BLENDED EAP PROFESSIONALS IN CORPORATIZED HIGHER
EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS: A CRITICAL GROUNDED THEORY

by

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Abstract

As momentous changes continue to sweep across higher education, tertiary-level English for Academic Purposes (EAP) has experienced a time of challenging and sometimes painful professional transition. In many Higher Educational Institutions (HEIs) around the world, EAP units have been transferred from academic departments to administrative offices responsible for international student recruitment and entrepreneurial talent development. The new locus of conflict for many teachers of EAP has centered on the significant disconnect between them and their new administrative managers about the purposes of second language pedagogy.

This thesis is a qualitative grounded theory study situated within these restive dynamics. Drawing from in-depth interviews of over ninety informants at eleven higher educational institutions in the UK, Japan and the United States, I focus upon the new middle managers of EAP units, referred to in this thesis as Blended EAP Professionals (BLEAPs). I develop a Critical Grounded Theory about the processes and strategies BLEAPs use to survive in corporatized HEIs while working with international students and Teachers of EAP (TEAPs). It was discovered during the course of analysis that, even while BLEAPs are often responsible for teaching EAP classes, those who succeed in corporatized HEIs dedicated most of their energies to processes identified as *Hunting & Gathering*, *Weighing & Measuring*, and *Molding & Shaping*. All of these are linked to a basic social process, which is theorized to be that of *Struggling to Manage and to Lead*. This thesis discusses each of these processes in detail, and after explaining how the data used in this grounded theory study was philosophically construed, methodologically structured and theoretically analyzed, I consider the implications of this theory for Tertiary EAP as the profession approaches the middle of the 21st century.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Figures

List of Tables

Part One

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 The Path of Qualitative Inquiry

The intellectual journey of qualitative research is replete with wondrous paths of exploration, hypotheses ending in surprising cul-de-sacs, and fortuitous turns of discovery. This thesis was originally intended to be a phenomenological study of the life worlds of international students and Teachers of English for Academic Purposes (TEAPs), had it not been for an experience that took place early in my PhD research, one which opened the way for new corridors of theoretical possibility.

It was the autumn of 2005, and I was somewhere over the American Midwest in the presidential plane of Polaris State University.[1] I had been accompanying the Dean of my university to check on a group of students that we had sent to Polaris for a semester-long study abroad experience. During our inspection tour, we viewed all aspects of the Polaris English for Academic Purposes (EAP) program, but we also gained rare glimpses into the inner workings of the administrative management at the university and new levels of access that had resulted in our invitation to accompany the President of Polaris to an exclusive resort and to witness him receive, on behalf of the university, a prestigious State Award in Total Quality Management.

The President and Dean were chatting while I stared below at the patchwork of farms, fields and forests, deep in thought. What I had seen so far at Polaris had stimulated many questions regarding the changes that had only started to take place in Japanese Higher Educational Institutions (HEIs). Until recently, professional life for TEAPs at Japanese universities had been, as I was to learn later, similar to what had once been the norm for educators in British and American universities during the 1960s -- a professional life marked by plentiful economic support and teacher autonomy, but

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[1] All place names in this thesis have been anonymized.

also one of extreme variability in terms of teaching practices and research output (Miyoshi 2000 ; McVeigh 2002). After two decades of economic stagnation, the graying of the population and a rapid decline in the number of college-aged students, Japan was unable to support Higher Education (HE) as it had during the latter half of the 20th Century. With social, political and economic considerations at the fore, the Ministry of Education, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) implemented plans in 2001 that called for the privatization of virtually every national university, introduced market-based mechanisms for the support of all private and national universities, and established the framework for a corporate model of HEI governance (Feller 2004 ; Yamamoto 2004 ; Yoda & Harootunian 2006).

The results of the Ministry's historic policy shift started to be felt at my university, Nippon University of Global Information Studies (NUGIS), by early 2005. The changes, which were remarkably similar to the observations of colleagues at other HEIs across Japan, were those of increased teacher assessment by students and outside quasi-governmental organizations, growing amounts of administrative work of the type that had once been the domain of office support staff, decreased faculty governance and autonomy, the rise of a new managerial elite composed of administrators with more business experience than academic credentials, and the intensification of downward pressure, both on faculty and midlevel administrators, to find innovative ways to generate income, either through the attainment of research grants or through the development of attractive marketing strategies for increasing student recruitment. Newly hired TEAPs, both Japanese nationals and non-Japanese, began entering the university on short-term, non-tenured track contracts and were being placed in new EAP units that were now under administrative management.

The plane began to experience some turbulence, causing a lull in the onboard conversation. The silence and shaking jolted my thoughts closer to the moment, to what I had seen earlier in the day during the visit to the EAP Unit at Polaris. While the students that we had sent to Polaris were receiving levels of service that far

4

exceeded what they would normally be given at NUGIS, my observations of the workload and other conditions of the TEAPs had raised quiet concern. The emotional strain of their crushing work schedules had an uncanny resemblance to what I had personally experienced in the UK, where I had taught EAP for several summers at the University of Wensleydale. The summer presessional program at Wensleydale had all the hallmarks of what others have described as an academic sweatshop (Sharff & Lessinger 1994), and it was surprising to see such similar conditions at an HEI on the other side of the world.

We landed early. Like a scene out of a movie, a chauffeur was waiting to take us to the resort. During the reception before the ceremony, amidst the clinking of wine glasses and sandwiched between the well-mannered mumble of politically influential regents, senior university administrators, and regional leaders of manufacturing and service corporations who were also there to receive awards in Total Quality Management, earlier thoughts of what I witnessed both at Wensleydale and with the TEAPs at Polaris returned, and sparked within me a growing sense of dissonance. One regent from Polaris, who for many years earlier had served as a secret service bodyguard for several American presidents, told me about recent policy decisions they had implemented that would have implications for the professional lives of TEAPs. He, as well as others that I met later, all expressed strong views about how EAP should be taught in order to facilitate an increased international student presence on campus. I found this to be highly curious, since with the exception of the President at Polaris, no one had ever taught EAP, and few that I spoke with seemed to realize what was needed to create an environment conducive for a proactive international student presence on campus.

I began to wonder if what I was experiencing at the ceremony was to be a harbinger of the future of Japanese HE. As I continued to observe what was taking place around me, a question began to reverberate through the halls of my mind. In the beginning, it

was something akin to 'what *is* this?', but upon further reflection, coalesced into 'What is going on here?'

Figure 1 Author, Former Dean (now deceased) and Senior Polaris Administrators at the State Quality Awards Ceremony in 2005.

The deceptive simplicity of this question, together with the increased access to administrative managers charged with retooling EAP, and a heightened awareness that my own role as coordinator of the English language unit at NUGIS was somehow changing under me, combined to set me upon a new path of reflexive discovery that would take me through three countries and ten Higher Educational Institutions (HEIs). Shifting from phenomenology to a qualitative, exploratory methodology known as Grounded Theory, I interviewed ninety-eight informants representing TEAPs, their supervisors, international students studying English, and administrators tasked with managing the process of international education. This generated over 1300 pages of

transcripts, together with photos, videos, email correspondence, archives of professional journals, and a large number of observation notes. In the place of international students and TEAPs, the empirical data sparked my analytical interest in a new breed of EAP manager, one who is emerging from new organizational 'third spaces' (Whitchurch 2008) at HEIs that are experiencing a confusing mix of corporatization, increased bureaucratization and managerial initiatives focused on innovation (Barnett 2011).

This thesis is located within the Sociology of English Language Teaching (ELT), and focuses upon issues pertaining to ELT management. The explanatory, interpretive and multidimensional perspectives sourced for this work have contributed to the 'reconstructed logic' (Silverman & Marvasti 2008, p. 390) of an empirically grounded theory that has critical concerns for what will be introduced later as Blended EAP Professionals (BLEAPs) in corporatized HEIs. Along the lines of a Critical Grounded Theory Methodology, I will use firsthand accounts and observational data to support a theory that reveals the core of what guided BLEAPs in this study, as well as basic social processes, challenges, strategies and contingencies that BLEAPs use in their attempts to both survive and thrive in their tertiary-level EAP units.

Far from being peripheral to the pedagogical concerns of EAP teachers, the issues studied in this thesis are central to the dynamics that form the scaffolding of their professional lives -- structures which often confine their existence and contribute to the emotional baggage many secretly carry into the language classroom. The topics will raise the awareness of readers to the organizational changes that have taken place, or are currently taking place, in their Tertiary EAP Units, and seeks to aid readers in gaining a clearer picture of the sociological processes that are played out when the pressure to change the roles and expectations for TEAPs come from outside forces through the conduit of BLEAPs. In addition, the theory presented in this thesis will have data-driven implications not only for TEAPs who have found themselves suddenly 'raised up' as a BLEAP, it will also provide both TEAPs and others

involved in the task of EAP a greater sense of critical awareness, based upon real life field data, which can allow them either to transform or to better negotiate the nature of their participation with the changes taking place in Tertiary EAP units in HEIs around the world. It is also hoped that, after reading this thesis, BLEAPs and TEAPs alike will be encouraged to consider ways of leveraging the Third Space for creating humane, emotionally intelligent and environments that motivate both teachers and students alike.

1.2 Thesis Overview

The written style of this thesis differs from objectified discourse found in theses informed by a positivist perspective. The overall structure and intended functions of the upcoming chapters proceed from philosophical, to methodological, to contextual, then to theoretical concerns, and finally, to a consideration of implications (Figure 2).
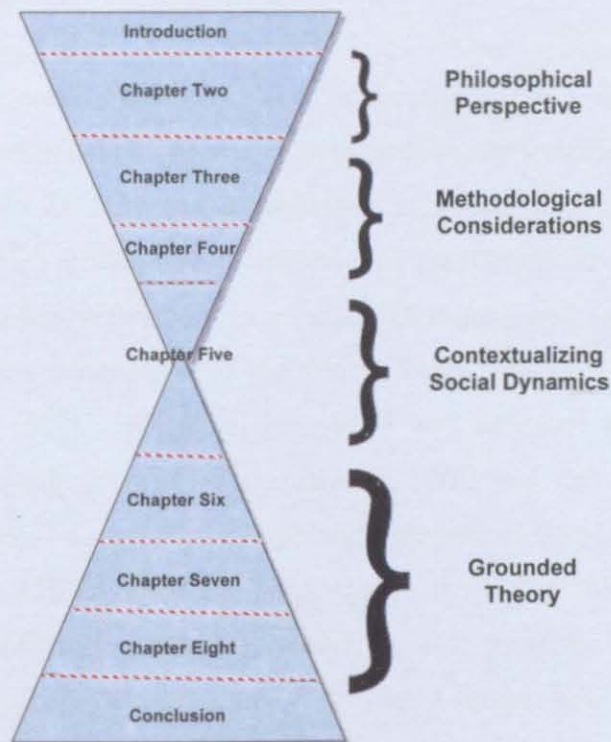
Figure 2 Visual Representation of Thesis Structure

Paradigmatic beliefs shape not only the manner in which a researcher writes, they also inform the manner by which a thesis is structured. Because this thesis derives from a perspective distinct from positivism, one focusing on interpretive, critical concerns, a considerable amount of 'unpacking' with regard to ontology, epistemology and methodology will need to be undertaken. As Goulding (2005) states, qualitative researchers, such as Grounded Theorists, must work far harder to make their case to colleagues who either do not understand their methods or who distrust the findings due to their different paradigmatic beliefs. In order to gain a hearing, one must first:

> entertain complex philosophical debates about what constitutes reality, argue against relativistic concerns, [and] debate epistemological questions about the relationship between the knower and what can be known, before even getting to methodological issues (Goulding 2005, p. 17).

Therefore, the first half of this thesis establishes a conceptual framework that will underpin my perspective and methodology.

In Chapter Two, I make explicit my own understanding of social reality and my rationale for an ecumenical perspective with regards to research methodologies. I will explain my rationale for choosing a qualitative approach, thus paving the way for Chapter Three, which provides a description of the Grounded Theory. The term *Grounded Theory* often 'refers both to a method of inquiry and a product of inquiry. However, researchers commonly use the term to mean a specific mode of analysis' (Charmaz 2005, p. 507). Whenever possible I will delineate between Grounded Theory as an ongoing product of theorization (GT) and the Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM). I consider contemporary criticisms of GTM and explain how it has necessitated a writing style and organization that often differs from what is normally seen in positivist writings. However, because presently at least five major forms of the methodology are actively in use, I make note of key areas of methodological difference in order to delineate my decisions between the aspects of earlier Grounded Theory methodologies, and to establish my version of GTM, which is informed by Critical Social Theory (CST). Critical Grounded Theory embodies the

next stage in the ongoing evolution of GTM and represents one of the major contributions of this thesis.

Qualitative researchers are often criticized by positivist researchers for not being explicit about their practices and procedures (Corbin & Strauss 1990 ; Marshall & Rossman 2006, p. 10). Therefore, in Chapter Four, I seek to demystify the process by which I generated the Critical Grounded Theory of this thesis. Because qualitative research is 'data rich' (Carey, McKechnie & McKenzie 2001), I will explain the manner in which I condensed vast amounts of data collected during this research project into a form that would be understandable to readers. I strive to be reflexive about my developing skills as a grounded theorist and transparent about the challenges faced in the field. I explain the general environment in which this thesis was located and study the specific research tools used in the construction of the Grounded Theory. I describe how I gathered field data and wrestled with issues related to transcriptions and open coding. My rationale for tightening the initial research concerns during the stage of focused investigation, my use of conceptual metaphors to aid in the substantive and theoretical coding of my Grounded Theory, ethical dilemmas encountered during the course of my research, and my efforts at underpinning this study with good analytical practices, will all be considered. The manner in which I accessed scholarly literature and wrote the theoretical chapters will also be explained.

The second half moves beyond metaphysical and methodological issues to present the Critical Grounded Theory of this thesis. As Aspinall (2009, p. 1) states, what is currently being experienced in HE and Tertiary EAP does not take place within a vacuum; it is inextricably linked to wider social, political and economic developments. It is for this reason that Chapter Five serves as a backdrop for concerns found within the informant-generated data, and critically locates this thesis within the social context of corporatization, massification, fiscal austerity in HE and the emergence of Blended Professionals in EAP. This discussion sets the stage for understanding how English

for Academic Purposes is being retooled for the needs of the new managers of corporatized HEIs, and for presenting the three social processes of BLEAPs specific to my grounded theory: The acquisition of valuable resources, or 'Hunting & Gathering', constant assessment in order to satisfy stakeholder agendas, which I call 'Weighing & Measuring' and the attempt to redefine professional academic identities and activities in order that they can better fulfill the plans of stakeholders for the modern corporate university, or 'Molding & Shaping'. All of these processes are linked to the core social process of BLEAPs, which is that of 'Struggling to Manage and Lead.'

Chapters Six, Seven and Eight explain each of these social processes by describing their specific properties and by considering the impact these have had upon BLEAPs, TEAPs and International Students. The concluding chapter reveals the basic social process that links the processes of the previous chapters, and highlights the original contributions of this thesis to EAP management as well as to the Sociology of English Language Teaching. I will also consider how those involved in EAP might utilize this theory, and close with some suggestions for future investigation.

1.3 Looking Forward: An Interdisciplinary Perspective

This thesis is the result of a physical journey to various HEIs in Asia, Europe, and North America, but it is also the end result of an intellectual journey through scholarly research as varied as education, history, economics, nursing, psychology, management studies, organizational studies, TESOL, the philosophy of science, and critical theory. Far from being a sign of unbridled eclecticism, such interdisciplinarity with regard to the literature is a key feature of Grounded Theory research. Grounded Theorists enter the field and interact with informants before accessing any scholarly literature (Glaser 1992, pp. 31-33). During the process of listening to informants, theorists are compelled to reconsider any preconceptions they might have had, and use the findings of field research as clues for what literature to access. This will be revisited later, but readers should rest assured that this grounded theory focuses squarely on issues affecting Tertiary EAP in corporatized HEIs. It is my hope that the

theoretical framework now to be presented will be both informative and useful to those involved in the task of both making and implementing policies that affect the future of Tertiary EAP at their institutions.

Chapter 2

First Principles: From Paradigm to Methodology

2.1 Introduction

EAP educators today rarely have the time to reflect upon the deep-seated beliefs informing their views on 'research' (Crookes 1997 ; Borg 2004 ; Borg 2007). Metaphysical considerations about the nature of knowledge and existence, known respectively as *epistemology* and *ontology*, are seldom considered. Thinking about *methodology*, that is, the manner in which we study the social phenomena in our schools, and why we have chosen certain techniques for gathering data, referred to more succinctly as *methods* (Corbin & Strauss 2008, p. 1), are often pushed aside in the rush to address the more immediate tasks of 'designing studies, generating data and analyzing results' (P. Anderson 1986, p. 158).

And yet, despite such philosophical disengagement, Anderson (1986) maintains that important metaphysical beliefs shape our research choices and influence the standards by which we evaluate the work of others:

> We all invoke implicit philosophies of science when we conduct studies, interpret results, criticize others' work, or decide between competing theories. Epistemological issues can be viewed as primary because they underwrite all of the knowledge claims of a discipline (p. 158).

In addition, with the prevalence of critical, feminist and postmodernist perspectives in EAP (Phillipson 1993 ; Canagarajah 1999 ; Harwood & Hadley 2004 ; Pennycook 2005), it is important for teacher-researchers in EAP to be explicit about the paradigms supporting their philosophical views and research choices. Not doing so risks misunderstanding about the aims of one's qualitative research project. By making unseen axioms visible and by shaping the amorphous, chaotic fog of philosophical musings into a coherent form, teacher-researchers can make informed decisions about the potential usefulness of their findings and theoretical conclusions

(Cunningham & Fitzgerald 1996 ; Martin 2003 ; Borg 2004 ; Snape & Spencer 2004 ; Borg 2007).

This chapter presents the philosophical perspective that informs this thesis. Building upon a philosophical model known as *autopoiesis*, I employ conceptual metaphors to highlight the dynamic interaction between paradigmatic worldviews as necessary for supporting my position of Critical Realism. I discuss the reasons for taking a qualitative approach in this thesis and explain my choice of Grounded Theory as a mode of inquiry.

2.2 Paradigms and Conceptual Metaphors

The concept of paradigm, how to define it, and its influence in shaping research, have been topics of constant debate since the term became a household word through Thomas Kuhn's, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Kuhn 1962/1996), and also because of the 'paradigm wars' that raged through the social sciences in the 1980s (Gage 1989). I draw upon Guba & Lincoln's (1998, p. 200) definition of paradigm to view it 'as a set of *basic beliefs* (or metaphysics) that deals with the ultimates or first principles. It represents a *worldview* that defines, for its holder, the nature of the 'world,' the individual's place in it, and the range of possible relationships to that world and its parts, as, for example, cosmologies and theologies do.' The manner in which paradigmatic beliefs operate is seen in Figure 3, which is represented as a vortex of swirling thoughts and restive discourse that both surround and influence researcher beliefs about ontology, epistemology and methodology.

The ontology and epistemology of these paradigmatic beliefs exert tremendous conceptual *gravitas* over the way researchers frame their world (e.g. K. Richards 2003, pp. 32-33; Husen 2004, pp. 16-17; Locke 2005, p. 6). They are distinct from the additional band labeled more generally as 'methodology'. Like epistemologies, I believe that the methodologies that were originally associated with certain research traditions can become diffused and overlap with other research traditions (Figure 4). This is why some research traditions, such as ethnography, symbolic interactionism or

phenomenology, which may be inspired by different epistemologies, may employ virtually identical methodologies (K. Richards 2003, pp. 13-14), albeit for very different purposes. This metaphor highlights process and the restive nature of paradigms, and has implications for methods as tools of knowledge production.
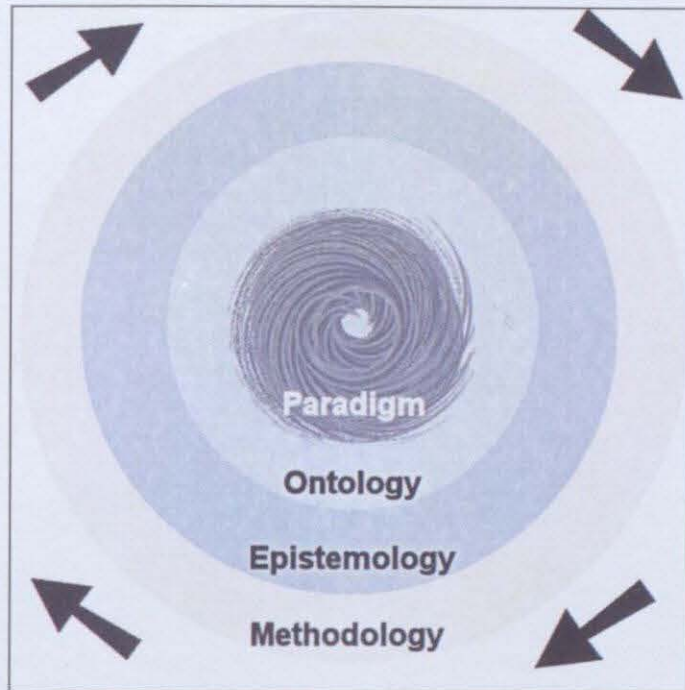
Figure 3 Paradigms and Related Philosophical Concepts

My views on method utilization differ from some of the more traditional voices within the academy, who assert that paradigmatic beliefs limit one's choice of methods and approaches (Burrell & Morgan 1979/2005 ; Hughes 1990 ; Lincoln & Guba 2000). According to this view, methodology as well as methods should be faithful to their paradigmatic heritage. Hughes (1990, p. 11) and Connell, Lynch & Waring (2001), are among those who suggest that paradigms run hierarchically, starting from the paradigm and working down to the level of method. This line of thinking supposes that research methods and methodologies are structured by one's epistemology and ontology. Research methods are preset packages that cannot be

used without accepting the original metaphysical beliefs used to create them (Clarke 2005, p. xxxiii). Methods associated with different paradigms generate fundamentally incompatible bodies of data (Brannen 1992, pp. 15-16), and are therefore rejected as incommensurable (Baker, Wuest & Stern 1992). Any attempt to mix methods is disparaged as 'slurring' (Cutcliffe 2000).
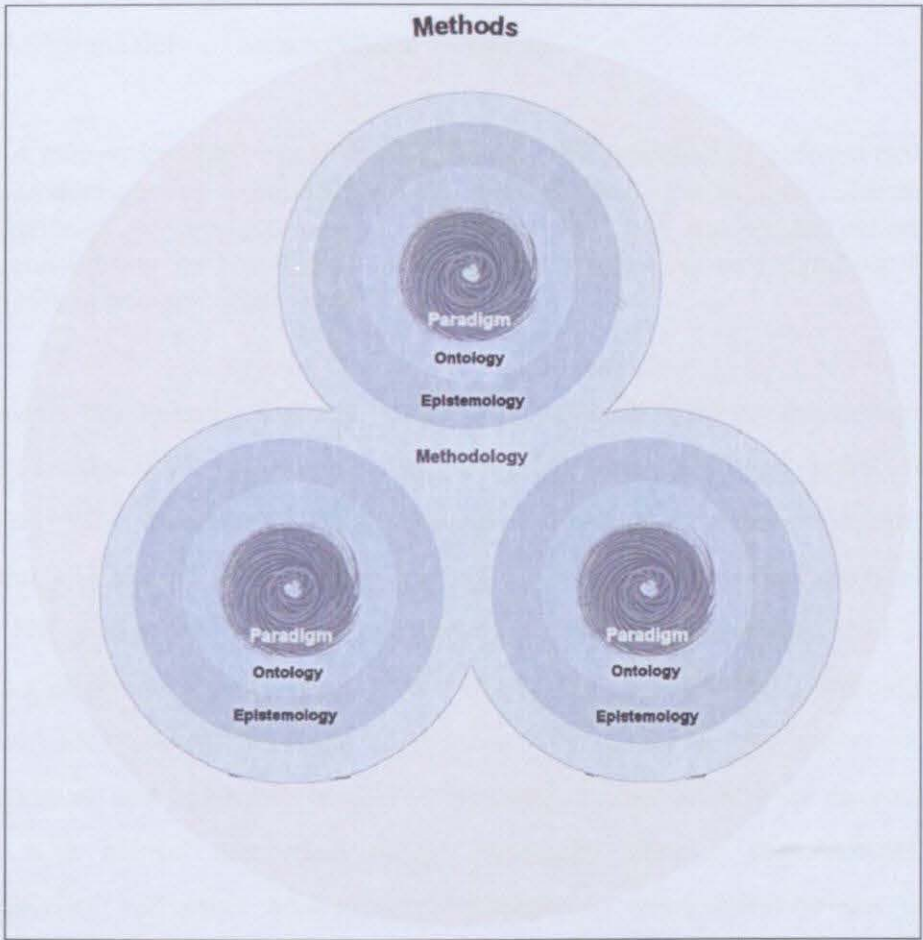
Figure 4 Interplay of Methodologies and Methods in Research Paradigm Clusters

The linear view has a certain tidy logic, but a new dialectic is needed – one that reflects the tension between paradigm and practice commonly found within the pragmatic decisions of teacher-researchers and other social scientists. My rejection of the linear view is framed within the matrix of autopoiesis.

2.3 The Autopoiesis of Research Paradigms

In the mid 1970s, philosophers of Biology Humberto Maturana and Francisco Varela proposed a theory with reference to the self-producing, self-constructing nature of living things (Maturana 1975 ; Maturana & Varela 1987 ; Cuff, Sharrock & Francis 2006, p. 108). Greek for 'self-generation', their Theory of Autopoiesis was extended to explain processes of human cognition and social interaction (Maturana & Varela 1980). Maturana defined an autopoietic system as:

> A composite unity whose organization can be described as a closed network of productions of components that through their interactions constitute the network of productions that produce them, and specify its extension by constituting its boundaries in their domain of existence (Maturana 1987, p. 349, in Mingers 2002, p. 294).

Autopoiesis has links to Systems Theory, in that both interpret the emergence of complex entities and social processes as emanating from smaller interactions (Larsen-Freeman 2007). Autopoietic thinking entered the social sciences through Niklas Luhmann, a Critical Theorist known for his long-standing intellectual struggle against Jurgen Habermas. Luhmann applied autopoiesis to communication, social systems, policies and discourse (Luhmann 1994 ; Brans & Rossbach 1997 ; Arnoldi 2001 ; Luhmann 2001 ; Cuff, Sharrock & Francis 2006, p. 107). The notion of social, organizational and academic discourse operating metaphorically as an autopoietic system is a helpful theoretical model, especially since it complements social constructivism and other contemporary theories on communication put forth by Giddens and Bhaskar (Mingers 2002). This is additionally significant because Bhaskar and Giddens's philosophical perspectives have influenced scholars in TESOL and EAP (Crookes 1997 ; B. Morgan 1997a).

Autopoietic theory was adopted by Organizational Theorists Sid Lowe and Adrian Carr (S. Lowe & Carr 2003 ; S. Lowe, Carr & Thomas 2004), who themselves were also influenced by the physicist, systems theorist and philosopher Frijof Capra. Capra

18

had refined Maturana & Varela's theory into an idea of interactive networks of production. Termed *autopoietic networks* (Capra 1996, pp. 162-168), he theorized that Structure, Pattern and Process operate within a dynamic framework that generates and maintains biological life. Capra (1996, p. 172) also believed his version of autopoietic theory could be applied metaphorically towards better understanding the nature of human cognition and the development of differing systems of philosophical thought. Lowe & Carr (2003) used Capra's ideas to map paradigms between the functions of structure, pattern and process. Called 'paradigmapping' (cf. S. Lowe, Carr & Thomas 2004) they sought to show the interaction between underlying philosophical beliefs. The heuristic device created to visualize their research was named Capra's Triad (Capra 1996 ; S. Lowe & Carr 2003 ; S. Lowe, Carr & Thomas 2004).
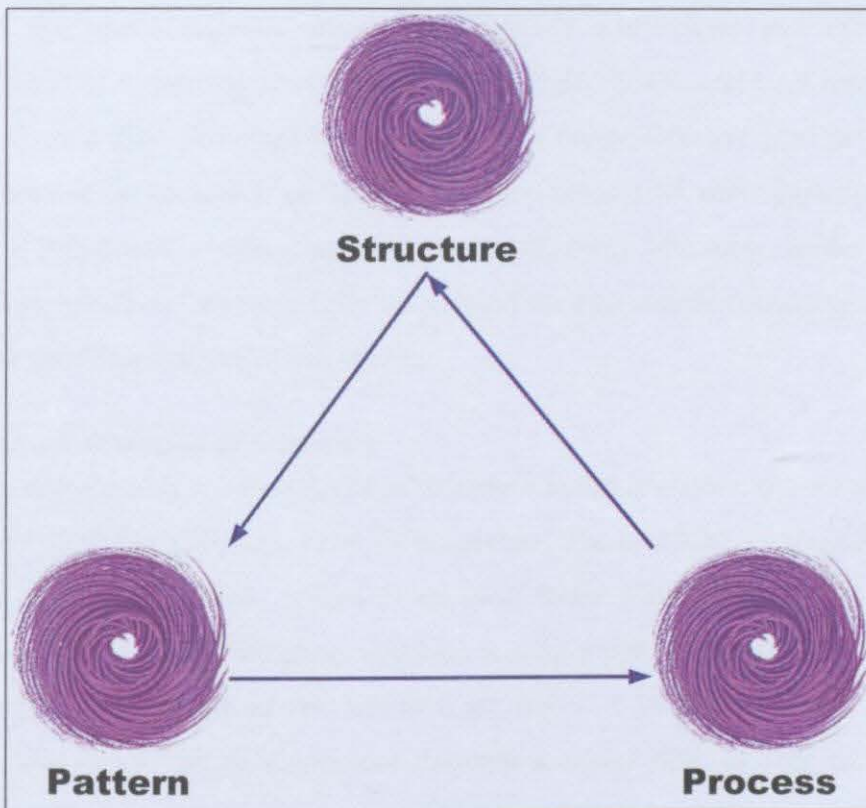
Figure 5 Capra's Triad (adapted from Lowe, Carr & Thomas 2004)

19

A minor shortcoming I find in Lowe & Carr's (2003) use of the triad is in their static portrayal of philosophies and research traditions. I have modified Capra's Triad to emphasize the cyclical flow of concepts and research practices moving from structure to patterning, patterning to process, and process back to structure (Figure 5). This interaction between Structure, Pattern and Process has implications for recontextualizing the traditional divisions between ontology, epistemology, methodology and methods, and is essential scaffolding for the philosophical, methodological and theoretical framework of this thesis.

It will not be necessary to tire readers with yet another review of the aforementioned 'paradigm wars' (Gage 1989) that engulfed the methodological literature of the 1980s, a debate that many commentators today believed 'generated more heat than light' (S. Lowe & Carr 2003, p. 1058). However, despite the spirit of uneasy détente in many fields of the social sciences around paradigmatic worldviews and of tolerating multiple ways of construing social reality, the field of TESOL and EAP has remained squarely fixated upon Structure to the exclusion of those with divergent perspectives. This is why it is necessary to briefly consider aspects of each paradigm in my theoretical framework so that readers of this thesis, many who may ascribe to a more positivist perspective, can more fully understand the philosophical underpinnings and methodological imperatives of this thesis.

2.3.1 Paradigms of Structure

There are many labels for Paradigms of Structure in the literature, the most common being what Goulding (2005, p. 17) calls positivism. The ontology associated with this paradigm cluster is realism, which in its most basic form is known as naïve or empirical realism. This belief states that both a natural and social world is 'out there' separate and independent of us, whether we know it or not. Through the right methods, this reality can be discovered (Lincoln & Guba 2000, p. 165; Gall, Gall & Borg 2003, p. 14).

The epistemology of the paradigms of structure is objectivist, meaning that truth exists, and that knowledge of the truth can be discovered empirically. The role of the researcher is to transmit knowledge of the truth free of any value statements (S. Hutchinson 1988, p. 124). The thinking is deductive, and research is designed either to prove or disprove hypotheses, thereby validating the development of truthful theories.

The methodology of social research associated with the paradigms of structure is usually quantitative in nature. Interviews or observational data are considered unquantifiable and unreliable, unless the data can be placed in a replicable matrix where discreet items can be counted or otherwise validated (Babbie 2004, p. 396). Hard data emerges from removing variables through structured sets of widely-accepted methods, such as statistical studies or cross-sectional surveys. Truth is found in quantity, and for that reason, discovering overall trends in large populations is seen as more valid than what can be learned from studies with smaller samples (Bryman 2001, pp. 284-285; Leedy & Ormrod 2001, pp. 193-194; L. Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2003, pp. 169-171).

2.3.2 Paradigms of Pattern

This paradigm cluster studies the emergence of repeated activities and discourse within a socially constructed world. Human behavior is believed to emanate from a dynamic reality formed from multiple perspectives. Potter's (1996, p. 14) review identifies ten terms roughly synonymous with this paradigm, some of them being interpretivism, the qualitative paradigm, naturalism, phenomenology, humanism, hermeneutic and post-positivism. Regardless of the label, Sciarra (1999, pp. 40-41) states that most share strikingly similar features.

The ontology of these paradigms tends toward idealism, which states that an external reality, apart from a mind to perceive it, does not exist. The world is 'in there', that is, in the mind of the one who sees and thinks about what is happening. The mind is not the only source of reality-construction: there is something 'out there', but ultimately,

21

it cannot be perceived by observation alone (Guelke 1976, p. 170). Shared reality takes place through the creation of socially constructed symbols. Locke explains that social reality:

> is not a given. It is built up over time through shared history, experience and communication so that what is taken for 'reality' is what is shared and taken for granted as to the way the world is to be perceived and understood (2005, p. 9).

Despite gradations of the finer details, the belief in reality as a mental construct is an important tenet common to all of these ontologies.

Epistemologically, this paradigm is interpretivist in nature. Knowledge is believed to be shaped by the values and worldviews of like-minded groups of individuals (Moore 1989, p. 880; Michell 2003, p. 17). Knowledge is intersubjective and created through the ever-evolving consensus of many participants, including that of the researcher (Lincoln & Guba 2000, p. 165). Researchers operating from this paradigm are required to be critically self-aware – a practice known as reflexivity. Instead of deductively testing pre-existing theories, interpretivist researchers reflexively induce new theoretical concepts that occur during their interaction with the data. They attempt to reconstruct new understandings into a narrative discussing the possible 'whys' and 'hows' of the phenomenon being studied (Ritchie 2004, pp. 28-29).

Research methodologies in this paradigm are as much an art as a science, since social reality is viewed as fluid and emergent (Bryman 2001). This results in the flexible use of multiple methodologies. Denzin & Lincoln (2000a, p. 3) describe the researcher operating from this paradigm as a *bricoleur*, one who tinkers about and 'uses the tools of his or her methodological trade, deploying whatever strategies, methods or empirical materials as are at hand.' The focus of the research project is less predetermined in the beginning, but over time, researchers explore various avenues of inquiry while abandoning others as dead ends. Various methods are used to investigate social phenomena, and the researcher can change directions, if

serendipitous events uncover issues that are core to understanding the study. Methodologies, as explained by Potter (1996), are usually qualitative in nature. There is a preference for unstructured interviews, reflective journaling and observational techniques.

2.3.3 Paradigms of Process

Process paradigms emphasize the chaos of human interaction and focus upon the immediacy of the present without interpreting underlying meanings. Paradigms clustering under this heading call into question the theories, findings or insights generated of those operating from the paradigms of structure and pattern:

> The world is characterized by uncertain dynamic process rather than such certain structures. Process does not involve certainty or foundations and discourse is characterized by paradox, contradiction and indeterminate meaning. Language, as the principle vehicle of the cultural process, is uncertain and indeterminate because it is a process that reflexively contains its own antithesis and upon which meaning is politically imposed. The 'active' world is thus a chameleonic process without structure or certainty (S. Lowe 2001, p. 326).

Adherents of process advocate deconstructionism, the transgression of traditional academic conventions, anti-establishmentarianism and call for plurality in critical discourse, in order to extricate themselves from what they see as the domination of academic and socioeconomic hegemonies.

This paradigmatic position is associated with the postmodernist work of Derrida, Baudrillard and Foucault, as well as Post-Structuralism, Deconstructionism, Orientalism and Literary Theory. Critical Social Theory (CST), which contributes to aspects of this thesis, also operate within the outer orbit of the paradigms of process, though some would protest this broad stroke of the brush, since voices within this community are disparate and willfully paradoxical. CST seeks to stimulate public awareness that results in social emancipation and constructive transformation (Geuss 1981, pp. 55-56; Agger 1991, p. 109; A. Carr 2005, p. 472). Critical Theorists, and their associated academic communities of Queer Theorists, Feminists, Post-

23

Colonialists and Neo-Marxists, ascribe to a critical realist (sometimes called historical realist) ontology, which Lincoln & Guba (2000, p. 165) define as 'a virtual reality shaped by social, political...and gender values; crystallized over time.' This puts these groups ontologically somewhere on the periphery of the paradigms of structure, even as most of their contribution is to process-based research (Firat & Venkatesh 1995, p. 248) through shared epistemological beliefs. How this is possible will soon be revealed.

Others who are more clearly devoted to the paradigms of process view ontological questions of reality as neither 'in there' nor 'out there', but instead, *nowhere*, until it is created by a particular group, and even this is historically inconclusive, highly contextualized and culturally limited (Grenz 1996, p. 7; Scheurich 2001, p. 33). Multiple realities are layered one on top of another, each with something important to add.

Researchers uphold epistemological relativism, which in relation to social inquiry, does not refer to cultural, moral or ethical relativism. Instead, it relates to multiple ways of knowing and doing. These manifold ways do not entail, as opponents claim, that wild fantasy, illogicality, sophilism, nihilism or unbridled eclecticism are acceptable (Guba 1992, pp. 18-20). Richardson (2000) states that a relativist epistemology simply allows researchers:

> to know 'something' without claiming to know everything. Having a partial, local, historical knowledge is still knowing. In some ways, 'knowing' is easier, however, because postmodernism recognizes the situational limitations of the knower (p. 928).

There is a preference, therefore, to emphasize *theorizing* as an active process rather than *theory* as a product. This deepens the sense of immediacy and the highlights restive, chaotic dynamics constantly at work within the socio-historical milieu. Attention is paid to the 'variables' ignored by those dedicated to the paradigms of

structure (Clarke 2005, pp. 28-32; Charmaz 2006, p. 128). While those informed by this paradigm avoid the creation of grand, overarching theories, localized theories are

	Structure	Pattern	Process
Ontology	*Realist:* What is 'out there' truly exists.	*Idealist:* Existence is 'in there', i.e. created in the mind.	*Ontological Relativism:* Multiple realities exist, but might interact via discourse
Epistemology	*Objectivism:* Truth is 'out there' and can be discovered.	*Subjectivism:* Truth depends on values and personal constructs that are shared by the community.	*Epistemological Relativism:* Many standards for locally legitimate knowledge exist, which are based upon ephemeral discourse manifested in a historical moment
Theoretical Stance	*Deductive:* Theory, Hypothesis, Observation and Confirmation	*Inductive:* Observation, Discovery of Patterns, Hypotheses and Theory	*Pragmatic:* Outcomes are deemed acceptable by a particular discourse group
Methodology	Discovering Structures for Prediction and Control	Understanding Emergent Patterns for Greater Insight	Focusing upon Immediate Processes for Deconstruction and Reconstruction
Outcomes in EAP/TESOL Education & Research	Grammar-Translation, Data-driven Learning, Task-Based Learning, Statistical Testing	Humanistic Learning, Cooperative Development, Ethnography, Action Research	Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), Deconstruction of the 'native speaker', Validation of 'World Englishes'

Table 1 Research Paradigms and their Implications for TESOL and EAP

possible so long as the process of how the theory was created is understood, and it is recognized that they 'are not concerned about the 'truth' of their research but rather the pragmatic applicability of their results' (Annells 1996, p. 391). This 'pragmatic applicability' of process-based theorizing focuses upon text, that 'worded world' (L. Richardson 2000, p. 923) as it appears in a moment in time before once again being reworded. Methodological practices study semiotic strategies and call for the social or political liberation of the subaltern. Kilduff & Mehra (1997) note that in most cases,

researchers guided by a process perspective use the same methodologies associated with the paradigms of pattern, especially ethnographic or phenomenological methods.

Researchers of process avoid quantitative methods, though some state that nothing prevents their use (Guba 1992, p. 18; Reinharz 1992, pp. 92-94), though the difference is in how they are implemented. While structure-based research seeks the verification and/or falsification of theories, and research from the paradigms of pattern focus on understanding the lived social experience of informants for constructing theories, researchers from the process paradigm enter the field both to deconstruct and reconstruct in order to subvert what they see as oppressive structures. In searching for the local and the non-generalizable, they question generalized conceptions of truth and problematize language that betrays the bias of scientific, modernist thinking. A summary of the features of structure, pattern and process paradigms, together with their implications for EAP-based research, is presented in Table 1.

2.4 A Commensurable Synthesis

Autopoiesis transcends the over-emphasis upon a structured, linear view of research that has been the mainstay of TESOL and EAP, where there has been a tendency to view different paradigms, methodologies and methods as self-enclosed and incommensurable (Burrell & Morgan 1979/2005 ; Hughes 1990).

Kuhn believed that periods of overlap might exist as one paradigm slowly fades and another becomes ascendant (Kuhn 1962/1996, p. 85). Schultz & Hatch (1996) have built upon this notion, and call for paradigm interplay, one which allows for shared meanings to emerge from the interchange between paradigm models. Miles & Huberman (1994, p. 5) also suggest similar ideas to conclude that 'multiple overlaps' exist within the paradigms that inform the methodologies of social inquiry (cf. Angen 2000, p. 379). I believe that overlap occurs, but not linearly, with one paradigm disappearing into another. I believe that paradigms flow cyclically in and out of one another in constant autopoietic interaction. Drawing again from Capra's Triad (S.

26

Lowe, Carr & Thomas 2004, p. 1058), I believe that paradigms, with their respective ontologies, epistemologies and inspired methodologies, are not at odds with each other. Neither are they to be seen, as Lincoln & Guba (2000, p. 725) have claimed, as like separate religions in competition for new converts. Rather, paradigms of structure, pattern and process are an autopoietic network, each with vital functions contributing to a fuller understanding of a complex, multilayered social reality. Lowe et al (2005, p. 189) argue that '[s]tructure…is merely a manifestation of the 'process' of embodiment of the 'pattern' of organization of a system. As a result, 'structure' is not ontologically 'real' as such, because it is always a reification of process and pattern.' It is through this constant that the existence of the other is both generated and maintained.
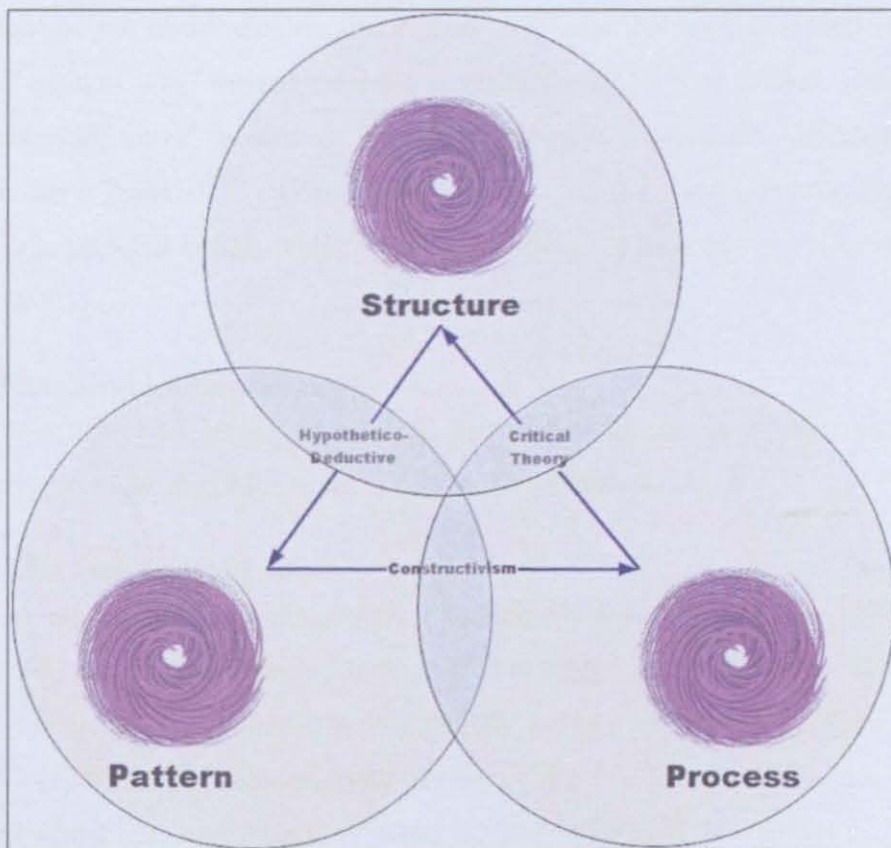
Figure 6 Overlapping Epistemologies within Capra's Triad

Bhaskar (1986 ; 1989 ; 1998), mentioned earlier as a philosopher who is making inroads into TESOL and EAP-based research (e.g. Crookes 1997 ; B. Morgan 1997a ; Larsen-Freeman 2007), has also challenged the linear view for many years, arguing that ontological and epistemological beliefs should be treated separately. His own position is one in which, ontologically, he ascribes to critical realism, while epistemologically, leans towards relativism. If we synthesize the interconnected nature of Capra's Triad with Bhasker's philosophical position, and then combine these with the notion of paradigms as contributing to the creative existence of sociological research, it is clear to see how epistemologies, further out from the core of ontology, are able to overlap (Figure 6).

This sheds light on why critical theorists often support a relativist stance in terms of epistemology, but ontologically, frame their discourse and actions within history. It helps to explain why various qualitative researchers, such as Glaser, ascribe to a hypothetico-deductive position, but can modulate between objectivism and subjectivism (Glaser 1978 ; Glaser 1992). It also suggests why some constructivists express interpretivist beliefs while others are relativist in their outlook (Charmaz 2000 ; Clarke 2005).

2.5 Philosophical Underpinnings

Based upon the conceptual framework established above, it is now possible to reflexively consider the philosophical perspective of this thesis.

2.5.1 Ontological Position

Earlier in my scholarly development, I tended towards constructivism (Hadley & Evans 2001), but in recent years I have shifted to what Lincoln & Guba (2000) would call historical realism, what Bhaskar (1998) defines as critical realism or what Cupchik (2001) calls constructivist realism. The 'realisms' expressed in these positions admit that perceptions of what is 'real' and what is significant in human social systems are subject to change, and mediated by individual beliefs and perspectives, but that there is still an overarching social reality accessible to all,

though in varying degrees (Barnett-Page & Thomas 2009, p. 64). I operate from an understanding of a unified social reality that is formed from a composite of multilayered perspectives and varied standards for what is 'in there' as well as for what is 'out there'. For example, many facets of 'what is 'real' to a Tibetan monk may not be 'real' to an American businessman' (Berger & Luckmann 1967, p. 3), but there will be other aspects that they will share. From this perspective, Cupchik (2001, p. 2) explains that researchers 'engage in a transcendental act of reflection and look for similarities in the midst of supposed differences.'

The notion of an empirical physical reality is vital for the maintenance and continuation of medicine, engineering, technology and other 'hard' sciences that aid in easing the difficulties of our daily lives, but in terms of the study of an empirical *social reality*, different cultural facets of human society can only be studied and experienced as real through discourse, which itself is in a state of flux as one moves through time. Multiple perspectives are needed to highlight the interconnected, crystalline structure of social discourse and reality. It is within this light that claims for empiricism by some social scientists (Blumer 1969/1998 ; Glaser 1978) are not rejected, for certainly there are 'things' out there. Martin (2003) skillfully demonstrates this in his paper on separate educational studies in two socialist states, one in Allende's Chile and another in Mugabe's Zimbabwe. Both researchers were separated by geography, ontological beliefs and research methodologies, but came to strikingly similar conclusions about social processes and causes, suggesting that regardless of differing ontological beliefs, researchers can contribute to a common understanding of an overarching empirical social reality.

From a critical perspective, I also believe that multilayered perceptions of reality are maintained by power and historicity. Certain groups will always have the power to keep large numbers of people focused on their approved worldview. The power of stakeholders in EAP, for example, to focus a majority of language teachers on Paradigms of Structure, while at the same time implicitly marginalizing those

ascribing to Paradigms of Pattern and Process, is typical of this. Through shared constructs, discourse and symbols, facets of an ever-developing social reality are empowered. With a wane in power, some views on social reality fade. In addition, other understandings of social reality exist outside the view and interest of the powerful, but in and of itself, this does not invalidate the views of a particular minority. With reference to historicity, especially in Chapter Five, I locate social realities within a historical perspective, thereby giving them greater meaning for the confined contextualization of this grounded theory.

2.5.2 Epistemological Beliefs

Understanding reality as situated in history has implications for epistemology. Mahmoud (2007, p. xi) wrote that scholars are the product of a 'collective intellectual process spanning several centuries...and a personal intellectual process rooted in individual experience. A thinker's 'epistemological horizon' is defined by the coming together of these two processes.' With Anderson (1986, p. 157), I believe 'there is no guarantee that our current evaluative criteria will not appear similarly quaint some 300 years hence.' Therefore, I ascribe to what is known in the literature as *critical epistemic relativism* (P. Anderson 1986, p. 155). Multiple views of a social reality operating in parallel and conjunction with each other require various forms of knowledge for painting a larger picture of social phenomena. I do not reject positivist, interpretivist or postmodern research. Such pluralism is necessary for studying sociological issues. As Fine (1993, p. 65) rightly points out, 'diversity produces intellectual ferment.' What is learned in the process of research is the result of constructed and mediated beliefs agreed upon between the researcher and the academy. Anderson (1986) states:

> The critical relativist demands to know a theory's mode of production, the criteria by which it is judged, the ideological and value commitments that inform its construction, and the metaphysical beliefs that underwrite its research program. Most importantly, the critical relativist wishes to know the realizable cognitive and practical aims of a theory so that its range of applicability can be assessed (p. 156).

For others to assess multiple knowledge claims, critical relativism insists that knowledge builders should be explicit about what they believe, what they see, and how they have developed their research. I will do this later in Chapter Four, when I discuss decisions and procedures for generating the grounded theory of this thesis.
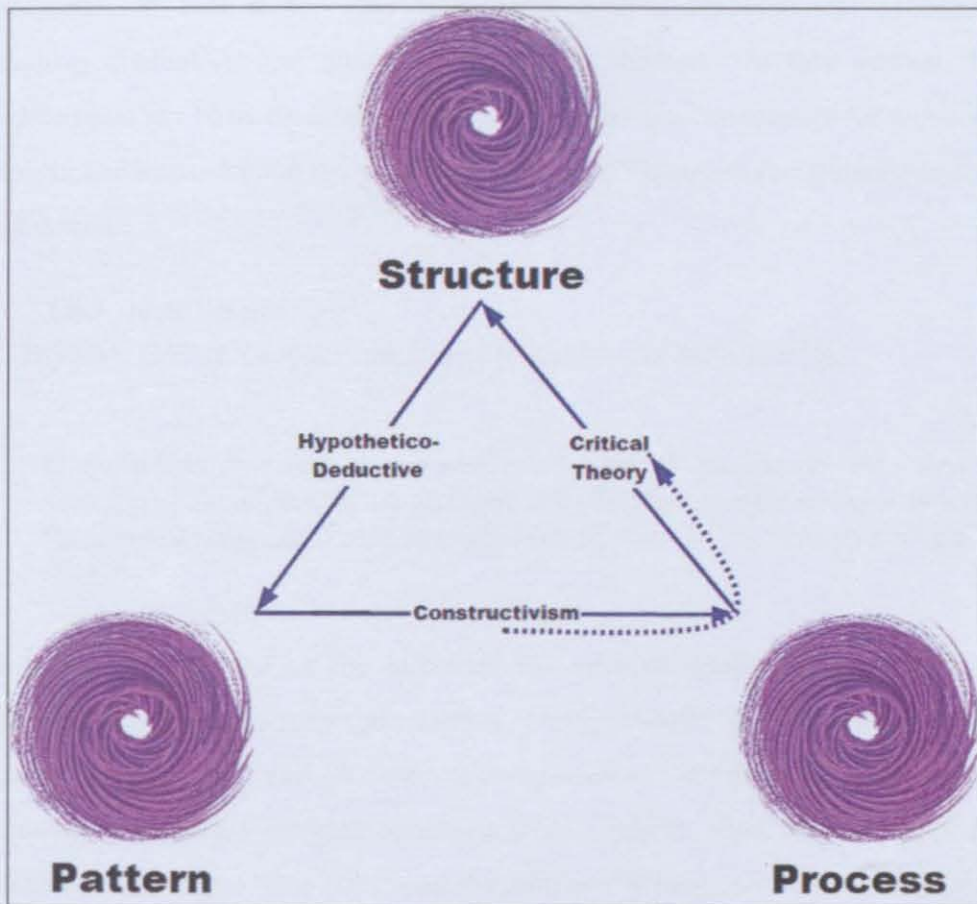
Figure 7 Paradigmatic Position of this Thesis

My philosophical beliefs, therefore, gravitate towards the paradigms of process, and travel from Constructivism to the cusp of Critical Theory (Figure 7). While reflecting upon the insight gained from my experiences with informants, my thoughts undergo a process of reconstruction, and I often seek to push the pragmatic potential of my research towards the concerns of critical theorists. Any realist tendencies within my

31

ontological beliefs are likely to be found there. It is within this autopoietic process that a fuller understanding of sociological dynamics can be understood.

2.6 Methodology

Multiple ways of knowing suggest the need for multiple avenues of discovery. An autopoietic flow from structure to pattern and process has methodological implications, in that it provides researchers with a philosophical rationale for combining qualitative and quantitative research methods. In this section, I will elucidate upon my basic methodological position, discuss my reasons for a qualitative approach, and expand upon my choice of Grounded Theory as the primary method of investigation.

2.6.1 Basic Stance

With Bryman, (1992), I support the autopoieticization of methodology:

> Quantitative research is especially efficient at getting to the 'structural' features of social life, while qualitative studies are usually stronger in terms of 'processual' aspects. These strengths can be brought together in a single study (p. 60).

This perspective allows for the informed use of both qualitative and quantitative methodologies for knowledge production. Ideally, social inquiry should do what Bryman has implied, and become a cooperative, multiparadigmatic endeavor. Structured, quantitative research operating from a realist, objectivist view should be conducted according to their standards, the results of which can serve as resources for those qualitative researchers who will interpret social patterns subjectively and understand how they are locally constructed. The theories created from these studies can then be both deconstructed and critically reconstructed. Data emerging from this process that appears contradictory may in fact be closer to highlighting the restive social dynamics taking place within a particular group of informants, thus stimulating new avenues of inquiry for structure-based researchers, and synergistically beginning the cycle once again. Such an approach would be best carried out in research teams,

however, and not by the solitary PhD student. Given the choice, I will opt for a qualitative research perspective.

