospective overseas student becomes an international student.

This silent transition from a position of power as a purchaser to being subject to the international education discourse has implications for students' experience of subjectivity (Kettle, 2005, 2011). Within Australia, discourses about international students often position international students as lesser than, not in control, or submissive, or even lost. This positioning was clear in Adam's account:

> *the majority of the students went into our high schools in Year 11, and the high schools had to be ready for these students had to hit the ground running—and the high schools had to be ready for these students and often the high schools did not have the time or the expertise to help these kids move along. So the number of students who were lost when they got to high school, who fell through the net— the mesh—was—um was disgraceful.*

The literature also evidenced this positioning. Kettle (2005) notes that international students do not have immediate access to their agency and subjectivity, and are often positioned as being "at sea" (Kettle, 2005, p. 57).

While former international and present international students encourage other students to be proactive agents by deploying strategic engagement with academic course programs in order to achieve academic success (Tran, 2011; Xu, 2012), this type of agency is often not available for ELICOS students. ELICOS teachers observations and interpretations confirm this.

> Carol: *Sometimes the Chinese students might want you to tell them everything and they have to learn how we do things here— We don't do it that way I;m sorry—and no you can't cheat—and you just can't copy slabs of the internet (slight laugh)—and that's not how we do things here.*

Rebecca: *They um—students never ever—they ah give things in—I find are not good at giving things in on time. They ah don't understand the concept of when you want a draft document by a certain date, you might get 6 one day, on another day get another one, none of them—they find it very difficult to get the* <u>*whole*</u> *class on the exact day. The time er—students have poor management of their time, and its something they don't usually develop until they're in Level 5.*

However, ELICOS students, more than international students in general, often lack cultural and local knowledge of the ways in which the dominant group operates, and often lack the skills that the dominant group assumes is universal knowledge, such as knowing how to interrupt and how to ask questions (Kettle, 2005). Without these basic skills, ELICOS students' agency is severely truncated.

Lacking local knowledge of how the dominant group operates, the agency of ELICOS students as low level English language learners puts these students at a greater level of risk as they do not have enough linguistic and cultural capital to seek out answers, or ask questions, or know which questions to ask. Furthermore, these students do not have the language skills to work towards gaining access to local knowledge. This creates an anomalous situation which creates a challenge for their status as primary stakeholder and purchaser of an educational product. This situation for student agency becomes further complicated when considering their construction of multiple identities. On the other hand, there is a promise of agency it is the construction of the student as Section 5.3.3 (see Figure 5.3) describes, a construction whereby the prospective overseas student gains a significant increase in status in their home country upon purchase of the ELICOS product. As well ELICOS students are constructed in a series of doubles, constructed in binary terms. Further to this, these doubles construct ELICOS students as having multiple identities—international student, consumer, learner, and ELICOS student. Some of the implications of this construction of multiple identities is addressed later in Section 7.3.1.

As both purchasers and consumers of international education, ELICOS students have expectations of their purchase based on their motivation to purchase, i.e., their goals and needs. This was confirmed earlier in the literature, when students were described as understanding their learning needs in terms of improvement in

language skills (Y. Zhang & Mi, 2010). However not all students are motivated to learn English. As Jane stated:

> *Well, in Level 1 & 2 I think we would do much better and move much quicker if we had some people for the first few weeks—who spoke the language of the students—to come into the classes with them. But I don't know how you would do that. We've got 4 different language sets here. Because they just don't even understand the most basic things such as 'open your book' and 'close your book' and 'do this homework', and I think that would just help them get along much quicker. What I try to do with Level 5s and we had a lot of new students in when I was teaching Level 5, I got the Chinese liason teacher to come in and just talk to them at lunch time, about how they were going, and I think that helped. So um—we don't seem to have anybody for the Japanese students—um, we just have the soccer people—ah—who are very Japanese themselves. But we have Tan and David who are Vietnamese sort of western mentality so they can talk to the students there. I think that a language issue is whether they really WANT to learn the language. Some students DON'T, their parents told them to get along—you know because they want them to get a better job in China or wherever. Some students really don't WANT to speak English. Only last year two boys in a PE class that I was helping, and they um—and they were Chinese, and I said 'speak English' and they said—they were in the main school in Grade 11 and they said 'why?' And I thought, 'well there you go. Why?'*

On the positive side of language learning, the specific nature of students' expectations are outlined by Bordia et al. (2006, p. 4) who note "based on their needs or language learning goals, students would expect to learn certain aspects of the language more than others. This is similar to consumers who acquire a product or service to meet specific requirements". Having a specific idea of what they have purchased, in terms of the reason for purchasing the product and how the product will meet their life (social, emotional, psychological) needs and plans, means that in the purchase of an educational product, students also have made an emotional

investment. Thus, the purchase of an educational product involves a psychological contract (Bordia, Wales, & Pittam, 2006; Bordia, Wales, Pittman, et al., 2006).

With the purchase of an ELICOS educational product come expectations of the product. As identified previously, once in the classroom, students quickly realise that their learning experience is different from what they have been sold (Doherty & Singh, 2005). In the purchase of an educational product conflicting forces comes into play. Purchasing an educational product means that the student has chosen a brand, forming a bond with this brand. Healy (2007) describes this bond as vertical loyalty. As a primary stakeholder, the purchase of an educational pathway by an ELICOS student forms a different/separate bond with the educational institutions in the pathway, in light of the continuing relationship. Healy describes this different bond as horizontal loyalty, as a bond of equality (as in equal citizens), and horizontal loyalty can describe the bond of the student/institution relationship, both being primary stakeholders in an international context. What becomes problematic at this point is these two dimensions of loyalty (vertical and horizontal) colour students' purchase in a particular way, the purchase being both a financial investment and an emotional investment[37]. In other words, as primary stakeholders in a process of acculturation, students are biased to continually justify their investment as a good decision. Vertical and horizontal loyalty are significant forces: "loyalty can interfere with our deepest convictions . . . It can cloud our ability to be impartial" (Healy, 2007, p. 746). In this way ambivalence comes into play in the experience of product delivery, where the expectations that students have of the product they have purchased come into conflict with the vertical and horizontal bonds that students have formed as primary stakeholders.

In this way, the purchase of an educational product constructs an experience of ambivalence, as students' experience of being 'let down' comes into conflict with the vertical and horizontal loyalties engendered in the purchase of an educational product. Bordia, Wales, and Pitman (2006) note that little research has been done into student expectations of the educational product they have bought, even less has been done in the area of students expectations of language education. In contrast, an

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[37] ELICOS student at high school level are usually very aware (or their parents have made them aware) of the financial investment that has been made in their future. These students are often driven by a need to perform in order to protect the financial investment that has been made to consolidate their future.

increasing number of studies are being done outside the field of education that raise questions of what the purchase of international education means in terms of student expectations, adjustment and adaptation (Kingston & Forland, 2008; Pitts, 2009).

Before coming to Australia, international students cannot know what to expect, therefore (as noted earlier) these students have greater or lesser unrealistic expectations. For example, students cannot know "the differences between what they learn in terms of writing when they prepare for most language proficiency tests and the types and amount of writing that they will be expected to produce during their tertiary level studies" (Agosti & Bernat, 2009, p. 29). This disconnect, between students' expectations of the educational product as improvement in listening, speaking, reading, writing (Y. Zhang & Mi, 2010), and the realisation of the demands of their purchase, gives rise to acculturative stress. This stress can be escalated by students' identity crises encountered in language learning (Norton & Toohey, 2011) that impact on teachers' capacity to facilitate learning within the delivery of the product. As Jane observed of students' experiences:

> *And a couple of students said they thought that if they spoke English too much they would forget their language—they were frightened they were losing their ethnicity and they were becoming western, and that their friends when they went back to China had mentioned how different they were acting.*

These experiences of language learning that affect students' agency are linguistic and cultural issues that students were not able to foresee at the time of purchase. Identity crises, as part of the language learning experience, place students in a highly ambivalent situation where positive changes also happen as students' understanding evolves and they are able to take more control over their learning. Students change their expectations of the educational product they have purchased over time. As Bordia et al. (2006, p. 11) state, "TESOL students, not knowing what to expect, may come with generalised expectations (e.g. good grades) which will evolve into specific expectations during the program of study (e.g. more practice in speaking)". However, the structural disconnect, evident in the expectation-reality discrepancy, remains (Howlett, 2011). In the face of this experience of disconnect, students continue to maintain their belief of proficiency in speaking as the solution for experienced difficulties in their educational experience (Yu & Shen, 2012; Y.

Zhang & Mi, 2010), while at the same time struggling with ambivalence in learning a language that brings them into conflict with their native tongue. Thus, in students' experience of learning in a host country, the expectation-reality discrepancy, acculturative stress, and proficiency in speaking, remain directly correlated (Yu & Shen, 2012).

Having outlined some of the complexities that ELICOS students experience: being set up as entrepreneurs, while not having sufficient language skills to be able to access the necessary local knowledge to be entrepreneurs in learning, and at the same time being constructed with multiple identities, this chapter will proceed by analysing teacher/ELICOS student co-constructions. This aim of these analyses is to reveal dissonance, discontinuity, and disconnection in this co-construction process.

7.2 Teachers' and Students' Co-constructions of Experience

ELICOS teachers as well as ELICOS students are neoliberal subjects. Both teachers and students are shaped by the discursive influences of neoliberalism, with both teachers and students as managers of their own experiences, teachers as entrepreneurs of their teaching role and careers and students as entrepreneurial learners who, as consumers, have expectations of the ELICOS course they have purchased. Thus, addressing the research question requires an interrogation of the teacher as entrepreneur and the student as entrepreneur, examining how they manage their co-constructions and how they might require the educational institution to co-operate in their co-construction.

Using an excerpt from Jane's account I address Jane as a subject and the power position that Jane occupies—teacher as observer: This position of teacher as observer through a Foucauldian lens can be seen as analogous to the controller in the central tower in the Panopticon (Foucault, 1995). This account is further analysed according to two other themes within her account—teacher responsibility, and teacher understanding of acculturation. Inherent in this positioning of teacher as observer, are three elements: teacher interpretation, teacher responsibility, and teacher fears.