2.6.2 The Case for a Qualitative Emphasis

One can certainly conduct qualitative research from the perspective of the paradigms of structure, and while this has intrinsic value, it is the prevalence of this view to the exclusion of other paradigmatic positions that has placed TESOL and EAP in peril. While structure is necessary for the maintenance of both living organisms and philosophical perspectives within academic disciplines, autopoietically, systems of thought that are over-structured, over-focused on replication, verification and the quantification of truth claims, run the risk of becoming hardened, inflexible, and eventually petrified.

For many years, this has been manifested in the imbalance between qualitative and quantitative methodologies in EAP. Lazaraton's study of seven years of research articles of the major international journals in ELT, (*TESOL Quarterly, Language Learning, The Modern Language Journal* and *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*), found that nearly ninety percent of the papers relied on a statistical analysis for testing preconceived hypotheses (Lazaraton 2000, p. 178). Howatt & Widdowson's (2004) history of the field suggests that paradigms of structure have had an enduring influence over the profession, which according to Shkedi (1998, p. 560), mirrors developments in other disciplines engaged in educational research. Whether from behaviorism, audiolingualism, task-based learning or grammar-translation, the main emphasis in TESOL and EAP has been upon structuring the language so that it can be utilized for the control of learner behavior and the prediction of instructional outcomes. TESOL took as its template the standard research practices of the late 1950s, a time when the bulk of research in the social sciences utilized some form of a quantitative methodology (Denzin & Lincoln 1998a ; Denzin & Lincoln 2000a ; R. Ellis 2000, p. 44). Most TESOL MA Programs still operate from this perspective, and the default position almost always first in addressing how to determine the significance and validity of statistical studies, or in highlighting approved procedures

within the academy for how to interpret the findings of survey-based research (Hatch & Lazaraton 1991 ; Nunan 1992 ; Brown 1993 ; Brown 2001). Language ability itself has been traditionally quantified in order for teachers to exert control over what can be utilized by the largest potential number of students (A. Cohen 1994). Indeed, much of the work in corpus linguistics assumes an objective truth 'out there' in the language, and that linguistic features can be discovered in the frequent discourse structures that occur in large populations over time, the significance of which can be validated by statistical analysis.

It is therefore not surprising that, in TESOL and EAP, qualitative research struggles to win widespread acceptance in journals (Birley & Moreland 1998). At conferences, it is common to observe language teachers sitting up and taking notice when graphs of numerical measures are presented. In terms of gaining lucrative research grants, quantitative research is still the gold standard because, as Shkedi (1998) explains, while educators value the insights and pragmatic value of qualitative research, they also see the findings as derived from sloppy, unscientific and unreliable methods. The methodology and approach of qualitative researchers are more recursive than replicable, and therefore at odds with the standardized manner in which most research is carried out in TESOL. This leads Borg (2004) to lament:

> It seems unhelpful that, within a professional teaching organization such as TESOL, the notion of research which is often asserted (e.g. hypothesis-testing, objective inquiry) is one which excludes the kinds of inquiries which are most relevant, feasible and accessible to a majority of members. An insistence on hypotheses and objectivity becomes even more problematic when the phenomena being researched – language teaching and learning – are dynamic, process-oriented, unpredictable and indelibly shaped by human interactions and values. In such contexts, broader views of what counts as research are required (p. 6).

Studies by Borg (2007, p. 732) and McDonough & McDonough (1990, p. 103) expand upon the work of Shkedi, finding that even though most language teachers

view quantitative research as reliable, rigorous and scientific, few feel it addresses the concerns affecting either their professional lives or the lives of their learners.

I would like to see greater acceptance in the TESOL and EAP academic community for qualitative methodologies that are guided by the paradigms of pattern and process. Striking a balance between structure, pattern and process, as well as encouraging qualitative research that focuses upon discovery and theory generation, are needed in order for EAP-based research to maintain its vitality, flexibility, and openness to new perspectives. There is little question that quantitative research has great value in areas such as language testing, or in validating aspects of an abstract theory, but I would suggest that neglecting qualitative research in favor of the 'how much' and the 'how many' of EAP-based inquiry risks channeling the creative energies of TEAPs towards supporting 'the myth that the assiduous application of rigorous method will yield sound fact – as if empirical methodology were some form of meat grinder from which truth could be turned out like so many sausages' (Gergen 1985, p. 273). As language teachers, we daily encounter humanity in all its diversity. Treating them, metaphorically speaking, as frankfurters, strikes me as one of the *wurst* of research strategies. Qualitative research complements the measurement of 'how many times' or 'how much', with the 'why' and 'how' (Chism & Banta 2007) of human experience.

A qualitative approach works best when the researcher knows little about the domain being investigated. With reference to the introduction of this thesis, this was the situation for me as I sought to understand the changes taking place in the managerial aspects of EAP at my HEI. At the start of this research, I had been an EAP teacher in Japanese HEIs for over fifteen years, which was most of my adult working life. During this time, all of my professional attention focused on the teaching of EAP, and the institutional aspects of EAP, when compared to what was taking place in the United States and UK during these years, retained features of what is often referred to (Bender 1997 ; Altbach, Berdahl & Gumport 1999/2005, p. 357; Archer 2008) as the

35

Golden Age of Higher Education. National funding and support for tertiary level education, both state-sponsored and private, were high. Teaching loads were light, and the emphasis for teachers was often upon their areas of academic research. Students studied if they wished, as social promotion was a given. All of these aspects of Japanese HE have been discussed and criticized elsewhere (Koike & Tanaka 1995 ; McVeigh 2002 ; Sakui 2004 ; Amano & Poole 2005 ; Butler-Goto & Iino 2005 ; Yonezawa 2007a ; Tipton 2008 ; Sugino 2010), but the point here is that as changes began to take place in Japanese HE during the mid 2000s, I and others like me did not fully understand what was going on. I was well situated for an exploratory, qualitative study of the topics to be considered later in this thesis.

Some might suggest that because the issues presented in this thesis have taken place elsewhere, such as in the UK and US, this thesis may not significantly contribute to Tertiary EAP. There are philosophical and methodological responses to this view. Philosophically, Paul Kedrosky, a Senior Fellow at the Kauffman Foundation, argues that those living in the new normal, such as EAP educators in the US and UK, often lose the ability either to fully remember or appreciate the old normal. His concept of the Shifting Baseline Syndrome (Kedrosky 2012, pp. 90-91) suggests that those who have grown accustomed to changing environments are unable to gauge the degree of transformation that continues to take place, and those who enter an environment without a knowledge of past conditions further erase the social memory, thus solidifying the shift in baseline awareness. This is especially the case when considering research with a sociological focus, such as in schools, organizations, educational change and managerial processes.

Methodologically, Grounded Theory also qualitatively paves the way for new contributions on what some may consider as old subjects. 'Grounded' means that research is rooted in empirical evidence – that which is experienced by the groups of people being studied, and 'theory' in this sense refers to an explanatory model that 'fits empirical situations. It should be understandable to sociologists and laymen alike.

Most important it works – provides us with relevant predictions, explanations, interpretations and applications' (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, p. 1). As a method of qualitative inquiry, the goal is to:

> encourage researchers to use their intellectual imagination and creativity to develop theories relating to their areas of inquiry; to suggest methods for doing so; to offer criteria to evaluate the worth of discovered theory; and to propose an alternative rhetoric, that of generation, to balance out the rhetoric of justification featured in journal articles and monographs (Locke 2005, p. 33).

Holliday (1996) is among those in EAP who also call for the greater inclusion of sociological imagination in TESOL-based inquiry, and of researchers in TESOL seeking to locate themselves and their actions more critically within their wider communities and the world scenario (p. 235). Especially for teacher-researchers living abroad, there has been an abiding interest in such issues as they seek to understand the behavior of their learners, the policy decisions of stakeholders, and the professional identity of language teachers within the organizational subcultures of their overseas educational institutions (Allwright 1983 ; Alptekin & Alptekin 1984 ; A. Cohen 1984 ; J. Richards 1987 ; Gorsuch 2000 ; Dogancay-Aktuna 2005). According to its founders (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, p. 22), GT is ideally suited for studying such concerns in small organizations, schools and classrooms (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, p. 22), and though underused in TESOL and EAP, the Grounded Theory Methodology has potential for qualitatively exploring a wide variety of sociological issues related to language education in an imaginative and innovative manner.

Even in the case when there is a wide body of literature on a subject, such as the corporatization of Higher Education, Stern & Porr (2011, p. 31) state that GTM provides a methodological matrix by which professionals from different disciplines can explore the same subject from different perspectives, thereby making unique, imaginative and multifaceted theoretical contributions. Birks & Mills (2011, pp. 16-17) add that GTM is useful when relatively little is known about an area of study, and

when one seeks to qualitatively theorize about new developments, such as the emergence of Blended Professionals in HE (Whitchurch 2008 ; Whitchurch 2009b ; Whitchurch 2009a ; Gordon & Whitchurch 2010), and more specifically for this thesis, Blended Professionals in Tertiary EAP. It is within this conceptual space that the subsequent grounded theory of this thesis seeks to make an academic contribution not only to Tertiary EAP in Japanese HE, but also to EAP in Western contexts such as the US and the UK as well.

2.7 Chapter Summary

A more detailed discussion of Grounded Theory, and in particular, a critical version of the methodology, will be considered in the next chapter. As I conclude, I am reminded of the words of Burrell & Morgan (1979/2005, p. ix), who state:

> It is important that a theorist be fully aware of the assumptions upon which his own perspective is based. Such an appreciation takes him outside the realm of his own familiar domain. It requires that he become familiar with paradigms which are not his own. Only then can he look back and appreciate the precise nature of his starting point.

The underlying motivation of this chapter has been to be explicit about my philosophical worldview so that readers from different paradigmatic perspectives can understand the nature of the Grounded Theory to be presented later. In articulating my conceptual framework, the stance I have taken with regard to research paradigms, the autopoietic commensurability of methodologies and methods, and my reasons for choosing a qualitative methodology such as that found in Grounded Theory, it is my hope that readers will be motivated to examine their own beliefs, which in turn may raise their consciousness to the reasons why they find themselves either in agreement or disagreement with various aspects of this chapter. In doing so, they too will begin the practice of reflexivity about the metaphysical beliefs informing their pragmatic research decisions, and gain greater insight into the way they frame, approach and interpret research – their own as well as that of others.

Chapter 3

Grounded Theory: Origins, Methods and Evolution

3.1 Introduction

Because of the preference in TESOL and EAP for quantified research that is often interpreted through the epistemology and ontology of the Paradigms of Structure, in the last chapter it was necessary to establish the philosophical principles guiding this thesis, which travel between the Paradigms of Pattern and Process and move autopoietically from a constructivist viewpoint towards a critical perspective. I argued that the qualitative methodology of Grounded Theory is well suited for exploring the issues that will be addressed later in this thesis.

This chapter introduces Grounded Theory (GT) and describes the Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM). Despite the extensive use of GTM in nursing, psychology, education and other 'helping professions' (e.g. Conrad 1978 ; Conrad 1982 ; Pajak & Blaise 1984), with the exception of its cursory mention in textbooks on research methods for TESOL teachers (Holliday 2002 ; K. Richards 2003 ; Dornyei 2007) and an excellent volume by Senior (2006) detailing her twelve year Grounded Theory study of language teachers, *Grounded Theory*, if it is mentioned at all, has taken a back seat to other qualitative research traditions, such as action research or ethnography (Harklau 2005, pp. 183-184). While papers in TESOL and EAP claiming to use a Grounded Theory approach can be found (Watt, Roessingh & Bosetti 1996 ; Orland-Barak 2001 ; Gan, Humphries & Hamp-Lyons 2004 ; Kung 2004 ; Sakui 2004 ; Mynard & Almarzouqi 2006), these have drawn upon only selected aspects of the methodology. In addition, as I have learned from my private communications with internationally recognized qualitative researchers in TESOL, even though these top-tier scholars have discussed Grounded Theory in their books and/or papers, none have personally used the methodology, admitting to having only a cursory knowledge of what 'doing Grounded Theory' actually entails. This suggests that while a detailed treatment of GT and GTM would be unnecessary for disciplines with an established corpus of GT studies, an explanation of GTM is crucial for a thesis addressing

40

sociological and managerial issues in EAP. Without a deeper understanding of Grounded Theory, readers in EAP and TESOL may not be equipped to understand the later processes and final product of this work.

After providing a background review of the people and theoretical influences that have formed Grounded Theory, I will introduce readers to a general description of GTM. I will defend against some of the common criticisms leveled against GT, and present a critical version of the methodology, which I have developed from earlier versions of GTM.

3.2 The Origins of Grounded Theory

During most of the twentieth century, Western sociological research conformed to the beliefs and practices most commonly associated with the Paradigms of Structure. Researchers were under considerable institutional pressure to devise studies that could be replicated and validated either by statistical analysis or by quasi-experimental designs (Grotjahn 1987). The 'Grand Theories' of revered intellectuals were handed down to teams of analysts who strove to verify these notions through empirical field studies (C. Mills 1959/2000, pp. 48-49; B. Turner 1988, p. 111). Charmaz (2006, pp. 4-5) notes that after some initial interest in the 'Chicago School' of ethnography, by the 1960's, qualitative research had fallen into such a state of disrepair that any studies relying upon field observation, interviews and other 'soft' linguistic data, required the validation of quantitative research before it could be published or widely disseminated (Wartofsky 1968, p. 390; S. Hunt 1991, p. 41; J. White 2005, pp. 56-57). More often than not, qualitative research was simply dismissed as biased, journalistic, subjective, and unworthy of serious academic concern (Denzin & Lincoln 1998b, p. 7).

It was within this context that, starting quietly in the late 1950s, and rising to a crescendo by the 1960s, voices of dissent within the Academy began to swell against the established order. Scholars from various fields devised more flexible methodologies for studying the human condition – ways that transcended simple

number-crunching (C. Mills 1959/2000 ; Kuhn 1962/1996 ; Kelly 1963). Among these dissident thinkers, Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss wrote their landmark book, *The Discovery of Grounded Theory: Strategies for Qualitative Research* (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999). In it, they urged researchers to make a break from their dependence upon the abstracted musings of iconic sociologists such as Marx, Weber and Durkheim, and to propose fresh theories generated from empirical field data (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, pp. 1, 2 & 7).

Glaser & Strauss's polemic sent tremors throughout the academic research community, and it had an immediate appeal among new researchers who, as Eisner (2001, p. 137) explains, had become 'attracted to the idea of getting close to practice, [and] to getting a first-hand sense of what actually goes on in classrooms, schools, hospitals and communities.' *Discovery* laid out a set of recursive practices that could be adopted by large numbers of researchers, and which could be externally evaluated by the academy for its potential value (Denzin & Lincoln 2000a, p. 14).

Denzin & Lincoln (1998a, p. xviii) have observed that Grounded Theory has now become '...the most widely employed interpretive strategy in the social sciences today.' In the field of nursing alone, one review found that in the past forty years, nearly 4000 articles have been published within the GT tradition (J. Mills, Bonner & Francis 2006, p. 2). Titscher et al's (2000, pp. 74, 218-220) exhaustive bibliometric survey of major books and articles in the social sciences found that from 1990 until the time of their paper's publication, nearly two-thirds of the qualitative research projects used some form of a Grounded Theory Methodology. Since then, books and articles continue to appear under the Grounded Theory label, and significantly for GTM, Sage Publications published the first-ever *Handbook of Grounded Theory* in 2007, (A. Bryant & Charmaz 2007b) a volume that is over six hundred pages in length.

3.3 Roots of the Grounded Theory Methodology (GTM)

Stern & Porr (2011, p. 30) explain that GTM was built from a combination of Symbolic Interactionism and American Pragmatism, and that 'the whole thrust of grounded theory [is] to figure out what's important to people, what's problematic, and what's the process of events or action schemes implemented to achieve resolution.' Symbolic Interactionism, a hypothetico-deductive form of qualitative research, studied the significance that people affixed to problems and symbols in their society (Blumer 1969/1998, p. 3). The American Pragmatists of Pierce, Dewey and James described the social world as marked by flux and multiple ways of knowing, and these notions influenced Strauss as he earned his PhD in Sociology at the University of Chicago (Annells 1997, p. 121; Locke 2005, p. 28). Glaser, who was trained at Columbia University under the tutelage of sociologists Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton, approached the social world as an emergent process that could be formalized through structured quantitative routines and rigorous qualitative, hermeneutical interpretations using the technique known as *explication de texte* that he learned while abroad at the University of Paris (Merton 1957, p. 117; Lazarsfeld 1962, p. 767; Merton 1967, pp. 39, in Bryman 2001. p. 2006 ; Glaser 1998, pp. 29-30; Eaves 2001, p. 655). Together Glaser and Strauss combined their methodological training and philosophical beliefs to construct a disciplined, rigorously interpretive, and flexibly systematic methodology:

> [T]he identification of social processes and the exploration of the complexity of social life mainly originates from Strauss and that the strict, line by line reading of codes, the systematic division into categories and the determination of properties arise from Glaser (Hallberg 2006, p. 142).

Providing a general description of GTM poses certain challenges, because apart from Glaser & Strauss (1967/1999), little evidence exists of anyone ever conducting a Grounded Theory study as methodologically described in *Discovery* (Bryman 1988, p. 85). 'Grounded theory,' conclude Corbin & Holt (Corbin & Holt 2004), 'is a method in flux and a method that has different meanings to different people.' According to

43

Bryant & Charmaz (2007a, pp. 11-12), GTM functions today as a 'family of methods' with at least five different versions in vogue. One version, based on the work of Glaser, is often called Glaserian GT (Glaser 1978 ; Glaser 1992); there is another version by Strauss and his student Juliet Corbin called Straussian GT (Strauss 1987 ; Corbin & Strauss 1990 ; Strauss & Corbin 1998 ; Corbin & Strauss 2008). There is also a very popular version informed by a constructivist perspective (Charmaz 2000 ; Charmaz 2005 ; Charmaz 2006 ; Charmaz 2008) and a postmodern version called Situational Analysis (Clarke 2003 ; Clarke 2005). Finally, a lesser-known form of GTM known as Dimensional Analysis (Schatzman 1991), was influential in the formation of constructivist and postmodern versions, and has generated a modest number of grounded theories (e.g. Kools 1997 ; Velsor 2004 ; Bowers, Fibich & Jacobson 2009).
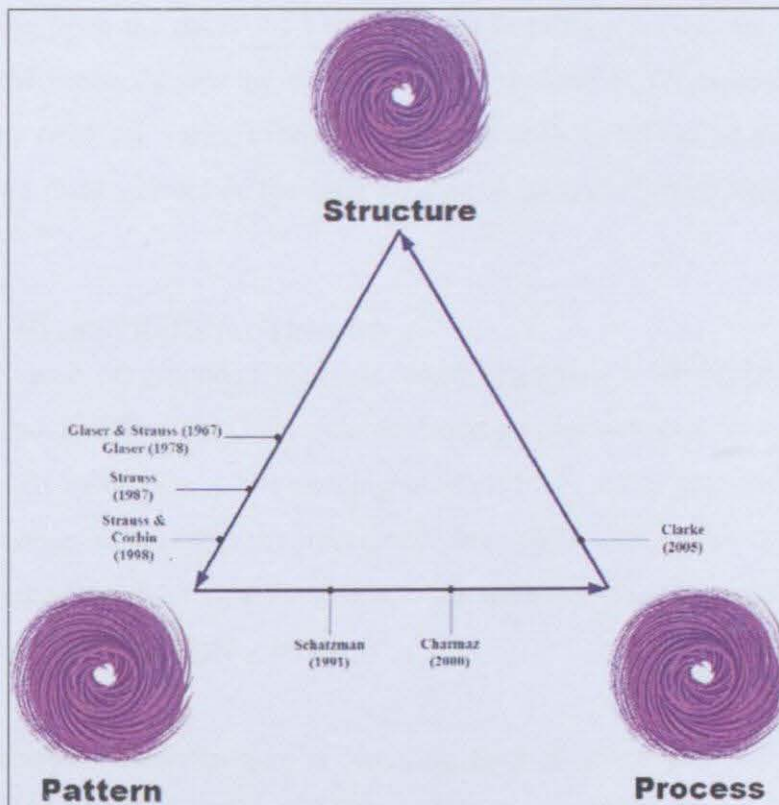
Figure 8 Versions of GTM mapped within Capra's Triad

44

Hallberg (2006, p. 144) explains that the emergence of different forms of GTM arise from 'differing basic underlying assumptions concerning ontological and epistemological standpoints.' Mills, Bonner & Francis (2006) concur:

> If we envisage Grounded Theory methodology as a spiral that starts with the traditional form, we can see that such adaptations are reflective of the various moments of philosophical thought that have guided qualitative research and that it is the researcher's ontological and epistemological position that determines the form of Grounded Theory they undertake (p. 9).

Such imagery is further enhanced when viewing it from an autopoietic perspective (Figure 8).

3.4 An Overview of GTM

Space does not allow for a detailed discussion of each GT methodology, but when appropriate, key differences will be embedded within my general description if these have a bearing upon the decisions I took later in forming a critical version of GTM. This overview proceeds now by considering the outlook of Grounded Theorists as they enter the field, the various forms of data collection in GTM and the way data is analyzed. The final product of the long process of grounded theorizing will also be discussed.

3.4.1 Ground Rules for Theorists

The initial stance of grounded theorists when beginning a new project is one of exploration, not verification. GTM puts demands on researchers to constantly reflect upon their own worldview while seeking to learn more about any problems, social processes or other issues from the informants' viewpoint. The theorist at this point is inquisitive – the attitude is something akin to the question asked in the introduction of this thesis, that of 'what is going on here?'

Glaserian grounded theorists start by 'entering the research setting with as few pre-determined ideas as possible.' (Glaser 1978, pp. 2-3), which is similar to the phenomenological strategy of bracketing (Backman & Kyngas 1999, p. 148).

Schatzman questions Glaser's insistence of going into the field with a mind open to all possibilities. Consciously suspending one's background knowledge, he argued, might very well lead to discovery, but it could also end up with researchers flailing about and facetiously ignoring the obvious (Schatzman 1991, pp. 306-307). Charmaz (2006, p. 149) and Strauss & Corbin agree, believing that instead of trying to bracket one's background knowledge and system of mental constructs, theorists should accept the fact that there is a measure of interplay between their social world and that of the informants:

> This interplay, by its very nature, is not entirely objective as some researchers might wish us to believe. Interplay…means that a researcher is actively reacting to and working with data. We believe that although a researcher can try to be as objective as possible, in a practical sense, this is not entirely possible (Strauss & Corbin 1998, p. 58).

Charmaz (2008, p. 85) advises theorists to delve reflexively within themselves to better understand their own perspective, and then to allow it to be altered over time when interacting with the social world of the informants.

Whichever path one takes in cultivating an attitude of openness and reflexive awareness to the informants' potential problems and processes, it is augmented by what Glaser & Strauss call *theoretical sensitivity* (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, p. 46). Theoretical sensitivity relies upon, among other things, 'the social psychology of the analyst; that is, his skill, fatigue, maturity, cycling of motivation, lifecycle interest, [and] insights into an ideation of data' (Glaser 1978, p. 2). The researcher's theoretical sensitivity is also heightened by life experiences and knowledge of the literature in the field (Strauss and Corbin 1990: 180).

Grounded Theorists differ on how to develop theoretical sensitivity during the early days of entering the field. Glaser instructs theorists to read sociological, literary or ethnographic literature, suggesting this sharpens the theoretical sensitivity of researchers to the human condition (Glaser 1978, pp. 31-32; Glaser 1992, pp. 35-37).

Glaser also urges theorists to avoid reading theoretical literature directly related to the issues being investigated. Straussian Grounded Theorists, however, access theoretical literature either before going into the field or early on in the research process. Strauss & Corbin (1998, p. 210) believe this heightens an analyst's theoretical sensitivity and empowers them to generate new insights.

It can be seen that there are multiple strategies for fostering openness and theoretical sensitivity as one enters the field. Most grounded theorists will recognize that they have a certain research perspective, but that they must be fair to their informants by not seeking to use either them or academic sources as props for supporting what they think they already know (Stern & Porr 2011, pp. 30-31). Informants should be allowed to speak for themselves; their views should not be forced to conform to the armchair musings of a philosopher or sociologist twice removed by physical distance and the passage of time. The goal is to generate a theory based on what emerges from the informants without forcing the qualitative data to fit the preconceived notions of the theorist, so in the early stages, grounded theorists should keep moving forward even if what seems to be coming from the informants seems to contradict what they or other academic scholars think 'should be'.

3.4.2 Data Collection

In GTM, data collection and analysis take place simultaneously. This may seem counter-intuitive to researchers accustomed to theory validation, but it is useful when one is engaged in exploratory research of an interpretive nature. Methods for data collection in GTM feature various stages of sampling, interviewing, observations, writing memos, as well as openness to other textual and non-textual field material. As with most qualitative research, GTM data collection begins in an open-ended manner, but becomes more specific as the study progresses.

Open and Theoretical Sampling

In research designed to confirm or falsify a deductive theory, any problems, hypotheses and/or subjects are chosen before the investigation begins. In Grounded Theory, the informants, problems, and research materials are chosen *after* the research

begins. The first stage of exploration takes place during what Glaser & Strauss (1967/1999, pp. 74-76) called Open Sampling, where researchers speak with anyone they encounter in the field to discover more about daily problems and solutions in the research setting. Clarke's postmodern version of GTM is guided by Schatzman's approach of asking 'what all is involved here?' (Schatzman 1991, p. 310), and extends open sampling not only to people, but also to anything, that is, reified concepts and other non-human dynamics, that might have a bearing on the direction of the research (Clarke 2005, pp. 7-8). According to Glaser & Strauss (1967/1999, pp. 45-46), issues will begin to emerge for theorists as they start noticing regularly-occurring patterns of behavior and hear certain similar words or phrases repeated by many different informants. The theorist must not at this point immediately go and consult any literature on what seems to be the emergent problem or processes (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, p. 37), but instead should let the perspectives of those in the field suggest the next step on what to ask or where to go. The hope is in maintaining an equilibrium between emic and etic approaches, in that at the beginning of the process, great value is placed upon the worldview of the informants (D. Douglas 2003, p. 47).

With the emergence of potential problems and social processes, the theorist begins to search for more specific informants, field documents – any other data that might shed further light on these issues. This is called *theoretical sampling*, which Glaser & Strauss define as 'the process of data collection for generating theory whereby one jointly collects, codes, and analyzes his data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop his theory as it emerges' (1967/1999, p. 45). With theoretical sampling as a guide, researchers begin to discover more details and properties about their developing theory. It is at this time that researchers start to take an etic stance and access scholarly literature that seems to deal specifically with the issues discussed by the informants. The writers of these books and research papers, however, are seen less as 'top-down' authorities, and more as another body of informants who can provide additional insights to further the researchers' growing understanding (Glaser 1978, pp. 31-33).

48

Theoretical sampling may continue throughout the Grounded Theory research project. New informants and data can be sought as the opportunities arise and the level of theoretical insight deepens; as Glaser & Strauss (1967/1999, p. 45) state, 'this process of data collection is *controlled* by the emerging theory.'

Interviewing, Field Observations and Other Qualitative Data

Interviews and participant observation are often the core methods of data collection (Benoliel 1996, p. 407; Backman & Kyngas 1999, p. 149). Interviews are unstructured in the beginning but shift to more focused exchanges as the research progresses. Glaser feels that the use of recorded interview transcripts wastes time and drowns the researcher in too much data (Glaser 1998, pp. 107-113), but most Grounded Theorists encourage recorded interviews and transcriptions, which can then be used for later analysis. Especially for PhD students, Fernandez (2004, p. 56) warns that they would be especially ill-advised to take Glaser's counsel by proceeding without the documentary evidence that is provided through transcripts. Ideally, theorists should make their own transcripts, since this encourages closer attention to the words of their informants, and aids in discovering potential issues they might have missed during the course of the interview (Rubin & Rubin 2005, pp. 204-205; Charmaz 2008, pp. 91-92).

Although grounded theorists rely primarily on interviews, Glaser is correct when he states that 'all is data' (1998, p. 8). Archival material, historical documents, non-specialist documents from the field, photos, e-mail, video, fliers, and any other data evocative of some significant symbolic meaning but which does not easily submit to quantification (though statistical findings from secondary research are acceptable), can be used (Glaser 1978, p. 53; Glaser 1992, p. 105). As with interviews, the collection of these items will be unstructured and exploratory at first, but later, they will focus on specific issues or concerns. Field observations are also important in order to triangulate interviews and the other qualitative data. They are often participatory due to the need for long-term, in-depth access, and are supplemented by written field notes as well as theoretical memos.

Theoretical Memos

During interviews and field observations, ideas or tentative hunches will come to mind of grounded theorists as they write notes of what they have seen and heard. Glaser (1978, p. 8) urges analysts not to dissipate their creative energy by simply talking to others about their ideas, but to write down insights immediately before they are lost forever. These hypotheses are written in a notebook as *theoretical memos* (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, p. 108). The first flush of theoretical ideas are treated with caution until the theorist either encounters more data confirms their hunches or finds negative cases that seem to refute their developing ideas. Later, based upon the data collected, if the initial guesses are backed up by what the theorist has learned from other informants, they can be further scrutinized. Otherwise, their earlier notions will have to be discarded. This is to keep theorists from being doctrinaire and from imposing their own preconceived ideas upon the data. The 'mandate is to remain open to what is actually happening' (Glaser 1978, p. 3). Negative examples that do not refute theoretical memos, but instead which operate as exceptions, are very important because they help delineate the limits of the theory (Corbin & Holt 2004, p. 51). The grounded theorist may also create diagrammatic representations of processes that seem to be taking place in the data, write down inductive ideas when analyzing the data, or quickly scribble flashes of inspiration coming unexpectedly late at night. All of these are recorded as theoretical memos, and in time, they may become integrated into the grounded theory.

3.4.3 Data Analysis

GTM, like other forms of qualitative research, engages in interpretive analysis. The theorist is the core processor of the collected data. The main methods are Coding and Constant Comparison, both of which are shaped by Abductive Inference.

Coding

Qualitative data needs to be organized within the matrix of a 'reconstructed logic' (Silverman & Marvasti 2008, p. 390) before a coherent grounded theory can be generated. The means by which this is accomplished is through breaking the material

down into codes. Saldaña (2011, p. 3) defines a code in qualitative inquiry as 'a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data.' Figure Nine contains an example of a code generated from the data used in this thesis.

| BN: ... those four, areas, and then grammar. That's a... pretty traditional approach to language learning.
GH: Hmm.
BN: About as traditional as you can get. They're probably expecting... a little more innovation from a program that's here. I mean, you can get, you can go and get your ESL class abroad that's, you know, Longman 4 (laughs), when you're, in elementary school...
GH: Mm-hm. | ☆ **EAP Program not being innovative** |

Figure 9 Example of Code Generated from Interview Data.

Some in reading the excerpt might have interpreted the discussion differently, writing something instead about traditional learning, grammar, unmet expectations, or notions related to textbooks. These too could have been acceptable codes. Saldaña explains:

> Did you agree with the codes? Did other words or phrases run through your mind as you read the data? It's all right if your choices differed from mine. Coding is not a precise science, it's an interpretive act (Saldaña 2011, p. 4).

While this explanation will satisfy those who see codes as situated within human dynamics and open to multiple interpretations, such a view will distress those who wanting codes to act as 'real proof' or 'hard evidence' pointing to fundamental human truths. Readers will have different stances on this epistemological issue, but coding in Grounded Theory is the mental process or processes by which interpretive codes are created. Grounded theorists always generate their own codes, believing that coding systems created by other sociologists will not fit with what is taking place in the data (Glaser 1978, p. 58). The intent is either to generate a new theory or to create a new perspective on existing theory, and this is done by creating codes that are unique to the study.

An analogy for understanding GTM coding is to imagine one who has been given an ancient manuscript containing only text, and who has been asked to divide the manuscript into titled subsections, sections, chapter titles, and to tie the interpretation of the manuscript's structure together with a Table of Contents. Grounded Theory coding is similarly idiosyncratic, and reveals as much about the ontological and epistemological beliefs of the theorist as it does about the material being coded. Imagine if the task of interpreting the structure of the ancient manuscript had been given to three people working independently of each other. It is likely that even though the organization of the manuscript would contain some parallels, there would also be significant differences, though none of the ways in which the people had interpreted and organized the manuscript could be judged as particularly wrong, only as representing different perspectives.

Differences in paradigmatic positions have been the cause for a startling degree of variation in the coding procedures found in the major forms of GTM. Some, such as those by Schatzman and Clarke, are relatively unfettered. Glaser and Charmaz have coding procedures that make moderate demands on the theorist, while those by Strauss & Corbin are forbiddingly complicated. The names given to coding techniques also differ among the five versions. What follows is my attempt to summarize this complex and contentious area of Grounded Theory literature.

In general, there are three coding stages in GTM (Figure 10). The first level features Open Coding, in which after interviewing an informant, researchers create a transcript (or write notes summarizing the interview if the informant could not or did not wish to be recorded), and then study the data line-by-line, or unit of thought by unit of thought (often expressed in two or three sentences), asking themselves all the while, 'what seems to be happening in the data?' or 'What is this data a study of?' (Glaser 1978, p. 57). They assign interpretive codes accordingly. Sometimes informants use specialist terms or peculiar phrases that are significant for theory generation. These words are used verbatim, and are called *in-vivo codes*.
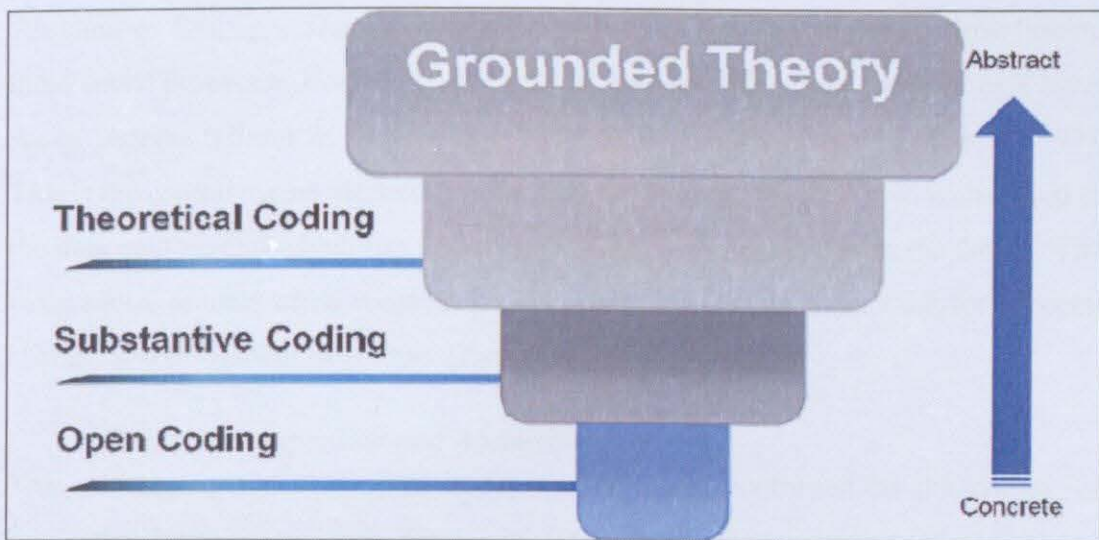
Figure 10 Coding Procedures in the Grounded Theory Methodology

In the next stage, open codes that have threads of commonality are grouped into categories, and these categories are given substantive code labels. This level is essentially the coding of the open codes. Glaser (1978, p. 71) suggests that ten to fifteen of these substantive codes are sufficient for developing a good grounded theory. Theorists begin looking for examples of the most common substantive codes. They are careful to study the issues that make these patterns significant and write these ideas down as theoretical memos.

The theorist eventually reaches a point of 'theoretical sufficiency' (Dey 1999, pp. 117-118), which is when enough information has been gathered to develop a theory. Also around this time the theorist may have something of an epiphany, in which they experience a flash of inspiration and a sudden sense of understanding what ties together their data in a meaningful way. Schatzman describes this experience as reaching 'critical mass' (Schatzman 1991, p. 310), and once this stage is reached, there is a shift to theoretical coding, the third and most abstract stage. In puzzle-like fashion, the researcher begins to create theoretical connections between the major categories. Social processes will be formed from these categories, and the theorist assigns them with the most conceptual of labels, such as 'Hunting & Gathering', or

'Molding & Shaping'. Theoretical coding highlights the interconnected flow linking these social processes. Eventually, the theorist may identify a *core category* or a *basic social process* (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, pp. 191-193; Glaser 1978, pp. 94-97). This is the central theme gleaned from having experienced critical mass with regard to the data coding, and which ties together the other social processes in the theory. The basic social process often contains various 'stages or phases to account for process, change, and movement over time' (Eaves 2001, p. 659).

Constant Comparison and Abduction

The substantive and theoretical codes are regularly contrasted to the coding of successive interviews. When data does not fit these codes, new codes are created (Corbin & Holt 2004, p. 53). During interviews and while coding, grounded theorists constantly ask themselves, 'How are the incidents described in the interviews similar or different?' These questions give rise to various properties that further refine the emerging categories. As the theorist uncovers negative cases, s/he may need to go back and change the substantive or theoretical codes to fit the constantly evolving dataset. This practice of continuous change, and of contrasting new information to old in an effort to reflect the growing complexity of the data, is what Glaser & Strauss called the *constant comparative method* (1967/1999, p. 102).

During coding and constant comparison, the theorist relies upon *abduction,* or abductive inference, a form of logical thinking proposed by the American Pragmatist Charles Sanders Peirce (1955, p. 150, in R. Richardson & Kramer 2006. p. 499). Abduction is superior to inductive thinking, in that it allows only those theoretical explanations that researchers know are actually possible, based upon their background knowledge and experience:

> No sociologist can probably erase from his mind all the theory he knows before he begins his research. Indeed the trick is to line up what one takes as theoretically possible with what one is finding in the field. Such existing sources of insight are to be cultivated though not at the expense of insights generated by the qualitative research, which are still closer to the data. A

combination of both is definitely desirable (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, p. 253).

This point is quite important, because detractors of GTM often accuse the methodology of an overreliance on induction (Haig 1995 ; Rennie 2000 ; Kelle 2005 ; R Richardson & Kramer 2006). Abduction allows grounded theorists to follow the data and to take advantage of any knowledge, theoretical sensitivity and, in some cases, common sense at their disposal to develop a plausible theory of what seems to be going on in their area of study.

Open Sampling	Grounded Theorists are open to the informants, the flow of the academic community and to their own unique research talents, cultural background and philosophical research standpoint.
Coding	The data is fractured and reinterpreted in some manner so that the Grounded Theorist can begin to work with it in some meaningful way.
Constant Comparison	Codes and their interpretations are constantly reflected upon and compared with new data as it becomes available.
Theoretical Sampling	The investigation follows the theoretical implications of the data, as it has been interpreted by the Grounded Theorist.
Theoretical Coding	The theoretical concepts are reconstructed and then linked into a framework that will be meaningful to a comprehending discourse community.
Abductive Inference	The theorist follows the data but is not blinded by it. Like the blades of a pair of scissors, what the theorist knows to be plausible and the findings of the data should be applied with equal emphasis in order to avoid the excesses of Baconian Induction.

Table 2 Core Methodological Characteristics of GTM

To sum up this section, the traits in Table 2 represent the general methodological practices that form the foundation of all versions of GTM. Strauss & Corbin (1994, pp. 280-283) state that if one stays faithful to the practices of open and theoretical sampling, constant comparison, generating theory from the data, and the theoretical coding of the concepts, they believe that a grounded theory can be successfully developed. It also bears repeating that data collection and analysis take place at the same time, and that the entire process is recursive (Figure 11). This must be kept in mind by methodologists informed by the Paradigms of Structure, who might want to have linear, step-by-step descriptions of how a particular grounded theory was

generated. The methodology of Grounded Theory is not only a series of cycles, like most qualitative research, it is often a messy process, as will be seen in the next chapter.
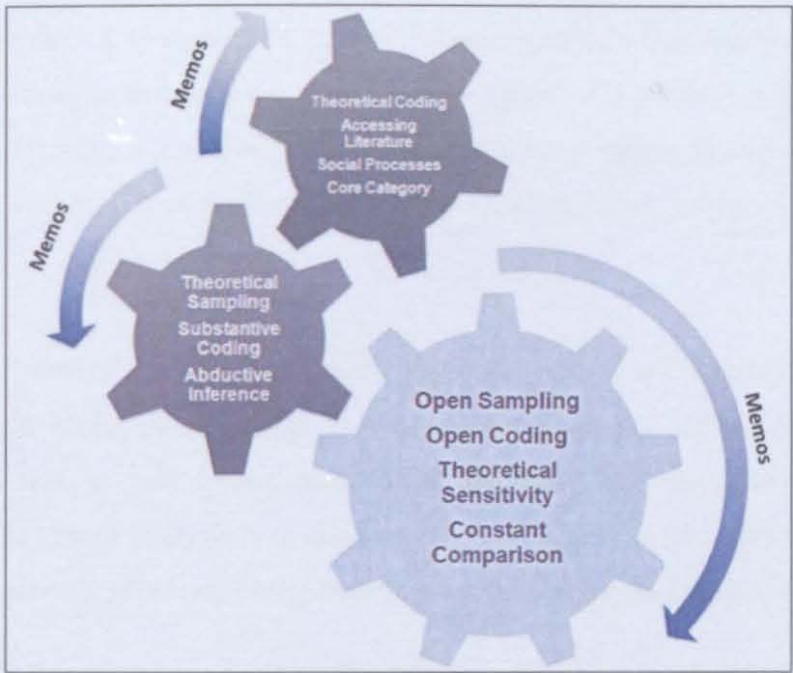
Figure 11 Recursive Practices in GTM (Adapted from Birks & Mills 2011, p. 13).

3.4.4 The End Product: A Process of Theorization and Dissemination
What is the final outcome of the long GTM process? To borrow liberally from former US President Bill Clinton, it all depends upon what one's definition of *is*, is, and upon one's belief about what can be known about social reality. For Glaserians, the resulting theory is a generated set of constructs integrated around basic social processes or key problems. It fits the data in that it can 'explain what happened, predict what will happen and interpret what is happening in an area of substantive or formal inquiry' (Glaser 1978, p. 4). The ability to predict gives the theory relevance for those seeking control over aspects of their social environment. Glaser adds that a

56

Grounded Theory is permeable enough for modification when new information becomes available, and flexible enough for application to other groups and situations.

Straussian GTM produces a theory similar to the Glaserian form, in that it seeks 'to develop [a] valid and grounded theory that speaks to the issues and concerns of those we study' (Strauss & Corbin 1998, p. 265). Theorists using a Straussian methodology differ from Glaser in that they are often less concerned with prediction and control as they are in forming a creative, valid and conceptually dense theory on symbolic interactions within a specific social phenomenon (Strauss & Corbin 1998, pp. 99, 161).

Dimensional Analysis results in a theory about the *context* and *conditions* that give rise to certain social phenomenon. It explains the *processes* or *actions* by which people deal with certain issues, and finally highlights the *consequences* of what happens: 'The aim of analysis is to discover the meanings of these interactions as they create the observed situation, rather than discover the basic social process' (Robrecht 1995, p. 173).

For Charmaz, there is a rejection of Glaser's earlier focus on one core category or process, and she emphasizes the notion of 'basic social processes' (Charmaz 2006, p. 20). The belief of Strauss about multiple worlds and varied ways of knowing are preserved in Constructivist GT, and with Schatzman's Dimensional Analysis, she avoids bondage to sets of complicated methodological rules. She sees the final result of Constructivist Grounded Theory less as a product and more as an ongoing process (Charmaz 2006, pp. 128-129). An explanatory grounded theory is *constructed* around a certain area of sociological interest. It is the notion of construction that sets Charmaz apart from Glaser and Strauss, in that she believes emergence takes place in the mind of the researcher, not externally:

> Neither data nor theories are discovered. Rather, we are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We *construct* grounded theories through our

past and present interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices (Charmaz 2006, p. 10).

A postmodern, relativist Grounded Theory for Clarke, similar to Charmaz, highlights the process of *theorizing* over the product of theory (Clarke 2005, pp. 88-90). Situational Analysis, on the other hand, rejects the idea of framing the resulting theory into basic social processes, and instills in readers an awareness of the chaos within our imagined order. Situational Analysis brings to the fore as many factors, discourse features and participants as possible, and lays these out in the form of conceptual maps. These maps emphasize the tentative, contradictory and continuous discourse that goes into making an explanatory theory about the social phenomenon under study (Clarke 2005, pp. 25, 33), and which provides a means for 'thick analyses' couched within a relativist epistemology (Clarke 2005, p. xxiii).

Something common to all grounded theories, however, is that they do not attempt to explain every category or to provide an all-encompassing, ethnographic portrait; neither do they make as their focus individuals or specific venues. The focus is upon human actions that lead either to basic social processes, a main problem, or to a better understanding of social phenomena couched within the chaos of human interaction. As midrange theories, they will be useful to some, but not to all, as they typically highlight some aspect of awareness, understanding, prediction, and/or control for the benefit of a certain discourse group.

Glaser & Strauss (1967/1999, p. 32) suggest that Grounded Theories should be viewed as 'an ever-developing entity, not a perfected product.' The social processes studied will experience ongoing and continuous reconstruction, but they are still durable enough to allow for the application of the theory to other areas of sociological interest. Because they are rooted in human lives and their symbolic interactions, Grounded Theories tend to be resilient. However – and this must be emphasized – a Grounded Theory is just that – a *theory*. Even though they are 'grounded they are not proven; they are only suggested. The theory is an integrated set of hypotheses, not

findings' (Glaser 1978, p. 134). The strength of a Grounded Theory comes from the fact that it is developed from an interpretive study of what actually happened in the field, and not imposed top down from the disconnected, abstracted academic discourse of what 'should be'. Even in the case of those who might seek to debunk a grounded theory through hypothetical exceptions or simply because they disagree with the methodology, Glaser & Strauss state that such attacks at best can 'never destroy a theory (of any generality), they only modify it. A theory's only replacement is a better theory' (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, p. 28).

Shifting now to how grounded theories are disseminated, as stated earlier in this thesis, when left to their own devices, a writer's epistemology will shape the style and structure of the written work. Grounded theories are typically written in an interpretive, narrative style that stands in sharp contrast to hypothetico-deductive styles of writing. This poses challenges for those seeking to publish for a TESOL and/or EAP readership, where professional journals support the Paradigms of Structure through the very language used in papers accepted for publication. Most journals in TESOL require the use of the American Psychological Association (APA) style, or some modified 'Harvard Style' of writing as a prerequisite for publication. Madigan, Johnson & Linton (1995) have noted that with its focus on passive verb forms, a hedged style of communication, the avoidance of personal attack, and the use of language as a neutral medium for the transition of findings, APA itself operates as a tool which implicitly socializes new academics into thinking along empirically observable, objectivist lines.

Not only are most Grounded Theories written in narrative form rather than with abstracted and passive language suggestive of dispassionate objectivity, the methodology of Grounded Theory requires the paper to be written in a different sequence. In the linear hypothetico-deductive model, one starts with a hypothesis, followed by writing the literature review, then a discussion of methods, and afterwards, a presentation of the data findings, results and implications (Creswell &

Miller 1997 ; Riley et al. 2000 ; Adler & Adler 2008). This is the default setting for scholarly writings in EAP, and from my perspective of teaching part-time as a Distance Tutor and Marker in the MA in TESL/TEFL at a major British university, it is the only form taught to new graduate students. It has been my observation over the past eight years that those who do not conform to this style often receive lower marks as a result.
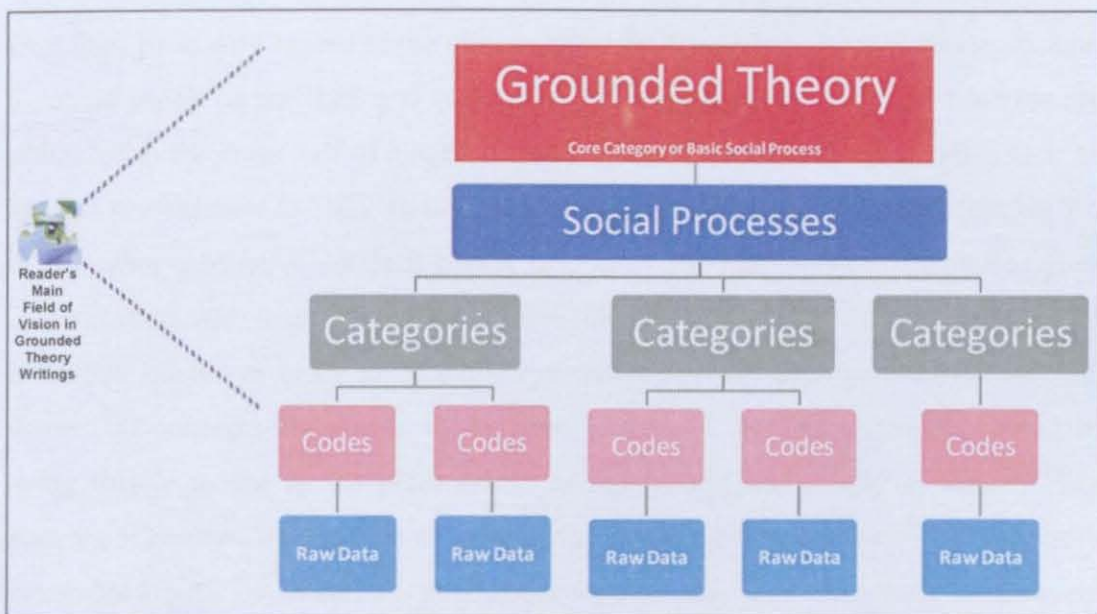
Figure 12 Focus of Reporting in Grounded Theory

The sequence of writing a Grounded Theory is metaphorically similar to that of a seed which grows into a tree. The leaves and roots of the grounded theory have all started from the seminal center of empirical data. The verdure of the literature review, background and the roots of the conclusion actually represent what was created near the end of the writing process, since the research literature and conclusions were informed by the issues raised by the informants. The middle chapters and sections of a Grounded Theory represent what had first been written in the research process. Later, the theory is structured traditionally, in that the literature review which was guided by

60

the research process is placed first, followed by method and a discussion of the theory. It is necessary for Grounded Theorists to highlight this point when reporting on their methodology in published papers, otherwise, those who are unaware of the finer points of GTM might read the literature review and mistakenly conclude that the theory written after the literature review was simply crafted to fit the literature, rather than other way around, that the literature review was guided by theoretical sampling. This issue will be revisited in the next chapter.

One final issue with regard to the dissemination of Grounded Theories has to do with a consideration of the data and results. In TESOL and EAP these are traditionally presented in the latter half of a book or paper, but GT papers and books often lack an explicit presentation of 'data' as seen from a positivist viewpoint. It is not feasible for GT or other qualitative research papers to display the vast amount of data that goes into creating the final work. Most Grounded Theorists do include samples of informant quotes in order to enrich the narrative account and demonstrate that the theoretical concepts have been drawn from empirical data. However, the intent in doing this is to aid in the presentation of the theory, not simply to display data samples to readers. By the time of writing, the empirical data has become inextricably intertwined with the theorist's interpretive open codes that were used to generate higher-level, abstracted categories and processes (Figure 12).

The theory *is* a discussion of the results and an interpretive analysis of vast amounts of qualitative data. While some (G. Morgan 1983, p. 37) view such theoretical knowledge as a contribution towards an understanding of our multifaceted sociological world, it is understood that this will cause discomfort to those accustomed to research papers organized in accordance to the Paradigms of Structure. Henwood & Pidgeon expand upon this concern:

> difficulty arises from the philosophical proposition that legitimate data are necessarily defined through theory, and raises the question of what grounds grounded theory! A resolution of this is to view any 'emergent' theoretical

account as the result of a constant interplay between data and conceptualization, a 'flip-flop' between ideas and research experience (1992, p. 104).

Selected excerpts of informant discourse are used in part to demonstrate this constant interplay. However, without the ability to see absolutely all of the data that goes into creating a Grounded Theory, the tendency of positivist readers who are either unaware of or unconvinced by an autopoietic perspective is to distrust the theory and dismiss any presentation of informant data as subjective, biased and anecdotal. Rapprochement with such readers may be difficult, but Henn, Weinstein & Foard (2006) state that researchers can still strive to persuade some through the overall impact of their qualitatively written account, and to persist in the conviction that they have been fair, open-minded and honest:

> Results can be described with reference to selected parts of the data, which reflect our research questions. However, it is extremely unlikely, because of the expanse of data that qualitative research produces, that we shall offer a complete picture of all of it. In deciding what to include and what not to, we must accept that we are introducing a degree of subjectivity. There is no easy way around this: all we can do is try and ensure that a balanced picture of the data from different participants is provided, by selecting data from different participants which provides an account of the competing perspectives found in the data (p. 240).

Therefore, even if it were possible to present the massive amounts of qualitative data used to support the Grounded Theory, this would immerse most readers back into chaos, and it is unlikely that a return to the interpretive aspects of this research would provide any greater sense of clarity for those seeking an understanding of the data with which virtually everyone would agree. Most Grounded Theorists seek to avoid such chaos with their composite presentation of the data and analytical discussion. Their desire is to present *a* coherent sociological theory that they believe, from their months and often years of study, fits the data gathered from the informants, and which offers one of many possible ways to understand the chaotic and often conflicting human actions taking place within a specific domain. For these reasons, in the written

versions of GT designed for dissemination, the readers' field of vision is placed more upon the conceptual categories, their theoretical connectedness, and the core category, basic social process or social phenomenon (Creswell 1998, pp. 178-181; Glaser 1998, pp. 193-195; Strauss & Corbin 1998, pp. 259-263).

3.5 External Critiques of Grounded Theory

Apart from those with philosophical objections, other critics of GT have centered on the issues of terminological confusion (Melia 1996, p. 377; Backman & Kyngas 1999, p. 152; J. Bell 2005, p. 20), overcomplicated methods (Backman & Kyngas 1999 ; Allan 2003 ; Boychuk-Duchscher & Morgan 2004 ; Greckhamer & Koro-Ljungberg 2005), an aversion to the established theoretical literature, and an overemphasis on inductive reasoning (Altrichter & Posch 1989 ; McCann & Clark 2003 ; Harry, Sturges & Klingner 2005 ; Schenk, Hunziker & Kienast 2007).

Some of these critiques are based upon a limited reading of Glaser & Strauss's original work, and Charmaz (2006, p. 134) has rightly noted that most attacks come from those who have never used GTM and who are unaware of the manner in which it has evolved over the past forty years. Strauss & Corbin (1994, p. 277) add that most critics do not realize that Glaser, and especially Strauss, moderated many of their initial claims about GTM. A number of books on GTM have sought to clarify the terminology, make the methodology more accessible, and to encourage access of established literature as the later part of theoretical sampling (Charmaz 2006 ; Corbin & Strauss 2008). Even the charge that Grounded Theory as exhibiting an overreliance upon induction, which resulted from Glaser's curmudgeonly excessive polemics (Glaser 1992 ; Glaser 1998 ; Glaser 2001 ; Glaser 2002 ; Glaser 2003 ; Glaser & Holton 2004), has been balanced against the later work of Strauss, Corbin, Charmaz and especially Schatzman, whose Natural Analysis brought abductive inference into later forms of GTM (Kools et al. 1996 ; S. A. Hutchinson & Wilson 2001 ; Heath & Cowley 2004).