Jane as observer of her students interprets their experience in a way that constructs and controls them in a particular way, as seen in Jane's account:

I think some of the students don't realize how hard it is going to be—
and they think, I don't know, that it is just going to happen to them.
So one of the things that we have to—that I have to teach them is to be
organized um—and try to work out—to take responsibility for their
own learning. To try to—they just get into their little—their groups
and they speak their own language, and so they are not really getting
out into the community—

The first part of Jane's account of co-construction is teacher as observer—

I think some of the students don't realize how hard it is going to be—
and they think, I don't know, that it is just going to happen to them.

This observation of the common phenomenon of students' inertia in their learning process arises from the teacher as observer. From a sociolinguistic perspective of language acquisition, student inertia can be understood as a period in learning called the silent period, "a time of negotiation, discovery and conflicting tensions" (Bligh, 2014, p. 2). This is a period of learning where students are building up linguistic and cultural capital. Many students cannot proceed in their learning without first building enough capital to form a framework of understanding (Bligh, 2014). What Jane observes is real, the behaviour she observes is real. However her interpretation of the phenomenon under observation may be a less informed or less complex interpretation of the situation than is possible, or it may be less helpful in meeting student needs.

From a different perspective, what an ELICOS teacher might interpret as inertia might be, for the student, the deployment of silence, using "silence as a strategy for maintaining positive relationships through not engaging in 'face' (*Mianzi*) threatening communicative acts" (Singh & Hui, 2011, p. 2). A Chinese international student may avoid asking teachers questions because it is impolite to ask teachers a question if the student perceives the teacher may not know the answer: the student wishes to avoid the teacher losing *mianzi* (Singh & Hui, 2011). Another possible explanation for student inertia for newly arrived international students, is that inertia is a natural consequence of students suddenly finding themselves in foreign surroundings, a foreign environment in which they are not attuned to constructing new meanings (Ruble & Zhang, 2013). For high school students this experience might be like going to another planet, in that the inner resources that they

would normally rely on to provide sense and meaning are suddenly unavailable to them. This explanation for inertia is a feasible one as the sudden change of countries is the usual experience for ELICOS students, arriving one day and in the classroom the next. In addition, students may not be aware that in arriving in Australia, they have entered an acculturation process that even the most resilient of mature international students find challenging (Smith & Khawaja, 2011). As outlined in detail in Chapter Two (Section 2.4.2), these mature language proficient students rely on strategies of adaptation in order for them to cope with their experience of multiple forces, their subjectivity being involved in a process of conscription and inscription of their bodies in a process of co-construction as these students negotiate adaption and change (Wu & Mak, 2012).

Returning now to the teacher's observation and anticipated response to students' inertia means that this teacher constructs and co-constructs her students in particular ways. Without other possible explanations this teacher has to confront student inertia and still make meaning in the situation. Student inertia then becomes an issue for teacher capability, identity, and class management skills, as in the face of (cross-cultural) inertia it seems as though the teacher is unable to make meaning. Without the student being equipped with language and cultural skills (Ling & Tran, 2015), this teacher cannot meet the teaching challenge of supporting the student to overcome the inertia. How can this teacher work with a student without being able to, in some way, discuss this problem with the student? How can she interact with a student who does not have the language capability to offer a possible explanation for their behaviour?

In general, ELICOS students at this level of language learning do not have the language comprehension to understand what it is that the teacher might require of them in order to help them move forward. Such a situation would require advanced language skills. If the student is in a silent period of language learning then it is questionable that moving these students forward is an appropriate or helpful strategy for the student's learning processes. In order for the teacher to move forward—the teacher also being stuck at this point of disconnection—the teacher has to make some meaning, which in this case is to project the teacher's less complex meanings onto the student—*and they think, I don't know, that it is just going to happen to them.* The inserted phrase *I don't know* seems to reflect the teacher's inability to draw on

greater meaning in the situation. In this situation of co-construction of teacher and student experience, both teacher and student are stuck. Neither the teacher nor the student is able to move forward.

Teachers' understanding of their ELICOS teaching role as a professional teacher plays a significant role in co-construction, the role generally being understood as supporting and enabling student formation for present and future learning within Australian educational institutions. This is clearly the intent and goal of this teacher when she says—*So one of the things that we have to—that I have to teach them is to be organized um—and try to work out—to take responsibility for their own learning.* In this co-construction it is doubtful that the teacher is aware that she is working in a monolingual oriented system, and less aware of the implications that can come from this situation. As the theory of subjectivity and normalcy in Chapter Three has described, this teacher is unaware of her own subjectivity, of the cultural demands that she is subject to, and in this she is unaware of the blinding power of her own subjectivity.

In an Australian setting, for a teacher to do anything less than be involved in students' formation would be considered an indictment of teaching professionalism. However from the students' perspective, it is not clear if, when purchasing the ELICOS product, they were informed that formation in the use of academic English and high school culture would be part of the process of learning. Also what is not clear is if the student, at the time of purchase, was aware that that their learning would involve dramatic changes that would not only require a much greater level of language ability to comprehend what was being required, or that this level of language learning would also initiate a series of identity crises. This latter concern was raised by Jane:

> *And a couple of students said they thought that if they spoke English too much they would forget their language. Uh—not too often but I can remember once someone saying they were frightened they were losing their ethnicity and they were becoming western, and that their friends when they went back to China had mentioned how different they were acting—it's terribly hard to get them to speak English. There's only ever one or two who WANT to. And if they want to speak*

English their friends say to them 'why are you speaking English'. You know 'who do you think you are?'

Within a monolingual oriented system, what is being required of the student in their formation is that they must absorb and reflect Western education values and beliefs in their language acquisition. Was the student informed of this possibility? Was the student aware that their prior educational formation would constitute a significant clash with their prior educational formation? It would seem important to provide the student with information so that an informed decision could be made regarding the ELICOS purchase (Ling & Tran, 2015). However, it is difficult to know how much information to give? And what constitutes enough information? On the other hand, if students' prior educational formation meant that they relied on a close relationship with their teacher to help them through the learning process (Han, 2005), how would they be helped to transition to a different mode of learning, so that it did not exacerbate their experience of loneliness (Wu & Mak, 2012) and homesickness? Would it be possible for their Australian teacher to help students make this transition if the teacher was not familiar with the experience of acculturation or did not have experience in learning another language? Would students want to change? Or would the change be something forced upon them by their own or their parent's financial investment in their future? The unaddressed discontinuity and presence of disconnection in educational formation within the ELICOS teaching context would seem to present a barrier to a fruitful co-construction of experience by student and teacher.

The third part in analysing the teacher and student co-construction is the most difficult and problematic one: the teacher's understanding of student acculturation. Teacher accounts in the previous chapter evidenced their experience of student acculturation. However their explanations and descriptions did not reveal any substantial understanding of the process of acculturation. Despite this, it was clear that all teachers recognised troubled behaviours that could be attributed to acculturation. Teacher accounts did not contain any evidence of confidence that their concerns around student behaviours could and would be adequately addressed by themselves or by the educational institution that employed them. What teachers did observe and interpret correctly was the potential for monocultures to form—*they just get into their little—their groups and they speak their own language, and so they are*

not really getting out into the community. In this study, teacher accounts revealed that the presence and effects of monocultures in the classroom was their most significant problem as it not only seriously threatened teachers' agency but it also seriously threatened teachers' well-being. This was a common and significant element in all five teacher participants' accounts. For Carol when one large group who held status in the student community came to class and all spoke in their own language: ***that's*** *a big issue*. Paula named it as the source of abuse as well as the source of escalation of abuse: *in the ELICOS teaching context because they can kind of gang up and decide there is something really wrong with Australia and Australians and—you as the key Australian person that they interact with, sort of embodies that for them. That's where a lot of these kind of problems come from.* Rebecca described monocultures in terms of four language groups: *But continual talking and dialects of 4 or 5 different groups can be overwhelming AND—at the moment I have a whole class of all Chinese except one, you can feel very isolated from the group—which is a strange thing to say when you're the teacher.* Tina understood monocultures in terms of students separating themselves *Those who separated themselves—arrrhhh—they struggled with language because they're struggling with the culture—they separated themselves from the culture ——and you can't learn a language separate from—including the culture its impossible.* For Jane, monocultures are a teaching challenge *they just get into their little—their groups and they speak their own language*

The potential for monocultures developing is particularly problematic to ELICOS teachers the least of which is because of the co-relation between success in language learning and success in having positive cultural learning experiences. Positive experiences of student acculturation is usually understood by ELICOS teachers as the means to gain knowledge and acceptance of western academic conventions. This assumption embedded in their teaching role, is an assumption that creates colonising tendencies in teaching practice. The colonising effects of the English language is something that many second language learners are generally aware of to some degree, and understand cultural implications as something to be simultaneously avoided and negotiated (Chanock, 2010; Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2008; Guo & Beckett, 2012). This aspect creates a reticence in students (Chanock, 2010) as they take up the challenge of learning English in a foreign country. ELICOS

students are constructed within a native speaking country in terms of deficit (Benzie, 2010). This construction of their experience becomes a co-constructed one when teachers fail to understand the sociopolitical implications involved in language acquisition.

Monocultures in Chapter Six were shown to produce fear and stress in teachers' experience. However, the desire to form cultural groups can be understood as a natural one: during the time of living and working in a foreign country I gained an overwhelming desire to hear and speak my own native language. This experience provided me with an abiding insight and I was often surprised that teachers did not draw on this understanding from their own experience, or imagined experience of loneliness and homesickness. Generally, teachers responded negatively to the presence of monocultures because as the previous chapter showed in detail, that monocultures mean trouble, stress, and general distress for teachers, particularly in an unsupported teaching environment. The presence of monocultures also had implications for discipline and how the administration would handle discipline. As Chapter Six also showed, the development of monocultures could be traced to the business interests of educational institutions. The development of monocultures was also traced back to marketing, where successful marketing initiatives by agents in particular countries meant the recruitment of groups of students from those areas, and these students would be processed and sent as a group. While a DOS might desire to have a cultural mix in the classroom, if the student cohort is largely one culture, it is a challenge for the DOS to strategise and prevent monocultures forming within classes as the DOS must respond to the business administration issues that marketing generates.

Monocultures are a barrier to successful teacher/student co-constructions. Often negative co-constructions result from monocultures being strengthened by students' own perception of themselves as consumers. This situation is exacerbated by students experiences of their construction by the system, where the impact of the series of doubles—as both learner and consumer, as international student and ELICOS student, as *knowing subject* of the system and yet *unknowing subject* in their learning—create an conflicting foundation for student identity. These conflicting identities can be seen as strengthening the need for ELICOS students to gather together in order to create meaning in place of the lack of meaning that these

doubles create. The entrepreneurial student needs the strength of the group to satisfy their subjective construction. As a co-constructed experience, and as the previous chapter evidenced, teachers are frightened by the presence of monocultures. In contrast, the most obvious motivation for monoculture formation is students need to gain a return on their or their parent's financial investment as well as their own need to see themselves succeed. As ELICOS students as international students have been objectified within the virtual reality of international education, this makes necessary the support of their peers, particularly as their peers can create an experience of the home country through communicating in their native language. From this perspective, being part of a monoculture would seem necessary to the students' survival and well-being.

This section has outlined some of the discontinuities and disconnections in teacher/students relationships, which, as previously outlined sit uneasily as teachers are not primary stakeholders.

7.3   Co-constructions of Students' Learning Experiences

Co-construction of the student learning experience in terms of power and power relations was seen in Chapters Six and Seven to be largely negative. This was shown to be due to the construction of teachers and students within the ELICOS system. In the context of the triadic relationship within international education—the educational institution, the teacher and the student—co-construction would seem less achievable yet necessary for student satisfaction in their ELICOS experience. What follows is a product of my own experience of student construction by the system. What I experienced as important for effective teaching in a multilingual, multicultural classroom to enable positive and even life-changing learning was the choice of DOS that educational institution employed, that is to say the professionalism and the expertise that the DOS brought to their role. As part of the co-construction, what also was significant was the way in which students' interpreted what was being offered as positive learning experiences for students. As Chapters Two and Six showed, prior educational formation often acts as a barrier to being able to interpret new and different ways of learning as positive. Thus co-construction requires a number of elements for the experience that is generated to be one that the institution, students, and teachers welcome.

The tool of choice in enabling positive co-construction in learning is the curriculum that the college utilises for student learning. The curriculum and the way in which it is chosen or developed affects how students understand their present learning experience—a prescriptive curriculum focuses student learning towards successful exit testing while a themed curriculum can enable students to grasp that the way in which they learn is important. A themed curriculum[38] equips them for future learning while they prepare for successful exit testing. Thus, curriculum choice can be either in line with business interests or in line with educative interests and this depends on individual ELICOS centres and their educational setting, with the choice often being given over to the DOS. The choice of curriculum also directs how teachers see and experience themselves tasked as professionals. While these understandings of curriculum are common knowledge within mainstream education, there is a difference in how they might be enacted in ELICOS. An ELICOS teaching context is different in that it is a multilingual, multicultural teaching context, constructed by diversity, requiring teacher centred, student centred, and classroom centred teaching for effective learning (Senior, 2002, 2008). Whether the curriculum is chosen as a top-down process or developed through teacher involvement has a discursive effect on teachers: either they understand their teaching role being functionally oriented to successful exit testing, or their professional focus is student centred, working to scaffold and equip students for future learning within Australian educational institutions. If the former, then co-construction involves a top-down teacher instruction model where the teacher is a technician where agency of the consumer/learner agency is limited to following instructions. If the latter, then this constitutes a dynamic interaction between teacher and consumer/learner as the teacher encourages the student to taken an entrepreneurial approach to learning. Together, students and teachers engage in a continuing task of critique and resistance of the colonising tendencies in language, with teachers continually reframing students' learning experiences in a multilingual teaching context.

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[38] A themed curriculum is in line with Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) Content and Language Integrated Learning, "is an umbrella term covering teaching contexts in which subject content is taught through another language." (Bentley, as cited in Calvino, 2012, p. 3). A themed curriculum in an ELICOS teaching context is a curriculum that content of subject areas are organised according to themes so that learners are developing and using the same or similar vocabulary across a wide range of subjects.

In terms of positive co-construction in teaching and learning, institutional support is vital to positive outcomes. Without support, teachers working out of their own professional knowledge and language teaching expertise, are not only constrained by the system, but more often than not, these teachers lack credibility in their students' eyes. Students as consumers look to the institution for a framework of understanding to assess if what they, the student as consumer, are receiving in learning is value for money, and to also assess if the teachers have the capability to ensure their successful exit results. These anxieties were shown in Chapter Six to lie behind the pressure that is commonly put on teachers by ELICOS students. This makes a prescriptive curriculum very appealing to the ELICOS student (shown later as impossible to reconcile with a themed curriculum). The prescriptive curriculum has clear predictable lesson plans for particular days of the week, designed so that at any point a teacher might be changed/replaced without any disturbance to students or their learning. Students' are given material that they can easily recognise and work with, and as the literature evidences in Chapter Two, international students' prior experience of learning English has been mostly a grammar based translation approach. This means that students expect a grammar-translation approach, and consider all other approaches to be wrong (Midgley, 2010; Stanley, 2008, 2013). This individual top-down approach in developing the curriculum as prescriptive aligns with an entrepreneurial form of working. In my experience a prescriptive curriculum did benefit the educational institution as well as solve many administrative issues for a DOS, as continuity problems were minimized by the predictability of the curriculum. The educational institution could boast to the prospective students that their financial investment was well protected in that there would never be a day when their financial investment would be at risk due to teacher unavailability. While student learning was facilitated using this methodological tool of a prescriptive curriculum, students were not resourced for the next step, to meet the demands and challenges that future learning experiences in Australian education systems would generate.

My experience of ELICOS students is that they usually like a prescriptive curriculum, perceiving a prescriptive curriculum as straightforward, as providing clear links between what is expected and what they will achieve. In terms of agency, it puts the student in control of their learning and in control of their financial

investment. The curriculum is non-challenging in the sense it uses the textbook that accompanied their purchase of the ELICOS course (and would have played a part in their decision to sign up with the particular educational institution). The textbook represents their choice and so it reflects the agency of the student. When purchasing an ELICOS product, the textbook is the central to the purchase. This was noted by Brianna: *we know where our market is, and the market likes a book*. At the very least, for the purchaser the textbook symbolises the sale. Providing a textbook as part of the sale of education is also the way in which language products are sold in other countries. Further to this is students' conceptualisation of language: Asian countries generally have a structural view of language, improving the parts will improve the whole (Stanley, 2013). What is clear is that a prescriptive curriculum maintains students' cultural identity while engaging in short term agency. This form of agency is limited because it focuses student agency on the negotiation of a prescriptive form of learning, without necessarily providing any formation in needed skills for the cultural experience of academic learning.

A prescriptive curriculum comes with more than one cost. How do teachers keep students engaged while they were moving through the acculturation process (and the pressure of this process)? How might a monolingual teacher interpret student behaviour manifesting as lack of engagement? This lack of engagement was highlighted by Adam:

> *I experienced incredible shock as I went around classrooms and sat in classrooms, and watched teachers teach prescriptively—and students falling asleep, students not engaged, students—bored, absolutely bored—and learning nothing. I think that was the greatest shock to my system.*

The ELICOS product, while being marketed as high school preparation and delivered by way of a prescriptive curriculum, was not structured to prepare students for their experience of high school culture and high school learning. This disconnection was also experienced by Adam:

> *so the shock I experienced with the students—not having any of that (formation in high school culture and learning), just the prescriptive format in books that were totally unrelated to what was going to happen in high school. It was very frightening.*

In coming to the position of DOS, Adam had inherited the methodologies and strategic approaches of the previous DOS. The change of DOS was a change of curriculum methodology and practice, from a DOS who designed and used a prescriptive curriculum to a DOS who utilised a themed curriculum, there was a completely different experience for teachers and students, curriculum as a tool for teacher and student empowerment. The new DOS developed the curriculum through teacher input, with themed content aligned to high school subjects and culture. This curriculum was supported by collegiality and background theorising and intentional student formation. The change in students was phenomenal. Students began to think about their future learning needs and understood their content learning more broadly. Teachers engaged in imaginative pedagogies, while challenging students to develop their own strategies for learning according to Western beliefs and values. This was not a covert form of colonisation but was learning that engaged in a critical view of language learning with the teachers encouraging students to recognise and value linguistic and cultural differences between their native language and the English language. In recognising these structural and aesthetic differences, students became clearer about what was being expected of them in using academic English as well as gaining some understand of why it was expected of them. The effect of this process of learning was remarkable. Students not only shed many of their anxieties that accompany language learning and that also emerge from the acculturation process, student engagement with their learning increased dramatically, accelerating their progress. The goal of learning for students changed from language proficiency to self-empowerment. This was evidenced by Adam:

> *For the teachers who ran with it, they ran with the new curriculum – they expanded, and expanded and expanded and the children were learning English at a much faster rate because you also had teachers who twigged that they had very bright students with them and by teaching to this—the ability of these students, and challenging these students I saw an incredible lift, incredible lift in the attitudes of the students, their self-confidence. They were going to go into high schools with a lot better attitude. Still – time is such a big factor. The pressure on every teacher to achieve certain things to get the marks in—made it very difficult. The old system of having to have marks that*

the parents could see, read reports, end of term reports to show like this prescriptive book that we had to have, that their children were studying hard is totally against really what the children should have had. They should've had more ability to expand and grow in that time rather than have percentages.

Without focusing on exit testing, students' scores within forty weeks were well above those that resulted from a prescriptive curriculum, a desirable situation for all three stakeholders, students, teachers and the educational institution. The difference in outcomes between these two different types of curriculum, lay largely in valuing and enhancing teacher professionalism, which amplified teacher agency to facilitate students' formation in students' long term agency for future flourishing.

Having analysed the triadic relationship in terms of student agency, the following section adds another aspect to student agency—students' multiple identities. These considerations of the construction of multiple identities within the business model as a co-construction, these multiple identities of ELICOS students as then considered in terms of teacher/student relationships.