More serious than these common attacks, and one that affects all current forms of GTM in my opinion, is the issue of letting the data speak for itself. Burawoy (1991) argues that 'in focusing on variables that can be manipulated within the immediate situation, [Grounded Theory] represses the broader macro forces that both limit change and create domination in the micro sphere' (p. 282). To offer a purely hypothetical example for illustrating Burawoy's contention, suppose that during the Second World War, a Grounded Theorist, who was a member of the Nazi Party, sought to discover the basic social processes of the Transportation Office under the administration of Adolf Eichmann. It would be very likely that, based upon the interview data and observations of daily issues in the office, the main problems and processes would emerge as 'keeping the trains on time' and 'negotiating transportation stoppages'. This would completely miss the broader issue – that of millions of Jews being carted off for extermination in concentration camps. Layder (1993, pp. 59-60) identifies this as a serious weakness in the methodology of Grounded Theory, and calls for a broader view in GTM so that oppressive and otherwise destructive influences, which have a bearing on the empirical study, can be given greater consideration.

The question of whether Grounded Theory oppresses the powerless by maintaining the status quo echoes similar criticisms raised against Symbolic Interactionism several decades ago (G. Fine 1993). Charmaz (2006, pp. 134-135) admits that early Grounded Theorists showed little interest in issues related to power and inequality. However, she argues this as a shortcoming of the *theorists*, not the *methodology*. In another paper (Charmaz 2005), she states that Grounded Theorists can and should begin to consider issues of social justice, and a recent paper by Gibson (2007) forecasts critical theories regarding power and injustice will manifest themselves as the significant 'growth edges' of Grounded Theory's research tradition. It is to this issue that I now wish to shift my attention.

3.6 Critical Grounded Theory

The next stage of autopoietic development in GTM will be in the area of Critical Social Theory (CST). Indeed, there are already papers proposing either critical versions of GTM (e.g. MacDonald 2001 ; Kushner & Morrow 2003 ; Gibson 2007 ; Olesen 2007), or some combination of CST with hermeneutical approaches in order to contextualize the collected data (Wilson & Hutchinson 1991 ; Rennie 2000 ; Annells 2006 ; Rennie & Fergus 2006). Most of these papers, however, are either theoretical position pieces aimed at convincing the wider GT academic community about the permissibility of accommodating CST (Gibson 2007), or from relatively obscure fields with a small readership, such as Feminist Nursing Studies (e.g. Wuest 1995 ; Wuest 2000 ; Kushner & Morrow 2003). Overall interest in a critical version of GTM has been muted because of lingering doubts about its compatibility with GTM. In this section, I will attempt to establish common ground by highlighting some of the philosophical bridges that exist between GTM and CST.

3.6.1 The Case for a Critical Social Theory Perspective in GTM

Two major concerns arise when considering CST in GTM. One centers on Critical Theorists' focus on 'transformation' or 'emancipation', which are worrying to some scholars, especially if this implies some form of resistance, as in the following example:

> An intentional plan is required to translate deconstructive lessons on power into tactics and strategies for change...if critical theory is to become an agent of understanding and change it must balance its theoretical interests in power, domination and resistance into pragmatic steps for collective action (Davidson et al. 2006, p. 37).

While many would interpret calls for collective action as the exercise of ideals which have historically brought about positive transformation in many Western democratic societies (Bohman 2008), others interpret such statements as the pretext for a power grab, in which one group of 'oppressors' replaces another. It is within this context that

65

critical theorists are often framed as a 'radical academic cult' bent on overturning the established social order (D.L. Harvey 1990, p. 1).

Another reason for unease stems from the practice of researcher advocacy on behalf of informants. Kincheloe & McLaren explain: 'whereas traditional researchers cling to the guard rail of neutrality, critical researchers frequently announce their partisanship in the struggle for a better world' (2000, p. 291). From a Glaserian point of view, taking the side of the disenfranchised risks forcing the data into preconceived categories (Glaser 1978 ; 1992). The concern here is one of Critical Grounded Theorists becoming little more than spin-doctors. Advocacy research is seen as emulating the practices of special interest groups who may manipulate data in order to influence policymakers or affect public opinion (Willower & Uline 2001 ; Laitsch, Heilman & Shaker 2002 ; Shaker & Heilman 2004).

Fears of CST as subversive and overly biased, however, are founded on misconceptions and unfair portrayals. In response to the first charge, that of CST being a radical academic cult, I would first question whether such polarizing language is justifiable. Demonization of the 'Other' is a well-documented semiotic strategy used by dominant actors for stimulating irrational fear and for stifling academic debate (Lather 1992 ; McKenna & Waddell 2006). In actuality, reputable Critical Theorists stress social transformation through rational, dialectical communication (Habermas 1984), not through violence or subversion. As Agger (2006) explains, Critical Social Theory:

> holds people responsible for their own liberation and admonishes them not to oppress others in the name of distant future liberation. CST rejects revolutionary expediency, arguing that the dictatorship of the proletariat or other privileged vanguard groups quickly becomes the dictatorship *over* the proletariat. Liberty is not to be won from the 'expedient' sacrifice of liberty and lives (p. 5).

Critical theorists seek not to overpower, but rather to *empower* by rationally helping others to rethink their roles in society, raising awareness to societal practices that should be questioned and by urging peaceful, collective action to curtail broad-based support for oppressive social structures (Kincheloe & McLaren 2000, p. 283).

Portraying critical theorists as doctrinaire and non-critical scholars as objective is both unmerited and unwarranted. A growing body of research describes the inclination of many scholars to pursue research projects more likely to receive governmental or corporate funding, with the result being that many academics increasingly engage in self-censorship in order to avoid political controversy that might have ramifications either for their careers or funding (Robert 1994 ; Ham 1999 ; Kayrooz & Preston 2002 ; Arnove 2007 ; Kempner 2008). Kary Mullis, a Nobel Prize Laureate in Chemistry, noted this tendency recently while speaking at the internationally recognized TED conference in 2002. He revealed that he has personally encountered researchers involved in work they knew to be based on bad science, but they continued with the knowledge that their efforts satisfied powerful stakeholders who funded the projects (Mullis 2002). The point here is that while critical theorists have been accused of bias on behalf of the powerless, observations from research insiders such as Mullis suggest that bias in favor of the powerful is also a problem.

Two wrongs do not make a right, however, and equally difficult is the attempt of Glaserian Grounded Theorists to present themselves as taking the objective middle ground by simply reporting facts with clinical clarity. Glaser's (1992, p. 98) response to the need to critically situate a theory within a historical context is woefully insufficient: 'It just depends on what emerges; it just does!' Kincheloe & McLaren (2000) believe that the theoretical descriptions found in Glaserian Grounded Theories 'are not simply about the world but serve to construct it...language in the form of discourses serves as a form of regulation and domination' (p. 284). By decontextualizing a grounded theory from its wider dynamics in order to focus solely on localized sociological processes, one risks placing it in the hands of those with the

67

most power to shape its interpretation. Gibson (2007) came to a similar conclusion in his consideration of Theodor Adorno's critique of sociologist Paul Lazarsfeld, a mentor of Glaser, and arguably the progenitor of Glaser's primary theoretical focus. Adorno denounced Lazarfeld's preference for simply describing life as it is, instead of how it *should* be, as nothing more than 'a bourgeois sociology reinforcing the domination inherent in society' (Gibson 2007, p. 438). This echoes the earlier concerns of Layder (1993) and Burawoy (1991) who argue that a Grounded Theorist who feigns ignorance of wider issues in order to focus on symbolic interactions can implicitly work in support of an oppressive status quo.

I am not implying that we should somehow justify researcher bias by suggesting that it is unavoidable or because everyone does it. While I believe that individual social knowledge is limited, co-constructed, situated within a historical context and, (if un-reflexive), shaped by the power of some to elevate their perspective over others, I also believe that qualitative GT research should make a public attempt at being fair and honest. Therefore, to justify the use of CST in GTM, some 'workaround' solutions need to be offered to deal with the extreme positions outlined in this debate. This can be achieved in three ways.

The first way for Critical Grounded Theorists to gain greater acceptance among scholars is to disavow purposefully prejudiced pieces of advocacy research. This could be accomplished by coding and constantly comparing the interrelationship between 'oppressors' and 'oppressed': It may be found that constant comparison would be able to highlight the perspectives of both the powerful and powerless, and indeed may even raise awareness as to how exploiter and exploited may even share certain similarities, even to the point of how the victims may also be victimizers in their own right. In essence, I would suggest that, in the name of academic freedom, Critical Grounded Theorists should be allowed to give a voice to the voiceless, so long as they do so in a manner that is reflexively critical, both of themselves and of their informants.

Another step would be to soften the strident discourse that is often a feature of CST writings. There is often an angry, yet plaintive tone among critical theorists that evokes an image of a rather cerebral and bespectacled schoolboy on the playground who, after being relieved of his lunch money by the school bully, stamps about crying, 'It's not fair!' Ignoring for the moment the quiet recognition among his peers that this boy has more brains than sense, and even granting that the boy's protests of injustice are indeed correct, the fact of the matter is that a majority of the children on the playground are not interested in hearing him complain.

Such mournful and bitter discourse relates more to what I describe as 'Cynical Theory', one in which an economic or power-dominant cause is assigned to every issue studied, and which weakens the subaltern by continuing to frame them as oppressed victims. A version of CST that I support draws sustenance from Habermas, who avoided the rhetoric emanating from a belief that the cure for the ills plaguing humanity for millennia is found solely in political or economic solutions (Habermas 1984 ; Ingram 1990, pp. 174-176). What I am suggesting is a shift in discourse style and an avoidance of an *over*-obsession with power and inequality. Grounded Theorists should be open to critical concerns, but they should not become a 'one trick wonder.' Wuest (2000), in her defense of a Feminist form of GTM, emphasizes the need for 'fit' when using a critical perspective for interpreting qualitative data. Charmaz wrote much the same during her recent call for Grounded Theories of Social Justice:

> Any extant concept must earn its way into the analysis. Thus, we cannot import a set of concepts such as hegemony and domination and paste them on the realities of the field. Instead, we can treat them as sensitizing concepts, to be explored in the field settings (2005, p. 512).

All of this is in line with the original position of Glaser & Strauss when they stated that Grounded Theory, as a research tradition, allows researchers to approach the field from their theoretical perspective so long as they are not doctrinaire in their interpretation of the data (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, p. 253). In practical terms this

means that Critical Theory adds to the explanatory power of a Grounded Theory only when it is clear that issues of power, inequality, economic domination, and forms of exploitation are problems actually taking place in the data. My view, therefore, is in keeping with the methodological description of GTM earlier in this chapter – if the perspective fits, use it. Otherwise, keep looking. Other sociological problems exist that are equally as pressing as bullies and stolen lunch money, and a Grounded Theorist should be open to these concerns as well. It is here that hermeneutics as a methodology can help.

3.6.2 Theoretical Triangulation: CST, Hermeneutics, and GTM

Besides the obvious symbiotic link of CST to GTM via Feminist Grounded Theory (Wuest 1995), some have considered using GTM with Critical Hermeneutics, a form of textual studies related to the *explication de texte* method studied by Glaser at the University of Paris, and which was later incorporated into the coding techniques of GTM (Allen 1992 ; Nelson & Brown 1993, p. 1568; T. Koch & Harrington 1998 ; Rennie 2000). While I would agree with Baert (2003) that, on a purely philosophical level, hermeneutics and the pragmatism underpinning GT have divergent foci, on a methodological level, hermeneutical approaches and GTM share an interest in language and engage in constant comparison of the viewpoint of the researcher and the texts produced by informants, which for Grounded Theory would likely be in the form of interview transcripts. Hermeneutics also seeks to understand the milieu in which texts have been generated, and in doing so, can contextualize a Grounded Theory even when the informant data lacks critical concerns. The link with hermeneutics and CST is that both strive to 'maintain that understanding and meaning are constitutive of social life' (Odman & Kerdeman 1997, p. 187).

Additional examples of such 'theoretical triangulation' (Kushner & Morrow 2003) with CST, GTM and hermeneutical approaches can be found in Wilson & Hutchinson's (1991) use of GT with Heideggerian Hermeneutics and Annells' (2006) triangulation of GT with Hermeneutical Phenomenology. In these instances, one of the various Grounded Theory Methodologies is used in open sampling and open

coding of the data. Afterwards, during the substantive and theoretical coding stages, the qualitative data is interpreted through a hermeneutic perspective. As with CST, those proposing hermeneutical linkage do so with the hope of highlighting how informant data collected using GTM can be made more meaningful when situated within their historical and cultural contexts (Rennie & Fergus 2006). Charmaz (2006, p. 180) has started to recognize this point, and advocates situating research within its sociocultural and historical context, even though she provides few examples of actual practice. The potential of linking Constructivist GTM to the concerns of CST by considering the socio-historical context of informants has led Ponterotto (2005, p. 130) to conclude that, potentially, they could work together 'as a conceptual base for qualitative multicultural research.'

I believe therefore that Critical Social Theory as a perspective for data interpretation in GTM is not only feasible; it is very likely the next stage of its methodological development, as evidenced by a recent openness expressed even by students of Glaser (Stern & Porr 2011, p. 31). The present problem is that while more scholars are starting to propose critical forms of GTM, few have been disposed to go out and conduct such studies, especially in TESOL or EAP. It is my hope that later chapters of this thesis might make just such a contribution both to GTM and to EAP-based qualitative research.

3.7 Methodological Practices of Critical Grounded Theory

Critical GT synthesizes aspects of all five major versions of GTM. Sociological inquiry is treated as moving within the flux and flow of paradoxical human discourse (American Pragmatism). In order to understand these swirling dynamics and to make provisional sense out of the chaos, structured approaches which contextualize the theory within wider historic and cultural processes are needed (Straussian GT). Along the lines of Glaser and Charmaz, Open, Substantive and Theoretical Coding guides the stages of research, beginning with a period of open exploration, followed by focused investigation, and then to the process of theory generation (Figure 13).
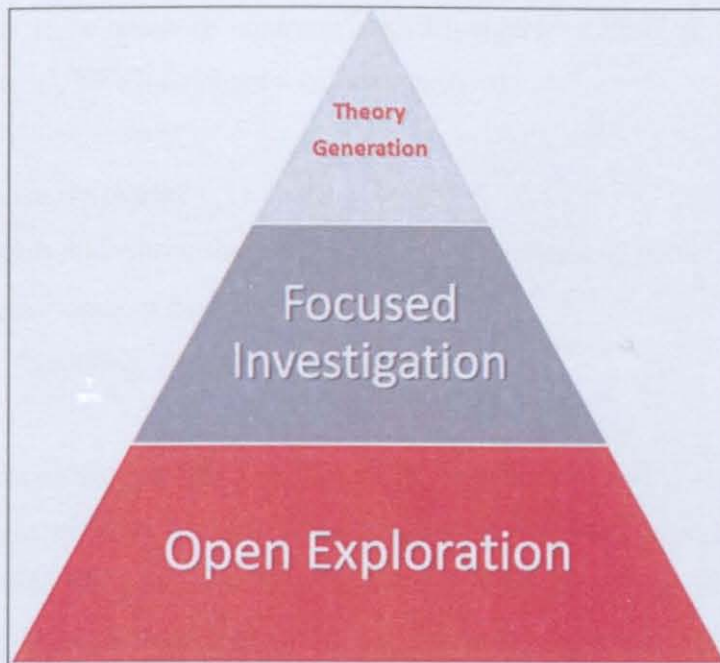
Figure 13 Stages for the Generation of Critical Grounded Theory

The specific methods used and the issues encountered in the field during each stage will soon be considered in the next chapter. However, the critical perspective of this form of GT takes places during the Open Coding and early stages of Substantive Coding, where in addition to the question of 'what is going on here?' the following questions, drawn from my reading of CST, were used:

- What is being gained/lost here?
- How is control being exercised here?
- Whose 'story' is being emphasized here?
- How is the informant winning (or losing) here?
- How is the informant's story given prominence?
- In what way do the disadvantaged/disenfranchised resist?
- How might gender/age/class be affecting the dynamics discussed here?
- How is the informant dominating (or how is s/he being dominated) here?

Such questions have much in common with Flyvbjerg's (2004, p. 283) 'phronetic planning research', which employs four key questions:

- Where are we going?
- Who gains and who loses, and by which mechanisms of power?
- Is the development desirable?
- What, if anything, should we do about it?

These questions enhanced later substantive and theoretical coding stages when they could shed light on the role that power played in human interaction. Flyvbjerg's phronetic perspective serves as a subtext that runs throughout the analysis and interpretation of the qualitative data. However, it must be emphasized that the coding routines crafted for this thesis allowed for the inclusion of CST concerns only when they seemed appropriate.
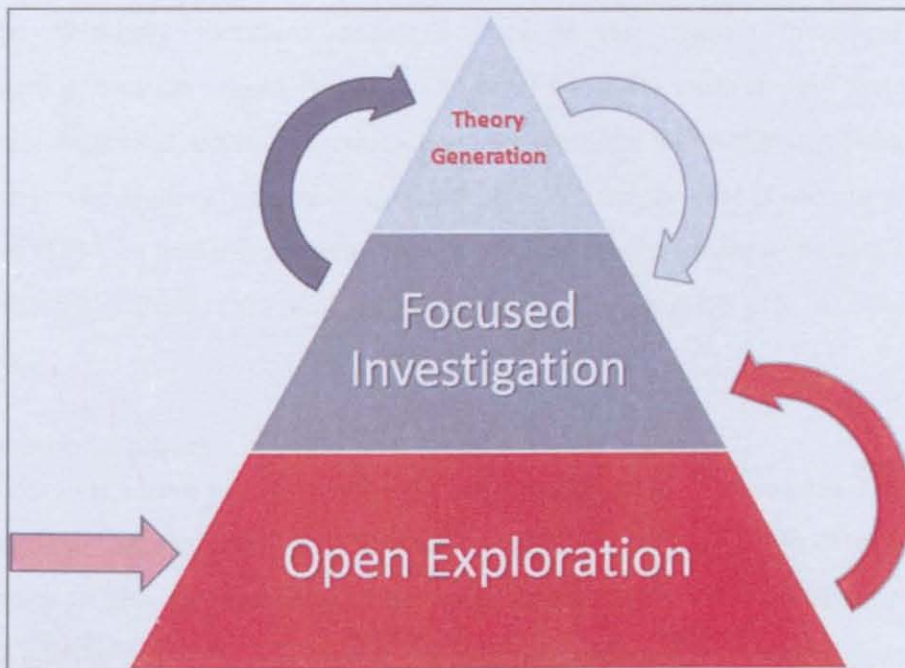
Figure 14 Recursive Methodological Movement in Critical GTM

After reaching a 'critical mass', that is, after an understanding of the social processes become increasingly apparent to the theorist, along the lines of Schatzman's Dimensional Analysis, coding can cease in order for the theorist to step back in an etic manner, and study the dimensions, conditions, strategies, contingencies and consequences revealed in the data. At this stage, the developing theory can be expanded by and constantly compared to relevant scholarly literature (Glaserian GT). Critical GTM is framed in terms of 'theory as process' or 'grounded theorizing' rather than as a set of formalized practices that seek to codify the grounded theory into a static product (Glaser & Strauss, Constructivist GT and Situational Analysis). The process of Critical GTM, while containing stages, is nevertheless recursive in nature (Figure 14).

The writing up stage of Critical GT begins in part almost immediately with the creation of theoretical memos. Those memos that eventually earn their place in the theory, due to their apparent fit with the data, are saved. Later categories formed from substantive and theoretical coding also become the structure of the theoretical chapters. Scholarly literature, accessed later in the focused investigative and theoretical generation stages, becomes the basis for a literature review that explains any social, historical, economic, educational and political issues that can contextualize the theory. The style of writing in Critical GT is similar to what is seen in almost all forms of GTM, in that it is written in narrative form and attempts to be fair, balanced and critically relevant as a midrange theory on a substantive area of sociological interest.

3.8 Chapter Summary
In this chapter, I have provided readers with a background to Grounded Theory, and while recognizing that there are different versions, I have sought to offer a general description of the methodology. I defended against some of the common attacks leveled against GTM and presented a critical version of the methodology; one I believe represents the next stage in the evolutionary development of the methodology.

In conclusion, Glaser (1998) notes that while there are many who *write about* Grounded Theory, there are only a few who actually *do* it. This chapter might seem to go some way towards supporting this assertion, except that it has been vital for grounding readers in the key issues buttressing this thesis. Even so, Buchanan, Boddy & McCalman (1988, p. 54) observe that 'doing research is a different kind of enterprise from thinking and writing about research,' and it is in this spirit that I now move from merely thinking about GT and GTM to addressing methodological concerns as they occurred in the field.

Chapter 4

Theoretical *Bricoleur* at Work: A Methodological Narrative

4.1 Introduction

Smagorinsky (2008) places methodology in the 'conceptual epicenter' of qualitative research, arguing that such studies often lack necessary details for assessing their 'goodness'. The way some qualitative researchers take thousands of pages of transcripts and field observation notes, disappear behind an academic veil and, with the tinkling of a bell, reemerge with sociological theory, strikes many as something akin to methodological transubstantiationism (Bryman 1984 ; Firestone 1987 ; Beck 1993 ; Lincoln 1995 ; Potter 1996 ; Silverman 1998 ; Angen 2000 ; Adcock & Collier 2001 ; Eisner 2001 ; Whittemore, Chase & Mandle 2001 ; Seale 2002 ; Snape & Spencer 2004).

In contrast to this view, grounded theorists argue that while it is possible to explain GTM in terms of general principles of practice, it is not possible to straitjacket the methodology:

> My preference for theorizing – and it is for theorizing, not theory – is unabashedly interpretive. Theorizing is a *practice*. It entails the practical activity of engaging the world and of constructing abstract understandings about and within it. The fundamental contribution of grounded theory methods resides in offering a guide to interpretive theoretical practice not in providing a blueprint for theoretical products (Charmaz 2006, pp. 128-129).

Replicable, step-by-step practices are both possible and necessary for quantitative methodologies aimed at theory verification, but Stern & Porr explain that because GTM engages more with the dynamics of people and discourse than with the properties of things and numbers, it cannot be reduced to a recipe:

> [w]hile we are able to provide much needed direction in terms of fundamental principles and operations that must be carried out, what we are unable to do is develop an A, B, C formula -- first you do this, then you do that -- because traditional grounded theory doesn't, nor was it ever intended to, work that way.

Not unlike other forms of qualitative inquiry involving human phenomena, rote mechanics and codified rules could never accommodate the inherent complexities, diverse social settings and 'attendant contingencies,' and would only inhibit rather than facilitate researcher exploration (Stern & Porr 2011, p. 14).

In recognition of both perspectives, however, I will seek to find the third way between prescription and abstraction. In keeping with the narrative style of Grounded Theory, I will explain how I applied Critical GTM within the attendant contingencies encountered in the field (Figure 15). However, it should be recognized from the onset that even if others could follow the procedures that will be described, due to the interpretive nature of GTM, it is unlikely that they would be able to generate the exact same theory. Indeed, it will be seen by the end of this chapter that while the progression of Figure 15 was achieved, the process of analysis and theory generation was at times messy and difficult. What now follows is an account of qualitative exploration, not a cookbook for verifiable replication.
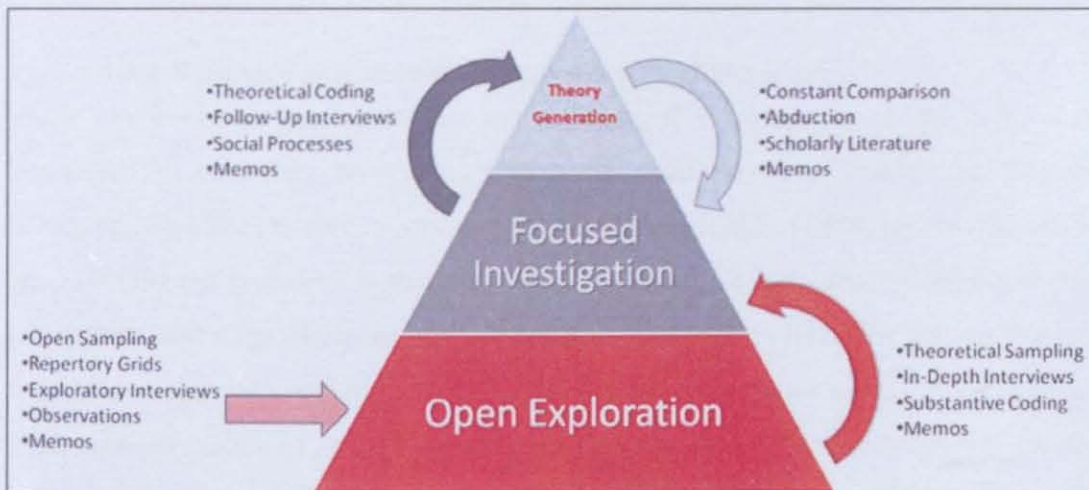
Figure 15 Critical GTM Stages and Methods Used for this Thesis

This chapter begins with a discussion of the general environment within which this thesis was located, and follows this by explaining the specific research tools used in

the construction of a Critical Grounded Theory. I describe how I gathered field data and wrestled with issues relating to transcriptions and open coding. My rationale for tightening the initial research concerns during the stage of focused investigation, the chaotic creativity of substantive coding, my use of conceptual metaphors to aid in theoretical coding of my Grounded Theory, my personal journey of ethical dilemmas encountered during the course of my research, and my efforts at underpinning this study with good analytical practices, will all be considered. The manner in which I accessed scholarly literature and wrote the theoretical chapters in the second half of this thesis will also be explained.

4.2 Open Exploration Stage

For a qualitative methodology to survive tough field conditions, it requires what was mentioned earlier in this thesis as working as a *bricoleur*, a type of handyman (Levi-Strauss 1966 ; Hatton 1988 ; Hatton 1989 ; Denzin & Lincoln 2000a, p. 4). In this section, I discuss my role as a *bricoleur* of theory construction, and explain how I accessed the research venues and informants. The research methods used in conjunction with open sampling will also be described.

4.2.1 Reflexive Beginnings: Introducing 'Le Bricoleur'

Much has been written about the methodological *bricoleur* since the term was introduced to sociology by ethnographer and anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss (1966, pp. 16-17) over forty years ago. According to Hatton (1988, pp. 74-76; 1989, pp. 338-339) the *bricoleur* is that able person who sees a task, recognizes his or her limitations, and uses whatever tools or materials that are at hand for getting the job done. These experienced DIY people encounter new challenges necessitating a novel use of limited resources and the result is 'a bricolage, that is, a pieced-together, close-knit set of practices that provide solutions to a problem in a concrete situation' (Denzin & Lincoln 1998b, p. 3). The final product is often more than just satisfactory; while the discerning eye of master craftspeople will be able to quietly spot the flaws, they will also admire the imaginative solutions.

Denzin & Lincoln explain that 'the qualitative researcher-as-*bricoleur* uses the tools of his or her methodological trade, deploying whatever strategies, methods or empirical materials as are at hand' (1998b, p. 3). Not only is the *bricoleur* of qualitative research flexible enough to deal with external contingencies, internally, the *bricoleur* maintains an attitude of reflexivity, a professional quality mentioned earlier in this thesis as vital for studying issues of a sociological nature (Bryman 2001, p. 23; Gall, Gall & Borg 2003, p. 17). Reflexivity for the *bricoleur* requires that s/he remains open to alternative points of view, strives for a humble sense of self-knowledge and that s/he engages in self-disclosure so that readers can perceive the lens through which the researcher has viewed the world (Eaves 2001). The theorizing process of this methodological bricolage will be, if successful, one that works quite admirably, even though the experienced grounded theorist, again like a discerning craftsperson, will note other aspects that could have been addressed had the *bricoleur* more time, skill and resources.

The metaphor of *bricoleur* is a fitting depiction of my qualitative research abilities at the start of this project. Having published a number of articles and a couple of small books built from interpretive research methodologies (Hadley 1994 ; Hadley 1997 ; Hadley & Evans 2001 ; Hadley 2003 ; Hadley 2007), I was not an amateur, yet in terms of what was required for this thesis, neither was I an expert. My life in Japan and training in addressing the pedagogic issues of Japanese university EAP students had not prepared me for what I was to encounter during the early interviews. Glaser (1978) would see this as ideal, since I was 'enter[ing] into the research setting with as few predetermined ideas as possible' (pp. 2-3), but I knew that more training and background knowledge would be needed. Therefore, while conducting early field research, I was also studying Grounded Theory literature from a wide range of books and disciplinary journals. Like the backyard *bricoleur* surrounded by a set of how-to books, instruction manuals, nondescript piles of parts and clumps of tools, I was constructing a Critical Grounded Theory while learning how to do it for the very first time.

4.2.2 Unlocking the Workshop Door: Venues and Access Strategies

Van Maanen & Kolb (1982, p. 14) note that 'gaining access to most organizational settings is not a matter to be taken lightly but one that involves some combination of strategic planning, hard work, and dumb luck.' Educational organizations have an especially 'bounded nature' (Bryman 1989, p. 2) that are particularly resistant to the independent analyst appearing on their doorstep, armed with a clipboard, recording device, and prying questions. The literature is replete with stories of qualitative researchers being denied access at the last moment by apprehensive gatekeepers (Beynon 1988, pp. 23-26), and it is for this reason that experienced fieldworkers (Buchanan, Boddy & McCalman 1988, p. 53; Bryman 1989, pp. 161-162) often adopt an opportunistic approach. 'Opportunistic' here should not be interpreted as what was once advocated by Glaser & Strauss:

> Another time-consuming aspect of data collection is establishing rapport with the people who are to be interviewed and observed. To establish rapport quickly is, of course, sometimes difficult…though establishing rapport is often not necessary. In later stages of the research, when sampling many comparative groups quickly for data on a few categories, the sociologist may obtain his data in a few minutes or half a day without the people he talks with, overhears or observes recognizing his purpose. He may obtain his data before being shooed off the premises for interfering with current activities; and he may obtain his data clandestinely in order to get it quickly, without explanations, and to be allowed to get it at all (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, p. 75).

Dey (1999, p. 119) calls this the 'smash and grab' method of access management. Infiltrating organizations without permission for the express purpose of spying on people raises ethical concerns of the type that I will soon address. By opportunistic, I mean gaining permission to research where one already has existing personal or professional connections. Denzin & Lincoln (2000b, p. 370) and Richards (2003, pp. 249-250) state that an opportunistic approach readily complements contemporary GT strategies. It is standard practice in countries such as Japan, where it is almost impossible to gain access to a university or college without either working at the institution or having a colleague who can facilitate entry.

HEI	Location	Type	Total Visits
NUGIS	Japan	Private	Core Site
University of Wensleydale	UK	Red Brick	Over 10
Polaris State University	USA	State Land Grant	Over 10
Alpha University	Japan	National	Core Site
Beta University	Japan	Elite Private	3
Gamma University	UK	Red Brick	3
Delta University	UK	1994 Group	3
Epsilon University	USA	State (Public Ivy)	1
Zeta University	USA	State Land Grant	1
Eta University	USA	Private Religious	1
Theta University	USA	State Land Grant	1

Table 3 Research Sites

I used an opportunistic approach at the primary sites mentioned in the introduction of this thesis. As a reminder, these were Nippon University of Global and Information Studies (NUGIS), a private Japanese college located north of Tokyo, Polaris State University, located in the American Midwest, and the University of Wensleydale, located north of London outside of the Oxbridge Triangle. While most of my data collection took place at these sites, I expanded my study to include other HEIs in the UK, Japan and the United States (Table 3). I had taught as an adjunct lecturer for many years at Alpha University, so I was able to secure access with considerable ease, and this also became a core site. Other HEIs were visited after gaining the trust of informants teaching at these institutions, bringing the total number to eleven.

4.2.3 Developing Rapport through Open Sampling

Bryman (1989, p. 3) warns that getting into an organization does not ensure that people will talk. Gaining access is a mediated experience. Success in convincing

people to become informants is often linked to benefits, just as failure in convincing people to open up is related to the risks posed to their standing in the organization (Beynon 1988, p. 21; Van Maanen 1988, pp. 4-5; Fielding 2001, pp. 150-151). Persuasion, rapport building and image management were tools for maintaining access after getting my foot in the door. Even so, the quality of availability differed greatly between informants. Strauss & Corbin instruct new Grounded Theorists to accept such situations as the norm, and to 'make the most out of what is available to him or her' (1990, p. 210).

While reading and formulating my approach to GTM, I followed Glaser's suggestion to remain open to anyone who would talk to me. I began by conducting many interviews with international students and undergraduate Japanese students, both in English and Japanese. I had continuous access to Teachers of EAP (TEAPs), and interviewed many in the beginning in my efforts to discern what seemed to be going on in my area of exploratory study. Some early informants were former TEAPs who had become full-academics, and their perspectives on Tertiary EAP balanced some of the rawness of TEAP accounts in interviews. Through my role as coordinator of the NUGIS-Polaris Overseas Program, I gained access to a number of high-ranking HEI administrators. The program provided what one Polaris administrator referred to as yearly 'cash infusions' of between $70,000 to $140,000 and much-coveted ethnic diversity on campus. Because I was a conduit through which these resources flowed, I was able to maintain access with upper and middle level administrators connected to the overseas program. At NUGIS, the front-line office staff members were quite open to becoming informants. However, upper-level administration often declined to participate, frequently citing work overload. This is a common avoidance strategy used by powerful stakeholders to avoid scrutiny (Beynon 1988), and since I was a lower member of the organizational hierarchy, this was a predictable response. This was similar to my experience at the University of Wensleydale, where my ability to secure the trust of midlevel administration was limited. Many avoided talking with me, as the various departments were in the process of restructuring and many were

fearful of job losses. I had better results with the frontline administrative staff at Wensleydale, since I had worked with them closely over several summers and had cultivated friendships with many of them.

At all of the three main venues and from the other research sites as well, I interviewed Blended EAP Professionals (BLEAPs). At the time I began this research, these types of university workers were beginning to appear in Japan, though they had already become commonplace in the US and UK.

The total number of informants that I interviewed for this project is in Table 4. The table only shows the total numbers of informants and transcribed interviews. It must be mentioned that some informants were interviewed once, while a few, especially the upper-level administrators and BLEAPs during the later stages of data collection, were interviewed several times. This began with face-to-face interviews, but continued through e-mail and Skype. Some interviews with students took place in small focus groups. Although the number of total interviews above refers to those that were transcribed, not every interview was coded (e.g. most international student and TEAP interviews, for the reasons to be stated later). Nevertheless, every informant had a part in the development of the grounded theory, as will be seen in later chapters.

Informant Type	Total Participants	Total Interviews
Graduate EAP Students	6	5
Undergraduate EAP Students	34	19
Senior Administrators	12	18
Frontline EAP Administrative Staff	7	7
BLEAPs	13	28
TEAPs	20	29
Academics	6	17

Table 4 Totals and Types of Informants Interviewed

4.2.4 Tools of the Trade

The research instruments used during open exploration were those of Personal Construct Repertory Grids, Qualitative Interviewing, Field Observations, and Theoretical Memos. I will offer a glimpse into this methodological toolbox by describing how each tool was designed and how they were used.

Personal Construct Repertory Grids

As I began open exploration, I was deeply concerned about imposing my own view and biases upon potential informants. I realized that using a survey or interview as the first line of exploration might simply generate answers to *my* questions, while missing out on the problems and social processes that were of importance to the informants. It is for this reason that I began open exploration with Personal Construct Repertory Grids, also known as Repertory Grids or simply 'Rep Grids'.

Despite their use in domains ranging from Medical Sociology to Management, Personal Construct Repertory Grids are unknown to most researchers in TESOL and EAP. This section is therefore more detailed than upcoming sections about interviewing and field observation.

Repertory grids were invented by George Kelly, the founder of Personal Construct Psychology (PCP) (Kelly 1955 ; Kelly 1963). Today, PCP has been all but subsumed within the wider realms of constructivism, constructionism and cognitive science, but many of Kelly's concepts preceded better-known constructivists/constructionists such as Berger & Luckmann (1967), and aspects of PCP still influence the academic discourse of psychology, management, logic and artificial intelligence (Shaw & Gaines 1992). Rep grids were designed to shed light on an informant's perception of reality with the added benefit of freeing them from the intrusion of the researchers' worldview. Through this method, informants express what they feel is important in an area of research interest, and this self-generated data is measured later, using the informant's own system of personal values (McCoy 1983, p. 175). Essentially, the technique allows informants to provide a physical record of an interview that they

85

have had with themselves in their own words, without being unduly influenced by the researcher. Repertory grids are used by psychologists, nurses, management specialists, social scientists, nurses, and educators (Rowsell 1992 ; Roberts 1999 ; Marsden & Littler 2000 ; Hadley & Evans 2001 ; Herbig, Büssing & Ewert 2001 ; Tan & Hunter 2002). Ashleigh & Nandhakumar (2007, p. 609) find that repertory grids are ideal for taking a 'bottom up approach' when exploring the inner lives and social processes of informants within organizations.

Fundamental to Personal Construct Psychology are *elements, constructs* and *bipolar constructs.* Elements are the empirical 'people, events, objects, ideas, institutions and so on' (L. Cohen, Manion & Morrison 2003, p. 338), which are 'well-known and personally meaningful' to informants (Shaw 1980, p. 10). Easterby-Smith (1981) explains that it is helpful 'to think of *elements* as being the objects of people's thoughts, and *constructs* as the qualities that people attribute to these objects' (p. 11). Kelly believed the bipolar nature of constructs complemented the philosophical concept of constructive alternativism, in that a mental construct operates somewhere between the definitive dichotomy of what it is and what it is *not*. The manner in which a person understands value-laden constructs such as *sincere, cheerful,* or *refined* remains ambiguous until one learns something about the contrasting limits within which these values are framed (Kelly 1963, pp. 105-108).

Numerous modifications to Kelly's original technique are in use (Beail 1985), and while today there is 'no such creature as 'The Grid'' (Pope & Keen 1981, p. 37), all versions share the common goal of studying the constructs of individuals and groups (Bannister & Fransella 1986, p. 143). I typically administer repertory grids in line with procedures found in Shaw & McKnight (1981) and Jankowicz (2004). I meet informants in a prearranged, informal setting, and give each individual or task group a repertory grid large enough for five to eight elements and bipolar constructs. Each informant starts with a pen and five to eight blank index cards (Figure 16). I then ask the informants to think about a general domain of research interest, such as 'What is a

good language teacher?' Informants write elements across the top of the grid, such as *always happy, makes sure the students are active, encourages retention of the second language*, and so on. I encourage the informants to write observable phenomena. The informant(s) then write numbers on one side of the cards, each of which corresponds with the same elements at the top of the grid (Figure 17).

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

⇓

1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	5
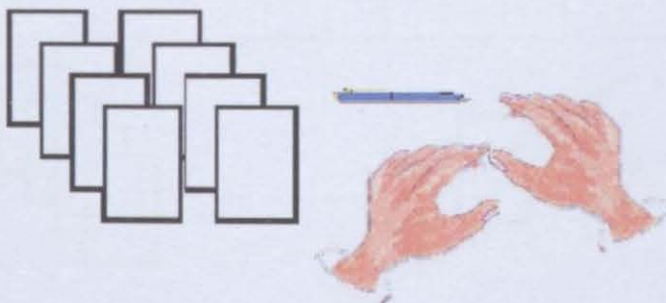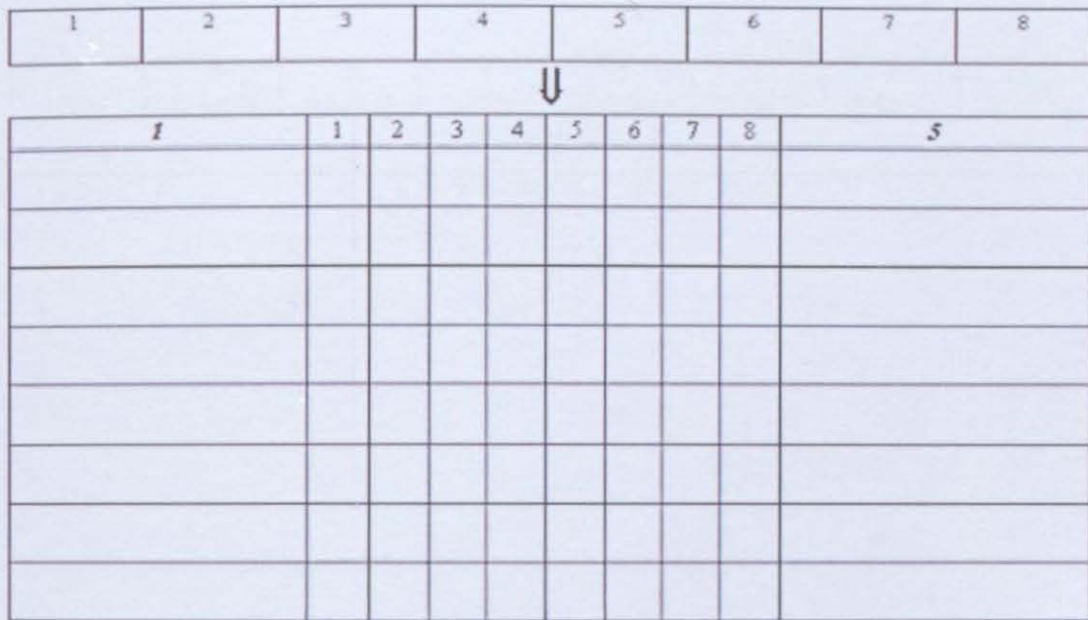
Figure 16 Materials Provided for the Repertory Grid Technique

When finished, the cards are turned face down, shuffled, and three are drawn at random. The informant(s) mark on the grid the three elements that were drawn by putting with an 'X' beside each on the grid. They then decide: 'Out of the three

87

elements chosen, which two seem to have something more in common with each other?' These two elements are connected with a line. Always on the left side of the grid, the informant(s) will describe what aspect these two elements share. On the right side, they will express *what makes the third element different from the other two*. If this is too difficult, informants are allowed to write something they believe to be the opposite of the left hand construct (Figure 18).

1 Happy	2 Ss Active	3 Retain L2	4 Confident	5 Motivated	6 Ss ask Qs	7 Indep. Ss	8 Ss use L2

⇓

1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	5
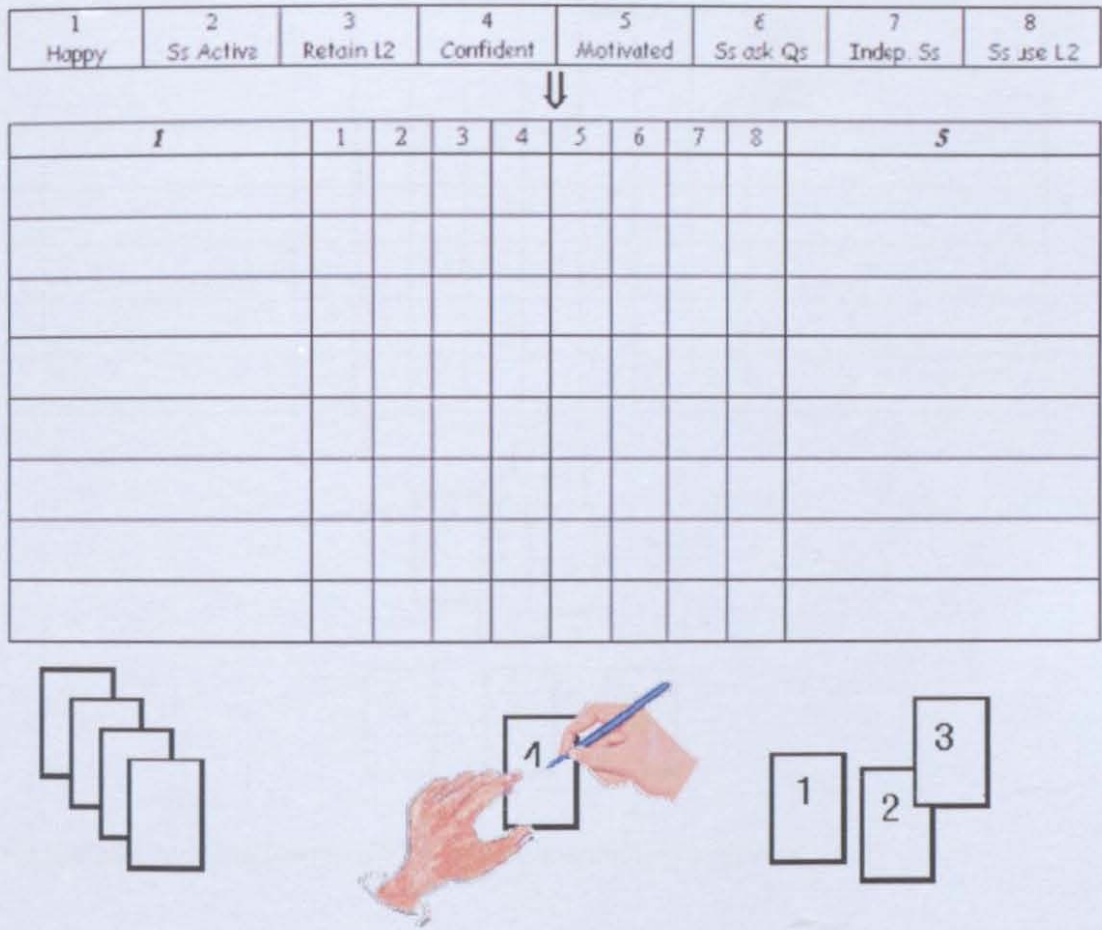
Figure 17 Providing Descriptive Elements for the Repertory Grid

Finally, the constructs, which are written down the far left and right columns of the grid, are rated to each of the above elements in rows provided between each bipolar

construct. The elements are rated to each of the constructs on a scale of one to five, with the left construct always representing '1' and the right construct as '5'. Using the

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Happy	Ss Active	Retain L2	Confident	Motivated	Ss ask Qs	Indep. Ss	Ss use L2

⇓

1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	5
Lesson carefully designed for Ss needs		×			×			×	Giving Ss L2 activities Kill the time
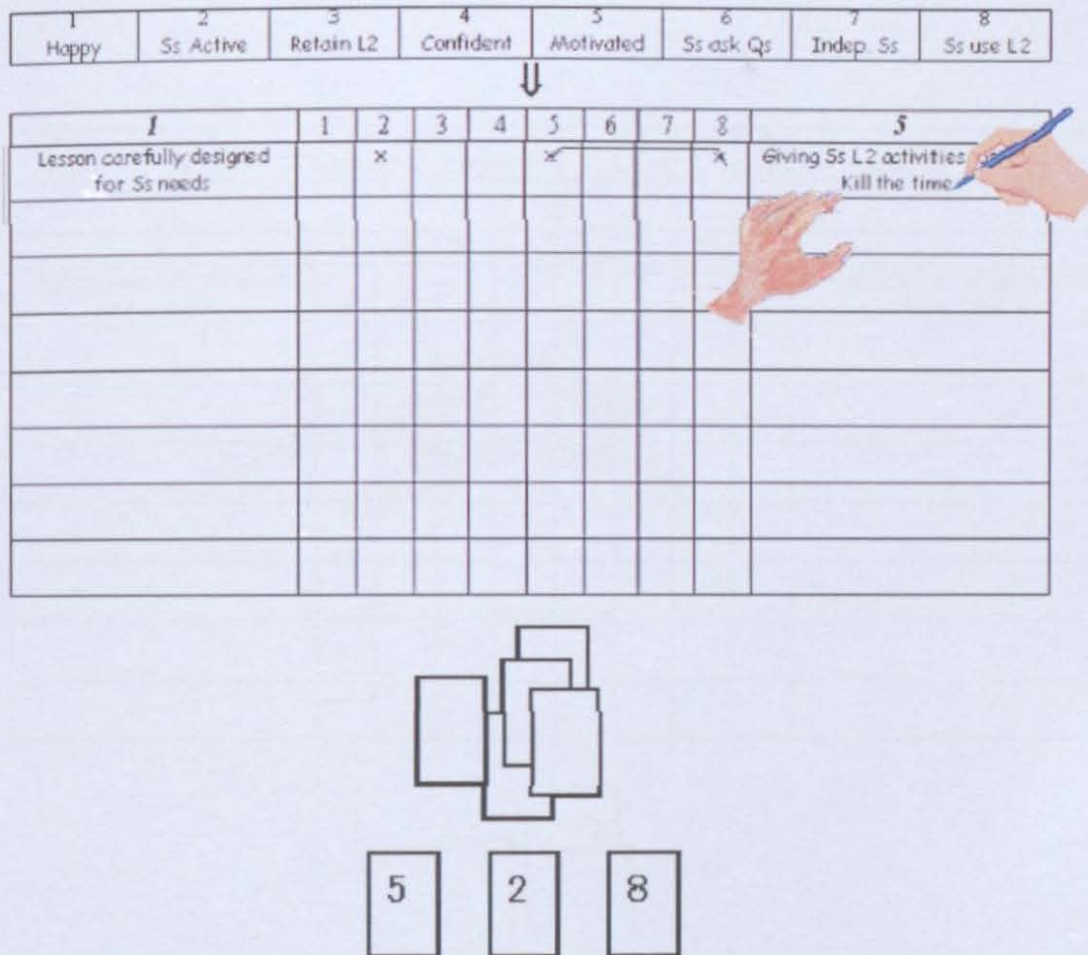
Figure 18 Choosing Random Elements to Generate Constructs

example shown in Figure 19, on a scale of 1 to 5, with '1' being most like a 'lesson carefully designed for students needs' and five as 'giving students second language activities just to kill the time', we see that the informant rated the element, 'students are happy' (abbreviated simply as 'happy') as more like the left construct, with a rating of '2'. The element, 'students are active' was, in the mind of the informant, more like the right construct, with a rating of '5'. 'Students retain L2' was seen as

89

strongly identified with the construct on the left side, with a rating of '1', and so on. Once the first row has been rated, the individual or group turn the three cards over, shuffle them, and begin the process all over again. They may reshuffle in the case of drawing the same three-card combination as before.

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Happy	Ss Active	Retain L2	Confident	Motivated	Ss ask Qs	Indep. Ss	Ss use L2

⇩

1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	5
Lesson carefully designed for Ss needs	2	X 5	1	1	X 2	1	2	X 3	Giving Ss L2 activities just to kill the time

5   2   8
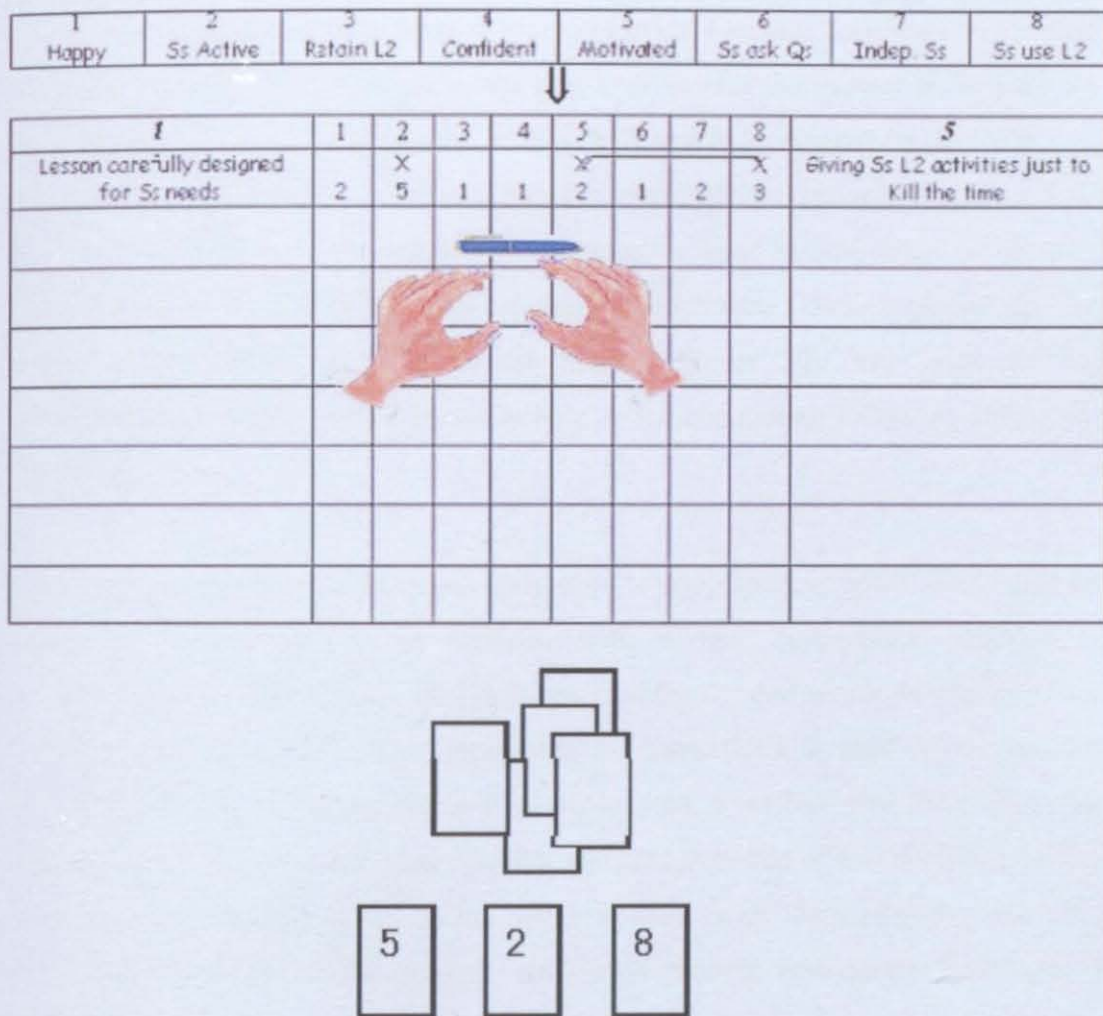
Figure 19 Completed Bipolar Construct

When used correctly, repertory grids are ideal for scouting out unknown cultural terrain (Langan-Fox & Tan 1997 ; Hunter & Beck 2000 ; Scheer 2004). In addition, because grids have numerical ratings, recurring patterns can be interpreted

quantitatively or qualitatively. The results can be presented in a format that is often meaningful both to the informant and to larger audiences.

Repertory grids can always be analyzed using 'eyeball analysis' (Jankowicz 2004, p. 80), that is, by simply looking at what is written. However, I prefer to take full advantage of the rep grid rating system. *REP IV 1.12* (Shaw & Gaines 2004) is a software program designed to analyze repertory grids. I have experimented with other programs, but REP IV1.12 provides the best analyses for the manner in which I use repertory grids. I especially like the PRINGRID graphs generated by *REP IV 1.12*, which display a multivariate analysis of multiple correlations between construct poles and elements. The elements and constructs closely related to each other, as rated by the informant, are clustered into four quadrants, which then aids in mapping out their beliefs and worldview on a particular subject (Figure 20). Rep grids and the accompanying software were extremely helpful for conducting follow up interviews afterwards.