7.3.1 Multiple identities and agency

Figure 7.1 is a more complex view of the triadic relationship at the heart of the ELICOS business model. As a panoptic top-down model of centralised institutional power, the educational institution constructs both teacher and student identities. In an earlier description, in the successful recruitment by the educational institution prospective students enjoyed a change of status as their identification label now changed from overseas student to international student as did their subjectivity. What were objects for them—the educational institution and their offer of access to international education—were now virtual realities they had now become subject to. At this point their agency had now changed, and with the increase in constructed identities so their experience of subjectivity would change also. Figure 7.1 reveals the multiple identities of ELICOS students as neoliberal subjects, entrepreneurs, institutional identity, primary stakeholder, consumer, and learner. These identities become further complicated when considering the tensions in the multiple doubling described in Section 7.1.
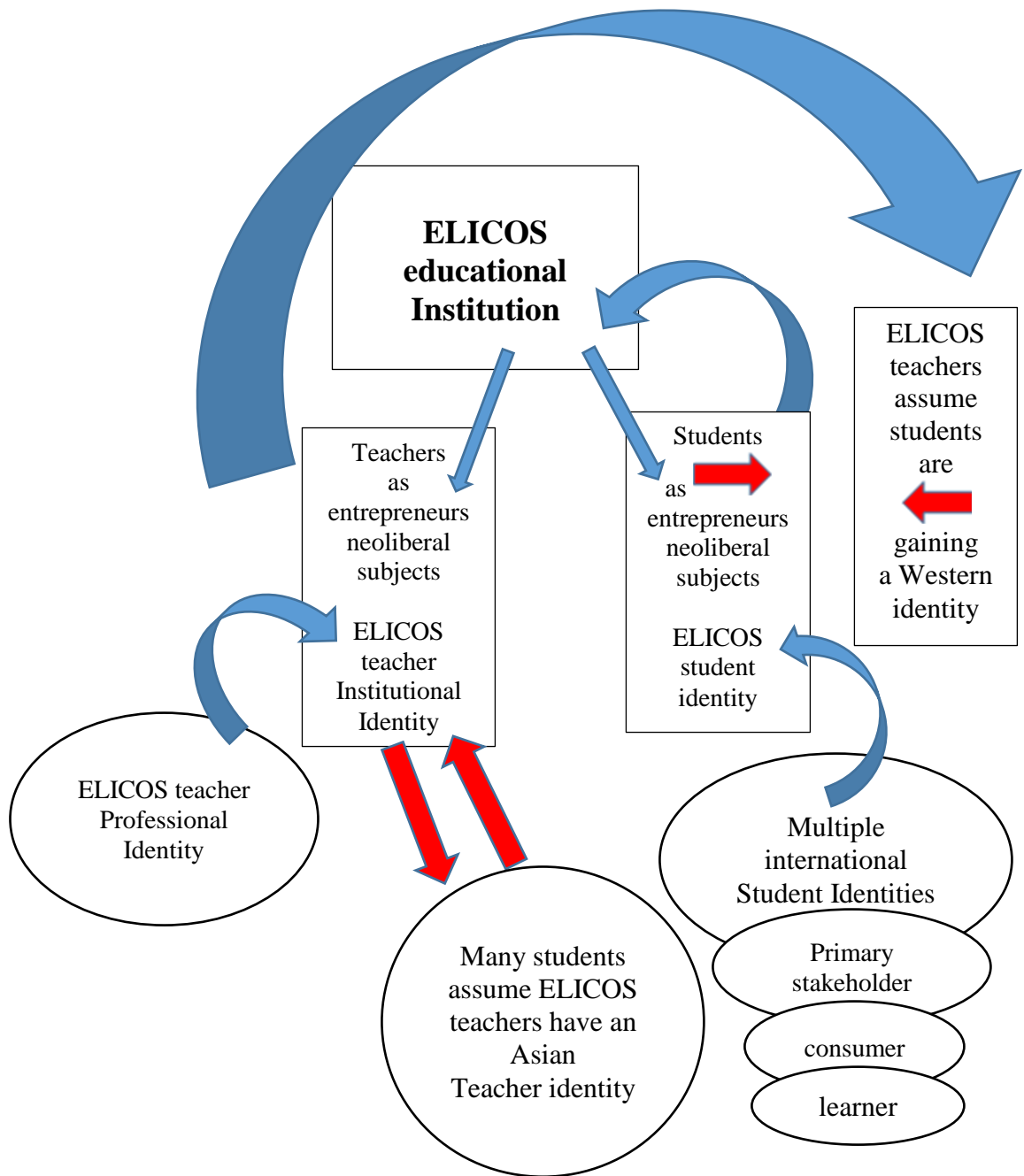
Figure 7.1. ELICOS teachers' and international students' identities

ELICOS teachers, on the other hand, have three visible identities as neoliberal subjects, entrepreneurs, and their institutional identity as ELICOS teachers. However, teachers have another identity that is invisible to the ELICOS system; that is their professional identity, an identity that the ELICOS business model does not allow because of its construction of teaching as a workplace activity (Crichton, 2003). Teacher professionalism is also an identity which in Section 2.41 was shown as unrecognisable by students within different cultural contexts—at best the

professionalism of ELICOS teachers might be distorted and at worst dismissed as nonsense.

On the other hand, with the majority of international students coming from Asia, the literature shows that international students often assume or want their teacher to have an Asian teacher identity, to teach according to their prior educational experiences, at least initially (Han, 2005; Stanley, 2012, 2013). Conversely it is doubtful, because of these assumptions or desires, whether ELICOS students are able to recognise the professionalism of their teachers. Also in doubt is their ability to easily recognise these different teaching approaches as valid. At the same time, ELICOS teachers would be generally unaware that they are teaching developing bilinguals/plurilinguals in a monolingually-oriented system. As teacher accounts evidence, teachers assume (and their professionalism requires) that students are gaining a Western identity—their uncritical acceptance of their role suggests teachers being subject to the culture in which their own identity is embedded. This excerpt from Rebecca's account evidences such subjectivity.

> *I'm trying to teach them how to do a discussion after doing a science experiment, and they cannot see um that a discussion is about relating everything they've been studying to a conversation, a summary—they can't understand how to—and they try to look for an 'exactness' that's not there. They need to be more fluid and just you know, just 'give it a go'...but they're getting very- I don't know what the word is- fossilized, very narrow, and they can't do this- just what I think and we'll wait and see what the teacher says. They're just afraid to 'go'*

What is also clear from this demonstration of subjectivity is something of the constraint of Rebecca's agency. Without recognition of the students as well as her own construction of subjectivity, Rebecca is unable to provide the necessary scaffolding that can enable students to construct themselves differently.

What is also hidden from view is whether or not ELICOS students are aware of the multiple identities constructed for them. While many ELICOS students might see the potential for developing new and exciting identities, it is doubtful that students, in being subject to the ELICOS institution and ELICOS discourse, would be aware of how the system has constructed them. This construction is only available in hindsight (Chowdhury & Le Ha, 2014). What is also not immediately

transparent is that the business model that the educational institution has used in order to recruit students is one that is also constructed, yet the business model which itself is subject to various influences is constructed in a way that means that it is unable to critique itself. What Figure 7.1 shows is that an irresolvable dissonance exists between students' unacknowledged multiple identities with their internal tensions, and teachers' assumption of their students as developing monolinguals. In another act of unresolved co-construction, students look to their teacher in ways drawn from previous learning and socialisation experiences in their home countries. These tensions and subsequent conflicts that arises from a variety of dissonances, discontinuities and disconnections are represented in red within Figure 7.1.

7.4   Drawing Data Together

This section draws together the outcomes of data analyses in Chapter Six together with the data analyses of Chapter Seven. This chapter began by drawing on literature to provide a picture of ways in which ELICOS students' subjectivities and agencies are constructed by ELICOS, and as mobile learners in knowledge economy. International education objectifies students in a way that both advantages and disadvantages them as primary stakeholders because what objectifies them is also what they will be subject to. As part of their objectification, students as entrepreneurial neoliberal subjects also brand themselves in order to stand out from the crowd. In participating in international education, ELICOS students are also constructed as entrepreneurial neoliberal selves, with subsequent expectations of their selves to perform. ELICOS students are also constructed with multiple identities that generate internal and external conflicts. ELICOS students' agency is compromised in their unacknowledged multiple identities. Students' agency is also compromised in their purchase of an ELICOS product as well as in its delivery because they become subject to the dominant discourse, blinded by the normalcy of a foreign culture.

After describing students' agency, the chapter then proceeded by shining a light on student's experience of learning in Australia through the lens of student and teacher co-constructions. A series of analyses made visible the ways in which these co-constructions were experienced, seeing co-constructions could have both positive and negative outcomes. This finding was followed by turning to the core concern of

this study, the triadic relationship at the heart of local Australian international education, where co-construction was understood to involve the work of institutions, teachers, and students. Turning now to the educational institution the following section considers further the institution's part in co-construction. The aim of the following section is to uncover how the institution constructs teachers and how this might impact on teacher/student co-constructions.

7.4.1 Negatively triangulated co-constructions

The triadic co-constructions have been revealing as teacher and students are involved in continuing acts of co-construction. The educational institution as the third party in the co-construction exercises institutional power as well as disciplinary power. These powers, in having a top-down directionality, have a triangulating effect on the multiple identities of the primary stakeholder as well as the ELICOS teacher as a secondary stakeholder whose construction of institutional identity denies professionalism. On the other hand, teachers in the ELICOS system see themselves as teachers through their professionalism, as their efforts to prepare students for their future learning reveal.

The ELICOS sector, the ELICOS industry, ELICOS centres as well as ELICOS students are reliant on teachers to activate the business model at the micro level. At the same time, the business model places full responsibility of student success in exit testing squarely on the shoulders of teachers. At the ELICOS educational institution, teachers are responsible for producing outcomes. And this responsibility is absolute. If students are not successful in moving to the next level within the ten week term, or successful in exiting to feeder institutions, the teacher is to blame. In addition, if a student is aware they are not succeeding, again the teacher is to blame. From both sides, the result is the same. The teacher's employment is on the line—whether by the institution's judgment or the student's judgement, the outcome is the same. Students as consumers were seen in the previous chapter to have the power to precipitate a teacher's dismissal. In this situation of total responsibility for student success, the only recourse that the teacher has is to make the student perform, and this demand on students is in order to address teachers' responsibilities as well as keep themselves employable. These conditions that frame teaching experience construct teachers to be in a no-win position. These conditions also construct the teacher to be driven by their own need to survive. In this way, the

system constructs teachers to use students for their own benefit. It is this orientation to abuse that is at the core of teachers' construction.