In terms of field application, I was only able to use repertory grids with students, TEAPs and administrators at NUGIS, with a few international students at Wensleydale, and with TEAPs, BLEAPs, tenured faculty and senior administrators at Polaris during my short-term overseas program inspections. A total of twenty-three grid interviews were generated. As time progressed, I realized that the student rep grids touched upon very different research domains than that of the TEAPs, BLEAPs and administrative managers, so my focus shifted away from students and more towards those tasked with creating and implementing managerial initiatives in Tertiary EAP.

While the administration of repertory grids was relatively easy at NUGIS, Polaris required far more effort. I contacted informants at Polaris by e-mail to introduce my project, asking for their informed consent and assuring them of anonymity. For those who responded positively, I posted to each a packet containing a cover letter

PrinGrid Bambi
"To Understand Ideal Constructs Upheld for Representatives of each Organizational Subculture"

Progressive

NUGIS-Polaris Program
GA is willing to serve
GS writes original research papers
GO has good faculty and administrators

Careless
BT depends on the Ss
BS doesn't choose things for himself

Efficient
Secure
Dependable
Excellent
Confident
GTdemand that Ss prepare well
Exact

Weak
Inefficient
1: 92.0%
Lousy
Undependable
Defensive
BA speaks in a condescending manner
BO doesn't know what they are doing
Friendly

2: 4.8%

Percentage variance in each component
1: 92.0% 2: 4.8% 3: 1.7% 4: 1.0%

Key: GA – Good Administrator, BA – Bad Administrator, GT – Good Teacher, BA – Bad Teacher, GS – Good Student, BA – Bad Student, GO – Good Organization, BO – Bad Organization

Figure 20 Example of PRINGRID Analysis in REP IV 1.12.

92

explaining my PhD project and a seven-page pictorial instruction guide on how to do the repertory grid technique.

When I arrived at Polaris, some expressed misgivings about the psychological roots of rep grids and asked point-blank if I were trying to trick them into revealing private issues. I assured all that the rep grid technique was merely a framework within which they could focus their thoughts without being 'fed' potentially unrelated ideas from me, were I to use more a familiar research tool, such as questionnaires. After hearing my explanation, most agreed to continue to participate, though some eventually had to decline due to the time needed for grid completion. This was understandable, since based on previous experiences using rep grids (Hadley & Evans 2001), I knew them to be complicated and time-consuming for participants, who are usually unaccustomed to this form of inquiry. Learning how to do the technique while also thinking deeply on 'why two out of three elements are the same, and why the third is different' usually takes forty-five minutes to an hour, and by the end many feel exhausted.

During my first attempt, using the rep grid procedure as discussed earlier, I asked two TEAPs, one academic who taught American Society to NUGIS students, and two senior administrators to elicit separate grids around the domains of 'good teacher', 'good student' and 'good administrator'. This generated quite a bit of data rather quickly, but the line of inquiry turned out to be too general. Establishing this contact nevertheless helped in creating rapport with informants, and I conducted several exploratory interviews.

In the following year when I returned to Polaris, I once again tried using repertory grids, this time designing a grid to focus more upon roles within an EAP unit (Figure 21). To ensure dichotomous thinking for the exploration of bipolar constructs, I asked the same informants at Polaris to focus upon four examples of 'good' or 'successful'
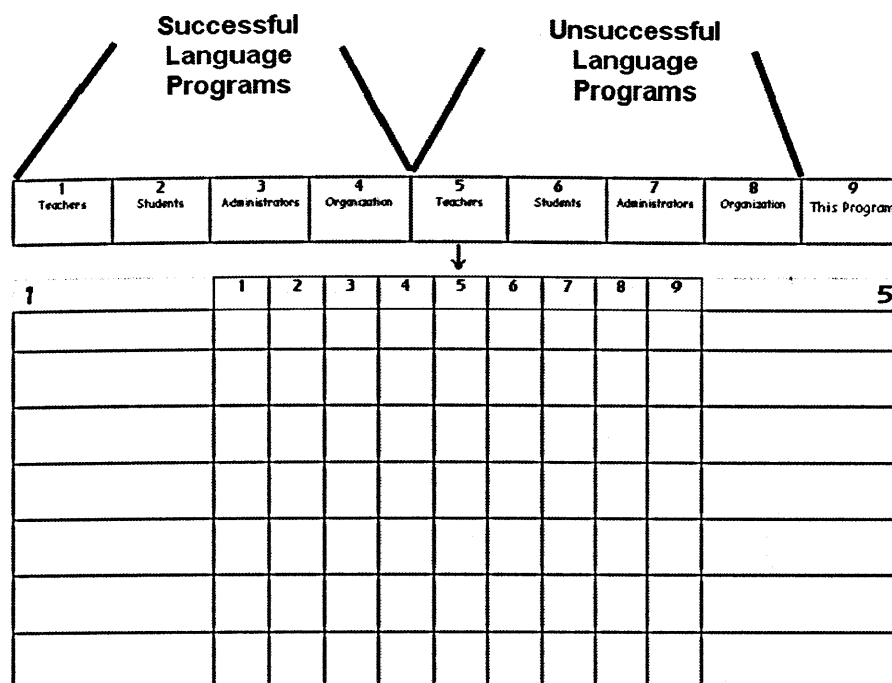
Figure 21 Adapted Repertory Grid for Exploratory Field Research

teachers, students, school administrators and programs, and conversely, memories of four people and places that were, in their opinion, unsuccessful.

If the informant had not taught, supported or studied in more than one language program, I encouraged them to think back to the foreign language programs offered during their high school or college days, or of other language programs (ESL, EFL or EAP) that they might have observed during an academic tour. These would be written in the grid later as elements, with the final element being the current NUGIS American Overseas Program with Polaris.

The rest of the process of eliciting elements and constructs during my second attempt was similar to the manner described earlier in this chapter, though some modifications were made (see Appendix A). Samples of typical repertory grid data are in Appendix B. Additional analyses of multiple grids of administrators, BLEAPs and TEAPs can be found in Appendices F through H. Repertory grids were vital in helping me to code

data using the words and values of informants, and at Appendix C shows, provided a structure for later interviews.

Interviews

While simpler than repertory grids, interviewing informants nevertheless required foresight and flexibility. I have a preference for *qualitative interviewing*, which is distinct from harder, more confrontational interview styles seeking to extract the truth from 'subjects' (Kvale 1996 ; Collins 1998 ; Dey 1999). With the flair of a *bricoleur,* Kvale (1996, p. 14) defines 'the qualitative interview [as] a construction site for knowledge. An interview is literally an *inter view,* an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest'. He explains that qualitative interviews have the potential for shedding light on the 'lived world' of the informants so that researchers can better understand the multiple perspectives in an area of research interest (Kvale 1996, p. 105). This form of interview complements the cross-cultural use of repertory grids, and Charmaz (2001) supports the use of in-depth qualitative interviewing in her constructivist form of GTM, because such data adds greater complexity to the grounded theory.

Qualitative interviewing procedures vary. Mine was a synthesis of recommendations from Charmaz (2001 ; 2005 ; 2006), Rubin & Rubin's (2005) book on qualitative interviewing, aspects of 'Active Interviewing' by Holstein & Gubrium (1995), and methods for stimulating narrative accounts found in Auerbach & Silverstein (2003). As I entered the field, interviews were unstructured and exploratory. During this time, general themes and patterns began to emerge. Using this data in conjunction with repertory grids, the constructs of which suggested a struggle between TEAPs and BLEAPs on issues related to the purpose of EAP, on the struggle of BLEAPs to conform TEAPs to what they saw as the new goals of the university, and of an overall sense of conflict regarding leadership, management and 'educating' as opposed to 'processing', I shifted to a semi-structured interview design by asking informants to expand upon the PRINGRID analysis of their repertory grids. This established a general framework for interviews, since the rep grids, like snapshots of a moment of

cognition, usually require explanation by the informants (Appendix C). During interviews, I asked informants to talk about their work in the EAP program by sharing personal accounts about a 'good day' and a 'bad day'. I would also ask informants to reflect on regularly occurring problems in their work, and what strategies they had taken, or were taking, to deal with these challenges (Charmaz 2006, pp. 30-33). Whenever the informants expressed what I thought were value statements, I would encourage further explanation. To fill out any possible underlying themes that I might be missing, I would also ask informants to talk about any milestones, major challenges or crises that they had experienced in the EAP program (Holstein & Gubrium 1995, p. 50).

Recording interviews so that they could be transcribed for later coding and analysis, however, was sometimes difficult. Many informants consented to being recorded, but all were uncomfortable with the recording device. Despite assurances that the data would be protected and their identities would be hidden, some informants remained unconvinced, expressing the fear that superiors or co-workers would somehow track the recorded material back to them. In these instances, I would write summaries of interviews. Because these uneasy informants were visibly uncomfortable with me taking notes during interviews, I wrote interview summaries as soon as possible afterwards, and placed this data with my field observation notes.

Field Observations, Notes and Archival Material

The gap between what is said during interviews and what is done during a typical day in an organization can be quite wide. In addition, when fear pervades an organization, interviews can become little more than 'rehearsed events' (Crompton & Jones 1988, p. 70). This is why interviews are often triangulated with field observations (Van Maanen 1979, p. 548). Gaining a better understanding of recurring themes from the repertory grids and interviews raised my awareness about what I encountered during the workday or when visiting other research sites. Occasionally I took notes of what I encountered and compared these with informant interviews. To check whether my abductive inferences were correct, as a participant observer I would casually ask

TEAPs or administrators what they thought about my developing theory. This data, together with any other theoretical notes, were recorded in small paperback notebooks and retyped later so that it could be saved on computer for coding and analysis. Other incidental data, such as multimedia CDs and DVDs of Overseas Programs from various universities, public photos of informants in action, advertisements of overseas programs, e-mail communication (all anonymized), and a cache of administrative journals dealing with the management of international student programs and Tertiary EAP, supplemented my fieldwork material.

4.2.5 Early Analysis and Open Coding

Collecting data is only half the challenge for the *bricoleur* engaged in grounded theorizing. This section considers how repertory grid data and interviews were transcribed, analyzed and coded. Various concerns that occurred in the process of analysis will also be discussed.

Repertory Grid Analysis

As indicated earlier, the repertory grid interview data was analyzed using the software REP IV 1.12. Each grid was supplemented with qualitative interpretations of the graph (Table 5). I added theoretical memos of any memories of past conversations or events with the informants that either expanded the data, or which conflicted with other aspects of my field studies. The analyses derived from repertory grids provided not only a visual representation of where the EAP units were located within the informants' elicited constructs, they also suggested clues as to what sort of literature I might need to access and served as sensitizing concepts for the development of the Grounded Theory. I uncovered pertinent themes and tightened my focus more quickly than if I had relied only upon exploratory interviews. The process helped informants to open up and explain issues in detail. The data guided me during later interviews where repertory grids could not be used because of the length of time needed to complete them. Later open coding was also enhanced by the constructs and elements elicited from the informants. I felt that repertory grid analysis was vital for ushering me into the world as seen by informants, and for uncovering their concerns related to Tertiary-level EAP.
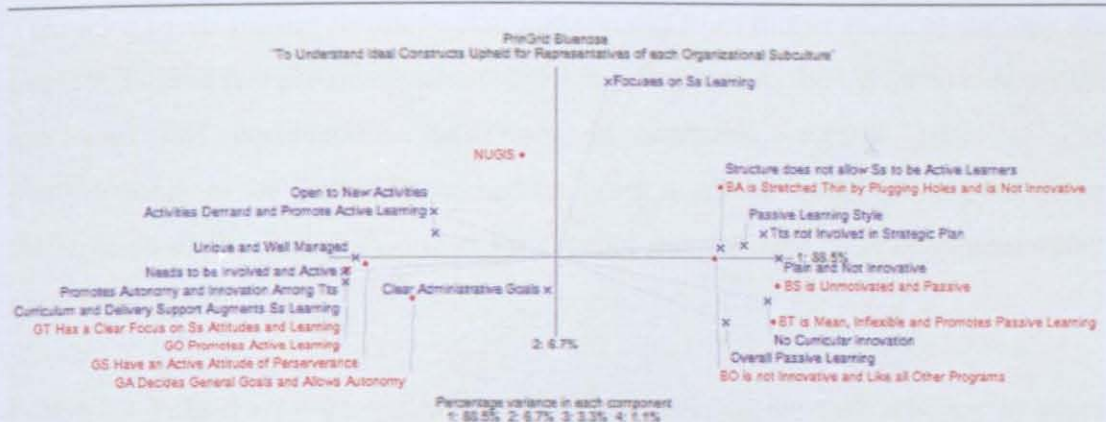
It seems clear that Bluenose sees innovative and active as positive traits for language learning, while that which is passive is construed as highly negative. It tends to line up a lot with ideas of being not innovative, demotivating and somewhat detached or uninvolved. For good teachers, he feels they should have a clear focus on students' attitudes and learning. A good organization promotes active learning, and the students are also active in terms of perseverance. The curriculum and delivery support are things that will augment the students' learning. About the American program with NUGIS, it seems that he feels nominally that it is well managed and unique, as opposed to being like other programs that lack innovation. The NUGIS program is one that demands active learning and a sense of newness.

Based upon what he has discussed earlier, it seems that he feels that he is not a very good administrator, since he has referred to himself earlier as being 'stretched thin' and 'plugging holes'. He has not been able to negotiate the structure of the EAP program and has not been able to include the language teachers in his strategic plans. I hypothesize that he seems to find the regular international students as unmotivated and passive...probably he is referring to the Asian students that he has mentioned in passing. It is certain that, based upon my earlier interviews with him, that the teachers who are mean, inflexible and promoting passive learning are those TEAPs in his department. Ideally, he seems to indicate that he would like to be a good administrator that has the power to decide goals and to give autonomy to co-workers he can trust.

Table 5 Rep Grid Analysis and Memos (Enlarged Graph in Appendix B)

Transcription Issues

In order to prepare the recorded interviews for coding, I began to try my hand at transcription. I was able to note the problems and similar themes arising from the increased focus on transcriptions, which not only helped me in constantly comparing incidents and statements encountered in later interviews, it helped me to define the focus of future interviews for other informants. At the same time, making my own transcripts was laborious and required up to 10 hours for me to transcribe a one-hour interview. I soon decided that hiring a transcriptionist would be far more sensible.

Through a social science research recruiting site and from further searches through the Internet, I found two promising transcriptionists. One was in the UK, who held a PhD and who had considerable experience in academic research projects. The transcriptionist in the United States had far fewer academic qualifications, but given the strength of the British Pound at the time of this research, was commensurately more economical.

Following Poland's (2001, pp. 640-643) advice, one of the few scholars to write extensively on the issue of transcription quality, I sent both transcriptionists an e-mail containing a five-minute excerpt of a recorded interview file and a template file in Word format. I included instructions on how I wanted transcripts to be formatted, and the manner in which to note pauses, illegible speech or other disruptions, such as background noise and microphone static. I then compared the accuracy of their transcripts to the interview, which allowed me to assess the precision of their work and the speed in which I could expect turnaround.

The UK transcriptionist was quick, professional and precise. The American transcriptionist was not as fast, and minor errors were often noted. However, both transcripts were acceptably accurate and finished far quicker than my own efforts. I decided that it would be in my best interests to hire both transcriptionists. I would send the recorded files of my interviews to the transcriptionist in the UK when I needed transcripts finished quickly and accurately. When the UK transcriptionist was engaged in another project, if the interview was exceptionally long, or if I did not need transcripts as urgently, then I would contact the transcriptionist in the United States. The wait in this case would be considerably longer, as there were times when the American transcriptionist would be out of contact for weeks due to technological or personal problems. These transcripts would need accuracy checks, and the transcriptionist would sometimes skip sections of discourse from international students or informants with non-American accents, deeming them as unintelligible. Since I had conducted the interviews, in most cases, I had little problem filling in

these gaps, although there were times when static caused by moving the recording device or background noise in restaurants, cafes or offices affected the quality of sections within some interviews.

Both transcriptionists were well aware of the need to ensure the privacy of the informants and to preserve the security of the interview data files as part of their professional code of conduct. I still discussed these issues with both, and as neither had personal or professional contacts with any of the informants or venues, I was sufficiently satisfied that anonymity and privacy could be maintained.

These attempts to ensure the quality of the transcripts and to communicate my expectations to the transcriptionists were only the beginning of the process. Poland (2001, p. 635) has noted that the whole concept of 'transcript' has become problematized, and presently there is little consensus as to what truly constitutes a verbatim transcript (Lapadat 2000, p. 204). Within the debate about whether words on a page are an accurate and reliable transmission of reality or, as others claim, the shackles of methodological reification (Lapadat & Lindsay 1999, p. 71), those new to the creation and study of transcripts are often hard-pressed on how to begin.

Because of controversy surrounding transcriptions, there is no universal system of notation for qualitative research (McLellan, MacQueen & Neidig 2003, p. 64). Poland (2001, pp. 635-636) and McLellan, MacQueen & Neidig (2003) instruct researchers to be clear about their purposes for transcription and consistent in the manner by which transcripts have been constructed for research analysis. They also state that it is entirely acceptable for researchers to design their own notation system.

My use of transcripts was not for spoken discourse analysis, but instead for theorizing on informant narratives in order to shed light on sociological issues related to BLEAPs in corporatized HEIs. I created a notation system that, while appearing somewhat to be that of a movie script, was nevertheless sufficient for these purposes. It documented pauses, laughs, issues related to unintelligibility (technical problems,

100

noise, mumbling, etc.), and ancillary features such as desk-pounding, mimicking, shifts in body language, changes in the informant's normal tone of voice or my notes of facial expressions and meaningful gestures. In accordance with Mergenthaler & Stinson's seminal paper on rules for transcriptions, my minimalist notation system was easy for the transcriptionists to follow, as it required only 'everyday language competence'; it was 'understandable and applicable by secretaries,' and the rules were 'limited in number, simple, and easy to learn' (Mergenthaler & Stinson 1992, pp. 129-130). My system also mirrored examples of transcripts found in published Grounded Theory works (e.g. Charmaz 2006, p. 44).

Verbatim	Erm … well, I dunno really, know what I mean? I mean, you know, when I asked them what Mary's, er, um, condish, condit, condition was, they said like erm 'I'm afraid we can't, erm, tell you that, Mrs. Smith, 'cause you ain't a relative.'
Intelligent Verbatim	Well, I dunno really. I mean when I asked them what Mary's condition was they said 'I'm afraid we can't tell you that, Mrs. Smith, 'cause you ain't a relative.'

Table 6 Verbatim and Intelligent Verbatim (Hickley 2007)

The decision not to use a discourse analysis system of transcription will undoubtedly raise eyebrows among some EAP-based qualitative researchers. I readily acknowledge that the manner in which one communicates an idea is often as significant as what was actually said, but Poland defends my choice, writing that conducting a discourse analysis of large amounts of transcribed data would be fatally exhausting, both for the researcher and the transcriptionists:

> There is a limit to the degree of painstaking attention to detail that can be demanded of a transcriber in applying an elaborate system of codes...In studies with large samples (60-100+ interviews), when analysis may be more superficial and limited to the cataloging of opinions or experiences, close attention to conversational dynamics may be unnecessary (Poland 2001, pp. 639-640).

A final decision related to what is known as 'intelligent verbatim'. Intelligent verbatim transcripts are faithful to what the informants have said, but they do not contain every 'erhm', stuttered word and false start. Although these are interesting to applied linguists, they are distractions when generating a Grounded Theory in the sociology of ELT (Table 6).

Intelligent verbatim fulfills Mergenthaler & Stinson's stipulation for the morphologic and structural naturalness of transcription to be maintained, though admittedly it runs counter to their belief that it should be an 'exact reproduction' (Mergenthaler & Stinson 1992, p. 129). While intelligent verbatim represents sanitized discourse and risks losing important segments of linguistic meaning, the burden on researchers working with large numbers of transcripts must be considered:

> We do not need the full clutter of a transcript designed for conversation analysis. We need an account that accurately represents and effectively communicates the statements of the interviewee. Sanitization involves minor alterations to assist that representation and communication, and does not in our view corrupt the data (Buchanan, Boddy & McCalman 1988, p. 62).

Silverman (2001, pp. 249-250) agrees, adding that 'there cannot be a *perfect* transcript of a tape-recording. Everything depends upon what you are trying to do in the analysis, as well as upon practical considerations involving time and resources.' The limits of time and resources spurred my choice for intelligent verbatim transcripts: they were sufficient for my research purposes, and with over 1,000 pages of transcript material, they were the most economical choice. A typical transcript is found in Appendix C.

Open Coding via Computer Assisted Qualitative Analysis Software

My open coding scheme was most similar to those advocated by Glaser and Charmaz, with my contribution being the CST-based questions seen near the end of the last chapter. Glaser's coding methodology appealed to me as both elegant and simple in design. Understanding the worldview of the informants was another priority, as it is in Charmaz's Constructivist GT. Her coding scheme is basically Glaserian in nature

(Glaser 1978, p. 97), but it takes the best from Strauss in that she focuses on processes within the data. She uses the Glaserian method of writing codes in gerund form, which helps researchers to avoid value judgments while coding, and to focus upon the actions of the informants (Charmaz 2006, p. 49). I decided to use a combination of techniques advocated by Charmaz and Glaser, because this seemed to be a more accessible form of analysis that complemented repertory grids.

Charmaz and Glaser provided me with a general framework on how to proceed with coding, but the devil is in the details. It takes time to find a coherent theme within the literature about Grounded Theory coding. I was confused for a considerable period about how to apply Glaser and Charmaz's techniques to the analysis of my rapidly growing corpus of transcripts, field notes, and other material. Because of the time limits for finishing my PhD research, I could not afford to make mistakes or waste valuable time with this crucial area of analysis. Therefore, I made a decision to forgo coding immediately after collecting interviews. Such a decision admittedly seems to be a major transgression of one of the cardinal rules of GTM, that of simultaneous data collection and coding, but it must be remembered that Grounded Theorists who call for immediate and continuous analysis have already amassed many years of experience from earlier studies. Often their stipulations do not adequately take into consideration those who are new to this form of analysis, and who lack mentors that could teach them the mechanics of coding.

However, there are other forms of analysis that are equally useful during the beginning of a Grounded Theory study. Dörnyei (2007, p. 250) states that it is vital for Grounded Theorists to have a pre-coding phase where they can 'meet the data meaningfully' and not become adrift on a sea of qualitative ambiguities. He assures grounded theorists that they will be able to code with greater confidence and focus after they have gained a better overall perspective of the data. This advice is similar to Schatzman's warning (1991, p. 305) to new researchers about not becoming overly fixated on the mechanics of coding. A pre-coding phase is not without its weaknesses,

however. The main problem, observe Strauss & Corbin (1998, p. 295), is that researchers end up collecting an enormous amount of data that can get in the way of theory development. Admittedly, I faced this challenge later on, but ultimately, I feel I had to start somewhere until I had gained enough confidence with coding. Heath & Cowley (2004) write:

> The novice researcher should set aside [the] 'doing it right' anxiety, adhere to the principle of constant comparison, theoretical sampling and emergence and discover which approach helps them best to achieve the balance between interpretation and data that produces a grounded theory…the aim is not to discover *the* theory, but *a* theory that aids understanding and action in the area under investigation (p. 149).

I began with open coding, and using the gerund-based technique described by Charmaz (2006, p. 49), which entailed staying open-minded, reading the transcripts and constantly asking myself questions such as, 'what is this about?', 'what is going on here?', or 'what is this person trying to tell me here?' To aid in my interpretive analysis, I included paraphrasing techniques described in Sutton & Stewart (2002, pp. 44-49), who teach it as part of their training for counselors. Paraphrasing focuses on the emotive and dynamically evocative lexis within informant discourse, and summarizes it for brevity and clarity. I also employed, though to a lesser degree, an open coding perspective from Clarke's Situational Analysis (Clarke 2003 ; Clarke 2005) to explore whether any nonhuman elements depicted in pictures, memos, or other naturally occurring material, might have a bearing upon the grounded theory. As mentioned earlier, repertory grid analyses had already sensitized me to issues and problems seen from the informant's systems of personal constructs, and this also guided me in the early days of coding.

For similar concepts and issues arising in the interviews, I would assign codes that I had already generated. New codes would be expressed for any new topics that emerged. Other ideas, thoughts, questions or hypotheses were written during the coding sessions in the form of memos or theoretical notes. These informed new

104

questions in subsequent interviews and sharpened the focus of field observations. Any transcripts from later interviews and observation notes would be included as data and constantly compared, as well as coded, in the same manner as the earlier collected data.

I stored transcripts, kept track of open codes, notes, theoretical memos and later created links to substantive and theoretical codes through Computer Assisted Qualitative Analysis Software (CAQDAS) (see Figure 22). A number of software packages are available that aid in the organization of qualitative data used in forming a grounded theory, but the two most popular platforms are NVivo (*NVivo Qualitative Data Analysis Software 8.0* 2008) and ATLAS.ti (Muhr 2009). Both are excellent programs, but I chose ATLAS.ti, which like NVivo, handles a wide variety of word processor files and graphics, but at the time of writing this chapter, also had the added advantage of allowing researchers to code PDF documents and video clips.

ATLAS.ti is a complex program, and space does not allow for a full description of all its functions. Readers seeking detailed information are advised to consult and excellent volume by Lewins & Silver (2007), which explains how to use both ATLAS.ti and NVivo, and Friese (2012), which provides an in-depth work on how to use ATLAS.ti. In brief, however, with ATLAS.ti, primary documents, such as transcripts, trade articles and other media, are placed in a storage file known as a Heuristic Unit (HU). All codes, notes and theoretical connections are stored here as well. When one, for example, opens a particular code, the analyst can view all of the excerpts from interviews, as well as any other pictures, videos or PDFs that have been connected to the same code. CAQDAS packages do not replace the Grounded Theorist in terms of data analysis, but they do aid in the storage and organization of materials. Instead of the dinner table or a section of the floor in one's home, ATLAS.ti serves as an electronic alternative.

G   What's the main challenge.

M   I would say in this order, the two challenges I see
are 1) getting enough students interested to come
and be a part of the program, so that the program
has a life of its own and there's a different
dynamic when you've got a dozen students to
when you have seven, or eighteen when you have
nine or something. And as you know, some of
those things you can articulate and some of those
are just the feel and things, and you're able to do
things and your experiences are greater when you
have a larger number. And it's better for
Polaris   , I think it's probably better for NUGIS
So I see the number one problem, I guess we'd call
it recruitment and enrollment.

G   When you talk about that, I want to try to
understand this a little bit better. From the
Polaris   side, more students means more
diversity on campus?

M   Yeah, exactly. Because then we have more American
students rooming with international students
even this semester, more international students
hopefully mingling and interacting with our, what
we sometimes call native students, American
students.

G   When you say hopefully, does it not happen?

M   Oh I think it ... I think it happens some, but if ...
and it's part of, it's what we were talking about a
minute ago but it's part of our own ... it's hard to
go out of our comfort zone, which is what we're

☆ AD – Wanting to increase the number of NUGIS students

☆ AD – Viewing NUGIS Students as "program dynamos"

☆ AD – Bringing international students to provide intercultural diversity and international educational experiences for host country students –

☆ AD – Increasing the number of NUGIS students augments "experiences"

☆ AD – Hunting–Gathering

☆ AD – Bringing international students to provide intercultural diversity and international educational experiences for host country students
☆ AD – Distinguishing between International Students and "regular" Host Country Students
▦ "The Students" Means "American Students"

☆ IS – Clumping together according to linguistic, national and racial similarities
▦ Clumping together

Figure 22 Early Example of Open Coding

Open coding started with my already large number of interview transcripts and other naturally occurring materials gathered from the beginning of the research project. I treated this early corpus of material in the same manner as archival data, which is considered a valid resource material by all major Grounded Theorists (Glaser & Strauss 1967/1999, pp. 53, 167; Strauss & Corbin 1997, p. 75; Strauss & Corbin 1998, pp. 280-281; Charmaz 2005, pp. 507-536; Clarke 2005, p. 64; Charmaz 2006, p. 35). ATLAS.ti has a function for creating word lists from multiple files in a manner that is similar but inferior to WordSmith Tools (M. Scott 2005). I experimented using the concordancing, cluster analyses and keyword analyses offered both in ATLAS.ti and WordSmith Tools. While this did somewhat heighten my theoretical sensitivity to potential lines of interpretation during open coding, it did not replace the need to go through transcripts line-by-line in order to constantly compare earlier informant interviews with later data.

Field Notes

In the field, I was able to observe informants in the manner described above with little difficulty, since observation relied upon me rather than informants. The naturally occurring data encountered at all the research sites turned out to be helpful enhancements for understanding the earlier statements and symbolic actions of informants. I used an informal approach to analyze these materials and my field notes, in that I did not follow a predefined procedure. I would watch and listen to what was going on, take notes, read naturally occurring materials and constantly compare these to the open codes that I was developing from early interviews and repertory grid materials. Perakyla (2005, p. 870) affirms this as a widely accepted way of working with naturally occurring data, and it permitted me to compare what I was told during interviews with what informants did on regular workdays.

4.3 Focused Investigation

In this section, I will discuss why I tightened the focus of the study, began to deal with ethical issues and continued to code the data.

4.3.1 Theoretical Sampling of Informants

Securing steady and stable contact with undergraduate Japanese student informants proved more challenging than anticipated. Thorne (1980, p. 292) explains that evasive, passive behavior is common among 'captive populations', of which students are considered to be a representative group. Passivity may be the only way for people in such groups to protect themselves from the invasion of interviewers. Eder & Fingerson (2001) add that differences in age, experience, and expertise between older researchers and adolescents create unequal power relations that discourage the success of one-to-one interviews. The international students at Wensleydale, who included several undergraduate Japanese students on a short-term course of study, were more open and accessible, but the general picture that arose from early coding suggested that the undergraduate experience of Japanese EAP students was so distinct from multinational graduate EAP students that more than one grounded theory project would be required. In addition, as there have been a steady stream of studies on the overseas student experience (Myles & Cheng 2003 ; Marriott 2004 ; Singh & Doherty 2004 ; Chun 2009), I wondered if there might be another area where less research had been conducted.

Placing TEAPs in the center of my theoretical construction would have been the easiest choice. Much of what they shared during interviews touched upon their inner lives as educators, especially that of teacher identity, a topic of considerable interest in TEAP literature (Pajak & Blaise 1984 ; J. Richards 1987 ; Johnston 1997 ; Roberts 1999 ; Sumsion 2002 ; Ball 2003 ; Davis 2006 ; Senior 2006) as well as related issues affecting emotional and professional lives of language teachers (McKnight 1992 ; Johnston 1997 ; Varghese et al. 2005 ; Vaughan 2007). However, the language emerging from these studies is often polarized, and I recognized that my emotional proximity to TEAPs might affect my objectivity. The danger was of my work becoming one of advocacy rather than a fair theoretical account of what might be going on.

108

Little attention, however had been given to the study of Blended EAP Professionals, or BLEAPs as I have named them, in an attempt to capture the essence of how they are often perceived at universities. BLEAPs became an area of interest because at the time of my sampling, they were starting to be put in charge of EAP units and other educational support programs in Japan, such as service learning and talent development. This also began to take place at the University of Wensleydale in the UK, where TEAPs were placed under administrative management. In Japanese HEIs, Wensleydale and at Polaris, all of the BLEAPs had been TEAPs, and even though they still taught language lessons, they had a considerable amount of administrative work of the type not associated with traditional academic posts, and for which none of them had received any formal training.

Key BLEAP informants and upper level administrators were interviewed several times. In an effort to constantly compare my data, I expanded my investigations to BLEAPs, TEAPs and upper level administrators from other universities and language schools in Japan, the United States and the UK. I attended language teacher conferences and recorded presentations related to themes and patterns emerging in my interviews. During question and answer sessions at the end of some presentations, I would opportunistically ask presenters a few questions related to problems, conditions, and contingencies taking place in my collected data. I conducted a number of interviews in Japanese with administrators, but since the Japanese teachers and BLEAPs involved in the overseas program at NUGIS were fluent in English, most of these interviews were conducted in English in order to avoid complicated translation issues and to allow greater ease in transcription. I also interviewed informants using the chat function in Skype, which had the added benefit of providing an immediate transcript of the online conversations. Interviews usually lasted 45 to 90 minutes, and resulted in nearly 1,300 pages of transcripts.

4.3.2 Ethical Issues

Ethical issues rarely impress themselves on the inexperienced *bricoleur*, especially when s/he is wondering how to use the bric-a-brac of research instruments at hand.

Ethical concerns do, however, become one of the attendant contingencies for qualitative field researchers as they encounter the grit and grime of restive organizational politics.

Christians (2000) finds that most official ethics codes guiding professional organizations and Institutional Review Boards (IRBs) at American and British universities are remarkably similar and drawn heavily from the principles of biomedical ethics. This can be seen in the guidelines for the International Language Testing Association (ILTA), the British Association of Applied Linguistics (BAAL) and Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) (Davies 2008 ; BAAL 2009 ; TESOL 2009). Christians has summarized ethical qualitative research considerations into four precepts: Informed Consent, Avoidance of Deception, Protection of Privacy/Confidentiality, and Accuracy of Reporting (Christians 2000, pp. 138-140).

The ethical principles by which I worked when starting this project were those of *protecting confidentiality* and of *doing no harm*. While adequate to a point, it did not take long for me to experience unexpected problems proportionate to the degree to which informants had control over the research process. In the case of repertory grids, informants were almost completely in control of what they wrote and expressed. Recorded interviews were more or less a balance between the informants and me, though there were often unexpected moments in which sensitive or potentially compromising information would be divulged. Overt participant observation quickly brought ethical dilemmas to the fore. I will use Christians' four interdependent principles to discuss some of the issues I faced in the field, and then describe how I dealt with these challenges.

Informed Consent
At the time when I conducted my research, the University of Birmingham did not have Institutional Research Boards (IRBs) for PhD students in the humanities, and there was no requirement to use consent forms when conducting human subject

research. Nevertheless, I took the issue of informed consent very seriously during data collection and field research. A key doctrine of research ethics, informed consent respects the informants' freedom to choose, and honors their decision to withdraw at any time without coercion or fear of negative consequences. Informed consent requires that informants are told the purpose of the research, the approximate length of time in which the research will be conducted, and any risks inherent in participating (BAAL 2009 ; TESOL 2009).

These values stand in the shadow of two infamous studies. One was Philip Zimbardo's Stanford Prison Experiment (Milgram 1977 ; Soble 1978 ; Zimbardo, Maslach & Haney 2000), in which it took less than a week for student volunteers in a mock jail to create conditions that mirrored the degradation seen more recently in America's Abu Ghraib military incident (Zimbardo 2008). The other was Stanley Milgram's experiment on obedience to authority, in which uninformed subjects were induced by an authoritative figure (who was actually an actor) to repeatedly give what they believed were near-fatal electric shocks to another actor strapped to a chair and screaming for mercy (Milgram 1974, pp. 2-5). It is primarily due to the 'sins of Milgram' (Punch 1998, p. 168) that qualitative researchers in America and elsewhere today are often required by IRBs to use written consent forms with informants. This practice is inspired by the doctor-patient relationship, in which there are clear benefits and risks both for the doctor and patients involved in drug tests or other experimental medical procedures. Written consent is intended to ensure that informants know the risks before participating.

No reputable academic wants to be portrayed as supporting the unethical behavior of researchers such as Zimbardo and Milgram, but more are openly discussing how written consent forms often prevent qualitative researchers from conducting their studies (Lykes 1989 ; Punch 1998 ; M. Fine et al. 2000). Depending upon the subject of the research project, it is argued that written consent forms frighten informants into not participating (Herdman 2000), thus leaving researchers with a small pool of

informants with whom they often have strong affinities. In different countries and cultures, written consent forms often represent an invasion of the litigious aspects of Western culture. In Japan for example, the discussion of legal rights and protection are raised only when other avenues for maintaining harmony have been irrevocably lost. Therefore, even as the theorist is trying to develop rapport and build bridges, the sudden intrusion of a written consent form may invoke mistrust about the researcher's true motives, resulting in either the untimely termination of the project or in the generation of findings with limited impact due to the fact that consenting informants were friends and confidants (Lykes 1989, p. 178; Lipson 1994 ; Van den Hoonaard 2002, pp. 10-13). In other cases, informants perceiving themselves as having relatively less power than the researcher can be gently coerced into signing consent forms without question (Thorne 1980, p. 293), and informants who feel they have more power than the researcher have been known to refuse to sign informed consent forms in order to avoid scrutiny (Beynon 1988, pp. 30-31), especially if they fail to recognize the direct benefits of participating. Worse still are cases in which elite informants refuse to give their written consent until convinced that the researcher supports their political agenda (Goode 1996 ; Ferdinand et al. 2007). Critics of signed consent forms also add that there is a belief among qualitative researchers that the practice serves more as a legal instrument for protecting corporatized HEIs from financial liability than it does about protecting informants from a nebulous conception of harm (M. Fine et al. 2000, p. 113; Van den Hoonaard 2001, p. 31).

A number of respected qualitative researchers have proposed fair and principled solutions that can both satisfy institutional needs for accountability and uphold good research practices. Joan Sieber (1992), in her seminal book on designing ethically-responsible qualitative research projects, states that even in the United States, oral consent is allowable when it is the more ethical option. In cases where written consent forms are viewed as intrusive, distressful, inconvenient to informants, or if they change the natural behavior of the informants in the field, sending a cover letter explaining the project and orally laying out the issues of the project is often the

sensible and more humane option. Lipson (1994, p. 343) states that such procedures are often accepted by the more flexible of IRBs. Van den Hoonaard (2001, p. 33) adds that the written transcripts, although anonymized, can be used as documentary evidence of oral consent.

My research traversed the chasm between corporatized HEI management, BLEAPs and TEAPs. Most of those who I interviewed were untenured and working in constant fear – fear of losing their jobs, fear of suffering irreparable damage to their career or personal prestige if discovered, and fear of losing control over how their words would be interpreted. Many confided that, while they welcomed the chance to share with someone who would listen, they were still afraid that, somehow, someone above them would find out. Putting aside for a moment the grim indictment that such fears bode for HEIs with a public image of diversity of thought and freedom of expression, Sieber explains it is precisely in such oppressive work environments that verbal consent offers the informants greater privacy, confidentiality and protection. There is less of a paper trail that could be tracked by powerful stakeholders (Sieber 1992, pp. 37-38).

Therefore, because of the risky political dynamics discovered all the venues, I followed the suggestions of Sieber (1992) and secured informed oral consent rather than requesting written consent. I explained to potential informants that I was in the exploratory stages of a qualitative PhD research project. Because of its open-ended nature, I could not tell them about the focus, nor was I certain about the length. To those who showed interest, I asked for their participation, stating that I would protect them from harm by keeping the collected data secure and that I would maintain their anonymity both during and after the project. Those who gave their consent became key informants for this and later stages of this project.

In order to verify that I had truly secured oral informed consent, later I sent cover letters to informants and discussed the project with each key informant in person. I

113

did not use cover letters at the University of Wensleydale, but instead, I spoke to co-workers and administrative staff directly. After observing me in the intense work environment of the presessional course, it was easy for them to decide whether or not they could trust me, since the course tended to strip teachers of all pretense to reveal the good and ill that lay beneath their best efforts to look respectable. Informants either gave verbal consent or quietly dodged any further discussion about interviews.

In protecting the privacy and confidentiality of informants, I was also protecting myself, because I either worked or regularly interacted with many informants in the early stages of research for this thesis. This became less of a problem later on when the pool of informants expanded to locations and institutions where I lacked a constant working presence or personal connection.

My decision to conduct research after gaining oral informed consent allowed me to speak to more informants in a non-intrusive manner, but it also opened the door for other problems in the field, because the fluid nature of oral consent fostered unwelcome periods of ambiguity. Fine et al. (2000, p. 113) explain that regardless of whether an informant has given oral or even written informed consent, it is not always clear later when informants are informing and when they are consenting.

This problem was most apparent during field observations, where it was that overheard conversation in the campus coffee shop, the evocative cartoon posted near the copy machine in the administrative office, or the passing word between TEAPs about international students which conflicted with earlier interviews. During these times, it became obvious that informants had forgotten that I was processing everything that I saw and heard. Despite efforts to be ethical by working overtly as a participant observer, when judged by the strictest of biomedical standards of ethics, observational techniques are untenable. Fielding (2001) aptly outlines the contours of this impasse:

It is increasingly accepted that the most faithfully negotiated overt approach inescapably contains some covertness, in that, short of wearing a sign, ethnographers cannot signal when they are or are not collecting data. Nor is even the most scrupulous researcher able to anticipate the purposes to which data will be put. In reality, overt and covert approaches shade into each other (p. 150).

Admittedly, it is common for fieldworkers to become accepted as provisional insiders during the course of their research (McIntosh 2000 ; McDonald 2005 ; Spano 2007), but this experience raised for me a number of ethical questions. Should such overheard or observed information be included in my field notes? Would doing so potentially violate someone's privacy? Regardless of whether I recorded this information or not, the insight gained from field observations would still be firmly rooted within my mind. How could it *not* influence my thinking as I developed a Grounded Theory? By excluding important discoveries, would this not risk a misrepresentation of the data, which would affect the accuracy of reporting?

My final choice was to record whatever seemed to be significant in the field. I would occasionally take the opportunity to remind informants that I was engaged in fieldwork observation, but in order not to disrupt the environment I was observing, I did not to overdo these reminders. Doing so would have been the 'sociological equivalent of the familiar police caution, like 'Anything you say or do may be taken down and used as data'' (C. Bell 1977, p. 59). Falling back on my basic principles of doing no harm and maintaining confidentiality, I made certain that any insights gained from fieldwork stayed anonymous.

Avoiding Deception

Intertwined with the problems related to informed consent is the avoidance of conducting research under false pretenses. The epitome of researcher deception would undoubtedly be Laud Humphreys, an ethnographer who, during his PhD work, posed undercover as a 'Watch Queen' at a public toilet frequented by homosexual men (Miles & Huberman 1994, p. 292). While the men were otherwise engaged, Humphreys would sneak out to copy the license plate numbers of the men's cars. He

115

tracked down their home addresses and visited their homes one year later disguised as a city worker conducting a health survey (Humphreys 1970). It is doubtful that contemporary qualitative field researchers in EAP would be as ethically challenged as Humphreys, but Miles & Huberman (1994, p. 292) state that qualitative researchers are deceiving themselves if they claim to have been fully honest with their informants. In the same light, there needs to be greater recognition of the fact that some informants may not be fully honest with the researcher. Working with informants can be similar to that of a sociological game of poker, and the difficulty is in working out who is bluffing, because no one has all their cards on the table. Any attempt at creating fair and trustworthy qualitative research is something of a gamble.

One approach has been to accept the ambiguity of human interaction and to work within it. Chrisman (1976, in B. Thorne 1980, p. 290) explains that fieldworkers have 'multiple identities' beyond that of researcher, and that they should draw upon these to connect with informants. I did not attempt to go undercover or to create a false persona, but for TEAPs, I pointed out that I had been a language teacher for nearly twenty years. My experience as a coordinator of a university language program and co-coordinator of the overseas program to America allowed me to find common ground with BLEAPs and some senior administrators, who saw me as a budding young administrator. Experiences in rapport-building at NUGIS and Polaris helped me to learn later how to establish rapport with a few lower level administrators at the University of Wensleydale, where some saw me either as one of them, or one who could potentially become like them in time.

However, did this build trust, or was I simply insinuating myself in order to collect data for my PhD? In the final analysis, the painful answer to both questions is yes. I enjoyed the experience of meeting many people and created relationships with some that I believe will outlast this research. Most of the time, I was forthright about my research motives, or as forthright as possible given the emergent nature of GTM and the risky political environments in which I was located. There were other times with

116

some informants, however, that due to the unpredictable social and political dynamics at research sites, the emphasis of one part of my personal identity over others became what Bresnen has called 'something of an act' (1988, p. 47). This aspect of fieldwork became a source of considerable personal moral dissonance, but since my research relied heavily on informant data, I persisted in the hope that through strengthening the privacy and confidentiality of the study, I would be able to balance the ethical scales.

Yet before the confessional nature of this narrative becomes a form of academic self-flagellation, not even Martin Bulmer, arguably one of the most rigidly conservative of the qualitative research ethicists to publish copiously on the subject of researcher deception, advises qualitative researchers to be *totally* honest with their informants (Bulmer 1982). Such honesty, he argues, occurs within only the most special of personal relationships, and a lack of full disclosure to informants does not constitute deception *per se*. Indeed, I would argue that such disclosure might transgress the privacy and confidentiality of other informants in the project and, as Gans (1962) learned from personal experience, increases the risk of deception from informants who might have a vested interest in hiding the truth. Gans goes too far in stating that 'researcher[s] must be dishonest to get honest data' (1962, p. 46), but there is still an acknowledgment here that even as Grounded Theorists struggle to maintain ethical standards, informants are not under any compunction to reciprocate, and may even purposely misdirect the researcher. Van Maanen (1979, p. 544) observes that 'people lie about the things that matter most to them' and may resort to all manner of deception to keep researchers from uncovering core issues that have a direct bearing on the development of a credible Grounded Theory.

Most of the deception I encountered came from elite administrative informants who have shifted over the years from service and support roles to those of corporate-style power managers (Readings 1996 ; Aronowitz 2000 ; Deem 2001). Beynon (1988) notes that, because organizational elites often feel more powerful than the researcher, there is a tendency during interviews to engage in hagiography and to discourage

critical investigation. Some attempt to co-opt the researcher's work to insure they are portrayed in the best possible light or, as mentioned earlier, they can hold the researcher's project hostage by refusing to provide informed consent until certain conditions are satisfied. Observation and the triangulation of other informant perspectives are important counterbalances here, but this risks evoking the wrath of elites, who will then proceed either to discredit the researcher as an 'out of touch' liberal academic or simply as a troublemaker. Often they are the ones who make full use of available guidelines within the researchers' organization to portray them as unethical (Beynon 1988, p. 23). This last point is significant, because while codes of ethics are a necessary guide for qualitative researchers, they have been conveniently used to shield the powerful from public accountability and as a means of discrediting any conclusions that conflict with their beliefs. The end result is that qualitative researchers are becoming increasingly limited in what they can study (Herdman 2000), and this may be why some fieldworkers have resorted to varying degrees of craftiness in order to get the full story (Bulmer 1980 ; Homan 1992 ; Haggerty 2004).

I am not suggesting that Grounded Theorists should be patently dishonest in fieldwork because of the problem of informant deceit. The point here is that, at times, honesty and disclosure of the type stipulated in biomedical ethical codes can become a difficult standard to reach when conducting in-depth qualitative research. Without going into detail, after some hard knocks in the field, I was forced to discard my naïve notions of qualitative research as an exercise in 'academic tranquility' (Bulmer 1982, p. 251). While before I saw qualitative research as an experience in which one placidly sails into a green harbor surrounded by a crowd of informants waving palm leaves, eager to share their deepest secrets in a carefree manner, I came to realize that I had actually plopped myself into the middle of grim and often hateful hotbeds of angry political agendas, polarized perspectives and toxic personal conflicts. These were places where some wanted to take me in, others wished to shut me out, and a few wanted to take me for a ride. With Punch (1998), I finally concluded, with

consternation, that if I was going to survive the interpersonal rigors of qualitative fieldwork, I would need to become a little more 'streetwise':

> One need not always be brutally honest, direct, and explicit about one's research purpose, but one should not normally engage in disguise. One should not steal documents. One should not directly lie to people. And, although one may disguise identity to a certain extent, one should not break promises made to people. Academics...should take into account the consequences for the subjects, the profession, and, not least, for themselves (p. 172).

This is admittedly a rationalized position, and only slightly more ethical than Glaser & Strauss's 'smash and grab' approach (Dey 1999, p. 119). It offered me little moral comfort, but it helped in avoiding my research from being sidetracked by the political machinations of one group of informants or another.

Ensuring Privacy, Confidentiality and Anonymity

Sieber (1992) delineates between privacy, confidentiality and anonymity, which are often used interchangeably elsewhere in the literature. She states that privacy relates to people and their ability to protect themselves from unwelcome research scrutiny. Confidentiality relates to data about the informants and the manner in which this material is used by the researcher. Anonymity, accordingly, ensures that information that could be used to identify informants or venues is purged from the data (Sieber 1992, pp. 44-45).

Issues of privacy arise when a Grounded Theorist considers the appropriate response to what I just have discussed, that of informants seeking to deceive when I approached key issues. Should the gloves come off? Should I persist until an answer is uncovered? Do the informants essentially get what they deserve for trying to hamstring my project? Questions such as these are at the heart of what is known as 'Conflict Methodology' (J. Douglas 1979 ; Goode 1996), which calls for untruthful informants to be 'coaxed, persuaded, pushed, pressured, and sometimes almost blackmailed into providing information to the researcher that they might otherwise prefer to shield' (Van Maanen 1979, p. 545). I admit that there were times when I

struggled to suppress the urge to wrest the truth out of informants suspected of either being less than truthful or withholding vital information. Van Maanen (1979, p. 544) rightly observes that lies and/or deception are important as the frank admissions, and that 'penetrating fronts is of vital importance, because if the qualitative researcher 'can uncover the lie, much is revealed about what is deemed crucial by the individual, group, or organization.' However, given the limited time in which to finish this thesis, my precarious position as a researcher in places where I worked or had associates, and in recognition of the fact that nothing in my research dealt with issues of a life-threatening or criminal nature, I decided that engaging in conflict methodology with less-than-forthcoming informants would not be worth the trouble. In cases where I sensed that a measure of deception was at work, I made a mental note of the incidents, respected the privacy of these distrustful informants, and left them alone. Whenever possible, I would locate other informants who were more forthcoming in helping me to penetrate fronts.

The narrative to this point already shows that I put great stock in maintaining not only privacy, but also the confidentiality and anonymity of the informants. However, I had compartmentalized my research practices from my knowledge of how privacy can be lost in today's information society. It is rather simple for readers to unravel a researcher's attempt to hide identities and venues. Punch (1998, p. 175) points out that many qualitative researchers work close to home, and pseudonyms can often be broken simply by finding out the writer's institutional affiliation and associations at the time of the writing.

Others have pointed out that speech patterns, vocabulary and topic emphasis are often clear markers of a certain person. In venues such as hospitals or schools, where insiders work long and intensive hours with each other, an informant can be easily surmised by merely reading the direct citations of interviews featured in the research report (Lincoln 1998, pp. 316-317; Baez 2002, p. 42). If the informants have other features that are important to their identity, such as race or gender, then

anonymization does little to protect them from potential discovery. As one miffed informant told Miles & Huberman during one of their research projects, 'There are 111 high schools in this city, and only one of them has a female principal. That's me' (Miles & Huberman 1994, p. 293). A related problem is that sometimes readers *think* they can identify themselves or others in interview citations, but in actuality, they are mistaken (Punch 1998, p. 176).

Troubling as these issues were, what helped to mitigate my fears that informants would be somehow uncovered was the fact that I expanded my interviews to many other informants from several other venues in the US, the UK and Japan. After consideration of the risks, I felt confident that, with all the data at my disposal, my earlier informants would disappear in the crowd. Methods and data analysis would further synthesize the perspectives of different informants holding similar views. In addition, Grounded Theory differs from other qualitative research methodologies in that it is less interested in specific institutions and individuals, and more in processes common to many people and places. I anticipated that focusing on process would strengthen informant anonymity and confidentiality. Nevertheless, while I believe it is possible in most cases to hide the identity of informants, because qualitative researchers in EAP deal mainly with words, anonymity cannot be maintained at the same level as in clinical drug trials where test subjects are issued numbers and the data is reduced to statistical measures.

Accuracy of Reporting

This relates to whether the Grounded Theory has been faithful to what was reported by informants, if it has been fair to the multiple perspectives portrayed, and whether the theory is a plausible explanation for what is taking place in the research domain. Accomplishing this requires a delicate balance with the other ethical issues discussed so far.

Strengthening the accuracy of the final product must be weighed against protecting the identity of informants. Copious citations of informant data are often used by

121

Grounded Theorists to demonstrate that categories and processes are not contrived. Care must be taken, however, not to violate the anonymity of informants by using citations that could reveal their identity, either due to their unique lexis or speech patterns.

Yet again returning to the problem of informants who mislead Grounded Theorists as an avoidance strategy, for the sake of accuracy, such disinformation cannot be allowed to find its way into the theory. 'Penetrating fronts,' explains Van Maanen (1979, p. 544), is of vital importance, because if the qualitative researcher 'can uncover the lie, much is revealed about what is deemed crucial by the individual, group, or organization.' The difficulty is that getting to the bottom of things can risk violating the privacy of some informants, and further supports the common stereotype of qualitative fieldworkers as busybodies or spies (Bulmer 1980 ; J. Hunt 1984 ; Ferdinand et al. 2007). Here, I relied on what Ellis terms as 'relational ethics' for how to proceed:

> I tell them I believe that most people want to do the right thing, the sensible thing. As human beings, we long to live meaningful lives that seek the good...As researchers, we long to do ethical research that makes a difference. To come close to these goals, we constantly have to consider which questions to ask, which secrets to keep, and which truths are worth telling. That's what I tell them. Then I listen closely to what they say back (C. Ellis 2007, p. 26).

If informants then felt free to share their insights, and if during the course of my research, such issues were found to be common at other venues, I would note the information and focus on the processes rather than highlighting people or research sites.

Related to this was my decision to forego submitting manuscripts of my research to informants for verification and feedback. This seems counterintuitive, but Goode (1996, pp. 24-25) notes that many informants, especially organizational elites, are less interested in the accuracy of a report as they are in a flattering portrayal. This again

may be more of an issue for ethnography than Grounded Theory, but there is nevertheless a tricky balance between allowing informants to transgress the perspectives of others (including the interpretive skills of the theorist) and checking for verification.

The manner in which I worked around this was to verify for accuracy through conducting additional interviews. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, after subsequent trips to the UK and United States, I would re-interview key informants or contact them from Japan via Skype. I asked them to share their views on my developing hypotheses about the social dynamics in EAP at their institutions. When I gained the informed consent of new informants, I would also ask them to comment on any insights I had gained from earlier interviews. These attempts at verification and accuracy are more in line with the practice of constant comparison in GTM.

4.3.3 Substantive Coding

After a considerable period of open coding, I began to study my growing list of codes, and realized that I needed to shift to substantive coding; otherwise the mass of open codes would risk causing me to become mired in the data. However, instead of trying to create substantive codes a computer screen, it was easier for me to print out the

Figure 23 'Old School' Substantive Coding

open codes, cut them into individual slips of paper, and work with them atop my kitchen table (Figure 23). Those open codes which, according to my interpretation and knowledge of informant views generated from repertory grids, seemed to have elements of similarity, I placed into piles. Later, I gave each of these groups

culturally, but we're in a growth mode. We're purposefully trying to grow, and so that growth is not only coming from additional undergraduates from the northwest Midwest area, or more students from Iowa or Nebraska or more students from Illinois or Kansas, but why not more students internationally. So there's that part of that as well, that we're trying to expand, we're trying to grow, and that includes international students.