7.5   Chapter Summary

Drawing this analysis of teacher construction together with the outcomes of Chapter Six, where students were shown to be engaging in intimidation and bullying as par for the course, the seriousness and dangers of these constructions begin to emerge. Students in Chapter Six, in being consumers as well as learners could be seen to be protecting their interests as they pressured teachers to conform to their investment needs. Teachers have been shown in Chapter Seven to be constructed to put their needs first in order to survive. This raises the question of what this might mean in terms of co-construction. Are teachers and students constructed with only the potential to abuse? Or is there more to the situation? With teachers always experiencing themselves in a secondary relationship to their students, teachers are always at risk from students' interpretation and the outcome of students' life experiences. Does increasing pressure on teachers to accommodate students' needs increase the capacity to abuse? As the tension mounts in their teacher/student relationship, does their relationship escalate the behaviours of abuse?

My data analyses would say, yes. At a surface level as teachers are constructed by the NEAS framework, ELICOS teachers are given agency by being employed to teach students. Below this surface level the system disempowers and even can be seen as punishing teachers in their participation in the ELICOS workforce. This thesis has evidenced the marketing of the ELICOS educational product as exacerbating this problem as the expectations of students were discontinuous with the expectations of ELICOS teachers and with the students' classroom experiences. ELICOS students were seen as subject to their construction by the dominant ELICOS discourse while teachers were seen to be subject to their Australian culture and training as Australian teachers. In contradistinction, neoliberalism was shown to constructs educational institutions and governments to reap economic and political benefits as these businesses seek opportunities and their competitive advantage in the global markets. The construction of students and teachers as oriented to co-construction of abuse becomes even more problematic when placed in the research context, where it has been shown through the series of analyses I have conducted

throughout this thesis, that the ebb and flow of the market forces reach down into the classroom. This ebb and flow was manifested in the presence of monocultures in the classrooms and in teachers' experiences arising from insecure employment, this ebb and flow as market forces was found to be operative in teacher and student co-constructions.

Chapter 8. Conclusions

8.0 Some Answers to the Research Questions

In responding to the three research questions, this study has been focused on the performativity of the ELICOS business model in terms of power, subjectivity and agency. Performativity was evidenced in the illumination of dissonances, discontinuities, and disconnections, where the damage resulting from these has been seen as the work of illusions within the ELICOS system. My aim in the design of the three research questions was to both interrogate performativity of ELICOS as a project, product, and process, as well as (at the end of the study) to provide some possible answers. This chapter discusses the findings of this study in order to put forward some possibilities for change or even transformation, these suggestions being the seeds of hope this thesis offers to the ELICOS project, product and process..

Addressing Research Question One (which interrogated the ELICOS business model in terms of external and internal influences in Chapter Five), required utilising multiple sources of data that uncovered and evidenced the strategic work of institutional power. This evidence revealed the play of institutional power in industry alliances within international education as being oriented toward increasing complexity and confusion rather than towards coherence of the system, as well as empowerment for the various stakeholders. Marketing was seen to construct a hyperreality in which education was reduced to a simulacrum as a way to create appeal for consumers in overseas markets. This reduction of linguistic and cultural data through a process of localisation however engendered loss for the educative component. As well, the influence of branding was seen as an intensification of the desire of consumers, a desire to consume the reduced educational product. This desire together with the marketing of the product was shown to have effects on teachers and students, effects that normally remain hidden within the dominant discourse. On the other hand, the NEAS framework (constructing the ELICOS teaching context) was seen as resistant to both external and internal influences. This construction of resistance was found to have implications for the ELICOS business

model, the NEAS framework being subject to its own founding illusions. This neoliberal construction has meant that the ELICOS business model as a neoliberal project is unable to critique its own subjectivity, a subjectivity that was shown to have negative implications for the sustainability of the business model.

The valorisation of the ELICOS business model was shown at the micro level to have significant implications for teachers and students. This became evident in addressing Research Questions Two and Three, in the analyses of the agency of teachers and students. When the core relationships were viewed through the lens of co-construction of meaning, these relationships were shown to be abusive. The construction of ELICOS teachers was shown to be the most problematic construction in the ELICOS system. Within the ELICOS teaching context teachers are absolutely responsible for customer satisfaction as well as responsible for the successful exiting of students. Furthermore, this neoliberal business model that constructs teachers as entrepreneurs is a model where successful outputs are the bottom line. This construction means that teachers as entrepreneurs of their careers are even further at risk as these teachers' employment is highly insecure. At the same time teachers' employment is subject to ELICOS students' expectations, desires, students' lack of understanding of their learning needs as well as the power of ELICOS students as consumers (consumers who have paid a huge amount of money for their course). It is these combination of factors that show the ELICOS system constructs ELICOS teachers to abuse students. Chapter Seven, in addressing Research Question Three, revealed that students are constructed to increase the pressure on teachers to abuse students as a means to job security.

While transformation of the NEAS quality assurance framework may not be immediately practical, interim responses are possible and recommended. One possible answer to ameliorating the abusive potential in the construction of the business model could be to increase teachers agency and professionalism through: (a) secure employment; (b) specialised training that includes psychological and sociological understandings of acculturation, intercultural communication, and applied linguistics that is not bound by Eurocentricism; (c) teachers receiving extra classroom support when business needs dictate there is a monoculture in the classroom (in terms of student mix); (d) resourcing teachers with multilingual pedagogical approaches; and (c) these resources being supported by teachers

personal experiences of learning an additional language. Specialised training was seen as important as all the teacher participants agreed when asked this question (see Question 19, Appendix B). As an example, Jane went on to say:

> *well I think you definitely do. Its—it's a WHOLE different way of learning and teaching and also—there's all the SOCIAL aspects of it, its not just how the brain works in learning a second language there's just all the cultural things that someone needs to talk to you about and tell you about. And then there's all the emotional side of it, of coming away and the homesickness and the problems that they can get into and being young people away from their parents. I definitely do think you need training, yes.*

Within the triadic student/teacher/educational institution relationship, ELICOS students were shown as constructed to abuse teachers as a means to realise the significant financial and personal investment they have made in their future. This construction meant that students' first priority was to monitor their investment while maintaining control over any perceived loss of return on investment. This was made more complicated by their possibilities for agency, and made more complex by students' anxieties as a speaking subject, the skill of speaking being their least confident language skill. In addition, monitoring their investment/language learning experience was seen to set up a counterproductive situation in that ELICOS students as consumers are also learners who are subject to the normalisation of discourse. This subjectivity and diminished agency imposed by students participation in international education is neither the fault of the student nor the teacher but is part of the business model's construction of students. Within an ELICOS transition course, in order to protect their financial and personal investment, ELICOS students have to work to understand what it is they perceive they need in order to exit successfully.

Without educational intervention, students' understanding of exit testing is built on prior educational and social formations. What students generally may not have considered is their future learning needs may be different from the educational and linguistic skills that they presently have. Structurally, what is hidden from students is what they need to learn in order to succeed in their future Australian learning contexts. Thus, some recommendations coming from this complex situation might be: (a) to provide prospective students with relevant and timely information of

their future learning; (b) for the ELICOS transition courses to be transnational; and (c) a supportive orientation in home country component that resources students to negotiate their learning experiences in Australian education systems, including the ELICOS centre as the first step in the educational pathway.

Within Australia, one possible answer for addressing the issue of acculturation raised by Research Questions Two and Three, is the inclusion of a pastoral care program within an ELICOS curriculum. The program of the type I am recommending is one that I was involved in developing and delivering, a program aimed to provide ELICOS students with necessary sociocultural information. This program was designed to reduce ELICOS students' anxiety arising from their sudden, overnight experience of living in a foreign country by delivering timely and relevant information. This information addressed issues arising from living within the host city (e.g., providing information about how to use public transport), providing information around Australian sociocultural values and codes (e.g., ways of showing and receiving respect), water safety (e.g., the dangers of the surf), sun safety (e.g., drinking water and using sunscreen), personal safety (e.g., information about students' personal rights enshrined in Australian child protection laws as well as informing students about ways of staying safe), as well as codes of behaviour in Australian high schools. The demonstrated success of this program in supporting the learning and social needs of ELICOS students gives me confidence to recommend this strategy as one needing immediate attention and implementation wherever appropriate so that upon arrival in the host country, students have direct means of access to this information and type of support.

The absence of students' learning needs within the business model has consequences. This was shown in the study to problematise educational marketing, with educational marketing having consequences beyond the successful recruitment of students: the process of educational marketing together with students' engagement with the marketing material creates a perception of institutional obligations (Bordia, 2007; Bordia et al., 2015). However, what happens when students perceive that the institution is not meeting its obligations? What this study of performativity in ELICOS has also shown was that without institutional regulation and support, students' unmet expectations of the product they have bought are experienced by teachers in the form of bullying and intimidation. International students need timely

and appropriate information (Bordia, 2007) in order to reduce their anxieties around the educational product they have purchased, shoring up their understanding of what might be needed for successful exiting the ELICOS program, which in turn reduces the potential abuse of teachers. This complex situation evokes more than one recommendation arising from the extraordinary challenge of marketing reform: to use existing systems of marketing agencies to sell educational products that are more realistically, intelligently, and ethically marketed. One requirement to make this happen would be to resist marketing a product in ways that deny the complexity of ELICOS students' learning experience. In Asian countries that have a structural view of language and language learning, marketing a product to learners of low level proficiency as the improvement of four macro skills makes sense as well as requiring minimum sales knowledge and effort. It makes access to the dream of international education appear easy. And while this study has shown that selling the dream has human costs, the percentage ELICOS students who complete their studies is not acknowledged within this thesis, and remains a limitation of this current research.