GH: It's interesting that you bring that up, because you know I've written to you earlier about why internationalism or internationalization or multi-culturalism is important to the university, and just after I wrote to you, I was reading another article in the International Educator. What they suggested was that bringing in large numbers of international students was not about money, per se, it wasn't about brining in more income, but it was more of a... they suggested that it was more of the opportunity to present the American students with international experiences, and that it was more in line with getting American students to have international experiences so they could become more globalized and be able to function better in a global business environment. That was what this article suggested. I was going to send it to you and ask you what you thought, but well, you have the gist of it right there.

M   : Yeah, and that's basically what I just articulated. I mean, that is what we're trying to do. We're not ignoring the second part of that, you know, with the second reason which is we're trying to grow.

AD – Massification
8:127 <relates to>
<continued by> 18:5

BA – Linking internationalization/multiculturalism to revenue generation
37:49 <supports>

AD – Providing international diversity for host country students' future success in business

AD – Seeking out International Students as an important revenue stream

Figure 24 Example of Substantive Coding

124

substantive code that I felt summarized their shared qualities. After generating substantive codes, I returned to my database in ATLAS.ti and merged the open codes into the new substantive codes. This resulted in larger blocks of text having codes into the new substantive codes.
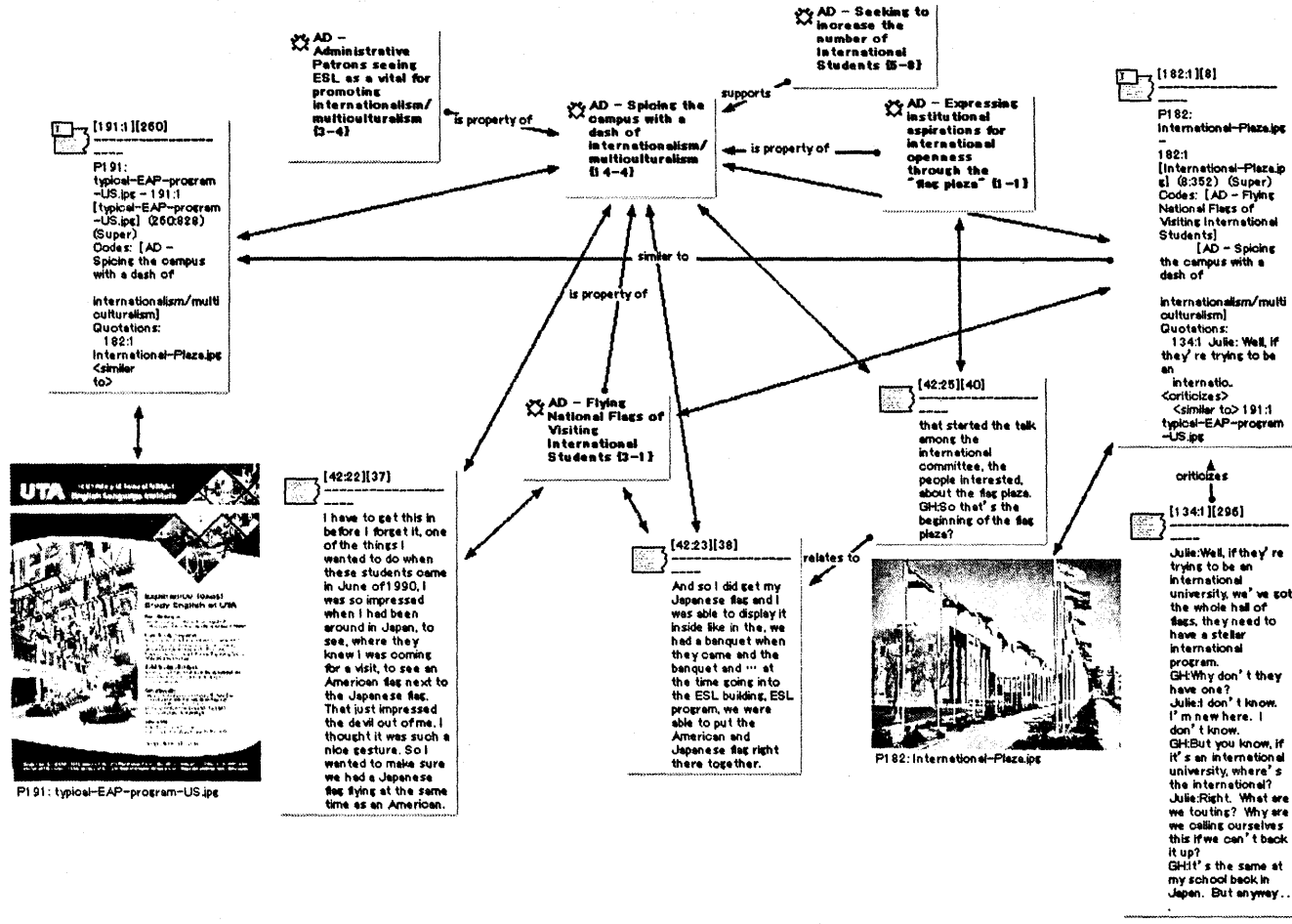
Figure 25 Messy Beginnings with Linked Substantive Codes in ATLAS.ti

125

than when the data contained only open codes (Figure 24). I also began to make tentative links between substantive codes on issues such as causes, conditions, contingencies, properties and problems (Figure 25). These too were saved in ATLAS.ti, but this process was messy, with many false stops. I had to learn to accept this creative chaos as part of the process of theorization. As Glaser (1998, p. 50) states, 'a researcher has to tolerate regression and confusion -- feeling stupid, young, out of control and like one doesn't know anything. This can kill motivation by feeling like one is going crazy by being unable to see what is going on.'

4.4 Theory Generation

This section will now consider my process of theoretical coding and the generation of social processes. I also describe how I accessed scholarly literature sources and the manner in which the latter half of the thesis was structured.

4.4.1 Theoretical Coding

Substantive coding led to the next stage of theory building. After linking commonly occurring substantive codes to theoretical codes, in time, drawing from Schatzman's (1991, p. 310) notion of reaching a 'critical mass' in my mind about the theoretical nature of the data and of the developing grounded theory. Glaser & Strauss (1967/1999, pp. 61-62) also teach that when the theorist encounters less new information for generating categories, they have reached a condition known as *theoretical saturation*. Strauss & Corbin (1998, pp. 292-293) explain that theoretical saturation also includes elements of researcher exhaustion after running out of time, money or other resources necessary for refining the conceptual categories within the theory. Dey (1999), however, questions the notion of saturation, because it suggests that a complete understanding of the sociological setting is attainable. Also recognizing the short supply of time in today's pressurized academic world, he has suggested *theoretical sufficiency* as an alternative. Theoretical sufficiency allows researchers to find enough material for categories 'to cope adequately with new data without requiring continual extensions and modifications...the real concern here is not with the amount of data being collected, so much as its quality' (Dey 1999, pp. 117-118). Kvale (1996, pp. 101-104) makes a similar point, stating that one usually

126

cannot improve the quality of research simply by increasing the quantity of interviews.

In interviews, I also found myself reaching a point where informants were repeating issues they had already told me, or which I had already heard from other informants. While there was always uncertainty as to whether I was reaching 'saturation' or simply had not asked the right questions to open up further avenues of enquiry, because of the time limits for finishing the PhD, I aimed for Dey's concept of theoretical sufficiency and decided to stop data collection to focus more upon analysis, theory generation and writing up. In the spirit of Dey, as well as that of Strauss & Corbin, I sought to generate a Critical Grounded Theory of sufficient quality, rather than to simply struggle for one purported to be quantitatively exhaustive.

For this reason, some mention should be made about my use of 'commonly occurring' with regard to theoretical codes. It is not my intention to give the impression that I treated the quantity of certain codes as a more reliable indicator of truth than those open or substantive codes that occurred less frequently. My experience with interviews was that informants could speak as much as an hour before significant concepts and insights emerge. It takes time for informants to get to the heart of an issue, which is often expressed in pithy sayings or idiomatic expressions conveying deeply-held beliefs. Scholars who study text quantitatively also recognize that significance can sometimes be found more in a lexical item's *conceptual density* than in its *statistical frequency*. Corpus linguists such as Grant (2005 ; 2007), Moon (1998, p. 57) and Dillon (2006) point out that multiword units and fixed idiomatic expressions have a low level of statistical significance in both spoken and written corpora, such as COBUILD and the BNC, but their conceptual importance in the language far outweighs their low frequency. 'Commonly occurring', therefore, refers more to theoretical issues that seemed to come up often, but this was not a quantitative or statistical measure of significance. Those needing further assurance

beyond the anonymized excerpts of interview data accompany discussions of theoretical categories in upcoming chapters will find in Appendix D a select sample of some of the data used to generate the grounded theory of this thesis. Other theoretical codes that contributed to the generation of social processes in my grounded theory on BLEAPs in corporatized HEIs, together with a sample of interview extracts, are found in Appendix E.
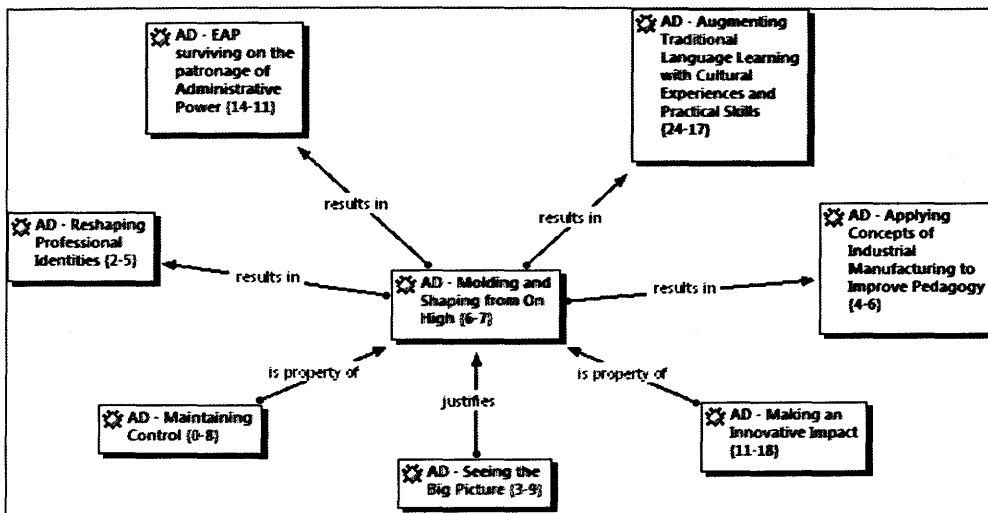
Figure 26 Early Theoretical Codes Linked to a Social Process in ATLAS.ti

Theoretical codes were created from grouping substantive codes, much in the way that the substantive codes had been formed from the open codes. Because they were at a higher level of abstraction, the theoretical codes focused on symbolic interactions and conceptual categories that could lead to the building of social processes. Theoretical codes were grouped and connected to an even higher level of abstraction, that of the social processes, which took the form of conceptual metaphors. The heuristics of metaphor provide greater communicative expression to the social. Often more than one metaphor is needed to provide a richer interpretive understanding of the theory, such as in Morgan's (1997b) landmark work, which likened organizations to such metaphors as machines, psychic prisons and brain factories. Metaphorical

devices are a key element in Clarke's Situational Analysis (2005, p. 292), but where I differ from her approach is that I attempted to keep theoretical codes linked to the substantive codes so that the theory did not appear to embark upon wild flights of postmodern fancy. An early case in point of theoretical codes linked to one of the social processes which will be discussed later in this thesis can be seen in Figure 26. The numbers below the codes in Figure 26 indicate the number of specific links to quotes from interviews, and then the links the code has to other substantive codes (which have links to many other interview quotes, photos, documents, etc.). For example, the theoretical code of 'Making an Innovative Impact' has eleven specific links to data, followed by eighteen links to substantive codes. This graph was generated in early stages of theoretical coding. Further refinement and grounded theorizing continued after this readout was created. Finally, the three social processes were linked to one basic social process that best summarized the challenges and contingencies faced by BLEAPs in EAP Units at Corporatized HEIs.

4.4.2 Accessing the Literature: A Data-Driven Process

As the theoretical shape of my data began to take form, I consulted related scholarly sources. I noticed that in ATLAS.ti, that there was a built-in function to place codes in Google for searching the World Wide Web in order to investigate whether or not other data could be found to expand upon a growing theory. Taking this hint, I placed words and phrases from informants, such as 'corporatization', 'quality assurance in higher education', and 'process enhancement', to name a few, into Google Scholar to investigate where relevant literature could be found. The resulting material was treated as additional informant data. Other conceptual ideas, such as Kubler's notion of "Prime Objects" (Kubler 1962/2008 ; Kubler 1982), were learned from discussions with later informants, and these were helpful for structuring the presentation of academic material, which will be presented in the next chapter. Most of the literature research happened near the end of the theory generation process, only after critical mass had been reached. The academic literature represents an eclectic, interdisciplinary mix, but it is driven by informant concerns, and adds to the

explanatory power of the Grounded Theory. A recap of the recursive practices used to construct the critical grounded theory of this thesis can be seen in Figure 27.

Informants

Informants

Informants

Repertory Grids

Interviews

Field Observations

Notes, Memos, Transcriptions

Pre-Coding

Open Coding/ CAQDAS Analysis

GTM Coding Guides

GT & Qualitative Research Books

Substantive Coding

"Critical Mass"

Earlier
Informants

Transdisciplinary
Research

Theoretical
Coding & more
Theoretical
Sampling

Data-Driven
Literature

New
Informants

Interdisciplinary
Research

Written
Version of
Critical
Grounded
Theory

Figure 27 Recursive Patterns in Critical GT Construction

4.4.3 Structuring the Written Product

Writing up the grounded theory for this thesis was then a process of presenting this theoretical bricolage in the reverse order in which it had been constructed (see again Figure 27). As mentioned earlier, the scholarly publications became the literature review for locating the theory within a specific context (Chapter 5). Each of the social processes became Chapters Six through Eight. Within each of these chapters, theoretical codes became sections, with substantive codes and selected quotes from informant data, photos, graphs and other collected qualitative material, thus filling out the theoretical explanation in subsections.

The word limitations for this thesis meant that all of the theoretical codes could not be presented. I chose those which I believed represented the most pressing issues encountered during my study (though other theoretical codes could have chosen by another grounded theorist with a different perspective). The final chapter discusses the basic social processes linking the three social processes, together with a consideration of the implications that this midrange critical grounded theory might have for TEAPs, BLEAPs, and management-level policy makers in Corporatized HEIs. In terms of the critical concerns addressed in this theory, I sought to expose social processes that are relatively unknown to TEAPs and new BLEAPs, provide some indication that the theory was generated from a deep interpretive study of large amounts of empirical data, and to encourage readers to question whether the current state of EAP in corporatized HEIs is something that is preferable, or if those in the Third Space should begin finding a third way out of the present situation.

4.5 Chapter Summary

An opportunistic approach provided entry to a number of universities around the world, though this did not always insure quality access to all informants. In a manner similar to Goldilocks, I found undergraduate international student informants to be too cold, because of a lack of regular contact and remote psychological distance. The TEAPs were too hot because of the risk of this thesis becoming advocacy research. This led to my shift towards administrators, who had control over the professional

world of TEAPs. Because of the relative difficulty for TEAPs to access the world of university administration, I placed administrators and specifically, BLEAPs, in the center of the framework that I would later develop. This allowed me to preserve TEAP, Academic and International Student data in a supportive role, thereby constantly comparing their worldview with the BLEAP data. In this way, the outcomes of administrative policy decisions and social processes could be considered in a critical manner.

Data collection moved purposefully from structured, tightly controlled inquiry of repertory grids, to semi-structured interviews and then to unstructured participant observation. The strength of this approach was that I was able to get a clearer idea about important concepts and codes in the beginning, and use these to as helpful guides during the more focused forms of investigation. However, while the methodological narrative in this chapter has explained the process largely in a linear fashion, the use of research tools and field procedures took place simultaneously or in repeated cycles.

The ethical principles of informed consent, avoidance of deception, maintaining privacy/confidentiality and striving for accuracy are interconnected. Efforts to strengthen one may adversely affect another. In problematizing my attempts to conduct an ethical investigation, I am not rationalizing an 'anything goes' approach. This would be harmful for informants and researchers alike. As overall guiding principles, I believe the ethical codes described in this section are necessary for good research practice, and students of qualitative research should be exposed to more cautionary tales from the field in order to demonstrate the challenges that well-meaning researchers face when trying to do their work with a clean conscience. 'Fieldwork,' Punch (1998, p. 159) explains, 'is definitely not a soft option, but, rather, represents a *demanding* craft that involves both coping with multiple negotiations and continually dealing with ethical dilemmas.' Avoiding fieldwork is not possible for Grounded Theorists, and there needs to be a greater appreciation of the fact that field

134.

conditions are more 'ethically unsanitary' than the controlled laboratory environments attended by research teams following strict protocols. In the field, qualitative researchers work alone. They must fend for themselves. They face unexpected moral predicaments necessitating a thoughtful approach that strives to honor the values discussed in this section. And yet, at the end of the day, despite the best of intentions, there will be times in the field when researchers find that they have gotten their hands a little dirty.

Backman & Kyngäs (1999, p. 152), observe that 'applying the grounded theory approach is more or less a compromise between the demands of the approach and the resources which [the researcher] has available.' With the resources at my disposal, and based upon informed decisions about coding, analysis and interpretation of the data, the basic scaffolding for doing Critical Grounded Theory was constructed, though the attendant contingencies of working with unpredictable people meant that theory generation was more like the messy process seen in Figure 27 than the cleaner progression of Figure 15 found in the beginning of the chapter.

It is my hope that readers have gained a deeper understanding about the philosophical notions, methodological decisions, ethical struggles, people, actions and field strategies that have contributed to the development of this thesis. What readers will now encounter in the second half of this thesis represents the product of this long analytical process of working with hundreds of pages of transcripts, field observations, archival data, and informant trade journals. It represents a snapshot of the ongoing journey of theorizing and tentatively constructed meaning derived from entering chaos of human interaction and critically studying issues affecting Tertiary EAP in the 21st Century. Properties, strategies, conditions and contingencies grounded in the worded world of the informants will reveal the social processes of what was regularly heard and observed during fieldwork at the many venues studied. The next chapter introduces the scholarly literature that both contextualizes and relates to the expressed concerns of informants in this study.

Part Two

Grounded Theory in Action

Chapter 5

Critical Context: A Consideration of Prime Objects

5.1 Introduction

This chapter returns to issues that were briefly touched upon at the beginning of this thesis, and which have led to the emergence of blended professionals in Tertiary EAP. I will frame these issues as 'prime objects' that are necessary for situating my critical grounded theory within its historical and socioeconomic context.

The notion of prime objects comes originally from art historian and cultural theorist George Kubler (1962/2008). Instead of studying historical developments in a linear manner, Kubler proposed that past and present dynamics are often better understood through considering the inventive solutions to societal problems that manifested themselves at pivotal moments in time. Essentially a platonic philosophy, Kubler claimed that prime objects, represented either as things or ideas, are never seen in their ideal form. What we experience are replications of the prime object, and then later their mutations or the occasional innovative variant. Prime objects propagate until they eventually become obsolete and are replaced by new prime objects (Kubler 1982, pp. 113-114). Although Kubler's theory was first proposed as a means of understanding the rise and fall of art forms, his concepts have been applied to management, organizational theory and studies about the historic changes that have taken place in HE (Sergiovanni 1986, p. 117; Taylor 1986 ; Taylor 2002).

The prime objects mentioned by informants as reasons for some of the current struggles experienced in Tertiary EAP were rarely the direct topic of conversation, but instead, took the metaphorical role of the 'elephant in the room'. According to my interpretive analysis of informant interviews, the convergence of three prime objects, which are *The Emergence of HE as a Vocational Incubator within the Decline of Culture*, *The Rise of Automated Pedagogic Machines* (APMs) and *The Appearance of BLEAPs*, served to contextualize the critical grounded theory of this thesis. After a consideration of these topics, I will conclude by revealing the three social processes

that will form the bulk of the upcoming chapters, and the core social process which forms the backbone of this theory.

5.2 Vocational Incubation within the Decline of 'Culture'

This prime object is located within a long-running debate in American Higher Education. One side frames HE within German Humboltian ideals, in which academics unify their research interests with education. They have autonomy in deciding how to teach and govern the university. Privileged learners, who have entered the university through a merit-based system of examinations, are steeped both in scholastic knowledge as well as in cultural ideals important for making contributions both to their local communities and the nation-state (Brubacher & Rudy 1976/2008 ; Feher 2001). The other view conceives HE as one in which both the privileged and working classes are educated in the knowledge and skills needed in order to become productive members of society (O'Toole 1975 ; Readings 1996 ; Jarvis 2001 ; Middlehurst 2001).

This dispute intensified during the expansion of American land grant state universities in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. These were established to provide the middle and working classes with greater access to higher education during a time when America was rapidly industrializing. Currently, state universities educate approximately eighty percent of American undergraduates (Brubacher & Rudy 1976/2008, p. 170; Donoghue 2008, p. 121). In terms of structure, curriculum planning and governance, the American state university became the template not only for most other HEIs in the US, it also became a prime influence in the development of British 'red brick' universities (Bryce 1897/2007, pp. 666-693; Trow 1972 ; Baber & Linsday 2006, p. 148). In the case of Japan, university educators were already emulating a version of the German model fused with Neo-Confucianist thought throughout the late Meiji era (Jansen & Stone 1967), but during and after the American Occupation, a synthesis of Japanese Humboltianism with the American state university model became the norm for Japanese national universities (Altbach 1989, pp. 17-18; Itoh 2002, pp. 10-13). These points are salient since most of my

research took place either at American state colleges, British red brick universities or Japanese national universities.

The earliest strategy in American state universities was to combine the pragmatic approach of the University of Wisconsin with the educational philosophy of the president of Cornell University, Andrew Dickson White. American universities, according to White, should be completely democratic in order for freedom of thought and learning to flourish. He called for a pragmatic balance between the extremes of Humboltian scholars, who he labeled as *pedants* for 'substitut[ing] dates for history, gerund-grinding for literature, and formulas for science,' and the pecuniary interests of entrepreneurial university regents, who he attacked as *philistines* for seeking to reduce higher education to 'that which enables a man to live by his wits and prey upon his neighbors' (A.D. White 1904/2007, p. 326; Brubacher & Rudy 1976/2008, p. 162). White believed, as did the curriculum designers at the University of Wisconsin, that university graduates should not only gain practical vocational skills, they should also experience the cultural refinement gained from a liberal arts education. In this way, White felt that university graduates would become socially engaged and maintain democratic ideals in American society (Brubacher & Rudy 1976/2008, pp. 165-167). Such utilitarian views were solidified in the US during the Cold War, when Higher Education was recast as one aspect of national defense against communism (Mauk & Oakland 2002, p. 252). Similar developments began taking place in the UK and Japan as America exported its academic ideals among its allies (Bender 1997 ; Geiger 2005, p. 63).

The relative balance between culture and vocational training began to shift during the 1970s, as the cultural idealization of a democratic nation state began to be supplanted by the values of a globalized marketplace society. In time, the concept of HE as study for making a communitarian contribution to society was replaced by a neoliberal concept of HE as a personal investment for private gain. Cox (1997) explains how this began with the conservative elite strategy of portraying national welfare, such as state

support for higher education, as socialist. The School of Economics at the University of Chicago, under the charismatic leadership of Milton Friedman, insisted that the role of the state should be limited solely to 'protect[ing] our freedom both from enemies outside our gates and our fellow citizens: to preserve law and order, to enforce private contracts [and] to foster competitive markets' (Friedman 1962/1982, p. 2). Decades of Keynesian inspired government support programs for higher education were vehemently criticized by Friedman and others in the Chicago School as 'an unfair interference in the market' (Klein 2007, pp. 6-7).

Near the end of the Cold War, the autonomy of nation-states declined rapidly, and the market value of multinational corporations began to regularly exceed the GDP of many smaller countries (Miyoshi 1993, p. 728; Readings 1996, pp. 44-47). Major multinational corporations, many who had roots in Anglo-American capitalist values, increasingly sought to transcend their allegiance to any particular country (Power & Whitty 1999, p. 16; Slaughter & Rhoades 2005, pp. 487-488). By the time that the stark polarity created by the Western and Soviet Blocs had crumbled with the Berlin Wall, it soon became clear that the transmission of cultural ideals for bolstering a national mythos had become counterproductive in the new era of global economic expansion. State support for higher education decreased at an even faster rate, and was facilitated by centrist governments in both the UK and US that continued the conservative economic policies started in the Reagan-Thatcher years, albeit couched within old Labour and Democratic Party rhetoric. As can be seen in the graph provided by an upper level administrator at Polaris University (Figure 28), from the fiscal year (FY) in 1985, Polaris received 70% of its total operating budget from state appropriations. Support fell to 41% by 2008. The national average in 2009 for public support to American state universities has declined to under 35%, even as average tuition costs have increased annually by 10% for several years (Trombley 2003 ; OECD 2009). Hammonds et al (1997, p. 96) observed that throughout the 1990s, HEIs in the US, divested of their role as the ideological arm of the State, rapidly began 'retreating from the ideals of liberal arts and the leading-edge research it

always has cherished' and turned to emulating a corporate model. 'By the mid-1990s', writes Stanley Aronowitz (2000, p. 83), 'the corporate university had become the standard for nearly all private and public schools.'

Polaris State University Statistical Revenue - State Appropriation Percentage Education and General Operating Budget																							
Fiscal Year (FY)	FY 85	FY 86	FY 87	FY 88	FY 89	FY 90	FY 91	FY 92	FY 93	FY 94	FY 95	FY 96	FY 97	FY 98	FY 99	FY 00	FY 01	FY 02	FY 03	FY 04	FY 05	FY 06	FY 07	FY 08
Appropriations	70.3	71.5	68.1	69.0	68.0	65.5	62.1	57.8	57.4	56.8	54.3	54.0	54.9	54.0	55.3	54	52.3	48.2	46	45.5	46.2	46.1	45.1	41.6
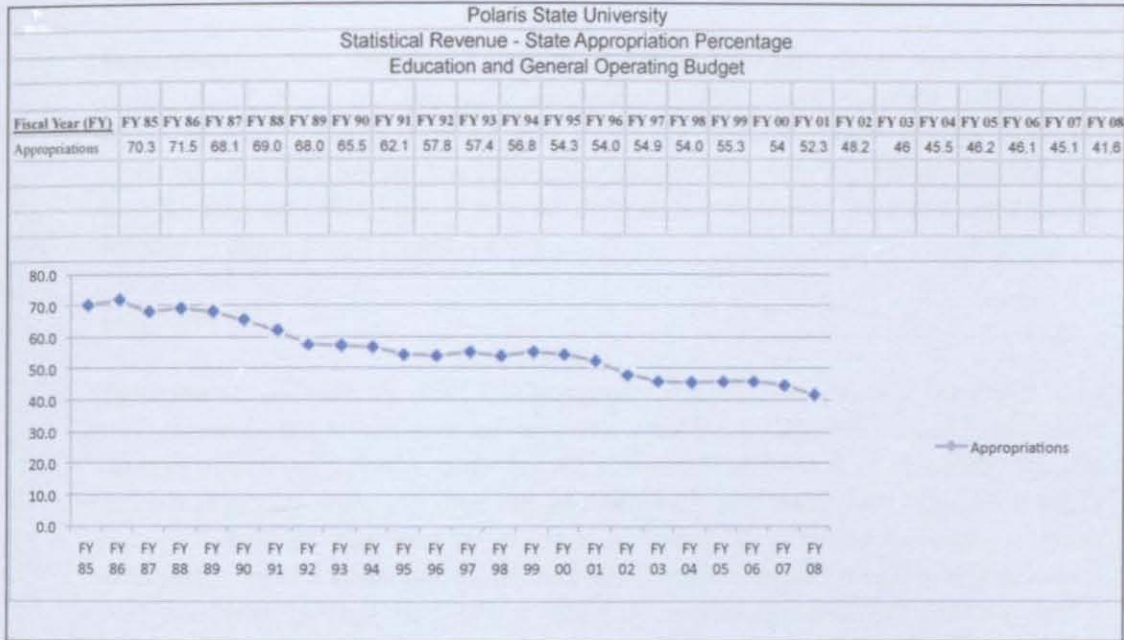
Figure 28 State Appropriations for Polaris State University

Such issues stood in the shadows when informants spoke with me during interviews. While most of those responsible for managing EAP units harbored private misgivings, almost all had jettisoned the notion of state-sponsored higher education as a necessary apparatus of social welfare. Many also sought to take any focus off of the teaching of cultural ideals, because the current situation was frequently portrayed as a surplus-generating system with mercantile values, operating in a climate of public support austerity:

> **Informant:** *I think that's a trend. Management and educational leadership [is], still shedding academic, or, academia in general, and going towards the, you know, a something that you need to make sure that you're efficient and effective...*

143

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *... and you get the most bang for the buck and everything's measured.*

GH: *Yeah.*

Informant: *...but, but that's, I think that's nationwide, Greg. And if...uh, I, I don't see, I don't see any of it changing...what struck me that things were different was when I went to Finland...and with the dean of the Business College, and he's uh, he's a business guy, and we went to this art school that had 85 kids and this, just, a multimillion dollar building, plunked right in the middle of some small Finnish town...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...and, uh, and it's gorgeous inside, I mean, it's beautiful, and well-funded, and it has tons of supplies, and for 80 students, and I said, how do you afford this, you've only got 85 students? And look at this thing it's got to cost a ton of money... and the guy blinked, and said, 'but education costs money.' And at the end of it, that is what it costs to provide a good education...and it's not about, it's not about tuition based profit margins...and, and business models, it's about funding something and not looking for a return. But that's a completely socialist approach, and it's not, it's not what happens here...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *... you, you must...you must be efficient if you want to sustain yourself, because I mean we're getting cut left right and center from the government...I mean it's like whack, whack, whack, and...it's not the way. And Polaris because of its approach and it's, very finely tuned financial management...*(Interview, November 20, 2005).

The situation for large portions of HE in the United States today is marked by what Aronowitz (2000, p. 160) describes as a 'mad race toward occupational education.' His depiction of American HE, while laced with a tinge of moral outrage, is nevertheless an accurate portrayal of the environments within which many of the EAP units studied for this thesis were located:

> [M]any administrations have been forced to transform their faculties into a casual labor force...and to cut back or eliminate 'nonessential' academic

144

programs such as languages, geography, and linguistics...We have seen how officials scurry to forge alliances with large donors, offering to dedicate buildings and compromising chunks of the curriculum in return for financial support. Corporate sponsors and panicked parents and students alike demand programs oriented to 'job readiness.' As a result, many schools have succumbed to pressure to spruce up their placement, or in contemporary parlance, 'career' services, introducing vocational courses into the curriculum, and encouraging internships – often coded as 'experiential' learning – aimed at inducing employers to hire their graduates (Aronowitz 2000, p. 160).

As research for this thesis began, similar changes started to take place in Japanese HE (Butler-Goto & Iino 2005), and they were already underway at UK research sites, due to government initiatives designed to make universities to depend upon and to better serve the needs of industry (Attwood 2009). These developments appear to confirm Readings (1996, p. 19) prediction that the Cold War sponsored 'University of Culture' would become like that of the abandoned ruins of a past civilization -- something that exists only as an idealized heritage preservation site at a few prestigious HEIs. Kubler (1962/2008, pp. 20, 58) states that when a prime object becomes obsolete, the new one which replaces it (such as in this case the idea of HE as vocational incubation) is built from a purposeful reconstruction of the ruined pieces that have been discarded. This means that while one can find cultural studies and EAP programs at many HEIs, culture and language study has largely been recast as skills for successful participation in the global economy.

Nevertheless, Kubler observes that obsolete prime objects, such as the construal of HE as the promulgator of national cultural ideals, are like dead stars. From a distant perspective, their light may yet shine for a time, but gradually they will only be known 'by their perturbations, and by the immense detritus of derivative stuff left in their paths' (Kubler 1962/2008, p. 35).

The obsolescence of 'culture' was an issue that was often a contextual factor for this thesis: At most of the Tertiary EAP units studied, Teachers of EAP (TEAPs) still look

to the skies for the star of national enculturation and communitarian social contribution, unaware that these concepts went supernova over forty years ago:

> *I often get tired of a thankless administration that does not seem to have a clue about what I do, to the extent that they apparently think I must twiddle my thumbs at least half of every day. So why do I keep on? I do it because I am still committed to the idea that language embodies the culture and highest ideals of a people, and that those ideals cannot be communicated between cultures without personal lives coming into contact in positive ways both in and out of the classroom. I do it because, whether my students are rich or poor, they have personal goals and aspirations that I can help them achieve in some small way. I do it because it still excites me to see the light bulb come on and learning take place. In short, I do it for no really good reason at all except to see somebody get some good out of something I can (hopefully) give them. After I retire someday, I hope to continue to do the same thing (but certainly fewer hours), but to do it for people who have no means to pay* (Informant E-mail Correspondence, December 23, 2008).

In stark contrast, observe the comments of a Blended EAP Professional charged with managing a Tertiary EAP program. He deconstructs cultural instruction in favor of vocational incubation, seeing EAP as a personal investment of time made by diverse international students seeking to access the knowledge resources in the university and gain the skills needed for gainful employment:

> *I've observed and have found that there are various types of teachers and their approaches and how they approach language acquisition by non-native speakers, and very often, those people are not merely teaching English as a communication device, but are also teaching culture as part of that...Some are missionaries. They're there to take English and [a] heightened nature of culture to the primitives...it makes the teachers a little uncomfortable to hear so much native language speaking. So we have lots of strict rules about conduct and behavior and coming late to class is [a] very, very bad thing. No matter what they do and however creative it is, that's still something that they're trying to do, is they're trying to get students to be taking on a culture, rather than having honest conversations about how they can navigate cultural difference. How I can give you a skill that you need, while maintaining your own cultural identity and giving value to that experience...ESL teachers should be...able to take people that have a skill-set that is required to be in this institution...you've got students that are coming here for multiple reasons...if you look at international student movement...about why they leave*

their home countries to go to another place, then they're looking for technical capability of gaining new knowledge. And usually it's rare the student that comes to go somewhere and study art (Interview, November 6, 2008).

Later chapters will revisit how EAP, which was once ensconced in academic departments dedicated to language, linguistic and cultural studies, has in most places been transferred to administrative management, mainly because they were seen as primarily focusing on teaching remedial, non-academic training. But in the transition from Higher Education to that of Higher Training (Teixeira 2009), corporate HEIs and their Tertiary EAP units require new structures of operation. This leads to a consideration of the next prime object, that of Automated Pedagogic Machines.

5.3 Automated Pedagogic Machines (APMs)

APMs are conceptual mechanisms that utilize pedagogic and bureaucratic processes to provide educational experiences for large numbers of students. APMs do this with a minimum cost to the HEI and the students, and are automated in the sense that the curriculum is designed to be run by a small number of operators (in this case, TEAPs). TEAPs use the same sets of prepackaged materials for all their learning objectives. They are discouraged from creating their own materials or from critically analyzing the lesson content. The focus is upon production, processing, quality and the cost-effective delivery of knowledge content to student consumers. Understanding the necessity of APMs requires an understanding some of the important contextual and structural factors that have aided their proliferation in corporatized HEIs.

5.3.1 Contextual Factors for APMs

APMs emerge from the interaction of dynamics such as globalization, corporatization, massification, and McDonaldization. Because these subjects have been widely studied for decades in educational and administrative literature, what follows should be seen as only a general overview. Excerpts from informant interviews will also be used to highlight how these social, economic and political issues were important features in the construction of my grounded theory.

'Globalization' of HE

What is often referred to as the globalization of HE is perhaps more accurately described as the Americanization of HE (e.g. Meek 1991 ; D. Smith et al. 2002 ; Altbach 2004). 'The United States is in a position not only to lead in the 21st Century as the dominant power,' writes David Rothkopf, a former Clinton advisor and Columbia University professor of international affairs, 'but to do so by breaking down the barriers that divide nations' (1997, p. 51). He continues:

> [I]t is in the economic and political interests of the United States to ensure that if the world is moving toward a common language, it be English; that if the world is moving toward common telecommunications, safety, and quality standards, they be American; that if the world is becoming linked by television, radio, and music, the programming be American; and that if common values are being developed, they be values with which Americans are comfortable (Rothkopf 1997, p. 45).

The American State University Model has supplanted the university models of post-colonial powers to become the template for virtually every university system in the world (Altbach 1989, p. 11; Barrow 1999, pp. 27-28). A multinational elite, often influenced by their time at top-tier American universities, has endeavored to establish American university practices and structures in the UK, Japan, the EU and even the Scandinavian countries (Kinnell 1989 ; Tjeldvoll 1996 ; Stanley & Patrick 1998 ; Power & Whitty 1999 ; Welle-Strand 2000 ; Block 2002 ; Itoh 2002 ; Yonezawa 2002 ; Bocock et al. 2003 ; Yamamoto 2004 ; Baber & Linsday 2006 ; Hubball & Gold 2007). One of the major results of this has been that many national education systems have undergone (or are undergoing) the process of Corporatization.

Corporatization

Corporatization is the process by which HEIs discard the cultural ideals once upheld in nation states, (such as the notion of democratic governance), in favor of the values of neoliberal economic theory, vocational training and authoritarian managerial practices of the type often manifested within the global marketplace (Steck 2003, p. 75). Corporatized HEIs are self-interested, entrepreneurial organizations offering

148

surplus generating educational and research services. Academics become managed knowledge producers who, instead of focusing on contributions to society through their personal research interests, pursue research and pedagogic outcomes that have measurable benefits to the university. Students are reconstrued as consumers of educational services, with a voice in determining the manner in which knowledge is packaged for them (Castree & Sparke 2000 ; Jarvis 2001 ; Silvey 2002 ; Steck 2003 ; McKenzie & Scheurich 2004 ; Yamamoto 2004 ; Washburn 2005 ; Woolgar 2007 ; Donoghue 2008 ; Tuchman 2009). Few would suggest that university studies have ceased to contribute to the overall wellbeing of society, but corporatization has contributed to HE becoming seen more widely as a private investment for individual gain (Altbach 2005, p. 309).

One result of corporatization that was of particular concern to many informants was the loss of teacher autonomy and of democratic governance. Yearly decreases in public support have required university administrators to find ways to raise new sources of financial support. Their success in providing sustenance to their cash-starved HEIs has resulted in the administrator, rather than the academic, as becoming the new nexus of power (Readings 1996, p. 3), and this in turn has contributed to monumental changes in university governance. Whereas before, universities were typically formed from a devolved collection of colleges managed by democratic faculty senates (Drennan 1999), slowly over the past twenty years in the US and the past decade in the UK, university governance has shifted from a democratic model to one which is akin to what is commonly seen in the post-1992 UK HEIs -- that of a corporate oligarchy functioning through authoritarian paternalism. The combination of these creates a system that subverts many of the democratic rights and freedoms of workers under the authority of predominantly male administrators, who hold most of the power and who know what is best for the HEI (Otten 1970 ; Ip 2009, p. 469). Others who have observed these changes as HEIs become more corporate have likened it to a feudal system, with upper-level administration and tenured faculty functioning as royalty, mid-level administrative managers as lords, squires or yeomen,

those below as craftspeople (teachers), and everyone else as peasants (R. Scott 1980). Mok (2007) has also found that the declining status and autonomy of faculty under a new administrative managerial class is beginning to be seen in Japan and throughout other East Asian post-democratic societies. One Japanese informant, a TEAP at a private college in Japan, describes changes that reflect what I learned from informants at other Japanese universities:

> *The faculty meeting is not functioning...we just listen to announcements now. There's no discussion at all. No sabbatical for us, no research days for us. We have to ask for permission now for everything we want to do.*

> *The office manager has only the bachelor degree, but now he controls this university. I am shocked to experience this ill-functioning school. I feel like I have been deceived by them. Other Japanese faculty members complain a lot behind the curtain, but they do not say anything publicly.* (Informant E-mail Correspondence, January 28, 2009).

The decline of faculty participation in governance has been accompanied by both a loss of collegiality and the phenomenon of quiet, yet fearful resentment. This is reflected in Burden's (2010c) study of metaphors used by TEAPs in Japanese HEIs to describe their new administrative managers. Frequently referred to as '*big cheeses* and *groups of little men* who form *nameless committees* and *get together* in *darkened rooms*' (P. Burden 2010b, p. 11), the image is one of a despised aristocracy -- those who command and control at their pleasure with little regard for those below them. This perception was a feature of life for TEAPs elsewhere, as in the following excerpt from at TEAP at Polaris:

> **Informant:** *I don't need to think about administration, because we are so out of the loop. You know, even if you go to something where the administrators are, you know...we're a little bit dismissed.*

> **GH:** *Dismissed?*

> **Informant:** *You know, and I always get the feeling is that they don't want to deal with us. Well, I think part of the problem, you know there is a chain of command. So you know, really, we need to go to [name redacted], and [name*

redacted] *needs to go up and up and up, but you know, in our experience, going to the chain of command never works.*

GH: *Why not?*

Informant: *Because there's too many people, and the ball always gets dropped, because we're unimportant. You know...somebody loses, and usually it's going to end up being us or our students* (Interview, November 6, 2008).

While TEAP attempts to communicate with what they see as a distant center of Command & Control are time-consuming and are rarely successful, pronouncements from Command & Control travel quickly and cannot be ignored. All manner of new directives, as well as administrative work of the type that had once been the responsibility of frontline office staff, are often assigned to TEAPs. A BLEAP from the University of Wensleydale, who had taught earlier for many years as a TEAP, remarks on these points as he reflected upon changes that had taken place at his university:

Informant: *...I mean increasingly we're having to do a lot more administration, which is coming down from on high.*

GH: *Coming down from on high - that's an interesting way of saying it.*

Informant: *Well, top down, yeah, what I regard as top down anyway.*

GH: *But in terms of that, first of all who are the people on high that are bringing it down to you?*

Informant: *Well it's really the whole of the administration. There's been a culture change in the university since I've been there, and I've been there quite a long time, whereby administration in general was there to serve the academic staff. I'm talking generally about the university as a whole now. And now it's really there's been this sort of shift, I suppose as the university has got more run like a business there's been this shift whereby the administration basically have the power to make decisions and in a sense it's not ... they do support staff, but that has subtly changed. It used to be the academics making the decisions, and I agree that wasn't always good, but they used to have much more power and control than they have now, and the whole thing's shifted. So you get these decisions from on high about how you should*

151

operate, how you should teach, how you should evaluate, all sorts of things (Interview, October 31, 2008).

The loss of autonomy resulting from corporatization contributes as a contextual factor for the creation of APMs, because TEAPs often no longer have a say in what they should teach, and indeed, the in manner in which they should teach.

Massification

Massification refers to the vast numbers of students, both domestic and international, who easily enter universities for furthering their vocational prospects and for raising their social standing (Teichler 1998 ; C. Fox 2002 ; Smeby 2003 ; Altbach 2004, p. 5; Guri-Rosenblit, Sebkova & Teichler 2007). It results in part from what was discussed earlier -- a transition from the communitarian view of HE, in which one studies to contribute to the betterment of society, to that of viewing HE as an instrument of social advancement (Kezar 2004).

In its domestic form, massification serves national interests during times of economic hardship. However, domestic massification alone is insufficient for many HEIs. Even as far back as the 1970s, international students were touted as a new 'growth industry' for American state universities, and as a means for 'generating considerable income for the strained budgets of our colleges, universities, and technical schools.' (Luce & Smith 1979, p. 6). In the 1990s, a British Council report saw international students as 'bring[ing] benefit to Britain by forging closer relations with a new generation in new circumstances, by increasing the flow of fee-paying students to British universities ...' (*Annual Report* 1993, p. 9, in Spolsky 1998, p. 385).

Massification was an important contextual background feature of informant interviews. For example, with the beginning of the global financial meltdown in 2007, administrative planners at Polaris put forth a plan that would significantly increase the number of first-year domestic students, but recognizing that more was needed to meet the financial needs of the university, one administrator explained that a renewed focus would be placed on recruiting international students:

You've got 1500 new freshman, and the prospect of getting 1500 more, and growing more, just in what we're doing with the domestic side of things, or 20% over the next five years...When we start tapping out all the area students, and no one starts coming here anymore, that's when international recruitment always gets strong at any school...Make no mistake, even public institutions are running out of money in the States. Money and profitability are ongoing things, that's the overriding trend here...(Interview, October 29, 2007).

According to a recent OECD report (2009), which draws from a UNESCO statistical study (Figure 29), many countries have followed the US, UK and others by accepting thousands of primarily Asian students as a means to bolster their financially faltering university systems. Paul Ramsden, former chief executive of the UK's Higher Education Academy, reported that from 1996 to 2006 the number of international students coming to British HEIs, the vast number of them Chinese, increased by 105%. Over 40% of that increase took place between 2000 and 2006 (Ramsden 2008b, pp. 22-23). From 2002 to 2007, fees for international students in the UK increased by 58% (Ramsden 2008b, p. 4).

Long term growth in the number of students enrolled outside their country of citizenship

Growth in internationalisation of tertiary education (1975-2007)

| 1975 0.8 M | 1980 1.1 M | 1985 1.1 M | 1990 1.3 M | 1995 1.7 M | 2000 1.9 M | 2007 3.0 M |

Source: OECD and UNESCO Institute for Statistics
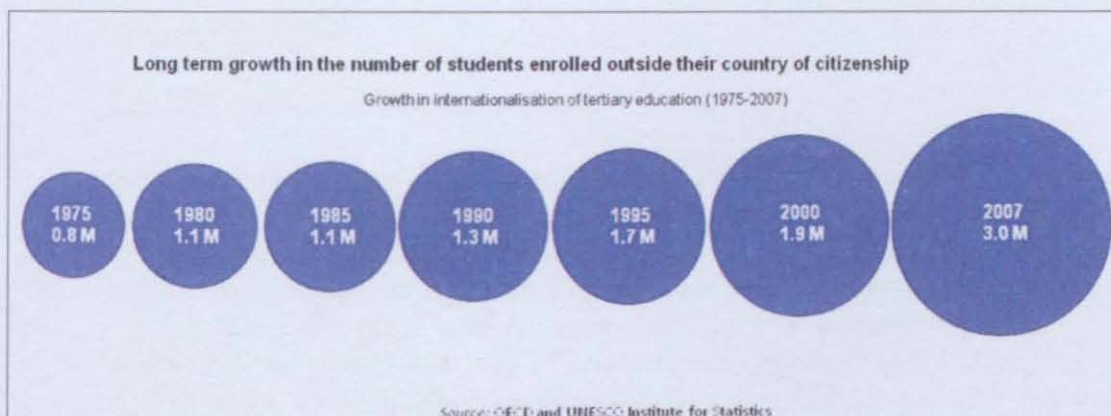
Figure 29 Tracking the Growth of International Student Numbers (OECD 2009)

HEIs everywhere are competing heavily for what is commonly referred to as 'student flows' (Albrecht 2005 ; Murphy 2005). University administrative literature on international student recruitment uses this term because, according to Bain & Cummings (2005, p. 19), 'crossnational student flows represent market flows similar

to freely circulating capital and goods and increased openness in labor markets.' All of this suggests that international student massification has become a global phenomenon, and indeed, international students are a global commodity.

McDonaldization

International student massification rarely results in an increase in the number of TEAPs, as can be seen in one example from an interview with the BLEAP in charge of the EAP program at Polaris State University:

> **Informant:** [the TEAPs] *feel that they are misunderstood. That teaching ESL is a very difficult situation. 'There's only two of us, and we can't teach a multi-level class.' And so they'll always complain about the vagaries of not being able to put together a curriculum, because 'you never know what you're going to get from semester to semester, because we don't have levels.' And I say, 'well, you know, are you willing to go back to part-time, and I'll hire four instructors, and we'll have four levels.' Well, no, no, no, you see, because that... and there's like...*
>
> **GH:** *Well, who wants to go back to part-time?*
>
> **Informant:** *Right.*
>
> **GH:** *That's a threat. For them, I'd say.*
>
> **Informant:** *But that's what I'm telling them, because I don't think we...we're not going to be able to secure another $150,000 to hire two more full-time ESL instructors. Plus we don't really... you know, [the Dean] looks at it, and goes, 'I have faculty members that advise over 200 students, and they teach,' and he gives the stats, and he goes, 'And they're complaining about 18 students in the class? And only 18 students that they work and advise with?' And he goes, 'I don't care how intense it is, it can't be...' and so it's just a numbers thing. And that's from someone that's never been in the ESL. We know it is more intensive, but there is still a point where you go, you know...that's why I think ESL programs stand on their own in some places, and they operate on their own. They hit it really hard, and they have huge classes* (Interview, October 29, 2007).

The aggressive competition for international students in HEIs around the world, with the resulting large class sizes, creates problems for TEAPs if they wish to maintain teaching practices designed for individual attention. Masses of international students

requires new techniques of the type discussed in Ritzer's (2000 ; 2002) Theory of McDonaldization. McDonaldization draws upon Weberian bureaucratic studies to explain that four cardinal principles reign supreme in organizations focused on mass processing – efficiency, calculability, predictability and control. Efficiency means creating a product with a minimum of labor costs. Calculability refers to success that is measurable, resulting in a view of quality inseparable from quantity. Predictability indicates that processes must be conducted in exactly the same manner everywhere to ensure uniform, measurable quality. Block (2002, p. 120) adds that Ritzer's thesis carries within it the idea of standardization, meaning that all branches of the corporation operate exactly like the other, and provide services in the same manner anywhere in the world. Control is the centralization of managerial power so that conformity to the other three principles is maintained. Over the time of this research, all of the EAP Units began to develop remarkably similar practices and strategic approaches for 'processing' large numbers of students. In tandem with the other socioeconomic dynamics discussed in this section, McDonaldization becomes an important element which contributes to EAP Units and their host universities being inexorably transformed into 'knowledge factories' (Deem 2001 ; Olssen & Peters 2005 ; Harding et al. 2007 ; Ishikawa 2009).

5.3.2 Organizational Support for the Development of APMs

The contextual factors described in the previous section should not be seen as uniform phenomena. Their manifestations vary depending upon the branded status and funding sources of the HEI (J. Mok & Lo 2002 ; Knight 2006). Different types of HEIs will result in different APMs. This section weaves together the diverse threads of topics introduced so far, first through showing an HEI typology developed from my field observations and interviews, and which draws from Twitchell's (2004, pp. 132-133) taxonomy, which he in turn built from concepts developed at the National Center for Postsecondary Improvement at Stanford. I will then focus on the organizational process structure within which EAP Units at corporatized HEIs are normally situated, which results in their transformation into an APM.

An Emergent HEI Typology

My typology emerged from theoretical memos generated during my fieldwork. It frames HE within my earlier discussion in this chapter of the dynamics of neoliberal economic ideals as opposed to Keynesian values, and the view of HE as the inculcation of communitarian cultural ideals as opposed to that of vocational training for the global economy. This gives rise to four basic types of HEIs: Sausage Makers, Mass Providers, Dreamweavers and Ivory Towers (Figure 30).
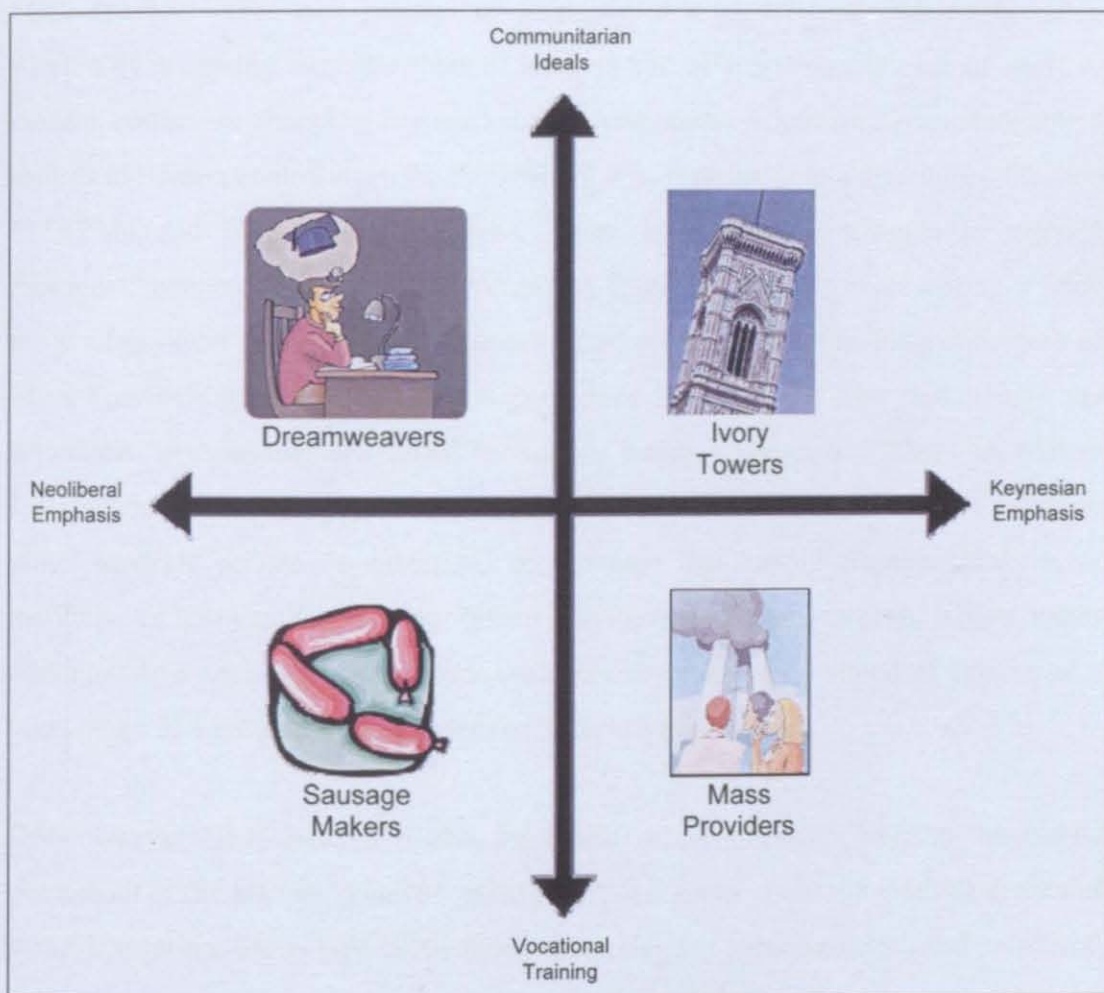
Figure 30 A Conceptual HEI Typology

Sausage Makers are for-profit 'convenience' HEIs or low status public HEIs that exhibit the clearest features of HE corporatization, both in theory and practice. Teachers are tightly managed by administrators, virtually any student who can pay tuition is accepted and the curriculum operates as a well-coordinated APM to train students for specific vocations or industry sectors. EAP units are often separate entities run by large corporations, such as Kaplan in the UK (owned by the Washington Post), The University of Phoenix in the US, or Interac in Japan.

Mass Provider HEIs lack prestigious branding or a narrative of exclusivity. They survive by accepting large numbers of learners and offer various courses of study to student customers shopping for marketable credentials. Administrative management aspires to tighten control over the curriculum, which operates as a fractious collection of APMs and bureaucratic networks. There is a constant struggle to manage educators, who work in often-rebellious and fragmented tribes representing a wide range of political and pedagogic agendas. Graduates from the resulting mishmash of Mass Providers are varied. Some are personally enhanced by their new liberal arts awareness, even as they are tooled for service industry vocations. Others are trained for entry-level knowledge production and entrepreneurial vocations. EAP units are either separate private organizations of the type that supply Sausage Makers, or auxiliary campus units working under administrative management. Those under administrative management adopt a customer service model aimed at providing a wide range of educational experiences to international students.

Dreamweaver HEIs have a history of brand recognition, yet beyond the public perception of the HEI as 'good' or 'prestigious', few know about the internal dynamics of the institution. These HEIs have fallen to the siege of corporatization and neoliberal expansion, but still uphold a narrative highlighting their unique character and social exclusivity. While this image is publicly promulgated, privately, the agendas of outside stakeholders tied to corporate interests are quietly addressed, though repackaged to fit within the mythos of the HEI. The dynamics related to the

curriculum and faculty have many similarities to that of mass providers, since newer corporatized practices are placed on top of older educational traditions, giving rise to administrative-educator conflict and contradictory practices (Castree & Sparke 2000 ; Steck 2003 ; Yamamoto 2004). APMs are usually in their infancy, as these HEIs still maintain cottage industry practices, where greater teacher autonomy in the classroom results in varied experiences for learners. The actual quality of the education received by learners may not differ much from what is offered at Mass Providers, though the prestige of the HEI often provides graduates with better employment opportunities. EAP units are often an auxiliary wing of an academic department. Because they tend to bring in students with higher levels of language and academic proficiency, the focus is less upon educational experiences and more upon raising the scholastic proficiency of the students to a level where they can enter the university and participate more fully in academic life.

Ivory Towers can be top-tier HEIs that either have maintained or have been allowed to uphold classic traditions of research and national cultural ideals. Cozy 'boutique' HEIs of a nominal ranking can also exhibit fewer features of corporatization if, as in the example of some private or religious HEIs, they have deep sources of financial sustenance for preserving their historic ideals and educational traditions. Nevertheless, even at the most conservative and prestigious private universities, such as those in Japan, fulsome financial flows tend only to slow, not halt, the steady progression of corporatization (Miyoshi 2000 ; Yamamoto 2004 ; Amano & Poole 2005 ; Yonezawa 2007b ; Yamanoi 2008). However, while these rare institutions are not immune from the challenge of corporatization experienced more acutely at other HEIs, the experience at Ivory Towers is comparatively lighter, as they have the intrinsic value of their brand to attract the best that the world has to offer. Teacher autonomy is highest at these schools, and administration still serves in a supportive role. The curriculum is still largely determined by educators. EAP students are fewer at Ivory Towers, since most international students coming to these schools are already proficient in English, but for those entering EAP, which is often taught by scholars in

linguistics departments, the focus is upon critical thinking skills and enriching the students' understanding of the academic culture.

This typology is only a general guide, and is not fixed. HEIs or their Tertiary EAP units can move from one quadrant to another, though it must be stated that the only shifts witnessed were to quadrants that feature higher levels of corporatization. Over the space of my research, one Ivory Tower in Japan has shifted to a Dreamweaver status. The University of Wensleydale, a Dreamweaver at the beginning of this research, has shifted to a Mass Provider and NUGIS, which operated as a Mass Provider, has since shifted to that of a Sausage Maker.

This discussion was necessary in order to specify that most of the data collected for this research took place when a large number of the HEIs were in the Mass-Provider category. The upcoming grounded theory and the current discussion of APMs, therefore, pertain mostly to private and state supported Mass Providers. This does not limit the significance of this study, since Mass Providers, which include state-sponsored land grant HEIs in the States, national universities in Japan and most of the major universities in the UK represent the majority of HE providers. It is within this domain that 'hundreds of schools enrolling millions of students [are] granting diplomas in factory fashion...[s]econd-tier state universities and perpetually anxious private schools keep one eye on the bottom line and the other eye on generating flow-through' (Twitchell 2004, p. 133).

Organizational Model for Locating EAP Units and APMs

A representation of how these processes converge can found in Figure 31. I present corporatized HEIs invested in the activity of student mass production as formed within the restive interaction of a double vortex of multiple perspectives and conflicting demands. One vortex twists down from Command & Control, while the other swirls upward with the expectations of students from a new age of massification. At the far ends of both vortices are the realms of outside stakeholders,

159

such as the concerns of parents supporting the students and the demands of corporate industries and government bodies overlooking Command & Control.

Hoff (1999, p. 324) observes that university structures are often portrayed in pyramidal fashion. She also notes, correctly, I believe, that such models highlight the managerial aspects of the organization while downplaying the fact that leaders can occupy all levels of the hierarchy. However, based on my analysis of the EAP Units in this study, managerial processes tended to eclipse leadership, and while the tension between management and leadership constitutes an important feature of my grounded theory of BLEAPs, the model in Figure 31 accurately reflects the lived experience of those within the domain of Tertiary EAP at corporatized HEIs.
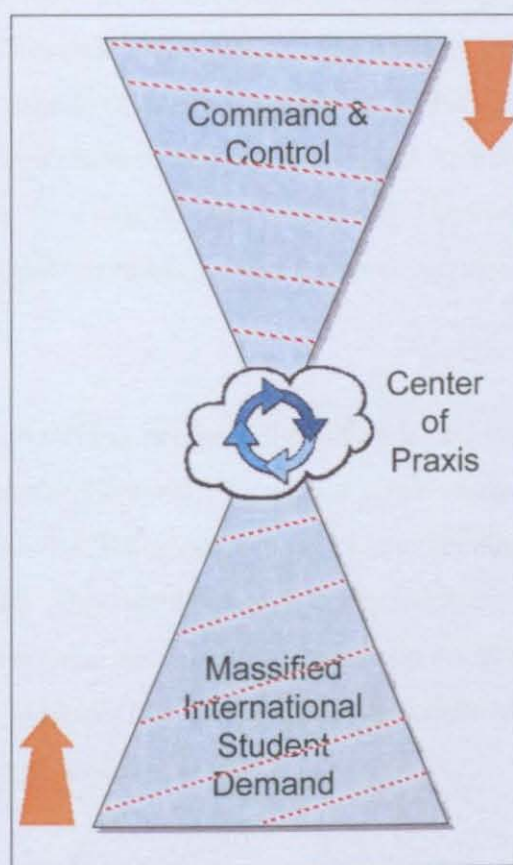
Figure 31 Organizational Process Model of Corporatized HEIs

In this model, the demands of outside governmental and corporate stakeholders are handed down and funneled through Command & Control to lower regions in the top-down hierarchy of the corporatized university system. This begins from vice-chancellors, regents and deans at the very top, tenured professors, administrative deans of various campus services and researchers somewhere in the middle, to permanent, tenure-track teaching faculty and administrative management below this. In the context of the EAP, the bottom vortex represents the growing numbers of international students that have been recruited from abroad, and often arrive with various social, emotional and academic challenges beyond the expected linguistic issues.

The place where the vortices meet is the Center of Praxis. I am well aware that the concept of praxis for critical theorists represents an emancipatory activity resulting in open discourse and democratic interaction (Lather 1986 ; Cushman 1999 ; Brockbank & McGill 2007). This, however, is not the experience of most who participated in this study. *Praxis* in this thesis relates more to its original Aristotelian meaning of 'doing action' (W. Carr 1998, p. 175), or what Grounded Theorists Simmons & Gregory (2003) have called *grounded action*, which involves an acceptance of what is going on in the research site.

The Center of Praxis, therefore, is where the action is. To borrow from the Japanese concept of *sono mama*, the Center of Praxis is a place where one finds *life as it is* – not as it should be. It is what Whitchurch (2008) has called the Third Space. These are centers created through administrative and entrepreneurial initiatives dedicated to Excellence, Quality, Service Learning and Learner Development, and which provide auxiliary educational services in the ambiguous organizational spaces between traditional academics and administrators.

As HEIs undergo the process of corporatization, EAP units are almost always uprooted from their academic homes and placed into the Center of Praxis, which

161

represents a third space convergence of social phenomena, agendas, the concerns of Command & Control, and the demands of international student masses. It is here that antiquated cultural learning is deconstructed and twenty-first century vocational training is advocated. As such, the Center of Practice is the site of innovative creation as well as cultural chaos, and of grand displays of power in the face of often-futile resistance. The Center of Praxis in corporatized HEIs is an authoritarian place, and for this reason, some TEAPs find their location in the Center of Praxis as a twilight struggle against the corruption of democracy, while others with an entrepreneurial spirit see life in the Center of Praxis as a place where opportunities abound. Life for Tertiary EAP units within the Center of Praxis depend upon their size and dependence upon the rest of the HEI (Pugh & Hickson 1996, p. 13). The larger the EAP unit, the more likely it is to follow standardized processes and procedures, which eventually mold TEAPs into technical roles. The degree to which the EAP unit is dependent upon the HEI for supplying its inputs and outputs of International Students will have a direct effect on its autonomy, which at most corporatized HEIs, tends to be rather low. These dynamics contribute to the transformation of EAP Units into Automated Pedagogic Machines.

5.3.3 APMs in EAP

Automated Pedagogic Machines are the necessary engines for dealing with the multiple third-space demands from both Command & Control and growing masses of international students. They are the result of the transformation of Tertiary EAP units from that of an artists' studio or craftsman's workshop to something more akin to a pedagogic manufacturing center of the knowledge economy (Harding et al. 2007). In this section I will also consider how APMs in EAP have been enhanced by the 'quality revolution' in HE (Bonstingl 1992).

Examples of EAP-based APMs

For the EAP context, concrete examples of APMs are seen in curricula with set materials and run by a small number of teachers in repetitive cycles that rapidly process students (Yoshida 1994). Computer Assisted Language Learning (CALL) centers are another example of the rise of APMs. Described as 'third space'

162

environments (Liaw 2007), these have been appearing at many Japanese HEIs to provide an economical self-service function, in that students can access CALL centers at any time and receive automated, prepackaged language material delivered without the presence of a teacher (Warschauer & Healey 1998 ; Brierley & Orlandini 2010).

Perhaps one of the extreme examples to have appeared recently has been in South Korea, where thirty English-teaching robots are being trialed in elementary schools. Representing many of the fraught aspects of globalization, these robots have the avatar of a blond-haired Caucasian woman and are remote-controlled from a call center in the Philippines, where cheaply paid teachers conduct lessons via a high-speed Internet link (Figure 32). Although these pedagogic drones are designed for rural areas where people still fear and shun foreign language teachers, one administrative official in the education department jokingly expressed his hope that more such robots could be utilized in the future, since they 'won't complain about health insurance, sick leave and severance package, or leave in three months for a better-paying job in Japan...all you need is a repair and upgrade every once in a while' ('South Korea School Gets Robot English Teachers' 2010).

Figure 32 An Extreme Example of APM Utilization

While these and other concrete examples of APMs exist, my focus is more metaphorical and similar to Gareth Morgan's (1997b, pp. 12-13) concept of the *Organization as Machine*, which has often been applied to educational institutions as that of pedagogic factories (Giroux 1988, p. 12; Aronowitz 2000). I also derive some of my inspiration for the APM concept from Mintzberg's (1989, p. 110) machine organizations, which standardize work processes within technostructures, and sociologist George Ritzer's (2000, pp. 12-15) theory of McDonaldization. A McDonaldized, APM-based approach to higher education treats both instruction and students as products that should be rapidly manufactured in a uniform manner, regardless of person or place. With reference to programs supported by EAP, Jack Lohmann, the vice provost for international development at Georgia Institute of Technology and developer of the university's International Plan (IP) provided a typical example of APM thinking. Seeing his university as 'an entrepreneurial place,' he framed a number of administrative-driven educational programs set up in China, Singapore and India as thus:

> What we'd like to do is to offer Georgia Tech's education and research programs globally and the product you get is the same, no matter where you get it, anywhere in the world, just like buying a Coca Cola (C. Connell 2007c, p. 40).

Maximizing Quantity through Quality APMs

In order for APMs to produce on a mass scale and to insure that outside stakeholders continue to invest in the resulting product, it is necessary for quality processes to be in place. Both of these terms, *quality* and *process*, derive their power from America's 'quality revolution' that has since spread to Europe and Asia. To keep their HEIs fiscally sound, many HEI administrative managers from the late 1980s have adopted aspects of the manufacturing industry's Total Quality Management (TQM), Six Sigma or Continuous Quality Improvement (Hubbard 1993 ; Chen, Yang & Shiau 2006). Versions of TQM, originally invented in America by W. Edwards Deming, but perfected later in the Japanese automotive industry by engineer and management guru

Gennichi Taguchi (Taguchi, Elsayed & Hsiang 1989 ; Coate 1993 ; J. Koch & Fisher 1998 ; McKenzie & Scheurich 2004 ; Hoecht 2006), is the most frequent form of 'operating software' for Automated Pedagogic Machines and increasingly, for Tertiary EAP units in corporatized HEIs.

Quality and *process* are contested terms. There are multiple ways in which these terms are used by HE Command & Control administrators. In terms of quality, Pfeffer & Coote note that 'although everybody is talking about quality, the concept is slippery and the meaning elusive' (1991, p. 1). Harvey & Green (1993) find that quality has at least three distinctive meanings: Value for Money, Fitness for Purpose and the Successful Transformation of Students and Teachers so that they conform to the worldview and plans of administrative management. Garvin's (1988) extensive review of HE quality literature identifies definitions that are similar to Harvey & Green, and also adds other dimensions, all of which are found in Table 7.

Dimensions of HE Quality	
Transcendent	Quality is an ephemeral ideal defined according to what one feels is important at the time
Product-based	Quality is something which is measurable and objectively identifiable
User-based	Quality is defined by the preferences of the end-user (in this case, students and outside stakeholders)
Manufacturing-based	Quality is conformance to officially approved standards

Table 7 Garvin's Definitions of Quality in HE (1988)

The challenge to understanding HE quality during my interviews and fieldwork observations was that administrative managers in charge of EAP frequently used it in any of the ways defined above or in combination with other concepts. Equally challenging is defining the ubiquitous term *process*, not because of its plethora of uses and definitions, but rather because of a relative lack of explanation about what a process means for higher education and Tertiary EAP. While *process* in its noun form

is synonymous with *action* and *procedure*, and as a verb, complements notions such as *dealing with*, *transforming* and *to prepare*, as used by administrative HE informants in EAP, *process* tended to fit most closely to what Sahney et al (2004, p. 152) and Divoky & Taylor (1996, p. 174) define as a series of operations or actions designed to result in specific training and/or accelerated learning outcomes.

These concepts, and how they come together to transform Tertiary EAP into APMs, can be seen in this excerpt of an interview with a university president, who had a background in linguistics and had taught EAP for several years in Asia. The following is within the context of how to implement EAP at his university:

Informant: *...acceleration of learning is another. Optimizing the process. The simplest way to accelerate learning... the biggest payback is to figure out ways to strip out the time that people spend listening to something they already know.*

GH: *Right.*

Informant: *But once you focus on that issue, and say... I'm working with this group of students to try to get them up to where the others are, then the others are just hearing stuff they know. Is there some way to optimize their time so that they're not wasting time on things they already know?*

GH: *So these things could be plugged into language teaching curriculum then?*

Informant: *Yeah. The... the Taguchi model, a Japanese guy, what I learned from him on design is you always try to design the system around the variables you can't control. You have no control over the entry-level skills that the students bring into your class...that's a function of what they learned in the past, and maybe even their genetic make-up, etc. A whole bunch of variables, but what you get is what you've got. Here they are. Now, what can you do to design your... your course to be indifferent as possible to those entry-level skills, and his model... and... and this was engineering model, his great success story, occurred in the United States, not in Japan. It was a plain paper copier, where he said, okay, you have an operating window here, and then you have two extremes. One extreme is the copier jams, the other one is that multiple pages go through. And we designed this to be indifferent to the paper we put in it as much as possible. Before, you had to have special paper. Remember that stuff that smelled and all that?*

GH: *Yeah, it was the mimeograph machine.*

Informant: *Right, and he worked to design a machine. The Xerox machine was the first plain paper copier where you could stick almost anything in it...So I brought that concept back after I'd had a meeting with him. I was a speaker at a banquet, and he was the instructor for the International Association of Engineers on design, and I just called a group of faculty together and said, 'Here's a concept. Apply it'* (Interview, November 30, 2008).

Similar developments have started to take place in Japan over the past few years with unprecedented links being developed between Japanese universities and industry. In order to ensure a higher level of quality in education, many universities have started to apply the standards and processes laid out by the Japan Accreditation Board for Engineering Education (JABEE), which was formed in 1999 to facilitate collaboration and common standards between industry and education (*JABEE Website* 2007). In the spirit of a corporate-style 'new managerialism' (Deem 2001), Japanese university administrators are responsible for directing these new industrial processes designed for ensuring quality, efficiency and the quantitative external assessment of university programs (Woolgar 2007 ; Kitagawa 2009 ; Mulvey 2010). Similar to British and American HEIs, the discourse of 'quality' and 'excellence' is becoming more frequent, and often used to justify whatever new rule or missive that is handed down from on high (Yonezawa 2002 ; Kitagawa & Oba 2009). Within these changes, however, TEAPs in Japan struggle to apply engineering standards of quality to the art of language instruction (Nevara 2004).

5.3.4 Raging Against the Machine

Many TEAP informants were too fearful of administrative reprisals to express their feelings in recorded interviews. However, the bulk of what they shared privately is represented by published scholars in Critical Studies, Sociology, English, Literature and Language Studies who are also experiencing what they interpret to be the colonization of their vocation by administrative management (Castree & Sparke 2000 ; Green & McKerrow 2007). They have angrily attacked the developments described

in this chapter (Sharff & Lessinger 1994 ; Readings 1996 ; Aronowitz 2000 ; N. Smith 2000 ; Silvey 2002 ; Washburn 2005 ; Bosquet 2008), but also raise some salient philosophical, political and pedagogical points.

Some have questioned the manner in which terms such as *quality* or *excellence* have been applied by new university administrative management as checklists and processes (e.g. Barnett 1992 ; Readings 1996 ; Brennan, De Vries & Williams 1997 ; Cave et al. 2006). Such an approach implicitly creates the conditions by which APMs in the Center of Praxis become inevitable. Quality and Excellence in and of themselves are seen as concepts devoid of meaning for an agency as overarching as a university. When left to their own devices, quality and excellence will mean different things to different people, and will depend upon local conditions, people and academic disciplines, just as 'deliciousness' will differ among restaurants and their clientele. For these critics, administrators have created a false crisis by implying that quality did not exist in HE until after they started using the term (Selwyn & Shore 1992, p. 90).

Others however, such as Shore & Wright (2004), have criticized the HE administrative managers running 'the machinery of accountability' (p. 114) for *not* clearly defining quality, excellence and other terms. They observe administrative managers to be operating within a 'closed conceptual system' that uses a circular form of reasoning, so that quality is used to explain excellence, enhancement is used to define quality processes for excellence, and so on. The result is that 'managers choose whichever operational definition of 'quality' [that] suits their purpose' (Shore & Wright 2004, p. 107). They find the whole issue of quality and standardizing curricula as a totalitarian expression of power over academics, whose attempt to offer alternative definitions for quality are rejected. Academic freedom as well as diversity of thought are seen as lost in the Center of Praxis, and academics who question aspects of APMs by criticizing Total Quality Management (TQM), the Japan

Accreditation Board for Engineering Education (JABEE) or the REF often find themselves portrayed as opposing quality or excellence.

Linked to these philosophical and political concerns is the manner in which APMs are often portrayed by those in the Center of Praxis. Morgan's parable, attributed to the Chinese sage Chuang-tsu, aptly summarizes the argument of many writers critical of an APM approach:

> Then anger rose up in the old man's face, and he said, 'I have heard my teacher say that whoever uses machines does all his work like a machine. He who does his work like a machine grows a heart like a machine, and he who carries the heart of a machine in his breast loses his simplicity. He who has lost his simplicity becomes unsure in the strivings of his soul' (G. Morgan 1997b, p. 12).

Pedagogical practices designed so that almost any kind of student can be put in and simply processed through the APM is often likened by critics to Marx's (1887/1990, p. 644) metaphor of the educational sausage factory (N. Smith 2000, see Figure 33).
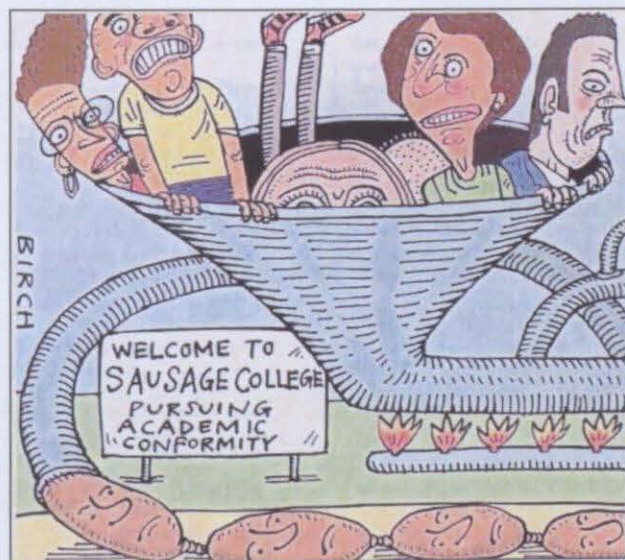
Figure 33 Contemporary Western HE lampooned as Sausage Factory in *Times Higher Education* (Attwood 2008)

169

Ball (2003) draws upon Lyotard (1979/2004) to warn that an overemphasis on predictable processes for training learners in measurable vocational skills leads to *performativity*, meaning that pedagogic and bureaucratic processes within APMs become reified and served to the detriment of students and teachers alike. He argues that performativity in HE leads to fabrication, a situation in which teachers and students pretend to satisfy top-down processes but fail to teach or learn. Reducing higher education to prescribed actions of ritualized performativity strips out the uniqueness of educational experiences between disciplines and institutions, and further transforms HEIs into McUniversities (Parker & Jary 1995). Justifying the mechanization of education as a means for improving quality, critics argue, has little to do with improvement and everything to do with power and control (Smart 1999 ; Block & Cameron 2002 ; Hayes & Wynyard 2002).

Less politically-charged are the views of Koch & Fisher (1998), who point out that TQM has been abandoned by many industries as time-consuming and inefficient. They argue that corporate manufacturing models in HE supported by TQM or JABEE processes are fundamentally incompatible with the educational mission of HE and with the nature of pedagogy. They do not provide much evidence to support their claim that TQM processes are incompatible with pedagogy, which opens them to the criticism of Williams (A. Williams 2001), who states that opposition to TQM in HE is more a manifestation of what happens when people embrace outmoded and unproven beliefs that have been further solidified by an organizational subgroup of confederates. However, Koch & Fisher's point would prove to be an interesting area of investigation for a later study.

5.4 The Appearance of Blended EAP Professionals

As noted earlier in this thesis, inhabiting the new organizational third spaces at corporatized HEIs around the world are what Whitchurch (2009b ; 2009a) calls 'Blended Professionals'. This new type of HEI worker is neither fully academic nor fully administrative in nature. Often on term-limited contracts, they teach on special projects, perform a wide range of mid-managerial and administrative duties, cooperate

with academic research, and struggle with an organizational status that is ambiguous, tenuous and often viewed with a mixture of pity and derision by colleagues having more traditional or better-defined vocations.

Presently in EAP, various gradations of blended EAP professionals (BLEAPs) exist, ranging from senior TEAPs fiercely holding on to their preferred professional identity as language educators, to those who were formerly TEAPs but who have since been placed in a position where they struggle to manage their restless EAP units, often without any of the official power or support that is usually afforded to those in supervisory positions.

Identity is one measure by which one can determine the difference between BLEAPs and TEAPs. While TEAPs in corporatized HEIs also work within the ambiguity of the third space of the Center of Praxis, they tend to have strong beliefs about their professional identity, regardless of how they are seen by their administrative managers:

> **GH:** *Well, so...I'm surprised. You, you said that you guys are considered administrative staff? You're not considered, like faculty?*
>
> **Informant:** *Right, yeah.*
>
> **GH:** *Wow. I didn't know that.*
>
> **Informant:** *Mm-hm.*
>
> **GH:** *So, what...do you consider yourselves then? Teachers, or administrators?*
>
> **Informant:** *We're...teachers but we have to be here eight to five...every day that the...school is open.*
>
> **GH:** *Uh-huh.*
>
> **Informant:** *And, of course, because we're teachers, then we also, outside of those eight to five hours...whatever doesn't get done within eight to five always is done even if it takes, fifty hours, sixty hours, whatever it takes, we have to do it* (Interview, November 20, 2005).

Another TEAP expands upon these points:

Yes, it is true that ESL teachers are viewed as administrative staff. That is our official designation. The ESL Program used to be positioned in Modern Languages, and then it was moved to the English Department. Now, precisely because we do not offer classes for credit, it was decided that we are not an academic program and therefore should be located under Student Affairs, somewhat like the TDC [Talent Development Center]. *Despite being shuffled around from place to place administratively, what we do in the classroom has not changed...I wish that I were given full faculty status and fully recognized for my education and background. I wish that I could pursue professional development like other faculty and staff. But these things are not to be,* [a]*nd it probably goes back to the general lack of respect for ESOL educators--after all 'anyone can teach English if they can speak it,' right?*

On a good day, it doesn't really matter to me what the administration thinks; I just go on doing my job. On a bad day, I tell my husband that I'd rather work for Wal-Mart. I've worked here for 12 years now, so I guess the good days have outnumbered the bad. I don't get my professional self-identity from what the administration thinks (Informant E-Mail Interview, August 5, 2008).

The role ambiguity experienced by BLEAPs, however, suggests process and flux. Even though Blended EAP Professionals often started as TEAPs, in their present position, they are seen neither as authentic TEAPs, nor as full members of administrative management or as tenured faculty. Because they inhabit the spaces in-between, they fail to gain mentor support and struggle to define their professional self-identity in the HEI:

GH: *Let me ask you, um, how do you see yourself in terms of role? Uh, an administrator, a teacher, a student...how do you define yourself?*

Informant: *Me?*

GH: *Yeah.*

Informant: *Mmm. A salad* (laughs)

GH: (laughs) *A salad?*

172

Informant: (laughing, then serious) *No, I...I guess I see myself as, I don't know, I've never thought of it in those terms...*(Interview, November 28, 2005).

BLEAPs often use metaphors of being on the periphery, as one who doesn't fit in until needed for important tasks:

Informant: *I am on the edge...not in the middle...unless you talk of my conscience.*

GH: *What do you mean?*

Informant: *Well I play a key part in things but I am status wise am someone who is put in the corner...I am like a ghost really, and I would just like to be a teacher-academic...I'm tired of the politics.*

GH: *What are you now? Administrator? Teacher? Both?*

Informant: *Yes I would say teacher administrative researcher and politician...salesman too.*

GH: *What are you selling as a salesman?*

Informant: *Profit, success, guarantees...promises --*

GH: *-- To students or the school?*

Informant: *Both...expertise...I know what needs to be done, and I feel that I can deliver with the right support...but you are also gambling and hedging. A player...I am a player. You may say stakeholder, but in the game of reform, you are a player. You want to change things so you need to at times disrupt and bluff...and gamble. 'Ok give me this much money and the classes to do this and I will deliver this...'*

GH: *You are an entrepreneur for the school, then?*

Informant: *Yes that would be a good term...part of it.*

GH: *Invest in me, and I'll turn a profit for you?*

Informant: *Yes. That is how things are done with administrators...deals...*

GH: *You were saying you felt like a ghost. Being a ghost is a lonely experience, I would think.*

173

Informant: *You are isolated but have a certain amount of freedom...the court jester.*

GH: *The court jester. An interesting term!! How can an entrepreneurial player who is a salesman for the university...a politician and researcher...also be a jester?*

Informant: *In the craziness of things my comments reveal a clearer picture than Japanese can't admit or say...you call things the way you see them and people think it is offensive or just untrue...but actually you see that it brings some change...but Greg as you can see from all my metaphors I really don't know what I am* (Interview, October 8, 2009).

I will now describe the trajectories, common features, distinctive types identified during field observations, pitfalls and responsibilities of BLEAPs living in the restless Center of Praxis.

5.4.1 Becoming a BLEAP

BLEAPs share a range of similarities and life experiences. Most have lived abroad for several years. Most are males who have learned to thrive in their university's environment of authoritarian paternalism. On the point of gender, only a few females successfully went head to head with men for BLEAP positions in their Tertiary EAP units. The authoritarian paternalist aspects of the HEI resulted in most women remaining in subordinate positions, with some being passed over in favor of younger men:

Informant: *...and then, you know, throw someone in there that was a GA* [graduate assistant] *under* [name of female TEAP], *you know, before...*

GH: *Mm-hm. It was you?*

Informant: *...that was me. And, you know, you get some personal things there, and she applied for my job, and I won, and you know, so...*

GH: *Mmm.*

Informant: *...I think that she's got some...*

GH: *...issues, personal...*

Informant: *...just that it's the old boys club. And she mentioned that a long time ago when I was a, a...uh...when I was a GA.*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...about that. And that it was hard for her husband to get a job here, because he wasn't a drinking buddy of someone or something...so she mentioned that at work...and I'm sure she feels that's how I've gotten my job, but I'm not a part of any secret club that, you know...*

GH: (laughs)

Informant: *...in the basement of* [the President's] *house, or anything you go to, I mean...*

GH: (laughs)

Informant: *...but I, you know, you know...in a personable way, personable white guys probably get their way here...especially if they've got personal connections...you know* (Interview, November 28, 2005).

BLEAPs are typically multilingual and multicultural. They are accustomed to living in the spaces between traditional cultural roles and in the ambiguous gaps within organizational hierarchies. Transience is one of the defining factors of their lives, which is why many tend to lead a solitary existence, even when married. Virtually all of my married informants had partners who were foreign nationals, though a few had partners from the same nationality who they met while working or living abroad.

Informant narratives about this stage of their development were remarkably similar. All had an international encounter during a formative time in their youth, such as making a friend from another country or having an experience of wonderment while travelling abroad for the first time. Most spoke of having an abortive start in another career before 'falling into' EAP. In addition, most came to the realization that their life as the TEAP, while enjoyable in many respects, was unstable and both physically as well as emotionally demanding. All recognized that they would not be able to keep up the pace as a TEAP, and in order to 'get on', most began to engage in ambitious activities that would land a stable, better paying position. Activities included

175

improving their professional credentials, publishing research, attending conferences and networking with influential university gatekeepers. A few BLEAPs however, did not engage in these Upwardly-Mobile activities, but because of their skill as a teacher, popularity with students, and seniority amongst the other educators, they were 'raised up' by HEI management to become a BLEAP. Informants from this trajectory accepted the post mainly for money and potential for permanence.

Many BLEAPs were on short-term contracts that were contingent upon demonstrated success in their post. In Japan, however, BLEAPs often had more secure positions than TEAPs in the form of tenured posts, but they still occupied the third space between TEAPs, university management, and often a university in their native country, which would host an overseas program for students. These BLEAPs often suffered from a diminished status among members of Command & Control. Regardless of the degree of job stability among BLEAP informants, all felt as if they were as expendable as the proverbial jester in the court of a despotic king. Were they to fail to meet certain expectations from above, most expressed the fear that they would soon be looking for another job. The following is a typical story that will resonate with many who have struggled in HE:

> Chronologically and educationally, I am mid-career at 47 with a Ph.D. and 20+ years of teaching experience, but have not had the opportunity to be on the tenure track...When I did get a full time job in NYC, it was teaching in addition to academic administration, year to year contracts. I worked very hard and have an excellent reputation in the classroom but the Dean and senior admin staff cut a number of positions, mine included; and there was no union, we got no support from the faculty senate. We left without litigation and got on with our lives. I moved abroad for three years and taught in European higher education. A number of personal issues brought me back stateside four years ago, when I accepted a visiting position at an upscale private university. The department I worked for had three different heads in the three years I was there, the third of these did not renew my contract ('In Transition' in Berrett, 2011).

Despite the humorous overtones of the acronym *'BLEAP'*, it adequately sums up the nature of their standing with both TEAPs and Command & Control. To use another

metaphor, much in the way one from the Other Ranks receives a battlefield promotion, survival as a BLEAP is always viewed as uncertain, unless and until he or she learns how to negotiate the perilous political battlefield of the Center of Praxis.

5.4.2 Tasks, Types and Trajectories

BLEAPs are ensconced deep within the heart of Automated Pedagogic Machines. Where these do not exist, they create them under the guise of EAP curriculum design. On a daily basis, BLEAPs spend a considerable amount of their time ensuring that the APM starts up every morning and runs smoothly throughout the day.

> **GH:** *...just so I can understand your world as the coordinator. If you came, if you went back from doing the EAP program one day and you thought, 'oh, this was a good day.' What would be a good day for you?*
>
> **Informant:** *On a good day nothing would happen and everything would work. And the routine was...you'd go round at 8:30 and check the doors are unlocked, and they were all unlocked, all the teachers...*
>
> **GH:** *...Were there...*
>
> **Informant:** *... were there, yeah. Nobody got run over... everything started on time... and everything ran smoothly. It was basically when I didn't notice anything.*
>
> **GH:** *Yeah I can understand that from my own job in Japan, so yeah.*
>
> **Informant:** *Yeah, and that's as good as it gets, just that if everything works the way you plan it.*
>
> **GH:** *Then I can, I suppose I can assume then there are bad days when something goes out of kilter and everything falls, everything gets up...*
>
> **Informant:** *...no it doesn't make it a bad day...if one thing goes haywire that's fine, it's when more than one thing goes wrong in the same time. Which wouldn't be a day, you know you can deal with more than one thing in a day. But if there's more than one thing goes wrong, like for example, the learning centre mechanics all broke down...*
>
> **GH:** *...Right...*

Informant: *So that sets everything off, so then maybe the lecturer didn't turn up...*

GH: *...yeah, and suddenly you have to make something for...*

Informant: *Yeah, but again that doesn't make it a bad day because you can deal with all of those things. And because of the teachers we had were the sorts that just try and get round problems, rather than just stopping and shouting about it...that sort of thing didn't cause a bad day. It was just the fact that maybe two or three things happened all at once and, there wasn't anybody there...in order to do...*

GH: *...to do the program...*

Informant: *... to fix things* (Interview, September 22, 2006).

These observable activities however are vitally connected to higher priorities and processes that will be introduced near the end of this chapter. In subsequent chapters, it will be seen that BLEAPs are not only tasked with accomplishing these processes, but are also responsible for defusing conflict in the Center of Praxis so that TEAPs do not cause APM slowdowns. BLEAPs are expected to span the divide between HEI management and their foreign or casual TEAPs. Many are also crucial for maintaining international partnerships with foreign HEIs that host overseas programs or other programs of study.

As intercultural middle managers, BLEAPs are in the focal point of the maelstrom of the Center of Praxis, making them pivotal to the success of EAP units in corporatized HEIs. More (1962, p. 220) notes that in authoritarian organizations, the gap between management and groups of workers is quite large. BLEAPs are vital for negotiating that divide, and for keeping the EAP unit operative. One informant, who had been both a TEAP and BLEAP before becoming an academic in a university business department, explains:

> *Middle managers are the only people that really know what's going on, because they're so well connected with, if you like, the shop-floor...the nitty-gritty of the work, and if you take them out you lose an incredible amount of*

knowledge, an incredible amount of knowhow, a tremendous lot of networks which are absolutely crucial to the organization...So it's quite interesting because the role of the middle manager in an organization is very important and it's very neglected and it's very overlooked. Too often they're seen as just conveyor belts of what the people at the top want, but if you've got any sense you listen to people in the middle because they know what's going on. They know much better what's going on than the people at the top (Interview, September 30, 2010).

Three basic types of BLEAPs emerged from my analysis of the qualitative data for this study: Upwardly-Mobile, Transactional and Sinking (Figure 34). While there will always be gradations in typologies, I will now present each in their prototypical form. Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs understand the precarious nature of living in the third spaces of their HEI, and seek entry into the stable, lucrative posts of Command & Control. Their focus is on what is above and how to get there. This entails cooperating
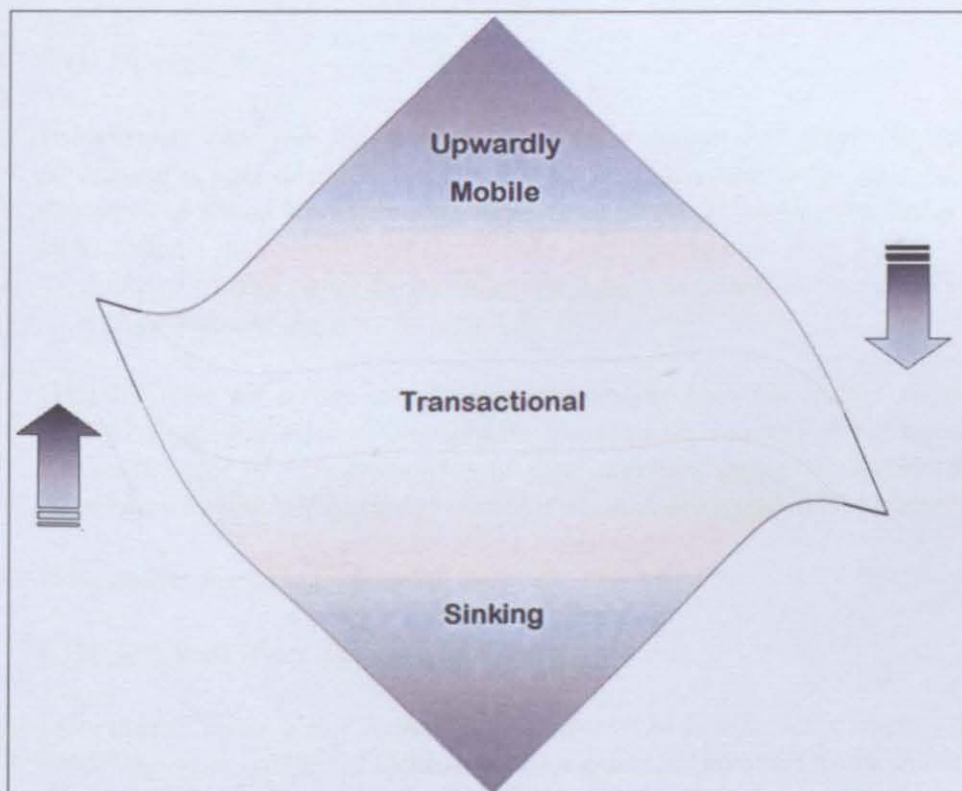
Figure 34 A BLEAP Typology

179

in whatever activities, agendas and projects that are valued by those who have the power to get the BLEAP out of the Center of Praxis. None of the Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs encountered in this study sought entry to the academic realms of Command & Control. All sought positions of administrative power, which is where they felt they had the greatest chance of success:

> **Informant:** *I think a lot of teachers don't realize that you need to play business and politics...and how to manage people. Most of the young guys I tell them this: 'You need to know that game 'cause if you get a job full-time you will being doing a job like me unless you are a super academic.'*

> **GH:** *This is the game that must be played in universities these days?*

> **Informant:** *Yes.*

> **GH:** *Yeah. I see.*

> **Informant:** *We aren't academics...that is what people get confused with.*

> **GH:** *We are....?*

> **Informant:** *Our job for most of us is to manage and grow the business. Education is part of that...but that is how we add value to the uni, unless you can write a lot of books and students come to study under you. Schools that can attract a number of elite academics can survive that way, but for most of us we have to add value by building the business...you add value to yourself by adding value to the uni...*

> **GH:** *Yes, I do see a number of EAP teachers who have 'moved up' to positions such as yours put a lot of energy into growing the university business. But, I don't see a lot of Upwardly-Mobile EAP teachers trying to become famous academics by publishing and presenting abroad. Why is that, I wonder?*

> **Informant:** *Because they can't.*

> **GH:** (shocked) *What do you mean?*

> **Informant:** *To be a top academic you have to be really really smart...it's like becoming a pro-golfer...I think to make a name for yourself to the point where the uni thinks your name is a brand is really hard to do, especially in Japan unless you are Japanese.*

GH: *But to be a top dog in managing EAP you have to be really really tough? Clever?*

Informant: *Managing is hard too but it is the best way to move up in a uni...my uni doesn't care if I publish...and being* [non-Japanese]*, very few students even if I was famous would come to* [university name] *to study with me...BUT I can by building a good program to attract students...which makes me important in the uni...which translates into money, and all that promotion stuff* (Interview, September 16, 2010).

Whitchurch (2008) found that ambitious blended professionals can get promoted eventually to as high as the level of pro-vice chancellor in post-1992 UK HEIs. In Japan, I have noticed this as well. At least two Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs in Japan that I interviewed were able to attain top administrative posts at their HEIs. Aronowitz describes, from his perspective, the motivations and consequences of an Upwardly-Mobile trajectory:

> Many discover that the comparative advantages of administration are greater. For some administrators, the choices dictated by the will to power or, what amounts to the same thing, the conviction that they can serve the institution better. For others, the move to administration is a tacit acknowledgment that they have exhausted their academic or intellectual contribution and that administration is a choice that saves him from plunging back into routines that no longer excite their passions. Still others are motivated by the large incomes they may earn in comparison to the relatively small recompense of ordinary professors. What are the consequences of administration as a career? First and perhaps foremost, career administrators tend to lose touch with the educational enterprise. Their allegiances and self-conception become increasingly corporate as they gradually surrender any pretense of doing consistent writing and teaching. They take the standpoint of the institution against those who would resist the 'necessary' and 'rational' decisions that any administrator must make in the face of relative scarcity -- a perspective emblematic of even the most profitable corporations...instead of regarding administration as a temporary tour of duty and welcoming resumption of his academic work, he tends to look forward to the next niche in the administrative hierarchy, vice president for academic affairs or provost. It doesn't take long before he views himself as a member of a separate social layer within the academic system and sees the faculty and students as adversaries or, at least, as a different stratum (Aronowitz 2000, pp. 164-165).

The upward mobility of this type of BLEAP is not guaranteed. It relies upon their ability to mobilize TEAPs to carry out the plans of Command & Control. Once successful, the BLEAP seeks advancement either within the present HEI or elsewhere. If the shark-like ambition of the Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP is discovered by TEAPs, there is a risk of them being marked as 'careerist' or 'mercenary'. TEAPs will then quietly sabotage Command & Control initiatives spearheaded by the BLEAP, engage in forms of passive dissent, or in some cases, express open protest. All of these can change the opinions of those in Command & Control towards seeing the BLEAP as a poor leader, thereby setting him or her on a downward trajectory.

Although the Center of Praxis is a dangerous place for building a career, there are some who thrive in the space between TEAPs and Command & Control. I call these BLEAPs *trans-actional* because they operate as the consummate go-between. Masterful intermediaries, depending upon one's perspective, they either transgress or transcend traditional organizational boundaries. A helpful tool for understanding how this BLEAP operates can be found in a study of Trickster Theory (Hyde 1998). While I have reservations about the term *trickster*, as it suggests an unwelcome measure of moral ambiguity often associated with crooks and conmen, Trickster Theory nevertheless draws upon the archetypes of the messenger gods in mythologies to highlight the practices and pitfalls of those living between the hoi polloi and the unassailable corridors of power. In terms of practices, the trickster delivers messages between the gods and people, while also finding ways to gratify his own desires. The trickster is a master of disguise. To the gods, he appears as a mischievous yet somewhat comical member of their community or, to borrow the words of one of the informants earlier in this chapter, the Trickster is, to the gods at least, something of a court jester. To humans, however, in Roman and Greek trickster myths, they are larger-than-life characters who steal from the gods in order to provide them with gifts. While taking the appearance of one who is like them, the trickster still comes across to humans as someone who has something to hide. Managerial theorists Baddeley & James (1987, p. 18) identify those in organizations whose strategies are typified by

182

such psychological game playing and keen political awareness as Foxes. This of course is another trickster archetype in both Native American religions and Euro-Slavic myths.

A metaphor not found in my reading of Trickster Theory, but one that I find to be helpful, is likening the Transactional BLEAP to that of an octopus. On his own in the ocean, swimming from place to place, the octopus is little more than bait -- a tasty snack for passing predators. The octopus lives by its wits, flitting back and forth and using amazing techniques of camouflage as well as other artifices to survive. If cornered and unable to succeed with any of its tricks, the crafty octopus can successfully vanish behind an inky smokescreen.

Similarly, Transactional BLEAPs are also frequently in vulnerable positions within their HEIs, and need a measure of cunning to survive being 'eaten' by organizational entrepreneurs seeking to capitalize upon their time and talents. With a public face that is often gregarious and friendly, they are masters of camouflage. To superiors, they can appear as one of the managerial tribe; two hours later, they can be found drinking beer with TEAPs at the local pub.

Transactional BLEAPs, like the Trickster, are thrill seekers. They are creatures of appetite, and often use their posts to enjoy other aspects of their lives outside work. To those ends, Transactional BLEAPs always carve out some 'perk' that satisfies their deeper, more authentic needs. Among those observed in my research, for one Transactional BLEAP, it was having considerable paid time away from the unit. For another, it was an all expense paid yearly 'research' trip to New York after escorting students to a host university on a short-term overseas study program. Several in Japan had arranged such overseas programs to be in their native countries at HEIs close to friends and family, thereby being able to secure the equivalent of a paid vacation where they could considerably extend their per diem funding.

In most cases, this self-gratification was not as hidden to others as the BLEAPs may have thought. There were always those in Command & Control and in the Center of Praxis who were well aware of their BLEAPs activities. TEAPs tended to allow these activities so long as the BLEAP kept outside managerial interference at bay or at least bearable so they could teach according to their deep-seated pedagogical and methodological beliefs. A few TEAPs, who were perhaps aspiring Transactional BLEAPs themselves, respected such BLEAPs as 'players' -- antiheros who had found creative ways to subvert managerial control. For Command & Control patrons, somewhat in the way that a parent might allow their children to lick the mixing spoon after the cake has been put into the oven, the BLEAP's activities were overlooked, so long as they did not become a public embarrassment, affect the patrons' standing with other Command & Control peers, or tarnish the public image of the HEI.

Transactional BLEAPs, as trickster theorists have noted (Hyde 1998 ; Patterson 2001 ; Levine 2002), are surprisingly innovative entrepreneurs with an artistic flair. They think outside of the bureaucratic box and are a constant source of stimulation (as well as irritation) to the institution. Such qualities are highly valued in corporatized HEIs seeking to set themselves apart from other virtually identical institutions of mass-production. Transactional BLEAPs are also very useful in keeping TEAPs working peacefully, while equally skillful in gradually contextualizing the plans of Command & Control for retooling EAP to meet the modern contingencies of today's knowledge economy.

However, because of the stresses within the Center of Praxis, again along the lines of Trickster Theory, if the Transactional BLEAP does not keep his or her appetites in check, they can place the BLEAP on a downward trajectory that will eventually cause him or her to leave the HEI, as represented by the downturn right corner of Figure 34. In my observations over the past six years, such 'appetites' leading to job loss or demotion to the Center of Praxis involved some aspect of Wine, Women or Song, that is, alcoholism, sexual scandal, or excessive leisure time out of the office.

184

Alternatively, if the BLEAP is unable to moderate any waves of dissent rising from TEAPs, the upward pressure can motivate the Transactional BLEAP to turn Upwardly-Mobile in an effort to escape the discomfort experienced in the Center of Praxis.

The third and final BLEAP observed during my fieldwork and interviews was the Sinking BLEAP. As implied in the nomenclature, this is a downwardly mobile BLEAP both in orientation and trajectory. During my research, most stayed within the job no more than two years before being either demoted or seeking work at another HEI outside the bounds of this study.

Sinking BLEAPs are often very talented. Most that I encountered had been excellent senior TEAPs who, because of their dynamism, had been 'raised up'. In corporatized HEIs however, as Steck (2003) notes, the organizational culture shifts from horizontal collegiality to the hard-nosed vertical hierarchy found in business. Here, one goes up, moves sideways, or spirals down, so while Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs see the rules of corporatized HEIs as an opportunity, and Transactional BLEAPs see it as a game, Sinking BLEAPs view it as a threat. Instead of mediating the gulf between HEI management and TEAPs, BLEAPs who still identify with TEAPs tend to elevate teacher insight while denigrating Command & Control as incompetent:

> **Informant:** *I don't think that very many senior managers are good at receiving things from below. It never ceases to amaze me just how stupid and bureaucratic some of them are.*
>
> **GH:** *What, do they take it as a challenge to their authority if someone gives them ...*
>
> **Informant:** *Well I don't think that would be the case at Wensleydale. I just think that ... well putting it bluntly I think there's one thing in managers which ... I don't know what the training or educational solution actually is, and that is wisdom. A lot of them are not very wise. Wisdom, for me, would be if I'd had on the presessional course somebody had said, 'I've written a report here on the class. I've analyzed their work and their data and I think this is a reasonable judgment, an evidence-based judgment about what I think they're*

achieving. Here's a list of things that I intend to do to try and improve the effectiveness of my teaching. Here are some things that I think would help if the management team were to put them into the course or facilitate [mic static],' this that and the other; I mean nobody's ever done that to me, but if they did I would be absolutely delighted. I would think 'Christ, that's amazing', just what you want really. You want people formatively evaluating themselves, being critical, reflective practitioners. Absolutely ace.

GH: *Why would management take offence or take exception at least to that sort of approach, which is the impression I'm getting from you, that they wouldn't be able to accept a teacher doing that sort of thing. Why?*

Informant: *What's important to them is being in charge and being in control, and within a bureaucratic organization policy...everything's decided at the top and handed down to the subordinates, so any autonomous action on the part of the subordinate is regarded as subversive. Well that's a stupid way to think, you know. If the whole thing is about teaching and learning, then anything which is about the teaching and learning process, or anything which is likely to enhance that progress has got to be something that you are only too glad to see* (Interview, September 30, 2010).

The focus of many Sinking BLEAPs is downwards towards the education of students and for the professional development of TEAPs. The same informant, who had lost a lucrative EAP managing position, continues:

Informant: *Where it would have gone, by the way, and we were beginning to lay the foundations of it, where it would have gone would have been with a much greater involvement of teachers in writing the course, because thanks to the fact that it was only...you're not dealing with a permanent workforce, you're dealing with a workforce that's only there for ten weeks of the year and the rest of the year it does other work, so what that tends to make extremely difficult is the approach that I would use with full-time staff which is a collaborative approach in developing the curriculum and developing the material and all the rest of it. So I don't know if you remember but we'd already reached the stage where [name of another Sinking BLEAP confederate] was sending out consultation documents but I think what we would have had to work out was also payment. We'd have had to work out financial things. But the afternoons might have been given over more to that and then during the year, so that people felt more ...*

GH: *It would be really part of their professional life throughout the year, they would be building up to it, they wouldn't suddenly come and try to figure things out. That would be nice.*

Informant: *That's right. And drawing on the expertise that was there, and the commitment, and also trying to redress some of the imbalances in the course, 'cause I thought we could have done a lot, might have been able to do much better on the linguistics element than we did. But again, that was a shortcoming with* [the EAP Unit] *because what* [the EAP Unit] *again could have done on the research front is it could have done much more systematic analyses of exactly what kind of language Japanese, Chinese and all the other, certainly the other major nationalities, actually needed in relation to the kinds of assignments that they would be given in their departments, so that would have meant not bloody stupid exercises out of books, but going to actual assignments, written in the department, and researching just what the linguistic demands were and then developing the whole grammar, the structure element of the course, on the basis of authentic, written scripts* (Interview, September 30, 2010).

Research on the downwardly mobile is noticeably paucious, which perhaps betrays a researcher preference for success than in understanding the causes of failure. Implicit in the focus on success, of course, lies failure as a bipolar construct, but Cannon & Edmonson (2005, p. 302) also note that informants typically wish to hide failures in order to maintain their self-esteem and protect their social standing in the workplace. Nevertheless, there are some influential studies that have stood the test of time and complement what I uncovered during field observations. Mack's (1957) study and Wilensky & Edwards' (1959) work find that people on Sinking BLEAP trajectories, who Wilensky & Edwards identify as 'skidders', are typically well-educated but espouse work values and beliefs that are less progressive than those of their superiors. Skidders/Sinking BLEAPs are often influenced by intergenerational or parent-like older colleagues who have steeped Sinking BLEAPs into ideals that are at odds with those of management. My own observations and interviews with Sinking BLEAPs also found that they operated from idealized beliefs about the HEI being a place that should value alternative viewpoints and liberal intellectual debate. They refused to accept that, apart from displays of diverse streams of thought in public academic forums permitted in order to foster an image of the HEI as a place of creative intellectual excellence and innovative educational quality, persistence in dissenting viewpoints behind-the-scenes would be interpreted as a direct challenge to the HEI authoritarian paternalists who have a stake in the Tertiary EAP unit. Sinking BLEAPs

do not understand that those who have raised them up have also established the rules for how they should obey.

Others (Rouleau 2005 ; Rouleau & Balogun 2011) have highlighted this lack of political acumen among the downwardly mobile. Baddesley & James (1987), in their managerial typology, identify those who are politically unaware yet seeking to be faithful to ideals out of step with their organization as Sheep, while those who lack political awareness, who play the wrong games and who are generally inept in their work as Donkeys. By failing to acquire the ideology of Command & Control, and through their stubborn unwillingness to implement administrative plans for the EAP unit, such Sinking BLEAPs end up making asses of themselves, with the added effect of coming across, as one Command & Control informant put it:

Informant: *Paranoid.*

GH: *Who, who told you that?* (laughs)

Informant: (laughs loudly) *Well, if you turn the recorder off...*

GH: *Ok, yeah. That's an interesting one for me. What, what do you mean by paranoid?*

Informant: *Well, uh, I, I, uh...may, perhaps it was because I was a uh, um...I was thinking of a very specific...uh, person.*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *Uh, who was an administrator. Of a, of a language program...who, that was his primary problem...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...was that he was, uh...um...he, he was paranoid about...*(drops pen)...

GH: *What did he not do, he not trust people, or...?*

Informant: *Uh, uh...yeah. He, he did not trust people. He, he assumed that no matter what...either superiors, or subordinates were off to him with a question or concern that it was an attack on him.*

GH: *Oh.*

Informant: *...and of course his program personally...and so he reacted...defensively to things...sometimes, and often irrationally...uh...about, about things.*

GH: *Hmm.*

Informant: *Uh, because he was just, just convinced that...you know, that...well, they're out, they're out to get me and the program* (Interview, November 29, 2005).

Other observed 'non-practices' by Sinking BLEAPs, which are supported both by More (1962) and Rouleau & Balogun (2011) were as follows:

● Failure to seek out powerful patrons in Command & Control

● Failure to engage in regular displays of respect towards powerful patrons

● Failure to maintain ongoing discourse with powerful patrons

● Experiencing sharp fluctuations in workflow, with a resultant loss of profitability. As will be seen in later chapters, a decrease in student numbers indicates to corporatized HEI management that the BLEAP is inept.