Marketing educational products ethically would require ethical marketers, persons who are familiar and knowledgeable about Australian education, the academic system, and the product that educational institutions wish to sell, who can work collaboratively with foreign agents. While this method of working would slow down the flow of international students, the benefit would be that it would give more control over how students are marketed and how they are informed/resourced to make a decision to pursue an ELICOS program, and thus how they experience their classroom learning. This is in line with a way of working which Marginson (2008) has referred to as restricted production, a strategy where the educational institution purposively deploys agency freedom. This approach is more focused than the more generalised, 'scatter gun' approach to marketing, an approach that will accept any student without any consideration of how that might affect the existing system of the educational institution. Restricted production is also more ethical in that it is focused on 'fit' between the student and the educational institution, and its marketing is shaped according to the criteria that enables this 'fit'.

Another recommendation that could ensure working more ethically as well as sustainably, is the creation of mechanisms that can feed information given in the classroom (a context in which students often unload their concerns) back to the

institution. Further to this, this study has shown through Paula's interpretation of how monocultures form, that valuable insights such as these have mechanisms that can capture the insights of ELICOS teachers. As this thesis has modelled, there needs to be a mechanism that can feed what is happening at the coalface to inform those at the top of ELICOS leadership and decision making of what is happening beneath the normalcy of the ELICOS discourse.

Australian ELICOS teachers teaching locally are more vulnerable to loss as teachers are stakeholders who have the least to gain while being unable to speak back to those who have power over them, within the triadic relationship. As neoliberal subjects in a neoliberal system ELICOS teachers are open to significant risk, such as insecure toxic working conditions, by working in the system. Benefits accrue to primary stakeholders while the construction of ELICOS teacher identity means that teachers are left in a conflicted situation in that their legitimation is based upon a commercially recognised qualification rather than a nationally recognised qualification. As described in this thesis, many if not most international students, have had experience of being taught by Western teachers with TESOL qualifications in their home country. These negative opinions are also carried with them when they come to Australia. Changing such a commonly held negative opinion takes time, particularly as it is one promoted by governments. Changing this negative opinion in Australia would seem impossible as both governments and educational institutions are gaining huge benefits from TESOL. At the present time, teachers' credibility is unsupported within the system. This is why I would recommend a legitimate nationally recognised qualification for ELICOS teachers, one that would not supersede the TESOL qualification but that would increase the perceived status of ELICOS teachers and would highlight and ensure the perception of teachers' professionalism. This qualification would be based on the specialised training that was referred to earlier, requiring that teachers have engaged in learning an additional language and have training in intercultural communication and some understanding of the values, logics, and structures of Asian languages (with the ideal also including European languages).

Through the analyses in this thesis, the currency of Australian international education and the basis of the ELICOS business model was shown to be monolingualism, a language ideology that plays a central role in sustaining

international education as a Western project. The tendencies of monolingualism are that it essentialises international students, while the monolingual mindset conceals the complexity of international students, hiding the complexity of their epistemologies as bilingual/plurilingual learners, their capacities and cultural diversities, as well as their agency and their human and learning needs. One of the ways in which researchers and academics in general might address this is by resisting habitual ways of thinking to acknowledge knowledge production in Western culture as limited to its own subjectivity and to acknowledge that it is subject to its own formation. This situation could be addressed by various strategies such as taking on a commitment to learning an additional language, reading non-Western or international journals and/or strategic linking with non-Western researchers, perhaps authors of articles in those journals (Jensen-Clayton & Murray, in press-a). Singh (2009) identifies the bias and the ideological limits in Western knowledge production when he said: "more non-Western understandings of the world remain to be identified; that many hybrid understandings, the mixing Western and non-Western knowledge remain to be given form, and that current knowledge of globalisation, because of Euro-American dominance is much less global than is possible" (Singh, 2009, p. 187).

8.1 Contributions of the Study to Multiple Knowledge Types

This study has made a contribution to multiple knowledge types. It has contributed to theory in a number of ways. First, it has drawn together concepts that do not occur in the same conceptual framework, such as the knowledge economy, neoliberalism, and internationalisation. Another area of theoretical contribution is in Foucauldian theory, where I have synthesised some of the big concepts of Foucauldian theory and applied them in a different way to the ELICOS system. This synthesis could be useful for theorists who are looking for novel ways of applying Foucauldian thought in terms of power, subjectivity, and agency. As well I have created some clear diagrams to facilitate this acquisition of theory. The synthesis of power, subjectivity, and agency has the potential for numerous contextual applications.

My work has also provided a number of new insights such as thinking about international students in a holistic way, as students with a past, a present, and a

future. At the same time this study raises many of the linguistic, sociological, psychological, and ethical issues that are part of living in the new world order. It is my hope that the way in which I have raised these might motivate other scholars to find a way forward in new trajectories of theorising. I have also contributed to theory by building on the work of Elizabeth Ellis (E. Ellis, 2004a, 2005, 2006a, 2006b, 2013; E. Ellis et al., 2010; L. Ellis, 2004b) on monolingualism, using her insights to reveal the extent as well as the complexities in some of the dangerous illusions in international education.

I have made a number of contributions to methodology. One has been to provide a method to treat the difficult concept of illusion in order to illuminate possible effects. Another contribution is the development and use of a quadrifocal lens that brought to bear my knowledge and experiences as a business person, linguist, educator, and researcher. This quadrifocal lens allowed me to overcome the divisions that established disciplines impose on thought in order to develop my material. The ways in which I have used a quadrifocal lens could be lessened or increased or varied according to the theoretical and personal need. Also, a methodological contribution is in the declaration of my epistemologies at the outset of the thesis as part of the reflexivity deployed in developing the thesis.

Another area of direct contribution has been to the ELICOS industry: what I have developed in this thesis are new possible frameworks and recommendations for the better structuring of the system in less illusory, less harmful and more sustainable ways. This originality has been through focusing on the experiences of teachers within the ELICOS business model. The insights developed in the data analysis chapters make some significant contributions to considerations around teacher practice, applying Foucauldian concepts to teacher interviews. In this way, this study offers new ways of thinking about the impact that Australian teacher practice has on international students as well as the impact of international students on teacher practice. These new ways come from the inclusion of issues of acculturation and intercultural knowledge. Also the analyses of teacher/student co-contribution could open the way for teachers to consider their subjectivity as co-constructing the difficulties they encounter in terms of teacher agency: teacher agency could be understood as subject to Australian culture as well as subject to training in Australian education. My work also suggests the need for teachers to be further resourced

through specialised training (referred to earlier). In addition, ELICOS students, once in mainstream education, need appropriate support by having specialised ELICOS teacher consultants run programs aimed at producing positive teacher/student co-constructions.

In providing a succinct macro/micro, global/local overview that addresses the problematic construction of internationalisation, another site that this research also contributes to is in the area of policy development in international education and also mainstream education. One possibility is to consider a multilingual approach to writing policy (rather than a monolingual approach) that embraces the humanity of international students. This would require that policy makers who respond to international education related matters have training in intercultural communication and acculturation issues. In particular, this may address the deficits created by policy written from a mindset that accepts a monolingual view English together with a TESOL qualification framework as sufficient for thinking and writing about policy in international education.

8.2 Suggestions for Further Research

What has remained in the background in this study is that the many constructions described within this thesis, arise from the compelling forces of internationalisation. These compelling forces have been shown to be plays of institutional power, where the agendas of dominant stakeholders in Australian international education are larger than the recruitment of international students as income both for Australian educational institutions and as a revenue stream for Australian governments—that is, Australian international education as an export industry. As described within the study, Australian educational institutions are also using international education to extend their reach and visibility as global players in the knowledge economy while Australian governments deploy Australian international education as soft power for trade and diplomatic opportunities in the new world order.

What this study has shown is that these agendas of dominant stakeholders exercising institutional powers are not isolated events but have a downward effect, which this study has shown as having negative effects for human beings and for their well-being. One of the ways this was evidenced was in addressing one of the

outcomes of marketing by educational institutions and their unqualified acceptance of students, as creating monocultures within a classroom. This current research was not able to address the role that marketing and institutional business interests play in the construction of monocultures. These areas are in urgent need of further research. Internationalisation is clearly another issue that requires further research as is monolingualism. With the majority of the world's population being multilingual (E. Ellis et al., 2010), it would seem incumbent upon us to bring multilingualism and multiculturalism forward, to work together with, rather than dominate or use these populations for Western interests. Further research is needed to find ways in which we can address these complex issues at an Australian level in order to change the colonising effect of monolingualism. Monolingualism has a far greater reach than the problems in Australian international education: monolingualism means that those Australian people of indigenous or ethnic backgrounds are also alienated within their own country.

On the other hand, internationalisation needs an expression within an Australian context, as international students contribute to the intellectual life within Australia. One model of working can be seen in the work that currently is being done by Australian scholar and educational researcher, Michael Singh. He has been working with international students for over a decade, working to disclose the undocumented, unrecognised and unaccredited acts of intellectual labour that multilingual higher degree researchers perform in writing their theses, here in Australia, in English (Singh & Fu, 2008). Singh has extended his research interests to include the issue of knowledge production through resisting the theoretical dependency that presently constrains intellectual work of the Western academy. He does this through an appreciation of the world that exceeds present western scholarly understandings of it (Singh, 2009). Singh's intention is that of overcoming theoretical dependency by bringing forward multiculturalism through extending, deepening and integrating international higher degree researchers' full linguistic repertoire into their research (Singh & Cui, 2013). In addressing the problem of theoretical dependency, Singh has higher degree researchers use metaphors from their Chinese language(s) as analytical tools in their research, which is usually focused on investigations of Australian education (Singh & Han, 2009, 2010). The present extension of this work is Singh's investigation of pedagogies for developing

multilingual international higher degree researchers' capabilities for theorising using their complete linguistic repertoire: these pedagogies are for theory building and not just testing existing theories from Europe and North America (Singh & Huang, 2013; Singh & Hui, 2011).

Singh's approach to working with postgraduate international students could be modified to enable ELICOS teachers to work collaboratively with ELICOS students on a research project at students' level of proficiency. It is anticipated that this collaboration would meet successful exit testing standards, while simultaneously providing students with some knowledge of the academic skills required in their future tertiary level learning. At the same time, this way of working could also provide data for future research in international education. In short, this strategy would not only provide the means to conduct ELIOS teaching in more creative ways but could very well work towards new ways of thinking about and doing ELICOS as international education, i.e., these could address a number of the psychological, linguistic, pedagogical, and ethical issues raised in this thesis.

Bordia (2007) notes that little research has been conducted regarding students expectations of the product they have purchased, and that even less research has been conducted regarding students' expectations of language education. These are areas that my study provides strong evidence to support Bordia's observations. If the work of international education is to profile Australian universities, TAFEs, and Australian schools in a positive way, then pursuit of these areas of research would seem to be an imperative, as is the need for research into and the development of more transparent and ethical marketing (as suggested earlier).

The present process of recruitment into educational pathways via ELICOS is rough, unsophisticated, and unnecessarily harsh. Research is needed in order to develop more sophisticated ways of thinking about and working with students and teachers within international education, particularly at high school level where the age of the students put them in a category of minors. One of the ways that a higher level of sophistication could be achieved is through research that can envision new ways of interpreting and/or transforming the present NEAS framework so that it is interpreted through a multilingual rather than a monolingual lens. What this might achieve in both the medium and long term is to change teaching from being constructed as a workplace activity to teaching as education. As well it could include

the humanity of the international student so that the learning needs of students could be included. Additionally is would require a recognition of teachers' professionalism beyond the present monolingual construction (which presently is a trained teacher plus TESOL qualification or any degree plus TESOL qualification).

8.3 The Biographically Situated Researcher Revisited

The work of research in this project has had a profound effect on my intellectual life in drawing together what seemed previously to be disparate areas of knowledge and skills. Thus, this project has at one level been a process of conceptual development, refinement, and growth that has allowed me to make substantial contributions to the bodies of knowledge as well as identifying intellectual alliances with the work of others. On another level, this research project has introduced me to intellectual communities whose interactions have provided me with a context to make sense of the otherwise disparate areas of knowledge and skills.

One of the learnings along the way was the importance of other scholars in the development of my intellectual work, scholars whom I met through the literature as well as scholars I met through academic events and informal scholarly conversations. Further to this, in developing my thesis I was fortunate to have a team of people who gave me the freedom to explore and have confidence in the vagaries, intuitions, and fuzzy knowledge of my own thinking while making significant suggestions that allowed me to bring my work to the level at which I could experience my own professionalism. The support my team has so generously offered me has been invaluable in the development of the thesis.

The work of developing this research project has rewarded me well. Even more than this, the knowledge and skills gained along the way allows me to make more meaningful contributions to a variety of communities, and in this way fulling a lifelong desire.

Afterword

As described in the Foreword, there were multiple layers to my journey and the development of this thesis, not least was the selfish desire to express my intellectual life in a way that did not contribute to more of the same, when the same that I saw could be given a more life-giving expression. I could not have possibly imagined the road that the realisation of this desire would take, and that what was needed was for me to bring my own intellectual life into being first before I could then successfully communicate with others.

Bringing my own intellectual life into being has meant encountering the intellectual lives of others, through the literature and through face to face encounters. It has been a truly profound experience as well as a treasured one.

What potential the future holds is uncertain and unknown. What I do know is that I am resourced and well equipped to encounter and work with others of like-mind, others who work to find ways that lead to transforming the present experience of the new world order. This, I envision, is not about usurping the present order of neoliberal economic rationalism that dispossesses the poor to make rich people richer, but to work towards gaining a new consciousness for humanity, a way of thinking and living together in a global world that values our humanity, a way of doing business that is more equitable, to build a future that is more sustainable and evolving rather than devolving. Along the way of this PhD journey, I have been finding and connecting with significant others who also have been working on bringing together pieces of the puzzle that can consolidate this new consciousness. Reaching out further is what presently what drives me, working now as a researcher, scholar, and independent academic.

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Appendices

Appendix A

What is NEAS?

"The National ELT (English Language Teaching) Accreditation Scheme (NEAS) is a self-funding, non-profit, industry-based body operating independently of government and of industry ELT centres, but with strong cooperative links with government agencies and industry representative bodies" (National ELT Accreditation Scheme, n.d., p. 1). Figure A-1 shows the relationships between NEAS and the fields of education and training.

"The broad aim of NEAS is to establish and uphold high standards of service provision in English language teaching to the benefit of the industry as a whole and especially for students" (National ELT Accreditation Scheme, n.d., p. 1). What is important to note is the absence of teachers in this model.
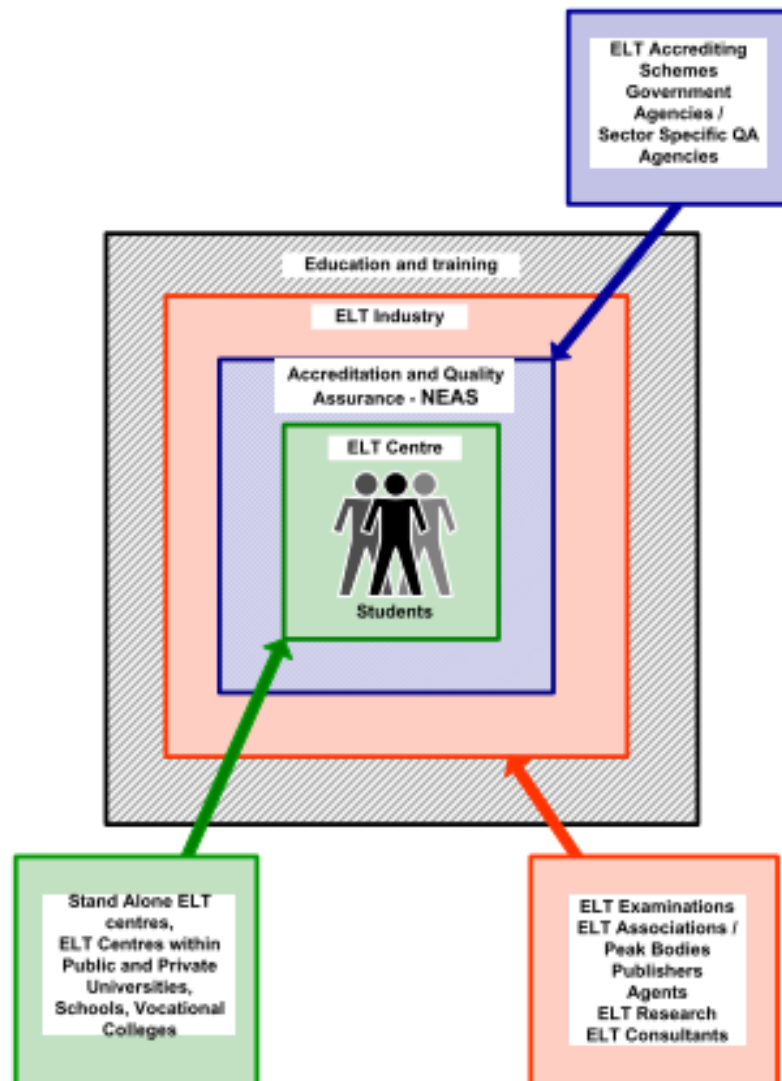
NEAS' position in the field of education and learning

©NEAS

Figure A-1. NEAS Business Model

Appendix B

Director of Studies (DOS) Interview Questions

1. What were some of the reasons that you decided to gain employment in ELICOS teaching?

2. What are some of the ways that your TESOL qualification enhances or detracts from your role as director of studies (DOS)?

3. In your role as DOS, do you require your teachers to use a set textbook?

   a. YES

   b. NO

4. Besides your role as DOS, what are some of the career pathways in ELICOS that have been available to you?

5. Are you in a form of secure employment?

6. Could you tell me something about the issue of employment in ELICOS education generally?

7. How do you perceive the ELICOS teaching sector?

8. What does "language proficiency" mean to you in your role as DOS?

9. What is your experience of the administration, marketing, and education interface?

10. How would you describe some of the issues that inform your curriculum decision making?

11. Do you find that student expectations affect your facilitation of the EHSP program?

12. In your role as DOS, do you experience your beliefs as a teacher being challenged? If so, what are some your experiences?

13. In what ways do you anticipate that ongoing professional development will affect your teachers' delivery of the program?

14. What effects, if any, do you find that different educational settings have on the delivery of the EHSP course?

15. What are some of your experiences of student visa conditions?

16. In what ways do issues of students' acculturation experiences play in your role as DOS?

17. In what ways do you understand the TESOL qualification as having a bearing on teachers' practice?

18. Apart from short professional development seminars, have any of your teacher completed further academic studies?

19. Do you believe that the TESOL programs currently marketed to overseas English teachers have an effect on your own teachers' TESOL qualifications?

20. Have you experienced differences in teaching effectiveness arising from teachers' experiences? in different educational settings (school-based, private college, etc.)?

21. In what ways do you find that language issues impact on your role?

22. Do you believe a dedicated ELICOS teacher training program to be necessary to promote teaching effectiveness?

23. Do you believe that a teacher-centred association independent of industry and business interests is necessary for ELICOS teachers?

24. Which of the following best describes your general experience of employment in ELICOS?

    a. Permanent full time?

    b. Yearly contract?

    c. Other?

Appendix C

ELICOS Teacher Interview Questions

1. What are some of the reasons that you decided to enter ELICOS teaching?

2. How do you identify yourself as a teacher?

    a. As an ESL teacher?

    b. As a TESOL teacher?

    c. As an ELICOS teacher?

    d. Other?

3. In your present teaching context, are you required to use a set textbook?

    a. YES

    b. NO

4. What are some of the career pathways available to you as a second language teacher?

5. Are you in any form of secure teaching employment?

    a. YES

    b. NO

6. In what ways does your initial TESOL qualification have a bearing on your present teaching practice?

7. Could you talk to me about how you perceive the ELICOS teaching sector?

8. What does "language proficiency" mean to you?

9. In what ways do you experience the education, administration, marketing interface?

10. What are some issues in curriculum decision-making for you?

11. What are some of the ways that student expectations affect your teaching practice?

12. How do your employment opportunities affect your beliefs as a TESOL teacher?

13. What areas of professional development have had a positive influence on your ELICOS teaching practice?

14. What effects do you find that different educational settings have on the delivery of the EHSP (English for High School Preparation) course?