● A composite of perceived failures and disappointments leading Command & Control to conclude that the BLEAP had been more useful to the HEI as a TEAP.

Most Sinking BLEAPs were rarely sacked outright. Instead, they were demoted by having additional layers of bureaucratic authority placed above them, which effectively was a sentence to organizational exile.

While the heart of most Sinking BLEAPs remained with their TEAP compatriots, there was another type that was essentially extremely talented people who were incompatible with the hidden cultural values of the HEI. Some of the HEIs in my fieldwork observations, such as Alpha University, were extremely bureaucratized

institutions with deeply entrenched groups of suspicious, tenured teachers and an embittered administration that had been recently empowered with a new corporate-style mandate. Although the Sinking BLEAPs observed in this situation could have been Transactional or Upwardly-Mobile at another institution, in their present institutions they became little more than cannon fodder in the no-man's land between warring factions. Some burned out from the ever-increasing numbers of dream projects being assigned to them by both administrative and academic members of Command & Control, while others, inspired by idealized visions of a better future for the HEI, became professional kamikaze -- organizational suicide bombers who infiltrated bunkered academic units on behalf of administrative management, only to self-destruct their careers during the short time they were with the unit. Such Sinking BLEAPs were often young, inexperienced, expendable and eminently replaceable. Of this type of BLEAP, only a few were demoted back to the status of a TEAP. Some felt unable to leave the HEI because of financial, familial obligations and/or age considerations. Others saw the writing on the wall and left to search for positions elsewhere. At the end of the Sinking BLEAP trajectory, leaving the HEI is often the best option, because in my five years of field observations, TEAPs never reaccepted a Sinking BLEAP as one of their own.

This typology of BLEAPs may strike some as stark, but it must be emphasized that I do not affix any moral judgments on the strategies of Blended EAP Professionals. They are caught in the middle in an era of economic starvation, a time when HEIs have turned carnivorous. During the process of corporatization, the old and weak do not survive. Entrepreneurial managers begin to eat their young – that is – to exploit and even to burn out their best and brightest on campus. Often with few, if any, organizational defenses, BLEAPs are simply trying to survive. The Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP seeks solace in Command & Control, unaware perhaps that the dynamics of upward mobility, transactionalism and sinking trajectories are equally a feature of professional life in the higher organizational realms. Transactional BLEAPs should not be seen as particularly devious. They are normal people blessed with sunny

dispositions and who have learned how to make the most of ambiguous organizational spaces. Sinking BLEAPs, as mentioned earlier, are often highly talented people caught in an organization that espouses values and a worldview that is out of sync with their own.

5.5 Social Processes of BLEAPs in Corporatized HEIs

The discussion of prime objects now converges upon a presentation of the heuristic model of my critical grounded theory. Apart from the daily upkeep of the APM and bridging activities between TEAPs and Command & Control, the overriding processes in which successful Blended EAP Professionals in Corporatized HEIs engaged were as follows: *Hunting and Gathering, Weighing and Measuring,* and *Molding and Shaping.* These give greater understanding about the core social process which emerged from my study of the informants, which was that of *Struggling to Manage and Lead* (Figure 35).
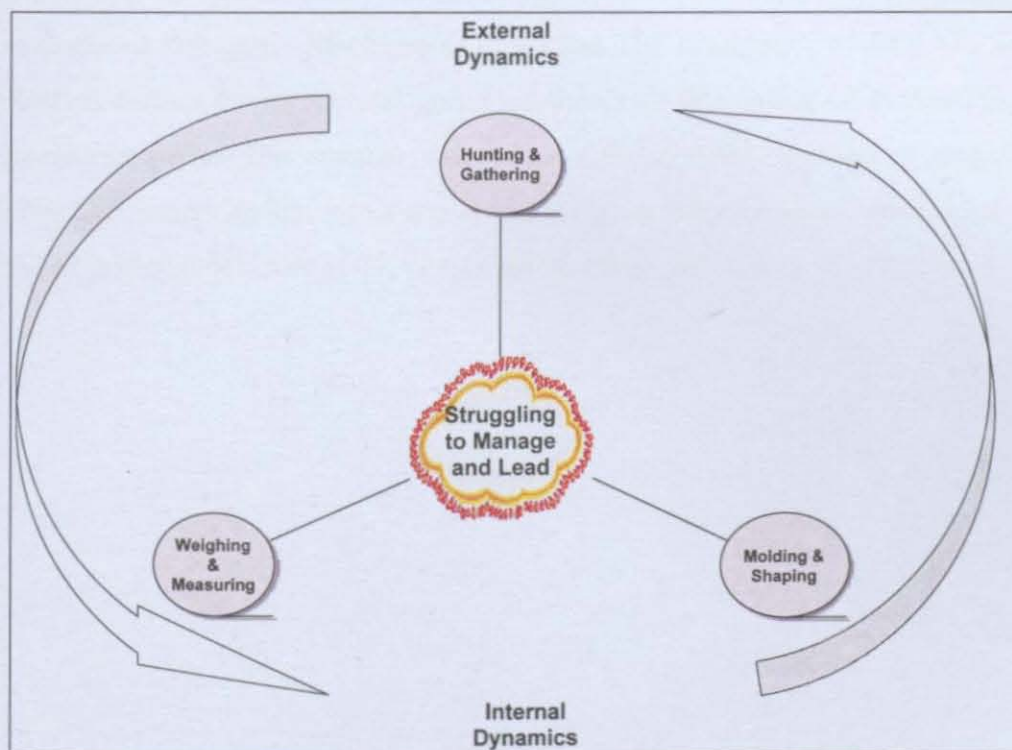
Figure 35 Social Processes for Blended EAP Professionals

191

This system has been construed autopoietically, which readers will recall from earlier chapters, means that each process feeds into and receives sustenance from the other. These processes are subject to the influence of internal and external pressures caused by the larger social currents and prime objects considered in this chapter. All are equally essential; all are necessary for the BLEAP's management of Tertiary EAP units.

The next three chapters will focus on these social processes, their supporting properties, the manner in which TEAPs are being managed and retooled, and ways in which international students are being utilized at corporatized HEIs. I will study how Upwardly-Mobile, Transactional and Sinking BLEAPs seek to accomplish these three processes. The closing chapter will then consider the basic social process.

5.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has employed Kubler's notion of prime objects to present The Development of HE as a Vocational Incubator within the Decline of Culture, The Rise of Automated Pedagogic Machines (APMs) and The Emergence of BLEAPs as key contextual factors for my critical grounded theory of Blended EAP Professionals in corporatized HEIs. The ensuing discussion will hopefully provide a meaningful context and greater insight into a social world that, while having an enormous impact upon the professional lives of TEAPs, is one to which they rarely, if ever, gain access.

Chapter Six

Hunting and Gathering

6.1 Introduction

In the last chapter, I highlighted how major policy shifts over the past forty years have resulted in drastic reductions in public support for HE, which was then followed by the corporatization of tertiary education, the manifestation of top-down administrative practices, uncertain roles and work conditions for faculty, and a transformation in the purposes of Higher Education. In the current era of austerity, BLEAPs responsible for Tertiary EAP programs in Mass Providers continually struggle to find resources:

> **GH:** *What's the main issue, what's the main problem that plagues the program, in your view? If you don't want to use a negative word like 'problem' ...*

> **Informant:** *No, no, that's fine.*

> **GH:** *What's the main challenge?*

> **Informant:** *I would say...getting enough students interested to come and be a part of the program, so that the program has a life of its own and there's a different dynamic when you've got a dozen students to when you have seven, or eighteen when you have nine or something. And as you know, some of those things you can articulate and some of those are just the feel and things, and you're able to do things and your experiences are greater when you have a larger number. And it's better for Polaris, I think it's probably better for NUGIS. So I see the number one problem, I guess we'd call it recruitment and enrollment* (Interview, November 27, 2006).

Over time, repeated contact with this 'number one problem' in all the research sites led me to label this range of BLEAP activities as *Hunting & Gathering*. Though none of the BLEAPs had thought of their work in these terms, upon reflection, they found it to be an accurate metaphor:

> **GH:** *I'm kind of looking at sometimes the universities and about this whole international student thing is in terms of a, say pre-industrial world. They've*

got administrators really serving on campus as the hunter-gatherers. They hunt, they gather to feed their tribe. What do you say to that?

Informant: (long, thoughtful pause, then with slow realization) *Yeah.*

GH: *And within that, I'm thinking well, if the administrators are the hunter-gatherers, ESL teachers seem to see themselves as the bottom-feeders, or corporate warriors, or the warrior caste is the administration, the hunter-warrior. The ESL teachers see themselves as, you know, the bottom-feeder. They get the leftovers. They don't bring in... they don't, when they go out hunting, they don't... they don't bring in lots of things. These are all metaphors.*

Informant: (leaning back, still thinking) *Sure.*

GH: *Metaphors highlight one aspect, and of course distort that and then they ignore other aspects...Anything come to your mind when I'm talking about that sort of stuff? Does it fit? Does it not fit? Is it too way out?*

Informant: *No, it fits. If anything, it drives... it drives my perception of... of globalization and what that means. I mean, when you're... when you're out seeking skills that will improve you in some way, and improve your capability to...*

GH: *...make money...*

Informant: *...earn money, and when money is the goal...And I think it goes back to that age old question of, you know, economic systems and social systems, and how they interact and interplay, and so I think we're... it's a... we're living in a manifestation of a capitalist sort of free market economy that allows people to go anywhere and everywhere, to take whatever they want if they've got the capital to do that. And ESL is a part of that. So I go out and I create demand and recruit students to bring them here.*

GH: *You're like the head of the tribe. You go out, you go out and hunt, and bring them back, and that's it?*

Informant: (with quiet intensity of the realization) *Yeah.* (Interview, November 6, 2008).

Key properties of Hunting & Gathering that I have chosen to focus upon in this chapter are those of *resource prospecting, investment servicing, resource leeching* and *milking cash cows* (Figure 36).

195
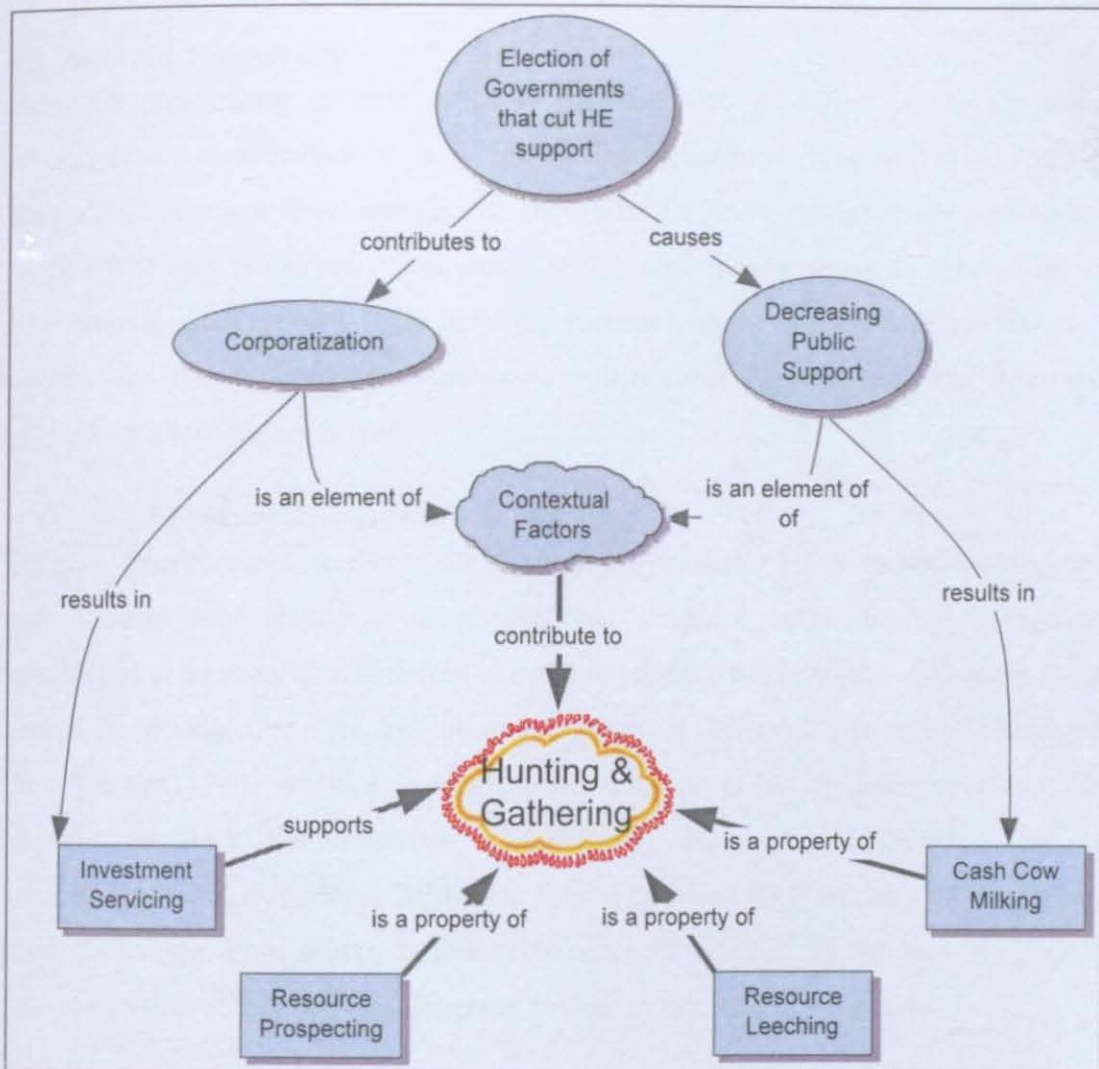
Figure 36 Network of Theoretical Codes Linked to Hunting & Gathering

The figure only shows primary relations, for as one delves deeper into each property and supporting conditions, many tended to blend or lead into one another (see Appendix E). People often seek to accomplish more than just one thing through their symbolic interactions, but for the sake of clarity, I have simplified the properties uncovered during the course of my research. In this chapter, each is considered in further detail, and I also discuss how EAP stakeholders interact with these properties.

6.2 Resource Prospecting

Resource prospecting consists of three key activities. The first is seeking what administrators sometimes refer to as 'resource enhancements'. The next is in securing dependable resource flows and finally, successful BLEAPs engage in the cultivation of potential new resources. 'Resources' in this case means primarily the tuition of international students, but other benefits, such as positive PR, prestigious external awards for the program and low-cost multicultural opportunities for domestic students, are also highly prized.

6.2.1 Seeking Resource Enhancements

Seeking resource enhancements for EAP in corporatized HEIs means looking for opportunities that attract extra international students, often through programs considered to be somewhat different or more innovative than traditional avenues. This search is stimulated by the institutional memory of Japanese international students from the late 1980s when, as a result, many EAP programs at mass-provider HEIs experienced their first flush of cash-carrying international students. This is interrelated with a commonly held view among frontline EAP workers of East Asian students having more access to unfettered amounts of cash. In the past, the iconic image was that of the moneyed Japanese student as one BLEAP explains:

> *...and for Japanese students, quite honestly, our Japanese students that come here, you know, buy cars immediately, and have $150 sneakers on their feet and all that sort of stuff. I mean those that were getting sort of the... well, regular Japanese students, which are wealthy in comparison to other international students* (Interview, November 5, 2008).

In recent years, however, the image of naive cash-laden Asian students has shifted to Chinese students, which is not surprising given China's economic growth over the past decade. The following are the observations of a TEAP:

> **Informant:** *We had a [Chinese] student that lost his wallet and, 'I have lost my wallet, what should I do?' So I said, 'OK, well let's go...' We went down to the Communications Office and one of the instructors had picked up his wallet*

197

in the men's restroom and turned it in down there. 'Oh thank goodness you found it.' He opened it up; he had $3,000 of cash in there.

GH: *Wow! So he lost his bank account as well.*

Informant: *Yeah. And the other Chinese student had the same thing and I told [the EAP administration] that...they just don't really care. But the students don't understand that you can't do that in the US* (Interview, October 26, 2009).

The Hunting & Gathering of international students is seen as a strategy for recouping the shortfall caused by decreasing public support. Long-term international students are preferable, not simply because of the financial benefit to the university, but also because they bring an important element of diversity, internationalism or multiculturalism to domestic monolingual student populations. Multicultural diversity is an important resource enhancement because this is seen to be an important element missing from the education of domestic university students, especially as the world economy becomes increasingly integrated. A highly-visible multicultural element also demonstrates to stakeholders and rival HEIs that the university is a successful player in the global marketplace (Tobenkin 2007 ; Forrest 2008). This section considers strategies, studies short-term, 'schoolstay' programs as important resource enhancements for corporatized EAP units, and provides examples of how resource enhancement is approached in Japanese HEIs.

When BLEAPs in US and UK HEIs sought resource enhancements, two main strategies were observed. One was to work externally with the sometimes shadowy world of international student recruiters. The second was to break down the institutional barriers to recruitment created by the TOEFL and IELTS.

I was unable to find out much from my informants about their personal dealings with international recruiters. Whenever the topic was raised, the tenor of the interview darkened, and informants sought to redirect the interviews. What I was able to gather over time was that most recruiters live abroad in lucrative overseas markets, where

198

they scout out potential students on behalf of the university. Some may sell names of students to the HEI paying the highest commission. The price is often based on a percentage of the expected profits gained from the successful recruitment of these students, and recruiters may attempt to steer students towards HEIs offering the highest return for their recruiting efforts (Robison 2007).

Figure 37 Typical Training Seminar for Managing International Recruitment

Kallur (2006) cites additional issues that BLEAPs face when working with overseas recruiters, many who ethically are at odds with the branded image of the receiving HEI. Recruiters sometimes make promises to students that EAP programs cannot

keep, and many recruiters are unwilling to provide any follow up once students transfer to the university. Because the fees they request for their services are often quite high, more universities are sending BLEAPs and related administrative professionals to seminars specifically designed to train them in how to handle overseas agents (Figure 37). Other universities are seeking to cut out these middlemen altogether through 'e-recruitment' and word-of-mouth chats of former students via the Internet (Hawley 2005 ; Darrup-Boychuck 2007 ; Klafter 2008). The use of these referrals is a part of Investment Servicing, another hunting and gathering property soon to be discussed.

Although outside the scope of this thesis, the ethical problems HEIs face when dealing with international student recruiters is beginning to garner attention in other academic fields (Considine 1994 ; Svensson & Wood 2007), and the EAP community would also benefit from a critical consideration of this issue. Regardless, however, whether it is an agency or a specific individual, the international student recruiter is vital for the successful enhancement of resources. At both Wensleydale and Polaris, the EAP programs went through periods of severe crisis and risked major restructuring after losing their overseas operatives:

> **Informant:** *...we received sometimes a quota of students from particular universities and there was a very friendly relationship and ... in one sense it was beneficial. However I wouldn't say it was a major force for building up our international network.* <Chuckles> *The primary purpose of the program from the university's point of view was no doubt finance raising.*
>
> **GH:** *Making money.*
>
> **Informant:** *Making money.*
>
> **GH:** *Did you have, yourself, did you have any communications with the...I suppose...coordinator or person who would send the students? Or did they come through a recruiter? Or how did the students come from those different universities?*
>
> **Informant:** *We had one major agency, which sent us a lot of students, and then other students would apply individually. The problem occurred when that*

agency went into decline and we weren't receiving so many students through them. That was the start of the overall downward trend.

GH: *That's interesting that you say that.*

Informant: *Uh-huh. I can't even remember the name of the agent involved, but they were very good and they generally provided us with something like ten students a year. And they were obviously promoting us well and we were pricing the package correctly. But they also, I think what happened in terms of the agency is they lost some of their staff, they'd been headhunted or something, I have no idea.*

GH: *Who knows.*

Informant: *But that broke the continuity. They had new people in who weren't as good as the previous people. And we lost quite a few customers that way at that time* (Interview, September 12, 2006).

This informant and other BLEAPs still made regular visits to recruitment fairs in key market countries, but without an asset connected to the local culture, such trips often ended in disappointment.

During the era when state and national universities received greater public support, TOEFL and IELTS were important barriers in preventing international students from entering the system until they could cope with the linguistic challenges of studying abroad. Today, however, with the exception of the more prestigious HEIs with a surplus of applicants, my study found that the TOEFL/IELTS barrier has become considerably more negotiable. Some of the permeability of this barrier has taken place because of the proliferation of tests and the difficulty of finding exact conversions. For example, there is a TOEFL Paper-based Test (TOEFL PBT), TOEFL Computer-Based Test (TOEFL CBT) and an Internet-based test (TOEFL iBT). Each use different scoring systems to measure similar bands of language proficiency, but these scores are difficult to match both between themselves and when trying to convert them to the grading system of the IELTS. This has opened the door for ambiguity. Many EAP units have standards decided by those in the lower echelons of Command

& Control, who unfortunately may not fully understand what the test measures indicate:

Informant: *...we work with agents. And China is going to be wrapping up. I mean, that's going to be where are... that will be our number one student population. But it's not only just ESL students. Some come through ESL, some come for regular bachelor's degrees right from the start.*

GH: *Oh, so they've already got the TOEFL score?*

Informant: *IELTS.*

GH: *Or IELTS you're allowing people to come now with IELTS?*

Informant: *Yes.*

GH: *You are? Well, I'll be. So what do they need to get here?*

Informant: *5.0.*

GH: (incredulous) *They need 5.0 to get here with IELTS???*

Informant: *I've told admissions that they need to set that higher. Because that band is just too low.*

GH: *Yeah, it is. They... they can't get into a British university unless it's... I think it's got to be 7.0.*

Informant: *Ours is 6.5 for grads, 5.0 for undergrads, and I... I said it really needs to be 5.5, but for what we are facing, yeah, 5.0.*

GH: *You know, that's lower than the TOEFL 500?*

Informant: *Yeah, I know.*

GH: *So a student... a student could...*

Informant: *I don't know why.*

GH: *They probably think TOEFL 500, IELTS 5.0?*

Informant: (Grimly) *This is admissions making a decision.*

GH: *Well, that undercuts the competition, because UK schools will not be able to compete with that.*

Informant: *Yeah. So we're recruiting a wider swath* (Interview, November 5, 2008).

A cursory survey on the Internet of TOEFL and IELTS conversions for several British and American university EAP programs revealed similar discrepancies. However, a more purposeful strategy for getting around the difficulties caused by TOEFL and IELTS for resource enhancement has been through the acquisition of outside accreditation for university EAP programs, such as from the British Council in the UK. The US system is less centralized in this area, but the Accrediting Counsel for Continuing Education and Training (ACCET) or the Commission on English Language Program Accreditation (CEA), both which are recognized by the United States Department of Education, are standard.

During the course of this research, Polaris and Wensleydale either gained this certification themselves or started to collaborate with other Tertiary EAP programs and/or private language institutes holding one of these certifications. International students who pass the requirements of the program can then either enter the university or one of the other HEIs in the partnership group without taking the TOEFL or IELTS. These students usually enter the university with a status of 'conditional acceptance'. This stipulates admission to a degree program so long as students continue to study EAP. Making sure this takes place often leads to negotiation. Observe the phone exchange between one Transactional BLEAP and a department admissions professional that took place in the middle of an interview:

Informant: *...What we can...OK...Yes we've got a whole range of lunchtime classes, we've got a whole range of one-to-ones, we do one-to-one appointments, we do lunchtime classes as well, we do inter-departmental work too. I don't know if you're covered by that, but if she was around she'd get quite a lot of support from us.*

OK ...

Well yes ... OK. Actually I'm anticipating her arrival now so what I'll do is I'll say that if you were...if she was to be successful she would have to, we would have to insist that she came to one-to-one classes and lunchtime classes.

We'll pay out the money maybe! Internal market that one...

Oh god, yeah! Alright, OK, well look...so shall I...I'll tell her that and I'll hammer that home and then if she's accepting, I'm sure she will be, I'll lay it on the line pretty close, and then should I suggest she comes down to see you at some point over the next few days?

OK. So I can say, suggest to the student that she comes and sees [the person in charge of course admissions]? *Would I need to make, would she need to make an appointment?*

OK. OK. Alright, alright, I'll do that, and I'll lay it very much on the line that this is, if you do that etc. it's conditional upon her staying with us. That's, that's very...that's very helpful [name redacted], *I'll do that, and it's nice to talk to you. Any problem, you got...if there's any problem my number is* [redacted]...*and I'm here for the next, well, week and a half in this room sorting people out!*

Absolutely, but the good thing is I've got a holiday at the end of it!

Where have you been?

Ooh, is it nice?

Soon to be not coming back maybe! <Laughs>
You wouldn't care. Well I'm going to [redacted] *in a couple of weeks, so ... I usually go there. [redacted], it's the big ... the bit south of* [redacted].

Thanks [name redacted] *then. Alright, bye bye.*

<End of call>

(to GH): So the state of play at the moment is I'm going to send an email to this girl when it's appropriate, and then just explain the situation, and then probably [what] *they'll do is invite the ones they think are going to be successful...might have a chance of getting in, for a meeting. Each department does it in a different way. Some people, like the previous person just said, 'cause it's Civil Engineering, she failed by three so they said, 'Well you*

know...will they come and attend your classes?' I mean she's more or less in I would expect, but again it depends entirely on the department. Some people there's actually no point even phoning them up, 'cause they won't let you in, but I do it.

GH: *Really?*

Informant: *Yeah, they're very, very strict. It depends entirely on the department. It depends entirely on the number of st...you know. There's a certain degree of latitude with some people that you don't get with everyone, but you've just got to take it on a case-by-case basis.*

GH: *It sounds like a tough job, I mean you've got a week of...what's the hardest thing about this next week for you? What have you got to do to get through this week, with the students and everything?*

Informant: (Suddenly taking a suspicious air) *you've just got to do it...*

GH: *I mean you got all these different students, different departments ...*

Informant: (looking to papers and appearing to want to finish the interview) *It's alright, it's just practice. I've been doing it a long time* (Interview, September 19, 2008).

My questions inadvertently approached something that this Transactional BLEAP valued deeply, whether it was a secret for getting the job done or something related to personal satisfaction. Like the metaphorical octopus, in a cloud of sudden busyness, he disappeared, never to be interviewed again. Nevertheless, whatever the artifice that was used, my observations after teaching several summers on the EAP program have been that, of the students who failed the EAP summer course, almost all were eventually allowed into their desired departments. While their language proficiency did improve over time, it was usually not dramatic improvement. Regardless, however, other informants told me that the ability of their EAP unit to bring in a considerable number of students was seen as a major strength, and this solidified their position on campus as a program that contributed positively to the overall health of the university. In contrast, I observed another EAP unit go through several years of difficulty in recruiting large numbers of international students. Informants from

Command & Control often expressed displeasure when I asked about the low enrolment during interviews.

Another important resource enhancement comes through the development of short-term programs. I call these 'schoolstay programs', since they provide only a flavor of American or British academic life, and similar to homestay programs, students pay for the security of being within a respected foreign institution that provides much-needed structure and meaning. The finer details of schoolstays vary, but most send groups of students to America or the UK for periods as short as two weeks to as long as a year. In all cases, the partner HEI in the sending country works as the international recruiter for the host university. Many Japanese HEIs have set up these types of programs, which emulate the model established by Tokyo's Asia University in the late 1990s (Hadley 1999).

Schoolstay programs are very attractive to BLEAPs in the US and UK, as they often bring financial resources for the EAP unit and provide campus diversity at a bargain. The students spend most of their time in the EAP program and rarely disrupt other classes or incur costs to the HEI by accessing campus services. Schoolstay students are often put on highly visible 'service learning' projects in order to provide language opportunities or other intercultural experiences for all involved. Such service learning projects provide free PR for the university. On campus, schoolstay students are sent to official events aimed at stimulating exchange with domestic students, which are then conspicuously reported by those in charge of public relations. Articles of such events are then published to showcase the dynamism and global reach of the university to outside stakeholders.

BLEAPs frequently told me how schoolstay programs have started to become increasingly important marketing items for their HEIs. They are quick to respond to inquiries from East Asian HEIs. Observe, for example, the response from the director of an EAP program to an inquiry from NUGIS about schoolstay opportunities. All program and place names have been either redacted or altered:

Thank you for your contact, and consideration of the Interchange *program. Unfortunately, I will be recruiting in Asia at the time of your visit here, but I wish you a pleasant and productive time in* [the American Midwest]. *Please keep in mind, as you explore* Epsilon University, *that the main campus in is* Central City, *an hour from* Flatland University, *and* Interchange *is an independent affiliate of* Flatland University. *We issue our own I-20's, we are CEA accredited, which means we are recognized by the US Department of Education. Our staff include* [redacted], *who taught for eleven years in Japan, and his wife* [redacted], *who taught there for five years. I taught myself for one semester at a university near Nagoya, though I have also taught in Korea, Taiwan, and the Middle East for more extensive periods. I think we fit the bill for the program you have described, and we would be delighted to discuss this with you should you feel we remain a program of interest. If not, it was a pleasure to hear from you* (Informant email correspondence, February 23, 2010).

Apart from financial and multicultural concerns, schoolstay program participants are valued for the enthusiasm and energy they bring, which is often missing among international students who have been on campus for an extended period. A BLEAP explains:

GH: *What is this overseas program? What is it?*

Informant: *Hmm. For...for...for us?*

GH: *Yeah. For you.*

Informant: *For me, the overseas program is an integral part of our internationalization of* [place name redacted]...*it's a program that brings students...uh...from different parts of the world, and it really actually in an unintended way serves as a...a equalizing force in some way against our gen -- our general international population. You bring in students that are highly energized...and they are...You know, they aren't just...bumps on a log...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...these are students that come in and they're excited and ready to go. They've been prepared.*

GH: *The regular international students are bumps on a log sometimes?*

Informant: *Uh, yeah. Can be.*

GH: *Hmm.*

Informant: *...I think that students that come in a group are, are, are led all the way through...with leaders, and I think that sets them up, to be...actualized in a way that the other international students are not.*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...so what they do is...uh...they come in with this confidence and energy...but actually, shows the other students -- and they come in but their English is not as good as a...uh, an exchange student from Europe...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *You know, someone that comes from the Netherlands is going to be...much more communicative than, than, uh, your Japanese student...but they have this energy and the ability to sort of...pull those students together. So that's, one of those...uh...extra benefits of the, of the overseas program.*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...and so, what I see it as is...for us it's a critical part of what we're trying to accomplish on campus...*(Interview, May 10, 2006).

Interviews with Japanese Command & Control administrators and BLEAPs suggest that the search for resource enhancements is distinct from what I observed in the US and UK. Although, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the recruitment of primarily Chinese students is beginning to increase in Japan, administrative informants have told me that at most universities, there is a desire to avoid such recruitment if possible. Japanese HEIs, especially the Sausage Makers, who recruit large numbers of international students, are viewed by rival schools as experiencing financial problems. It also indicates to them that domestic student customers have chosen to shop elsewhere, and that the status of the HEI is in decline. Smaller HEIs such as NUGIS also view the recruitment of international students as costing more than any potential benefits that might be had, as one Command & Control administrator explains:

インフォーマント：他の大学では、国際交流センターとか、他の...例えば[redacted]では exchange student centerとかね、international student centerとかあるけどもこの大学は特別にこのセクションだけのオフィスがないから学務課、とか例えば、会計、総務を含めた普通の事務の組織の中で対応している。

Informant: *At other universities, they have an International Exchange Center or...at other...for example, at* Polaris *they have an exchange student center, something like that, right? International student center or something like that, but at this university we don't have a special office section for that in administration...for example, accounting, general affairs all included with others deal with these issues...*

ハドリー: それはなぜでしょうか？
GH: *Why is that?*

インフォーマント：まず、留学生の受け入れ体制が十分にできていない。受け入れるという体制の整備がまだできていない、ことがあるから。送り出すだけだから組織としては今の対応が、人的な要素、例えばコストパフォーマンスとか、例えば人間をたくさん雇わなくても今のスタッフで処理ができる。

Informant: *First of all, we haven't properly prepared for receiving international students. Because we haven't set up a maintenance system for accepting students yet. This is because we only send them* [NUGIS students] *abroad, the organization can deal with this, but,* [with reference to receiving international students] *there is the human element and for example, the issue of cost performance, but* [for NUGIS students] *even if we don't hire a lot more people the staff we have now can deal with what we need to do* (Interview, May 7, 2008).

More common strategies for BLEAPs in Japanese HEIs are first, to search for resource enhancements by recruiting native English teachers, and second, to send Japanese students abroad on schoolstay programs.

TEAPs perform a role that is similar to that of international students in Japanese HEIs, and are an important marketing item for drawing domestic students. Even boutique trade schools sporting 'international' in their title hire part-time native speakers. Most private and public HEIs in Japan today continue to seek Caucasian instructors from what Holliday (1994) calls the BANA countries (British, American/Canadian, New Zealand, Australia), who holds an MA in TEFL/TESL from one of the many distance-learning schemes run by British and Australian universities. As resource enhancements, these TEAPs are extremely valuable to Command & Control. They

209

provide diversity on campus, and spend considerably more classroom contact hours with students than tenured faculty. They are often younger, more energetic, and in economic terms, can be quickly replaced in the case of labor disputes or a shortfall in profits. TEAPs occupy prominent places in student recruitment literature of corporatized HEIs, with frequent photographs of enthusiastic students interacting with a smiling foreign instructor. These instructors are ubiquitous during 'open day' or 'open campus' activities vital for the Hunting & Gathering of domestic students.

Because TEAPs are hired on short-term contracts ranging from one to five years, there is constant turnover in these posts. BLEAPs spend considerable time Hunting & Gathering new instructors. My own experience in Japan suggests that in larger metropolitan areas, informal networks exist between the BLEAPs at various HEIs for facilitating the hunting of instructors with good records of accomplishment. This is because Command & Control will hold BLEAPs responsible for recommending a TEAP who becomes a liability to the EAP unit, either by not satisfying the wishes of administrative management or student customers. These networks are vital for lessening risk and finding the right type of instructor for the needs of particular HEIs.

The other means of generating resource enhancements in the corporatized Japanese HEI is to send students abroad on schoolstay programs. One Japanese administrator in charge of the daily operation of all NUGIS overseas programs explained their importance as a 'sales point' for attracting domestic students:

> ハドリー: このアメリカ留学プログラムは一体なんでしょうか。
> GH: *So, what in the world is this American Overseas Study Program?*

> インフォーマント : 一体なんでしょうかって？
> Informant: *What is it, you say?*

> ハドリー: どういう動物ですか。
> GH: *What kind of 'animal' is it?*

インフォーマント ：いいコマーシャルとしてやればいい教育としてます、外国に留学できるとか、大学では英語をバックアップしているとか。提携している大学があって安全で、単位がとれて、英語が上手になって。

Informant: *First of all, a good education, as a good commercial, 'It is possible to go to study in a foreign country, and the university will back you up with English study. We have an affiliated university abroad, it is safe, you can get credit at home while studying abroad, and your English will improve...'*

ハドリー: 後で忘れても。

GH: *...even though you might forget it all later on...*

(Laughter)

インフォーマント ：というキャッチフレーズとかそういうのは言えるけど。どうしてもね、ひどい言い方すると、大学というチョコレートのパッケージ。

Informant: *This is sort of thing that is the catchphrase of the program, I guess I would say. But, and it is kind of a terrible way of saying it, but it is saying the university is like a box of chocolate.*

ハドリー: 学生のリクルートのためのえさ？

GH: *Bait for recruiting students?*

インフォーマント ：うん

Informant: *Yeah...* (Interview, June 27, 2007).

For those students that go abroad, the expectation is for them to interact with native speakers, return to the HEI and make positive contributions to the institution. Although students on schoolstay programs may struggle in their personal goal of 'making friends' with domestic students, they often develop long-lasting friendships with other Asian students, and through overseas service learning projects, amass a portfolio of life-long memories. Energized by such 'transformative experiences' (Tran 2009), most NUGIS students return and perform the same role as when they were abroad: of energizing and motivating other students who did not study abroad, participating in a variety of school recruitment drives and dedicating considerable amounts of time to domestic service learning projects, where they share stories of their overseas experiences with high school and junior high school students. These events are, just as they were when abroad, heavily photographed and published in university PR newsletters and other recruitment literature designed to create an image

of the HEI as a dynamic and internationally-minded institution. Such activities are interrelated with Resource Leeching, another property of Hunting & Gathering. First, however, I will continue with a consideration of how BLEAPS seek dependable resource flows.

6.2.2 Securing Dependable Resource Flows

It was already seen earlier that in the published literature of HEI administrative management, words such as 'streams', 'flows', and other lexical items of liquidity are used to describe the mass migration of international students. The use of flow language and references to international students as a consumable resource is an important lexical marker that positions the informant in the organizational matrix. Informants viewing international students in terms of flow tend to be either Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs aspiring to enter Command & Control, or are those who are already occupying a space in Command & Control. The closer an informant is to the Center of Praxis, the more s/he will refer to them as students and address them on a first name basis.

Securing dependable resource flows is stimulated by fears of sudden stoppages that naturally thwart the vital task of flow control, which is defined as the maintenance of resource movement to keep the APM constantly fueled and running. While the direction of the resource flow, which will be discussed later as Flow Management, is determined by those in Command & Control, keeping the flow open and preventing diversions from above as well as stoppages coming from outside the system are BLEAP responsibilities. External stoppages are caused by the ebb and flow of student groups due to national economic conditions. Many EAP units in the 1980s focused primarily on Japanese students to keep their APMs viable, but this threw many programs into disarray after the Japanese market dried up. Some BLEAPs who survived this experience learned to diversify their clientele by seeking out new revenue streams:

But as the enrollment began to go down two things happened at one time. [The BLEAP] *became very interested in adding other students from other countries, especially Turkey and maybe Morocco, and so he went recruiting and brought back a number of recruits from Turkey and so the Turkish students really outweighed the Japanese students* (Interview, November 29, 2005).

Successful BLEAPs recognize that an overreliance on one language group threatens the stability and the security of their EAP unit. The temptation to rely on one group, however, is difficult to resist. I have observed at both Polaris and Wensleydale over the past few years a significant increase in the number of Chinese students, suggesting that, in a manner similar to what happened with Japanese learners during the late 1980s and early 1990s, that the next decade may again witness sudden crises for Tertiary EAP programs when the current Chinese bubble bursts.

Concern about the future supply of student numbers results in a number of BLEAP contingencies. One is to keep money in surplus as a way to stabilize the program during difficult economic times. This is hard to maintain, since informants at some of the HEIs have told me that Command & Control management often recoups EAP surpluses for other campus projects, thus weakening the APM when student flows are disrupted. Another strategy is to avoid an overdependence on schoolstay programs by either keeping them clearly in the 'enhancement' category or, as one informant put it, 'bringing it to the next level.' On many occasions, I was reminded by Polaris administrators about the diminutive nature of the American Overseas Program with NUGIS, and there were times during program negotiations when I felt unduly pressured by Polaris to go out and recruit more students. I thought at first that administrative management was seeking to reshape my role into an overseas recruiter, but after discussing these experiences with Command & Control administrators at NUGIS, I discovered that administrative management in Japan interpreted the demands for more students as positive, explaining that in pressuring me for more students, they felt that Polaris administrators were seeking to upgrade the NUGIS program and bring it more into the mainstream of their operations. In effect, they were

trying to determine the level of commitment, a term synonymous with the degree of return for one's financial investment and the level of reciprocity for services each party is willing to put into an overseas study venture:

GH: (looking at repertory grid) *You looked at the NUGIS-Polaris program and you wrote...commitment?*

Informant: *Right.*

GH: *Well, that's interesting. Tell me about that. What do you mean?*

Informant: *Well, uh...it seems to me that each school and what the program represents in my mind is a commitment, not just to each other, but, but to the students.*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *Um...you know, we're making a commitment to providing certain services ...for a certain fee, if you will, but...but it's not just...you know, ok...uh, you want the uh...you want the Big Mac or you want so that alright there, but it's, it's more than that. And I think that's typically what Polaris does. We tend to go above and beyond and provide and provide and provide and...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...uh, I think we have...uh, and you know we've made a commitment to NUGIS* (pointing to NUGIS-Polaris plaque crafted and awarded by Polaris from an earlier visit)...(mumbles)...*I've got that...the thing over there...*

GH: *Yes, yes...the Polaris-NUGIS Plaque...*

Informant: *Um...yeah?*

GH: *Right.*

Informant: *Uh, you know, we've made a commitment to serving those students and...you've made a commitment to...recruit students to be a part of the program...so to me that's just the word that resonated with me initially...was 'commitment'.*
GH: *Mm-hm. Are you sensing that, that the levels of commitment are...equal?*

Informant: (Sighs and clears throat uncomfortably)

GH: *Or, do you feel some areas of inequity with that?*

Informant: (clears throat)

GH: *Or is, equal and unequal...not even the right sort of thing to put on it?*

Informant: *Yeah. That, that's a good um...(very long pause)...that's an interesting question.*

GH: *Mmm.*

Informant: *Uh...rather than equal or unequal...what did pop in my mind when, when you asked that I think, comes from...as I understand it, from you and primarily from my...visits with you...uh, not only a year ago...but June, when, when we were there, I was thinking before during and after that...goals setting meeting that, that we had.*

GH: *Yeah.*

Informant: *I think that there are varying degrees of commitment by some administrators at NUGIS...*(Interview, November 29, 2005).

Commitment is an important property when BLEAPs seek to secure dependable resource flows, because it is only after the true degree of resource reciprocity is determined that a decision can be made whether to maintain their relationship with an EAP-based partnership venture. John Godfrey, assistant dean for international graduate education at the University of Michigan's Rackham Graduate School in Ann Arbor, explains the reasons for why his university chose to end a schoolstay program with a Chinese university:

> It ended for lots of reasons. We learned that the communication needed to build a partnership of this scale is truly labor intensive. Developing this initiative has required input and commitment from both senior leadership and faculty at every step, and close communication between the College of Engineering and the Rackham Graduate School. Challenges included keeping the program size manageable when the demand in China is so great. Reciprocity was another issue: so far, interest from UM students in a dual degree with a Chinese university has not matched the interest from Chinese students... we have so many students from China here already that it didn't add that much value (Tobenkin 2008, p. 38).

Command & Control informants of receiving EAP programs occasionally mentioned during unrecorded interviews that, from their perspective, traditional student exchanges are more stable than unidirectional schoolstay programs. From the perspective of policymakers at the Japanese HEIs in this study, sending students has greater cost performance, because non-Japanese speaking students represent a resource flow that most Japanese APMs are unable to process.

Another means of securing dependable resource flows is by undercutting competing HEIs in some key area. Often this is accomplished by competitively pricing the EAP program packages. This can quickly attract new flows. However, other strategies must be utilized to insure the continuance of new flows. One is to highlight the issue of safety, an important issue for Japanese as they travel abroad. Leaving the ordered security of Japan for the UK or US can cause considerable anxiety, especially when one considers that media reports in Japan often portray the US and UK as crime-ridden societies infested with underground cells of terrorists. I would hypothesize that mainland Chinese sending their only child abroad would be equally concerned about such issues.

A further strategy for undercutting the competition is to highlight the quality of support services. An example of this can be seen in a report on a recruitment drive for international students at Elon University in the US, where a kind, nurturing attitude towards international students was cited as one of their main reasons for successful Hunting & Gathering:

> John Keegan, director of international admissions and associate director of admissions, travels the world recruiting students, and exchanges dozens of emails on a daily basis with prospects and their parents. 'We would love to enroll 100 more international students;' says Keegan, a 1996 Elon alumnus. The personable Keegan is a persuasive salesman. Chae Kim, 20, a sophomore accounting major from Seoul, South Korea, and her parents got the full treatment when they pulled into Elon on a spring break trip after she spent a year in Jackson, Mississippi, as a high school exchange student. 'He was very

welcoming. He basically told my parents he would look after me while I was here; said Kim. Susan C. Klopman, vice president of admissions and financial planning, says stories like Chae Kim's are 'what has made Elon admissions and enrollment successful. We have been fortunate enough to really make connections with so many of our students. It's getting harder with the proliferation of applications, but a personal relationship is critical for international students ...' They also don't have to worry about getting to or from the airport, 45 minutes away. 'We pick them up, we drop them off at the airport. That's any time that they ask for it;' says Francois Masuka, director of International Student and Faculty Scholar Services. 'We do things I don't think many schools do. The environment is a friendly, brotherly, sisterly type of environment. We cultivate that. You've got to hold more hands here' (C. Connell 2008, pp. 48-49).

Issues such as kindness and safety may pertain primarily to East Asian student concerns, but because these learners represent the majority of those being recruited to the US and UK, personable treatment is important for Hunting & Gathering, and has great potential for drawing potential learners away from other HEIs that appear to be 'unsafe' or 'unkind'.

6.2.3 Cultivating Potential Resources

Resource cultivation is synonymous with a concept known in the literature of international business as 'relationship marketing' (R. Morgan & Hunt 1994 ; Grönroos 2002). Cultivating potential resources, to build upon Harker's (1999) literature review, is defined as either establishing or strengthening rapport with resource people abroad in order to maintain mutually cooperative relationships based on lasting trust and commitment. The goal is to eventually create profitable, rewarding educational ventures. Consider the following e-mail exchange that I had with a BLEAP at Polaris after he had visited NUGIS during an Asian recruitment trip:

> **GH:** *I can only imagine how busy it must be for you right now as you play catch up. Put this at the bottom of your immediate list of 101 things to do:* (long list of items discussed in meetings). *I think that is all for the moment. We enjoyed having you over and I look forward to seeing you this autumn* (E-mail Correspondence April 14, 2009).
> **Informant:** *Thank you for hosting me and making sure my time there was enjoyable. It was really nice of you. I will respond to your points in this e-mail over time. For now, I can say that I plan to teach the TOEIC class. I will also*

meet with the Residential Life assignment officer to get students matched correctly. I will get that ball rolling now. I have sent the (school clinic) *your list of questions and hopefully they will respond soon. The* (University Debit ID Card) *is a student understanding and we will work with them again. I will be in touch! P.S. Please see attached for new fee schedule indicting the omission of the credit bearing culture course* (E-mail Correspondence April 14, 2009).

GH: *Yes, it was really good to have you around. You're certainly a kindred spirit, and you fit in very well within the NUGIS atmosphere. It was like you'd worked here for years! Ok, I'll pass on the new financial plan to* the NUGIS overseas administrative coordinator (E-mail Correspondence April 14, 2009).

Informant: *Haven't I worked for NUGIS for many years?!?!? No, really it feels cozy there, Greg. I appreciate your hospitality and will keep it in mind when Hadley arrives in the fall* (E-mail Correspondence April 14, 2009).

GH: *Sure thing. No need to reciprocate. There is joy in giving! I'll check the student information and get back with you* (E-mail Correspondence April 14, 2009).

Informant: *Thanks Greg! I had a great time there. The only* [non-American] *owned bar I can take you to in town is the bar fridge in my garage, so really enjoyed you taking me out and the productive meetings we had as well* (E-mail Correspondence April 15, 2009).

The e-mail exchange continues for a few more turns to discuss a shared knowledge of a non-American TV comedy program before ending.

Although appearing to be only friendly e-mail banter, cultivating activities like these are serious business. They are vital for maintaining resource flows to EAP programs. Cultivation is less about the direct recruitment of international students and more about the maintenance of relationships with resource operatives. Doing so may result in the development of new flows to the EAP programs and their connected HEI. Cultivating potential resources is an important auxiliary skill for BLEAPs, since recruitment is seen by Command & Control as one of the BLEAP's primary responsibilities. Failing to cultivate friendly and personal relations with key contact personnel abroad, whether they are a recruiting agency or their counterparts at a

partnering HEI, may result in sudden flow stoppages and a subsequent crisis for the EAP unit.

6.2.4 TEAP Response to Resource Prospecting

Resource prospecting by BLEAPs was almost universally condemned by the TEAPs in this study, who frequently portrayed administrative management as caring more about climbing the corporate HEI ladder than either the TEAPs or the students who they had gathered from abroad:

> **Informant:** *But, yeah, it's about money, you know. It's a lot about money. I do find, you know, at least in... in administration, the people that move up maybe don't always have the best interest of the students at heart.*

> **GH:** *What are they interested in? Just money?*

> **Informant:** *No, moving up, you know. Stuck up, step down, you know. But I think it's... I think it's that way everywhere, though, really.*

> **GH:** *Stuck up, step down?*

> **Informant:** *I think so. At least what I've seen.*

> **GH:** *What does that mean, though?*

> **Informant:** *That means... that means kiss the butts of the people above you, and they buy it because they're salesmen, and then the people below you, just don't have to worry about them, you know* (Interview, July 25, 2007).

In the UK, a key lexical item that distinguished where informants stood on this issue was the use of 'mercenary' for describing Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs engaged in acquiring international students as resource enhancements. The following is from a Sinking BLEAP:

> **Informant:** *These are not robots, these are human beings going through ...*

> **GH:** *But maybe they're just seen as a source of revenue I suppose?*
> **Informant:** (muttering darkly under breath) *...mercenary...*

> **GH:** *Mercenary. I've heard that word before a number of times. Mercenary.*

219

Informant: *The university wants international students but doesn't want to provide the care and support needed for international students, put the infrastructure in place.*

GH: *A number of schools seem to be like that abroad. I don't understand the -*

Informant: (with emotion) - *It's foolish, because it backfires in the end!* (Interview, September 12, 2006).

'Being mercenary' is an evocative term since it carries the image of amoral soldiers who fight for money than for a nation or culturally-bound cause. Identifying the semiotic other as mercenary or as a money-and-success-motivated salesman indicates a flashpoint for TEAPs still clinging to communitarian Cold War beliefs about teaching culture to international students. Such terminology casts Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs in the role of the corporate warrior, the Savoy-suited philistine bent upon exploitation. The real picture is far more complex, however, and I found that many of the frontline administrative professionals at all the venues surveyed care as much about international students as the TEAPs, such as in the following example from the University of Wensleydale:

GH: *You're in the international office, you've been in all day, you came back to your flat, or wherever you were living, popped your feet up on the... on the coffee table, and thought, 'Oh, this was a great day.' What would've happened for you?*

Informant: *Okay, that's a hard one. Probably one where I'd had some human interaction with the student, like I'd actually solved a problem for them, and got to know somebody a little bit. Because in those jobs, you churn through people's inquiries, so the nicest bits of the day are the ones where you see a student you know, and you help them out, and they appreciate it.*

GH: *Mm-hmm. You made a difference in their life.*

Informant: *Yeah. And there's a bit of a human face on what you did. Because I mean you do get students that appear at the desk frequently, so there might be ten students who you... well, loads of students who you know by name, and who you say hello to in the corridor, or you know, or who come and chat to you if you're having lunch, and they might come over and sit...so probably*

one where there was some interaction with students rather than just like, 'Yeah, here's the letter.'

GH: *Now, goodbye.*

Informant: *Goodbye, yeah...The best sort of time is if you can solve something, and actually do something for somebody, and it's appreciated, rather than just stamp, go, stamp, go* (Interview, August 28, 2007).

In addition, several of the BLEAPs shared how they suffered internal struggles in Hunting & Gathering international students. They felt saddled with this task by Command & Control, and did it in order to help feed both their EAP units and the HEI at large. They felt pressured to succeed from above and often despised by those below in the Center of Praxis. Such is the case for those working in the third spaces of corporatized HEIs.

6.3 Investment Servicing

Providing positive 'instructional delivery' and other nurturing forms of support in order to ensure greater overseas student loyalty to the HEI is defined as Investment Servicing. Success results in increased resource flows through overseas student referrals. Service properly provided in the present is an investment in the future. In business terms, this practice is simply one of encouraging repeat sales. Some of the wider manifestations of Investment Servicing can be observed in the proliferation of student services on corporatized campuses, which my observations suggest began in earnest in the United States during the mid-1990s, on UK campuses around 2003, and in Japan at campuses starting from around 2006. A report by the Delta Cost Project (Desrochers, Lenihan & Wellman 2010, pp. 17-20) found that in the United States, administrative management at most HEIs, especially the poorer state universities, have significantly reduced funding for instruction and the hiring of new full-time teachers, and instead have put massive amounts of money into student services. Some of the main areas where money is invested can be seen in the hiring of administrative support staff and the creation of attractive entertainment facilities for greater student comfort. In a recent New York Times online debate, Mark Bauerline, a professor of English at Emory University, commented:

221

Colleges need students. They need to attract the best ones they can and hold them until graduation. So they create glossy promos for high school counselors, arrange campus tours for high-schoolers and parents, and showcase the whole 'Campus X experience.' What sells? Colleges promise great teachers and rigorous classes, yes, but what really grabs customers are a state-of-the-art weight room, cool campus events (visiting rock bands, intramural sports), [and] a glistening technology center (Bauerlein 2010).

These are all important investments not only for recruitment, but also for student retention. Ronald Ehrenburg, a professor of Industrial and Labor Relations and Economics at Cornell University and Director of the Cornell Higher Education Research Institute, argues that, according to his research, ensuring that students are satisfied with their campus experiences keeps larger numbers at their present university rather than losing them to a competing HEI. For this reason, 'a reallocation of some funds, even from instruction, to student services, would likely increase persistence and graduation rates' (Ehrenberg 2010).

Within this trend at corporatized HEIs, Tertiary EAP education must emphasize 'student investment for enhanced retention,' because it is often viewed more as a campus service provider working with international students who have been recast into the role of paying customers. Investment servicing requires that BLEAPs and TEAPs must satisfy students in a manner similar to what might be found in the customer service department of a large company. In the words of one informant at a British HEI, '*I think in a professional environment, our attitudes to how we deal with students has changed. Not necessarily here at this university, but at* [redacted] *University, you know, all those very cautious, and I am really cautious when I deal with stuff at our students* (Interview, August 28, 2007). Investment servicing as a property of Hunting & Gathering explains why many BLEAPs in charge of EAP programs frame their activities in terms of recruiting international students in order to serve them, but equally, to serve student in order to recruit more:

Informant: *I'm still out operating in this world of trying to bring money through a system to support the system. Now, I sleep at night because I feel that I'm helping deliver a service to students that they want and need. It's education, it's improvement, and if it's, at this point, which I think in this school, if it's just mere acquisition of content knowledge in an undergraduate degree, then great. If that's what they want, then let's give them the best content acquisition knowledge available.*

GH: *Are you talking about international students?*

Informant: *Yeah, international students coming in.*

GH: *Okay.*

Informant: *And because... so I'm serving... I'm serving them and, you know, and I'm out recruiting them to come here* (Interview, November 6, 2008).

Effective EAP instructional delivery is intertwined with whether overseas students have a sense of well-being. Many BLEAPs firmly believe that the students' affective needs must be addressed first. Only then can second language acquisition take place:

> *I look at the social aspects for the students. I believe that if their...needs are met, then they are, you know...of...they are ready to learn a new language.......they need to become comfortable there. The processes that I lead are the ones that, you know, uh, make sure that they've got everything that they need to then start studying* (Interview, May 10, 2006).