15. Do student visa conditions affect your teaching practice?

16. In what ways do issues of students' acculturation affect your teaching practice?

17. Apart from short professional development seminars, have you engaged in further academic study since becoming an ELICOS teacher?

    a. YES

    b. NO

18. Do you believe that the TESOL programs currently offered to international students by institutions (e.g., higher education institutions) affect your TESOL qualification?

19. Do you believe that an ELICOS teacher training program is necessary?

    a. YES

    b. NO

20. In what ways do language issues impact on your teaching practice?

21. Do you believe that a teacher-centred association independent of industry and business interests is necessary for ELICOS teachers?

    a. YES

    b. NO

22. Which of the following describes your general experience of employment in ELICOS:

    a. Permanent full time

    b. Full time casual teacher with a 10 week contract

c. Casual ELICOS teacher working in different ELICOS settings most days per week

d. casual ELICOS teacher with one or two days per week

e. supply teaching

f. or you are permanently retired from the industry

g. casual teacher on month by month contract

Information Letter to Participants

INFORMATION LETTER TO PARTICIPANTS

TITLE OF PROJECT:	***The Dialectic of Teaching in ELICOS Centres***
SUPERVISOR:	Dr Louise Thomas
STUDENT RESEARCHER:	Cecily Clayton
PROGRAMME IN WHICH ENROLLED:	Doctor of Education

(date)

Dear Participant,

You are invited to participate in a research project the aim of which is to investigate the nature of the relationship between ELICOS teachers and ELICOS contexts and the effect of their teaching practice. This investigation will collect data by exploring the experiences of ELICOS teachers. There will be two phases in the research data collection. Phase 1 will have 12 participants, 9 ELICOS teachers and 3 ELICOS (Director of Studies) experts. Phase 2 will have 5 participants drawn from Phase 1. The way in which data is to be collected in Phase 1 is through structured interviews, which will be in the form of (15) open ended questions and (10) closed questions. The collection of data in Phase two will achieved through semi-structured interviews (participants will 5 ELICOS teachers drawn from Phase 1). The context for the research project is the English for High School Preparation Course (EHSP) in a high school setting. All participants will have experience in teaching in a variety of ELICOS educational settings and will have two years of teaching an EHSP course.

The location of the interviews is to be at a place of your choice. As this is a low risk project, no harm or discomfort is anticipated. It is anticipated that the structured interviews of Phase 1 will be of 60 minutes duration. The 25 pre-planned open-ended questions are designed to allow you the participant to respond freely, whereas the closed questions will require a more focused response. In Phase 2, the semi-structured interviews (which are to be repeated up to four times) will also be of 60 minutes duration. These Phase 2 interviews will be a series of guided questions designed to provide the participants with as much freedom as possible in their responses.

Benefits are anticipated for all participants, as the questions to be asked are based on a survey of the significant literature in the field the interviews so that participants can gain a greater insight of the ELICOS context and the industry in which they are participating. As well, the interviews will provide a means for developing a voice for

ELICOS teachers' previously unheard experiences. The researcher will be seeking to publish the research results in relevant journals.

This letter that invites your participation does so without any conditions attached. At any point before or during the research process, you as a participant are free to withdraw consent and discontinue participation in the study without giving a reason and without any form of penalty.

Confidentiality is assured through the research process as well as afterwards, and the information that is supplied and used as data, will be kept in a locked cabinet at Australian Catholic University. As part of this assurance of confidentiality, anonymity is assured throughout the entire research process and beyond, even in the event of publication.

You are welcome to contact the Supervisor (Dr Louise Thomas) and also myself as Student Researcher, should you have questions regarding the research project or need further clarification regarding the research process.

Dr. Louise Thomas
School of Education
Australian Catholic University
1100 Nudgee Road
Banyo Queensland 4014
36237578

Cecily Clayton
18 Monoplane St.,
Ashgrove 4060
0422580162

A copy of the transcript of individual responses will be provided for each participant with a request to verify the transcript as an authentic copy of the participant's responses. As well the researcher will provide appropriate feedback to all participants on the results of the project.

This study has been fully approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee at Australian Catholic University.

In the event that you have any complaint or concern, or if you have any query that the Supervisor or Student Researcher has not been able to satisfy, you may write to the Chair of the Human Research Ethics Committee care of the nearest branch of the Research Services Office.

QLD: Chair, HREC
C/- Research Services
Australian Catholic University
Brisbane Campus
PO Box 456
Virginia QLD 4014

Tel: 07 3623 7429
Fax: 07 3623 7328

Any complaint or concern will be treated in confidence and fully investigated. The participant will be informed of the outcome.

If you agree to participate in this project, you should sign both copies of the Consent Form, retain one copy for your records and return the other copy to the Supervisor or Student Researcher.

_____

Student Researcher

_____

Supervisor

Consent Form

TITLE OF PROJECT: *The Dialectic of Teaching in ELICOS Centres*

SUPERVISOR: Dr. Louise Thomas

STUDENT RESEARCHER: Cecily Clayton

I .... *(the participant)* have read and understood the information provided in the Information Letter to Participants. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I have kept a copy of the Information Letter for my records.

I agree to participate in the structured interviews / semi-structured interviews *(please circle the relevant interview/s)* for this project and understand that the structured interviews consist of a set of 25 questions constructed to include both (15) open-ended as well as (10) closed questions, while the semi-structured interviews will use a series of guided questions. I am also aware that the structured and semi-structured interviews will be of approximately 60 minutes duration with each interview being audio-taped. I realize that I can withdraw my consent at any time without adverse consequences. I agree that research data collected for the study may be published or may be provided to other researchers, and that the data is to be used in a form that does not identify me in any way.

My contact details:_____

NAME OF PARTICIPANT: _____

SIGNATURE .... DATE ....

NAME OF SUPERVISOR: Dr. Louise Thomas

SIGNATURE .... DATE ....

NAME OF STUDENT RESEARCHER: Cecily Clayton

SIGNATURE .... DATE ....

<center>**Appendix F**</center>

<center>**Other Publications and Presentations**</center>

Book Chapters

Jensen-Clayton, C. M., & Murray, A. J. (in press-a). *Working* beyond *the* maze. In D. Rossi, F. Gacenga, & P. A. Danaher (Eds.), Navigating the *education research maze*: Contextual, *conceptual, methodological* and *transformational challenges* and *opportunities* for *researchers*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Jensen-Clayton, C. M., & Murray, A. J. (in press-b). *Working* in *the* maze: At what price? In D. Rossi, F. Gacenga, & P. A. Danaher (Eds.), Navigating the *education research maze*: Contextual, *conceptual, methodological* and *transformational challenges* and *opportunities* for *researchers*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Murray, A. J., & Jensen-Clayton, C. M. (under review). *Tiptoeing around the institution? Doctoral supervision in the knowledge economy*. Submitted to T. Machin, M. Clarà, & P. A. Danaher (Eds.), Traversing the doctorate: Reflections and strategies from students, supervisors and administrators.

Journal Articles

Clayton, C. (2010). *A 'paradigmatic earthquake' in SLA* [Review of the book The *psychology* of *second language acquisition* by Zoltán Dörnyei]. rEFLections, 13, 58-60.

Clayton, C., & Ma, S. H. (2009). *Sorry, excuse me or pardon.* 中小学英语教学与研

究 English Teaching and Research for Primary and Middle School 2009.

Conference Presentations

Clayton, C. (2012, October 24). *The dialectic of teaching in ELICOS centres*. Paper presented at the Faculty of Education higher degree by research conference, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane, Qld, Australia.

Clayton, C. (2013, October 10). *The dialectic of teaching in ELICOS centres: Negotiating education and business agendas*. Paper presented at the Faculty of Education higher degree by research conference, Australian Catholic University, Brisbane, Qld, Australia.

Hong, M. S., & Clayton, C. (2007). *Linguistic conventions, cultural conceptualization and word experiences*. Paper presented at the Beijing University foreign languages and literatures forum, Taiwan.

Jensen-Clayton, C. (2015, October 2). *Reclaiming the academic dream for doctoral students*. Paper presented at the 16th University of Southern Queensland Postgraduate and Early Career Research group research symposium, Toowoomba, Qld, Australia.

Jensen-Clayton, C. M., & MacLeod, R. (2016). *New imaginings for women researchers through erotic power*. Paper presented at the 17th University of Southern Queensland Postgraduate and Early Career Research group research symposium, Toowoomba, Qld, Australia.

Jensen-Clayton, C. (2015, June 15). *International education in the knowledge economy*. Paper presented at the 15th University of Southern Queensland Postgraduate and Early Career Research group research symposium, Springfield, Qld, Australia.

Murray, A. J., Jensen-Clayton, C. M., & Lang, C. (2015, June 15). *Meeting the complexity: A new approach to doctoral supervision*. Paper presented at the 15th University of Southern Queensland Postgraduate and Early Career Research group research symposium, Springfield, Qld, Australia.

Other

Busa, A., Jensen-Clayton, C. M., & Murray, A. J. (2015, May 8). *Pain and transcendence in the academic journey*. Paper presented in the "Theory in Focus" Series, Australian Catholic University Postgraduate Association, Brisbane, Qld, Australia.

Jensen-Clayton, C. (2014, July 21). *Afternoon tea with Foucault*. Paper presented in the "Theory in Focus" series, Australian Catholic University Postgraduate Association, Brisbane, Qld, Australia.

Jensen-Clayton, C. (2014, October 29). *Power at work*. Paper presented in the "Theory in Focus" series, Australian Catholic University Postgraduate Association, Brisbane, Qld, Australia.

Jensen-Clayton, C. M., & MacLeod, R. (2016, May 31). *Neoliberalism, eros and intellectual virtues*. Paper presented in the "Theory in Focus" series, Australian Catholic University Postgraduate Association, Brisbane, Qld, Australia.

MacLeod, R., & Jensen-Clayton, C. M. (2015, July 23). *Liberating the institutional self: Insights from feminism*. Paper presented in the "Theory in Focus" series, Australian Catholic Postgraduate Association, Brisbane, Qld, Australia.

Wakeling, J., & Jensen-Clayton, C. M. (2015, October 15). Truth, discourse, power: Intuition at work. Paper presented at the "Theory in Focus" Series, a meeting of the Australian Catholic University Postgraduate Association, Brisbane.