A number of challenges face BLEAPs wishing to use investment servicing as a means of Hunting & Gathering. Many will want to keep their EAP units relatively small to ensure international students are receiving enough care, seeing smaller programs as facilitating more personalized services. This, however, runs counter to the plans of those in Command & Control, who seek to increase the number of students entering HE while hiring as little labor as possible. The result is that BLEAPs find themselves either too shorthanded or too tired to provide the care they would like to give to international learners. In response, BLEAPs may begin searching for those closer to the Center of Praxis for help in investment servicing. This is because seeking this support from traditional faculty at all of the sites in this study ended in failure, as they

223

were able to either send proposals to committees, where pleas for help would slowly die, or leverage their present workload to avoid new tasks. BLEAPs invariably turned to TEAPs, and assigned them with the task of servicing students.

Viewing language teachers as a language service technician relates to what I will discuss later in the chapter on Molding and Shaping, but it was noted during fieldwork observations that the relative success of using TEAPs to service international students depended upon the ideals that each TEAP had about his or her professional identity and their relationship with Command & Control. If TEAPs felt their participation in providing non-language instruction-related services to international students was facilitating the agenda of Command & Control, in a manner similar to the traditional faculty, they would thwart any investment servicing by becoming extremely difficult to find on campus or by raising issues of fatigue related to their present workload.

6.4 Milking the Cash Cow

In late July of 2009, a group of over 500 Indian international students staged a protest outside the gates of Australia's Sterling College. The event, which received international coverage, highlighted the growing problem in recent years at corporatizing HEIs that stems in part from viewing international students as a 'lucrative industry' (Clayfield 2009), through which many international students are being taken advantage of financially, both by university systems and their supporting auxiliary service providers. In the extreme case of Sterling College, the institution suddenly went bankrupt after years of economic mismanagement. All courses were cancelled without a refund, and overnight hundreds of international students were turned into educational refugees: 'We are not here for the milking, we are not the cash cow,' said former Sterling College student Sashi Ray, 'We are here for education' (N. Bryant 2009).

This 'cash cow' metaphor occurred enough times during conversations with informants for me to make a note of it in field memos (See Appendix D). Sometimes

it came up during interviews about international students and EAP, as in this response from a BLEAP to my question about the nature of EAP in corporatized HEIs:

Informant: *...how's it viewed? The phenomenon of ESL, how's it viewed?* (sighs deeply) *Taking out the historical context and why it probably started in the first place...*

GH: *Do you know that?*

Informant: (long, cautious pause) *...I think it was a cash cow for the Japanese. Their English program sent like a ton of students...*

GH: *Really?*

Informant: *...a while back, like in the early 90s, and it just flowed with students and cash...* (Interview, November 28, 2005).

Referring to international students as cash cows is avoided in public administrative HEI discourse, except when criticizing competitors (e.g. Dessoff 2007, p. 27). Nevertheless, I settled on this in-vivo code because it and similar terms, such as 'juicing' or 'squeezing,' were seen by informants as apt metaphors for describing the manner in which corporatized HEI enhance cash infusions from international students by charging extra fees for auxiliary services no longer directly provided by the university. These services, however, are often those that international students either do not need or cannot use because of cultural, religious or linguistic reasons. Milking also includes the practice of inflating prices for campus products and services far in excess of their market value.

When the discussing these issues with BLEAP informants, very frequently the narrative of cuts in public educational support by neoliberal governments would be cited as the primary cause:

Informant: *I think it is a money concern, because the universities have been ... the government has been reducing its financial input into universities ever since Mrs. Thatcher. It's been reducing and it's become that you are a business, you've got a market there, you've got to go out and get your own*

*money, and increasingly the government is reducing that money, and so you
find markets. And what's the lucrative market at the moment? International
students.*

GH: *It's interesting what you're saying there, because I find that ... and I'm
not doing a lot of work on studying metaphors in the traditional sense, but a
lot of administrators that I've spoken to, upper-level administrators, refer to
international students often with metaphors related to food. They call them for
example slices of cake, pieces of the pie, butter on the bread, cash cow, which
is milking the cash cow; but oftentimes they just referred to as 'the numbers'.
It's interesting that.*

Informant: *I've heard things like slice of the cake and so on, that's quite
common. And milking the cash cow is almost derogatory isn't it, really? It's a
very negative term to use.*

GH: *Yes, it is.*

Informant: *Putting it another way, if the government had funded the
universities in the same way that they were doing ...*

GH: *...Twenty-five, thirty years ago...*

Informant: *Yeah, or pre Mrs. Thatcher, then there wouldn't be this huge
drive to get international students to come to British universities* (Interview,
October 31, 2008).

As another informant put it, international students are grouped in 'herds', and because
they are unaware of many aspects of their new country, they are vulnerable to being
quietly milked for extra resources at corporatized HEIs. A TEAP, in discussing these
dynamics, observes that cash cow milking is not only a common practice at Polaris, it
is common in many American companies:

GH: *They're juicing the students then?*

Informant: *In my opinion yes. So they're saying we're not raising tuition, but
actually they're just doing it in other fees. It's just kind of like everything in
the US right now, all the utility companies, 'we're not raising our rates' but
they stick extra taxes on the end but those aren't raising our rates - we're
calling them user fees and they just add them on the end.*

226

GH: *What, you mean since coming here they've got to pay these extra fees now?*

Informant: *Well I mean just it's kind of the way the US whole system is turning, so like our telephone is that way, our cable, our electricity, everything is going to ... I mean 'it's not bad, we're not raising it' but if you notice on the bottom, you say, well you're not raising it, like my cell phone is $40 a month, I'm up to $55 now - $15 of extra fees they just add on the bottom. And that's kind of the way our whole...*

GH: *Well that's just lying.*

Informant: *That's the way ... it's the trend I think in all of those things* (Interview, October 26, 2009).

Cash cow milking also occurs when, as a cost cutting measure, non-core campus services, such as food, lodging and medical care, are outsourced to large corporations. In order to increase profits to their shareholders, these corporations regularly raise the price of their services well beyond the rate of inflation. Each auxiliary service group has its own mechanism and specific practices, so it is less a case of each HEI with a secret cabal of 'cash cow milkers' meeting in darkened rooms to decide upon how to best exploit students. However, corporatized HEIs do act as intermediaries for the transfer of fees to these outsourced companies, and as will be seen below, benefit in the process. These practices were observed at all of the major HEIs, but they were most visible in America. As an American inspired form of globalization continues to reshape British and Japanese HEIs, it is expected that milking strategies will become more visible in the years to come.

6.4.1 Examples of NUGIS Overseas Program Milking

Because much of the milking of international students is diffused through many services on campus and outside the direct purview of EAP, I will not seek to discuss every aspect here. Instead, I will provide only one of the many examples of milking as experienced in the NUGIS Overseas Program, where it has been attempted, largely with success, in tuition, health service and room & board. I then will consider the difficult role BLEAPs have in cash cow milking. The issue of TEAPs and their part in

sabotaging this practice will also be discussed. Exceptions and the conditions facilitating this cash cow milking are at the end of this section.

Constant negotiation has been needed to limit attempts to milk NUGIS students. A couple of years were spent in establishing fair tuition prices, but even then, extra nonnegotiable fees for 'technology' and 'health' soon appeared. Milking was evident through the 'health fee', since it only allowed NUGIS students to enter the facilities, but in order to use the health services, NUGIS students needed to purchase outside special health insurance mediated by Polaris. The BLEAP at Polaris explained the rationale behind such fees:

> **Informant:** *...we're just not getting state appropriations or whatever, and that sort of trickles down. And the end result is I've done exactly the same thing. I've passed costs onto the end user, whereas before, I had absorbed some of them. Some of them we can't do, I mean, I guess what I... to be honest with you, I guess I could take that technology fee and health fee, and roll it into the ESL tuition and just do a sort of 'hidden tax' type of thing.*
>
> **GH:** *Right.*
>
> **Informant:** *And you'd never see it, and I could have left those...*
>
> **GH:** *That's a sneaky move...*
>
> **Informant:** *...and increased ESL tuition, but for me it's better to sort of say here's what... these are the costs that are coming down. ESL tuition stays exactly the same for another year, and these are the additional costs. I'm doing what I can* (Interview, November 5, 2008).

Such admissions are at the juncture between resource prospecting and investment servicing, since the intent is to disarm any ill will raised by milking procedures, to continue bringing in resources for the program and to maintain rapport by portraying oneself as a little fish in a big pond.

Greater difficulties with cash cow milking took place around room and board. The privatization of campus room and board was one of the first cost-cutting measures

instituted by many American state governments in the early 1980s. Since then, virtually all state universities have outsourced their services to one of a very small number of corporations that run this market with near monopolistic levels of control. At Polaris, because of the contractual agreement made between the university and their service provider, all students living on campus were required to purchase an expensive, non-refundable meal plan. All foodstuffs on campus were supplied by the food service provider, and by contract, university faculty and professionals were not allowed to order food deliveries from off-campus restaurants. Because faculty and professional staff had only 30 to 45 minutes for lunch, most ended up eating on campus at prices far higher than what was charged for similar products off campus.

For several years, NUGIS students were unknowingly charged for the most expensive campus meal plan, a high-calorie option chosen by campus athletes and the more fulsome students on the Polaris campus. NUGIS students were returning to Japan embarrassingly overweight and with large unspent surpluses in their meal plans. Unless the surplus was consumed before a certain deadline, the money would be recouped by the food service company without a refund. Frequently, NUGIS students went on spending sprees at the university candy shop near the deadline instead of losing their surpluses.

No one at NUGIS was aware of more economical meal plans until I discovered them by chance. When I brought this to the attention of Command & Control administrators, I was told that they had only wished to insure that NUGIS students did not risk going hungry, and that ultimately, it was my responsibility to discover such alternative options on my own. Afterwards, even while on the lightest meal plan, it was observed that students were still returning overweight and with lost surpluses. I again approached Polaris to see if an à la carte or 'pay as you go' system could be instituted so that students would only pay for what they actually consumed.

I worked my way up to the administrative dean in Command & Control, who ironically was responsible for both food and health services. I crafted my argument to

highlight the conflict of interest in requiring students to purchase more food than they were able to consume, thus causing them to become overweight, which negatively affected their health. This contradiction granted me a hearing, but the request was eventually denied, since the small number of NUGIS students did not warrant the potential expense incurred by making changes. In addition, the corporation controlling food service on campus did not want to allow special rules that could open the door for changes at other universities. The Polaris BLEAP lamented with me about this situation, but the bottom line, I was told, was that the outside vendors wished to maintain a profit margin for their shareholders, some of whom were senior members of Polaris administration. As the BLEAP explained, there was little that Command & Control was willing to do to challenge the situation:

> [the president] *has personally invested in* SuperFeed *as a corporation and it probably would serve me well to do it as well; that's a very, very profitable company and we're doing our good fair share of making sure of that* <chuckles>. *Every university is, that's the nature of it...And they basically, I mean except for your smallest of liberal arts colleges that still run, and they have this the old ideal of the '60s and they've got all their own staffed, benefited people, their full time cooks and servers and stuff and they operate it like that – except for that small percentage everyone is on* MegaEat *or* SuperFeed, *everybody. And just it's the normal operations and the way it is* (Interview, October 27, 2009).

NUGIS was told that their students were free to live off campus, which both sides knew was not a real option, as this raised concerns about student safety and few felt that NUGIS students could deal with the financial costs or linguistic challenges of living off campus for a semester. The offer to 'choose' was understood in its real light – take it or leave it. NUGIS administration begrudgingly took it, but the incident resulted in years of smoldering resentment.

6.4.2 Role of BLEAPs

BLEAPs face a number of challenges with cash cow milking. Depending upon their own beliefs about the social responsibility of the HEI towards protecting international students from exploitation *in loco parentis*, a major feature of 'university of culture'

that has been dismantled in order to pave the way for HEIs to become transformed into corporatized knowledge production centers (Trakman 2008 ; A.M. Cohen & Kisker 2009), they may be tempted to address incidents of milking by other administrative units on campus. BLEAPs who engaged in challenging such activities met significant resistance both horizontally and from above. Exhaustion often resulted from their attempts to protect international students:

> *I'm not trying to make excuses about why it's not happened. There is... there are battles that are chosen to be fought and...I've died on many hills, and fought those battles. I've come across as a principled person on many things, and you move on, because you don't... there's just... there's no win...And you move on, and there's really... that's really sort of how it is. Rightness and how things operate... I don't know how it is at other schools. Maybe it's worse than this. I really don't know. But there are some things where you just go, 'I'm just not going there.' And frankly, it's not my biggest battle* (Interview, October 29, 2007).

In all of the cases that I observed, BLEAPs who challenged milking at their HEI were compelled to desist or risk jeopardizing their career. Those who persisted began their first steps towards a Sinking BLEAP trajectory. Politically astute BLEAPS in corporatized HEIs did not challenge cash cow milking, but instead redirected the attention of students towards the benefits received on campus, and muffled the voice of TEAPs seeking to thwart milking strategies.

6.4.3 Response of TEAPs

Among many of the TEAPs who contributed to this research as informants, apart from their official mission of instructing international students for passing the IELTs or TOEFL tests, one of their self-proclaimed roles was to serve as student advocates:

> *...really, we have kind of... we really have three roles, right? One is, yes, to help them improve language, but that's mostly the student's responsibility. We just provide tools, and... and access. And the second is we work on general study skills and university knowledge, so that they can succeed, because that's a big problem. You know, students come here and they don't know about time management, how American university works. You know, how... what is it a professor's going to... going to expect. How to use the things on campus. That*

231

type of thing. And then our third part is general living... being an advocate, helping more on a personal level (Interview, November 6, 2008).

At all of the venues where I conducted interviews and field observations, TEAPs took an active role of watching out and standing up for students if they felt international students were being exploited by administrative offices:

Informant 1: *...we never find out about it until they've already done it and then we call and say, 'What's this fee for?' We don't find out about any of those so...*

Informant 2: *...Yeah, well we only know about that computer usage fee and the health center fee...*

Informant 1: (grimly)*...the health center.*

GH: (Sighs) *It's always money, every time I come it's always, 'well you know there's just that universities are starved for money, just starved.'*

Informant 1: *Well I think it comes down to the ... I mean we always talk about there's a fine line between ... not fine, there's a grey area between your mission which is supposed to be providing education, and the money situation, you know? At what point do you cross that line and you're no longer really ethical? Because I think that's ... that's kind of, we do that in our department, we're always fighting and...we're advocating... you know. If they're going to charge us if we get the service, otherwise don't charge us, that type of thing.*

GH: *And then you get the students, international students are charged for services they can't access.*

Informant 1: (nodding affirmatively) *Mm-hm.*

Informant 2: *Yes, unless we step up and say... 'No'. Because a lot of times they just say, 'Oh well you just have to do it.' And we say no. I think we're pretty good about finding that, when* Informant 1 *has to do a phone call and then...* (facial expression of bold defiance) (Interview, October 26, 2009).

Such advocacy puts TEAPs at odds with Command & Control and BLEAPs. At Polaris, the contingency strategy was a memo to all international students to direct their questions about any problems to the administrative professionals in the International Office and TEAPs were ordered to restrict their activities to language teaching only.

232

6.4.4 Covariances and Conditions of Cash Cow Milking

A discussion of this property of Hunting & Gathering would be incomplete without a brief consideration of exceptions. At Epsilon University, an American Dreamweaver university with a respected history, well-established endowments and ample funding from generational donors, there were very few examples of the type of milking observed at the younger (and arguably poorer) land grant universities committed to mass production. Only recently had a nominal 'international student fee' been added to the costs of entering their EAP program, and I was told this happened only after serious consternation. Students were informed up front that the fee would be used to cover the cost of helping them with immigration forms and navigating the various service offices on campus. In addition, I was unable to find examples of milking at any of the Japanese universities studied during my field research. Whenever I discussed the practice of hidden fees charged only after students were committed to a program, I was often met with stares of disbelief. Both academic and administrative informants thought that such practices were inappropriate for an educational institution, suggesting that, for the moment at least, the concept of *in loco parentis* may be stronger at Japanese HEIs, especially since most have only recently started to corporatize. I theorize therefore that cash cow milking at the corporatized HEI is more likely to take place in the following conditions:

- In HEIs with significant levels of financial difficulty, which are often hidden from public view,

- Where there is cross-cultural misunderstanding and service misuse by international students unaccustomed to Western capitalist systems,

- With the creep of auxiliary providers to limit purchasing freedom and competition on campus,

- With the tendency of university administration for creating bureaucratic processes aimed ostensibly for the equitable treatment of large numbers of domestic students, resulting in inequities for international students who, because of linguistic, cultural or economic reasons, do not fit the normal parameters.

The risks involved with this form of Hunting & Gathering are that blatant and/or repeated incidents of cash cow milking may become a liability to an EAP unit and its supporting HEI. Once students are made aware of such practices by TEAPs, rapport with the HEI is lost through perceptions of unfairness and exploitation. Future attempts at investment servicing will then usually fail.

6.5 Resource Leeching

BLEAPs frequently work at either the same or at slightly reduced levels of budgeting as in years past, so employing extra help is not an option. More often than not, they are on their own:

> **Informant:** *you know, if I had, I don't know, on the scale of more manpower, there're be a lot more innovative things going on around here...the thing is, is that I think through, sheer workload people are stretched very thin at Polaris and they are left to deal with what they can...I mean I, I would have no incentive at this point to go and do something new right now...all the processes I manage right now are about all, all I can handle...*

> **GH:** *Mm-hm.*

> **Informant:** *...and even probably more so. I've got three-hundred and some odd e-mails a week...*

> **GH:** *Wow.*

> **Informant:** *And I'm still, just, you know, you just, catch up and delete, three word replies and catch up and delete and three wor...you know and that's really all, you know, I really have time for. I've got so many constituents...I've really...I wish I really had a dedicated secretary but uh...I would ra-I would give, if they said they would give eighty thousand dollars or a secretary, I'd say secretary...or a coordinator, actually* (Interview, November 20, 2005).

The problem of having to 'carve out time' is now a common feature of professional life in corporatized HEIs around the world, and one that is seen as a toxic aspect of university life (G. Anderson 2006b). Some BLEAPs attempt to address all the tasks received from both above and below, hoping this will free up time for research or strategic planning. To their rue, they will soon discover that successfully finishing

such tasks often results in receiving even more work, until burnout begins to take its toll:

> **Informant:** (wearily) *I can...sort of, recruit a little bit more for the ESL program. With a little bit of time...try to, get something planned...but when you, when you...don't have more than 30 minutes in a day to devote to sitting down and doing something large and strategic...*
>
> **GH:** *Right, Mm-hm.*
>
> **Informant:** *...and you can carve that out, but...I'm tired. I can carve out three hours here, and I still get every phone call that filters back, 'oh he's in his office, yeah just a second.' You know, and that's training issues and stuff. But I, I would rather...make an impact, with the ESL program, and be able to lobby for that and spend more time...I think that's what I, I see it as...*
>
> **GH:** *Mm-hm.*
>
> **Informant:** (more agitated)...*is that I, that I...I'm not effective because I think the position, just doesn't, allow you to be effective...they need a full-time director over there at ESL...you need someone over there that's going to be, I think, that's going to be innovative, is going to create...a good program that really truly benefits the university on a larger level. That takes, takes a lot of work.*
>
> **GH:** *Sure does...*
>
> **Informant:** *It really is easy to just sort of...sit back on your heels, and, and just, you know...plug, plug the holes. It really is. And that's, and that's really sort of all that you can manage on a day to day basis, is that you, you make sure that things are running that need to be running, and that's what you're doing* (Interview, November 28, 2005).

Simply engaging in the daily maintenance necessary to keep the APM running is often insufficient in the long run, and I observed both at Polaris and other HEIs in the UK and Japan how the weight of this work eventually caused some BLEAPs to become exhausted, embittered, ineffective, and to start on a downward trajectory. BLEAPs must demonstrate that they are satisfying the actual institutional aspirations of the HEI. In order to accomplish this, and still deal with the daily flood of tasks coming from all directions, many BLEAPs engage in what I call Resource Leeching.

The term 'Resource Leeching,' as used in this grounded theory, has similarities to the Internet term of 'leeching', which is when people use software to mine information from other sites and leave only token returns. Resource Leeching, as a Hunting & Gathering strategy, is far more than the economic concept of 'free riding' or of task delegation. It is the purposeful utilization of volunteers, co-workers, educators, students or other talented individuals to accomplish innovative projects and/or to lighten the weight of increased workloads. It is a direct result of the influence of managerial ideas starting in the 1990s that focused upon 'consumer manufacture', a strategy which puts consumers at the end of the chain for goods and services by requiring them to put together the product or to provide any final services for themselves (Huczynski 1992, p. 19). The prevalence of this concept in the early 21st Century can be seen in companies such as Ikea, in automated banking services, automated airline ticketing, and in some retail stores, such as WalMart or Tesco, which urge customers to check out their own goods and to pay in to a machine. The savings to the corporations are significant, and consumers essentially provide free labor for only miniscule cost savings.

In the context of EAP at corporatized HEIs, BLEAPs who engage in resource leeching are often on the lookout for isolated individuals either inside or outside the university who yearn to showcase some talent or ability in exchange for public recognition by the university or some connection to the prestige of the HEI. The benefits to the BLEAPs from Resource Leeching are often substantial, while returns to students recruited for special projects consist of 'connect[ing] their academic studies with real-world experience' (*Service Learning and Volunteering Opportunities* 2010). Observe the excerpt from the interview with a BLEAP at Polaris discussing new rules from the US government regarding the tracking of international students recruited for the EAP Unit:

> **Informant:** *So there's two of us that are located in the International Student Center, and we both report to the dean of students. Both of us make the exact*

same salary. I have 20 hours of assistance a week in producing I20s. Without getting really super boring, immigration regulations have been broadened so that they're more beneficial to some students in the United States, but the heightened reporting requirements that are placed upon international student services offices have basically taken us from one paradigm to another in terms of tracking and maintaining students. The new paradigm is that if those students stay, we track them through to the finish. So we track them through and we're responsible for reporting on their address, when they start and stop any jobs in that training, and where those jobs are. We're required to report all of that.

GH: *To the government?*

Informant: *To the... to the CEVUS database, which is the government. And it's a one-by-one field that full-time, or... well, which paid staff need to do. And it's taken a workload, and I've already gone to the board of... to the... to the cabinet to request funding to go and move that position to a full-time position, and it was denied. And so we don't have that. So what's happened is, is that it's pulled me back into CEVUS and to maintaining CEVUS, and making sure that we're compliant with those immigration regulations, that we're keeping up with those students, and right now, because we don't have, we don't have the money to pay for a really fancy database, I'm working with a project team of Indian Masters of Applied Computer Science students to make a database for us so that we can keep up with all of this, and keep up with tracking students, and from the time that they apply all the way through* (Interview, November 5, 2008).

In this instance, the BLEAP receives a major work increase at the same salary and with a denial of resources to hire extra workers. In response, this informant seeks to lighten the workload by recruiting the expertise of a group of international students, who created a database tracking system that would have cost a considerable amount of money had it been developed by professionals outside the university. Resource leeching is intrinsically motivated by the need to find cheap labor solutions to increased work burdens, and to demonstrate to superiors how the BLEAP can mobilize people in innovative, strategic programs without incurring large financial costs to the institution. Resource Leeching becomes clearer to identify when one ascertains how much a BLEAP or member of Command & Control would have requested in remuneration for the same work that is provided free of charge from

237

students, teachers or other volunteers. The internal and external aspects of Resource Leeching will now be considered.

6.5.1 Internal Resource Leeching

Internal Resource Leeching benefits from marginalized members within the corporatized HEI, such as international students or TEAPs. In the EAP context, leeching of this type is common, since EAP is a primary conduit for international student recruitment. EAP at these HEIs is a means to an end, and so too are the people connected to its functions.

The transformation of EAP from an emphasis on language instruction and cultural inculcation to that of recruitment (at least from the viewpoint of Command & Control) is one result of what will be discussed later in the chapter on the social process of Molding and Shaping, but in terms of Hunting & Gathering, the change in the expected roles of TEAPs and BLEAPs serves important priorities for corporatized HEIs. The multicultural talents and communicative skills of BLEAPs and TEAPs, which were acquired for the task of educating and training learners, are leeched for recruitment. The question of whether TEAPs and BLEAPs equally appreciate the transformation of their roles in this manner is another issue entirely, but from the viewpoint of Command & Control, requiring TEAPs and BLEAPs to pull their own weight and recruit international students is not only practical, it is a valuable contribution to the HEI.

BLEAPs will also be on the lookout for international students willing to aid in Hunting & Gathering. Certainly, some BLEAPs still utilize students in the tried and true 'word of mouth' approach by encouraging international students to recommend friends and family from abroad. There is nothing new here, and HEIs have relied on referrals for as long as there have been universities (Klafter 2008). What has changed, however, has been the focused intent of BLEAPs and Command & Control on actively encouraging the recruitment of students by students.

238

As an example from one of the HEIs in this study, at NUGIS, schoolstay students often return to Japan enthusiastic about their overseas experiences, yet find it difficult to relate to classmates who did not go abroad. This leaves many feeling isolated. In response, one member of the academic ranks of NUGIS Command & Control developed a program similar in scope to the World Expo program at the University of Lawrence in the United States, where recently-recruited international students showcase traditional aspects of their national culture to local residents, and publicly highlight the image of diversity to which the university aspires (Katz 2006, p. 58).

In the NUGIS program, called the International University Instructor Program (or IUIP, see Figure 38), groups of schoolstay students visit local primary and secondary schools. Some of the institutions were those NUGIS students had attended when younger, which gave them an increased measure of respect and rapport at the schools, since Japanese tend to maintain social contacts made at primary and secondary schools long into adulthood. Other school visits were arranged by administrative staff from NUGIS. During the visits, NUGIS students would perform skits, give experiential lessons on global issues and talk to their younger peers about their adventures in the NUGIS schoolstay program.

The IUIP program has provided fresh and engaging educational experiences for young students and has offered a way for NUGIS students to share with others as an 'International Instructor.' However, there are other benefits that were equally important for NUGIS, as I was to learn during scores of faculty meetings and in my role as a faculty member of the university's PR Committee. The gist of these meetings and discussions with administrative managers was that a new approach was needed in recruiting new students. University teachers were not as effective as recruiters, because most were old enough to be the students parents (or grandparents), and this generation gap was keeping them from truly connecting with secondary students and persuading them to come to NUGIS. Another issue was that, unless Japanese High School students have a strong aspiration to attend a certain HEI, most choose a

university based on the advice of their homeroom teacher, who in Japan serves in roles ranging from student counselor to a substitute parent (Shimahara 1986 ; Arimoto 1995 ; Gjerde & Shimizu 1995). Local homeroom teachers were not advising students to go to NUGIS in sufficient numbers.

Figure 38 PR Brochure showing a NUGIS 'International Instructor' with Secondary Students

With these problems at the forefront, even more than providing a creative outlet for schoolstay students, it was hoped that the International Instructor program would serve to reach potential students at a younger age before they had started seriously thinking about a university. Using university students, it was thought, would be more successful, as they could more easily relate to the younger students and become for them a potential *senpai* – an intergenerational elder who leads the younger ones (*kōhai*) in the way they should go. From the magic of those near-peer, *senpai-kōhai*-fueled classroom visits, it was believed that more students would eventually come to NUGIS, making the program an important feeder for the university. In addition, because the schoolstay students provided their recruitment services free of charge, the

program was extremely economical. At the time this chapter was written, NUGIS was already beginning to receive an increase in new students who had been inspired by the IUIP visits, and who themselves wanted to participate in the American Overseas Program.

Figure 39 NUGIS Schoolstay Student Engaged in Recruitment during the university Open Campus (NUGIS Promotional Materials).

Using students in the recruitment of students is especially effective during hard economic times, when an expanding number of HEIs are competing for shrinking student populations. Because enthusiastic NUGIS students were seen to have greater potential of marketing the university to their younger peers than older faculty members, they were also brought in to participate in the university's 'Open Campus' events. During these events, they wear special T-shirts and spend the day giving word-of-mouth testimonials to high school students shopping for a tertiary educational experience (Figure 39).

In the United States, however, many HEIs have moved beyond simple word-of-mouth referrals to 'word of mouse' approaches (Darrup-Boychuck 2007, p. 51). BLEAPs are setting up study blogs, in which international and domestic students contribute stories about their countries and overseas experiences. In an approach that mirrors the Facebook model, BLEAPs carefully monitor contributions and build a database of names and interests:

> the most successful campaigns are those that fully integrate all of a campus' marketing activities, from using the Internet to generate initial inquiries, to building a database from which counselors extract student names based on the geographic regions they intend to visit, and then sending special invitations to those selected students (Darrup-Boychuck 2007, p. 51).

This form of resource leeching is actively used at Suffolk University in Boston. When domestic students who have contributed to the university's international studies blog mention any interest of going abroad, this is flagged in the database, and they are invited to become a 'Country Ambassador' for the university. If they agree, they are given the contact information of potential international students living in the country where the ambassador is going, and are urged to try to recruit them for Suffolk University. The same sort of ambassadorship is extended to graduating international students returning to their home country (Katz 2006, p. 56). The returns to Suffolk University are considerable, since the students pay for their own transportation and recruit on behalf of the university commission-free.

Blogging is a property of the e-recruitment strategies mentioned earlier in this chapter. Observe the aspects of resource leeching in an article intended for Command & Control administrators in charge of International Affairs:

> If your office is considering incorporating blogs as part of an overall marketing strategy or as an additional learning exercise for students, these tips will hopefully aid you in creating a successful blog. This can enable your campus to better promote education abroad opportunities to interested students. A blog can be an effective tool for increased interest in studying abroad. It is a way to meet students at their level. Because students are already using and reading blogs in large numbers, it makes sense to take advantage of

students' technological savvy and make blogs a part of education abroad on your campus. Plus, it is a relatively inexpensive marketing tool. There is usually no cost to set up a blog (especially through the resources listed) and even though it will require staff time to monitor and set up the blogs, the effort is marginal compared with the potential gain (Reinig 2008, p. 51).

The use of students as PR props and recruiters via service learning and/or cultural experience programs is not the only way in which talent, time and labor are leeched. Increasingly at corporatized HEIs, the travel of teachers to academic conferences abroad or other educational ventures is linked to recruitment. A number of Wensleydale informants spoke privately about how their participation in Asian TEFL conferences was not only to maintain professional contacts, but were vital for student recruitment on distance learning programs. Observe the following response from the chair of a humanities department at Polaris and an Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP to my suggestion of setting up a departmental level symposium with NUGIS:

> **GH:** *See one thing that would strengthen it is we have faculty at, you know, who really want to have professional friendships with people here, with other faculty members here. And that would certainly open up all sorts of doors, because once there's more and more faculty members interacting with your faculty members here, then when it comes to...*
>
> **Chair:** (cutting in)...*I think that's possible, we'll have to get really creative with simple things like getting people there. I mean we're in a radically different world than in 2001 or '2 where [we] would get on a plane and...fly to Japan and say, 'We're going to NUGIS to...' essentially do what you're doing now. Unless we connected to a **recruiting** trip...*
>
> **BLEAP:** (jumping in enthusiastically) ...*or a **program** maybe, programming **improvement**, you need to have an outcome tied to the trip.*
>
> **GH:** (taken aback) *So it has to be tied to some form of money generation or financial generation for the university before you get permission to go?*
> **BLEAP:** (gauging the response of GH and laughing quietly)
>
> **Chair:** (Confused. Looking at BLEAP). *You're laughing.*
>
> **BLEAP:** (Looking at Chair and then directed at GH) *I know sort of from past conversations where you're going with this.*

GH: (resignedly sighing and slightly embarrassed) *Yeah, I'm sorry* (Interview, October 26, 2009).

Upwardly-Mobile TEAPs aspiring to leave the Center of Praxis and enter the Third Space also use resource leeching. In Japan and elsewhere, an example of this can be seen in the development of 'near peer' programs, in which the more advanced students are recruited as volunteers to help as teacher's aides in educating less proficient learners in the classroom (Hu 2005 ; Rollinson 2005 ; Morra & Romano 2009). The near peer gives advice and models the language to younger peers by showing what is possible in terms of language proficiency, if they continue studying. Near peers are often showcased in the EAP program recruitment literature and are likely to volunteer for Open Campus events.

6.5.2 External Resource Leeching

External Resource Leeching focuses on community members who could provide educational experiences for international students. I observed many examples of this sort of activity at Polaris when I sought economical solutions to the ever-rising costs of the schoolstay program. As an example, the following excerpt is in the context of an American Cultural Studies class at Polaris, where the lecturer who had taught the course for several years no longer found the class to be worth the effort after it was reduced from three hours to one hour in an attempt to mitigate rising program costs. We enter the interview with the dean in charge of the lecturer's department:

> **GH:** *We decided that we'll do this again next year. There may be other changes that we, positive or negative, that may take place in that time, but it's not going to continue like this for a long time, this one-hour course. Something's going to have to change, and so that's something I have to tell the people back at home.*
>
> **Informant:** *Yeah. And, you know, it's possible... well, let me back up. If we could, don't mean to put you in the middle, but if you could help articulate what they really want from that experience. It's possible that we could find other ways for providing that experiences, different from a one-hour course that* (name redacted) *would teach. For instance, could we do, you know, where you spend two weeks or three weeks with this person coming in and talking*

about X, and then two or three weeks twice a week where this person comes in and talks about Y.

GH: *See, I suggested something like this to my school about the students being allowed to have a menu of various classes that they could sit in on, or audit, for only a few classes. Take notes, bring these back to the ESL class, and to expand upon it in their own presentation.*

Informant: *Yeah.*

GH: *But your idea's better.*

Informant: *Yeah, it... well, I don't know that it's better. But what you just described might be a little problematic. For a couple different reasons. If they choose courses where there's not enough room, you know, not enough seats, because we're running into those kind of problems.*

GH: *Yeah. It disrupts the class time: 'Who's that guy sitting back there?'*

Informant: *Right, right. But... and again, the way to approach it **might** be, is if we could have... what are the goals, what are the purposes of that? And then what are the **other** ways to meet that purpose? It wouldn't always have to be a faculty member. It could be a staff member. It could be a community member. If you're talking about doing some things with the culture,* (name of a retired teacher in the community) *coming and talking about something like that. He'd get a kick out of doing something like that.*

GH: *You can do that with a team of academics. A team of community academics.*

Informant: *That's right. Right. A team of cultural experts. And that's anybody who could tell you about what they do, and then they're an expert in that part of the culture...*

GH: (affected American Cowboy accent) *...let me tell y'all about Skoal...*

Informant: (amused) *There you go!* (Interview, October 29, 2007).

Leeching not only happens when the university seeks community members to fill the gaps in educational programs, it is also true that outside businesses and entrepreneurs can profit handsomely from the labor and imaginative knowhow of students:

Wisconsin entrepreneur Kerry Tolzmann dreamed of transforming his 33-acre cranberry bog into a cranberry empire--"the biggest single farm on the planet." But he had absolutely no idea how to raise the more than $20 million he needed to cash in on the red-hot worldwide demand for cranberries. What he needed was, well, cheap advice. So the former professional water skier--and owner of a ski school--turned to the Weinert Applied Ventures Program at the University of Wisconsin-Madison, a two-year-old business course that matches its students with local companies. The cost to Tolzmann? Zip.

If you still think of universities as ivory-tower dream worlds--think again. As studies of entrepreneurship grow in popularity at the nation's B schools...free hands-on advice and analysis from graduate students is becoming an increasingly important component of many school curricula. In return for putting time and effort into working with students, the entrepreneur gets their energy, enthusiasm, and perspective, not to mention the oversight of a business professor who also might provide valuable networking connections (Berman 1997).

Although the students received over 1000 hours of practical business training, the entrepreneur acquired 20 million dollars without sharing the dividends with his student helpers. This approach has led to the myriads of business incubators springing up at HEIs across the United States, UK, and within the past five years in Japan.

Van Maanen, Dabbs & Faulkner (1982), inspired by Murray Edelman (1964), poignantly express the power imbalance that I find to be at the heart of extreme forms of resource leeching: 'The powerful gain rewards of the material sort while the weak gain (at best) rewards of the symbolic kind. Ceremony may not be difficult to digest but the celebrants may find themselves hungry' (Van Maanen, Dabbs & Faulkner 1982, p. 11).
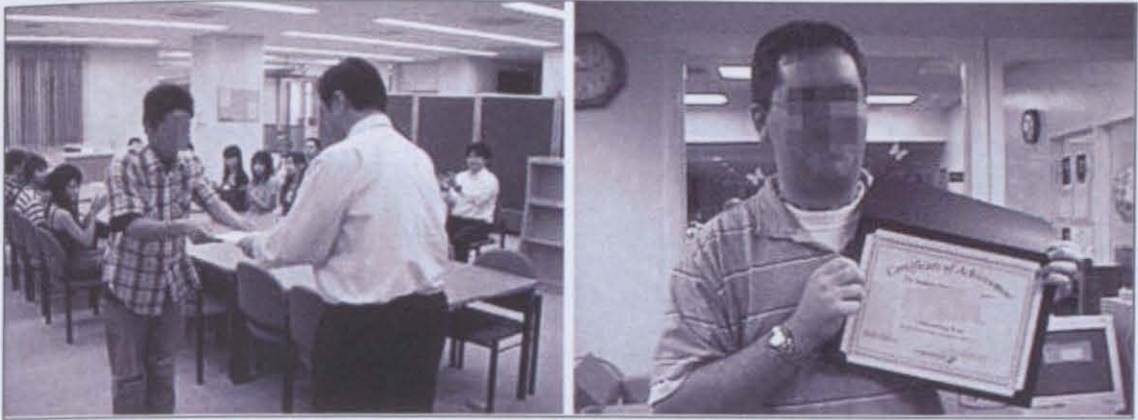
Figure 40 Students at NUGIS and Polaris Receiving Certificates of Appreciation for Participation in Service Learning-based Recruitment Projects (NUGIS and Polaris PR Literature).

Resource Leeching taking place within the domain of Tertiary EAP related to the drive for diversity, which Command & Control administrators advocated through increasing the presence of large numbers of underprepared international students on campus. A senior administrative informant explains:

> **Informant:** *When I think of diversity, I think of the word in its more traditional meaning, which means differences, and so that includes international diversity. But when I say international diversity, why is that good? We know that it's best, they interact with and begin to have an understanding of other people's cultures, and understand that other cultures, it's not just that other cultures are different, and what some of those idiosyncrasies are and either respect them, some will laugh at them...but also understand that different cultures view the world differently. Why is that important? Because hopefully that broadens our perspective so that our ability to make decisions is enriched and so we're making educated decisions rather than just something based on my own understanding and what I know. And the other thing is that sure globalization and internationalization of things and working with negotiating and recognizing that we're an ever larger society than we once were.*

> **GH:** *You're talking about basically business?*

> **Informant:** *Correct. Correct. And so ... and trying to give, I guess the other thing is to give them a little broader worldview, the students, and for students*

that cannot go overseas for a study abroad experience, well we're trying to bring a little bit of study abroad here to the class. So that's why (Interview, November 27, 2006).

Margaret Spellings, a former US Secretary of Education writes, 'The United States needs to produce a globally literate citizenry, which is critical to the nation's continued success in the global economy. The Commission calls for higher education to put greater an emphasis on international education, including foreign language instruction and study abroad, in order to ensure that graduates have the skills necessary to function effectively in the global workforce' (Spellings 2007). The drive to recruit international students relates in part to allowing domestic students opportunities to leech off their foreignness. Administrators in many corporatized HEIs see international students as teaching materials for training American students in how to succeed in global business (Deardorff & Hunter 2006 ; Hulstrand 2008). The diverse resources derived from international student flows bring additional benefits, as an academic member of Command & Control explained:

> *My suspicion is that multicultural experiences are valued by universities because of the relative disinterest of most American students in languages and gaining foreign experience. Public universities that are attacking the problem are likely seeking recognition from state funding entities for taking initiative in dealing with problems. Conventional wisdom for the last two to three decades has been that graduates are going to be engaged in an increasingly globalized market and need those experiences. Schools that take initiative to address the problem court funding from state legislators (and corporate benefactors) for preparing a state's graduates to be competitive in that global market. It also provides another service to make available to students who do want those experiences. While most do not, many do--particularly short-term study tours. For public institutions 'market-based' decisions must also include the market for limited state funds, which still account for about 30% of our revenues [the rest being tuition, fees, and endowments]. Such programs also open up opportunities for private grants that reward international programs [ie. the Freeman and Sasakawa foundations in Japan Studies]. Those grants, in addition to providing student support, also pay stipends and salaries to teachers and sometimes reap some capital funding* (Informant E-Mail Correspondence, October 28, 2008).

248

Therefore, while TEAPs often interpret interaction between domestic and international students as opportunities for improving their language acquisition skills and for fostering cross-cultural understanding, the perspective of many BLEAPs in charge of EAP and international student recruitment is to view cross-cultural understanding as an opportunity for domestic students to improve skills needed in the economic language of acquisition.

As corporatized HEI management seeks to maintain surpluses by increasing the workload of a shrinking number of BLEAPs, the walls which once protected and separated both students and the institution from the outside business world are now becoming more permeable, thus allowing entrepreneurs to access talent from without and within. It cannot be denied that educational opportunities are being created for students in this venture, but important questions will need to be answered in the months and years to come. Some of these are be whether the growing number of programs designed to give students real-world experiences are truly in their best interests, or are such innovative projects simply a means of bandaging institutional wounds caused by HE's adoption of an unsustainable business model?

6.6 Chapter Summary

The properties described in this chapter, *resource prospecting*, *investment servicing*, *resource leeching* and *milking cash cows*, were only a few that occurred in my data, but they were nevertheless the one which had the greatest level of explanatory and conceptual density. Even so, none of the Blended EAP Professionals needed to engage in all these forms of Hunting & Gathering every day. Large stretches of time were spent in simply maintaining their APM. The intensity of Hunting & Gathering also was moderated by the status of their HEI, and where each was located along the spectrum between the teaching of cultural knowledge and training in vocational skills.

As an autopoietic system, Hunting & Gathering is only one process in the organic nature of this grounded theory of Blended EAP Professionals in corporatized HEIs.

Like veins and capillaries, some of the processes have aspects that branch out to Weighing & Measuring. This crucial process is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 7

Weighing and Measuring

GH: (making an observation)...*the culture here has changed to a much stronger business model...*

BLEAP: *Yeah. Its...yeah, I mean, uh...the Quality, the Quality Systems approach is basically a very firm business model. For administration, from our point-of-view, it tends to be...very...ah...very...business oriented. You plan, forecast, and measure and evaluate...*

GH: *...mm-hm...*

BLEAP: *...and, and, re...reset for goals and you, you follow this process, and you try to bring in this...second loop of learning and then go out and benchmark and see if you're doing everything right. I think that's a trend. And...going towards the, you know, a something that you need to make sure that you're efficient and effective...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

BLEAP: *... and you get the most bang for the buck and everything's measured* (Interview, November 20, 2005).

7.1 Introduction

Because external assessment organizations require empirical evidence of educational quality in order to fund HEIs (Trow 1996 ; Alexander 2000 ; Brennan & Shah 2000 ; Leckey & Neill 2001 ; Asonuma 2002), BLEAPs and others within Command & Control dedicate considerable time to Weighing & Measuring. Simply put, Weighing & Measuring relates to the external and internal strategies for determining the quality of educational plans, programs and people. What sets this concept apart from what is commonly referred to as *assessment* in the scholarly literature is the nuanced distinction of *weighing*, which relates to the often-unseen qualitative beliefs of elites, to which all others must conform, and *measuring*, which centers on quantitative efforts in corporatized HEIs at both demonstrating educational excellence and justifying one's existence in the organization.
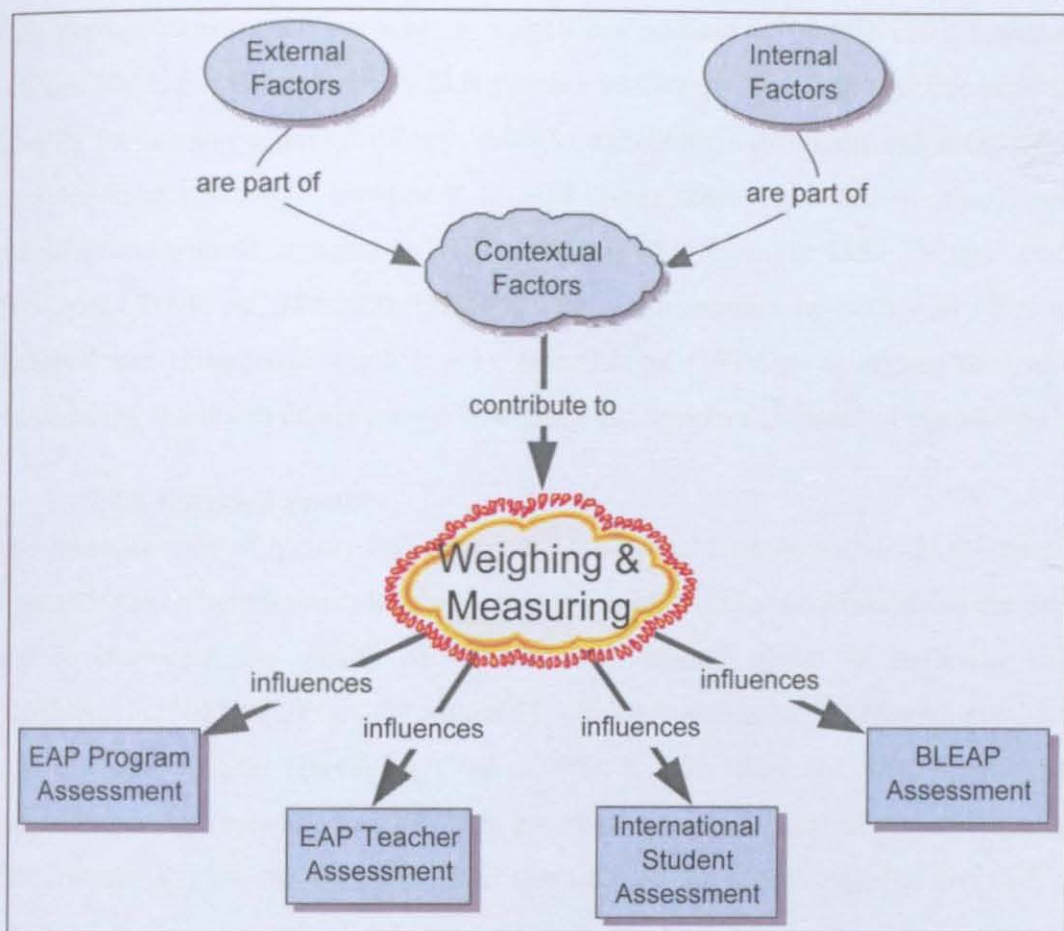
Figure 41 Contextual Dynamics and Theoretical Categories

After a brief consideration of external and internal factors pertaining to Weighing & Measuring, I will focus upon corporatized Mass Provider HEIs to discuss the observed processes and challenges faced by BLEAPs. Strategies either discussed by informants or observed in the field and implications for international students and TEAPs will also be noted.

7.2 Contextual Factors in the Weighing & Measuring of Higher Education

When addressing external and internal dynamics that contextualize Weighing & Measuring, an initial question arises, which is *weighing and measuring according to what?* Ewell (1991) and Gillies (2008) respond to this question by explaining that assessment procedures which make up Weighing & Measuring are underpinned by

HE managerial reverence to what is sometimes referred to as 'the cult of quality' (Gillies 2008, p. 689). Readers will remember in Chapter Five that definitions of HE Quality focus upon value for money, value to stakeholders (primarily the students and outside employers) and usefulness to HEI management (whether product-based, manufacturing-based or transcendent) (Garvin 1988 ; Seymour 1992 ; Biggs 2001 ; Koslowski 2006, pp. 282-283). Quality is the gold standard by which all HEIs are weighed and measured, which is why Fitz-Gibbon (1998, p. 6) argues that when 'considering quality in education we shall have to consider the nature of assessment.'

7.2.1 External Factors

The measurement of quality has always been a major concern in HE. In the past, it was undertaken by administrators for maintaining external accountability to the State and to showcase the wealth of knowledge contained within its hallowed halls (Koslowski 2006, p. 281). Unfortunately, this transcendent, 'traditional notion of quality,' according to Harvey & Green (1993, p. 11), 'does not offer benchmarks against which to measure quality. It is apodictic – one instinctively knows quality. The traditional view in education [was] that universities embody quality and thus do not need to demonstrate it.' It has already been discussed how over the past twenty years, the transcendent view of quality has been deconstructed at all but the most elite of universities and replaced by manufacturing-based management perspectives, such as Six Sigma, the Japan Accreditation Board for Engineering Education (JABEE), and Total Quality Management (TQM). These require constant assessment so that the APMs of Mass Higher Education can be run at peak efficiency. Embedded within external quality assessment routines is the belief in Quality as something which is quantifiable. This conviction relates to the paradigms of structure discussed in the second chapter of this thesis. Barcan (1996) observes that Quality's 'mysterious acquisition of an upper-case 'Q" signifies 'a shift from an adjective to a noun -- from an attribute to a commodity.' Birnbaum (2000, p. 197) adds that these beliefs based in the paradigms of structure lead external stakeholders not only to 'emphasize quantification; some go to the extreme of claiming that if something cannot be measured, it cannot be valued.' Examples of these views are easily found within the

literature, as in Lecky & Neill (2001, p. 20), who opine that 'the UK higher education system has always prided itself on the quality of education it provides for its students. For the first time perhaps, quantifiable proof of the veracity of this claim is now available.'

External Weighing & Measuring was frequently mentioned during interviews with Command & Control and Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP informants. The following is from a retired BLEAP and former member of Command & Control:

> **GH:** (continuing the discussion on Quality) *What's it for? What's the advantage?*
>
> **Informant:** (Long, pensive pause) *Bragging rights.*
>
> **GH:** (Surprised) *In what way would it be bragging rights? Because no one else has had it?*
>
> **Informant:** (Laughs) *Yeah. What it says is...where there is a corporation, manufacturing, service, medical, education, it says that you not only have in place high quality but you keep measuring it, you keep looking at what other institutions are doing and how you fit. We can't be Harvard but we can find other institutions that are much like us, that are state supported, not private, that serve a variety of programs, and how do our students score versus theirs? How do our faculty, how does are faculty do? Do they go out and give papers and do research compared to others? And what you're trying to say is 'we do it best'* (Interview, November 28, 2005).

It is here that Weighing & Measuring flows autopoietically into Hunting & Gathering. By showcasing measurable quality on league tables, the HEI can secure large amounts of funding as a reward. Conversely, any negative pronouncements from an educational audit can spell disaster (Alexander 2000, p. 427), with eventual repercussions for the EAP unit.

7.2.2 Internal Factors

Such external pressures motivate Command & Control to undertake Internal Weighing & Measuring, defined here as the manner in which HEIs assesses their staff, student programs and other activities to satisfy or exceed the quality standards

255

of external stakeholders. This is often called Continuous Quality Assessment in the literature, which is defined as the ongoing evaluation of instructional programs for determining the degree to which they complement the strategic aims of Command & Control and their stakeholders (Koslowski 2006, p. 280; Outing & Hauschild 2009, p. 189).

The weight of Internal Weighing & Measuring has largely been upon teachers, though the degree of severity of continuous quality assessment differs. The UK arguably has the one of the most demanding systems, with university management often overcompensating by requiring more from teachers than what is required by external assessment bodies (Shore & Wright 2004). Japan seems to be on the other end of the spectrum, with teacher assessment treated as a formality (P. Burden 2010a). As one TEAP informant in Japan stated, '*we have teacher assessment sheets but they are useless and I think it's just part of going through the motions*' (Interview, September 28, 2010).

Because Internal Weighing & Measuring addresses external stakeholder ideals of Quality, an international debate has ensued within a huge corpus of scholarly writings. Some view quality assessment as necessary for insuring accountability and for improving HE (Narasimhan 1997 ; Saraiva, Rosa & D'Orey 2003 ; G. Williams 2003 ; Anyamele 2005). Others decry it as an example of how a neo-liberalist political philosophy has curtailed academic freedom, eroded the democratic ideals of Western HE and impoverished the diversity of academic practice (Salter & Tapper 2000 ; Shore & Wright 2004 ; G. Anderson 2006a ; Hoecht 2006). The latter opinion represents the view of the majority of the TEAPs and academic informants interviewed. A TEAP from Japan explains that internal assessment *discounts* what language educators' classroom values:

> *The evaluation of teaching, again I don't know in everybody else's case, but certainly in the university we are in, our teaching is now very much, and accordingly our salary is very much determined by all sorts of evaluations and*

surveys and questionnaires and students evaluate you. You have to show your so called 'effort' during the year, what you did in terms of research papers and what papers you published, if you got any grant money. There's an increased amount of accountability, accounting for what you do. There's very much an emphasis on that. It's not just what you do in the classroom, how good you are as a teacher, but also what you do outside the classroom, what can be measured. Inside the closeted classroom it's very difficult to measure what you do with the students, but what you do outside is much easier to measure and that's where the emphasis is (Interview, November 2, 2008).

BLEAP informants seemed to substantiate such views, and frequently spoke of wanting to assess the quality of their programs and teachers through 'benchmarking', that is, by 'identifying processes and results that represent best practices and performance for similar activities, inside or outside the academic community' (*MQA Education Criteria for Performance Excellence* 2006, p. 23). However, beyond the talk of administrative informants and the TEAP/academic narrative of teacher imprisonment to the regime of assessment (Strathern 1997 ; Biesta 2004), my field research finds that the Weighing and/or Measuring of Tertiary EAP is complex, variable and dependent upon the degree to which the HEI and EAP unit has been corporatized. Drawing from the HEI typology introduced in Chapter Five, my study suggests that Weighing & Measuring of EAP at, for example, Dreamweaver HEIs, is often distinct from the manner in which it is assessed at Sausage Maker or Mass Provider HEIs. Because the bulk of my data was collected at Mass Providers, the remainder of this chapter focuses upon this context.

7.3 Weighing & Measuring Tertiary EAP Programs

EAP units in corporatized Mass Providers, similar to Sausage Maker HEIs, provide students with as much second language training as possible through specific materials, which if not made in-house, must still be approved by the BLEAP in charge of the program. The focus is upon processed course delivery and managerial control. Students are encouraged to work in intensive but enjoyable learning environments that emphasize activity and experiential engagement. Teachers facilitate the quick and efficient processing of students to make room for the next cohort. Programs operating in this climate are rarely assessed in the manner of academic departments, because

they are auxiliary units connected either to a third-party provider or subsumed within administrative international offices or talent development. A BLEAP expands upon these points:

> **GH:** *Internally, to whom are you accountable in your organization? Really, I'm interested in the position, not any names. How does this person or persons gauge your accountability to the organization? For example, by some sort of audit? Student questionnaires? Self-evaluation forms? Informal workday observations?*
>
> **Informant:** *The Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School...Academic Affairs.*
>
> **GH:** *What sorts of external assessment do you have to respond to?*
>
> **Informant:** *None - we are not required to be accredited. We are not a part of the academic system yet.*
>
> **GH:** *Are there any organizations that you need to report your activities to? If so, how do you report to them? I mean, for example, a questionnaire, or do they come to visit and talk to you?*
>
> **Informant:** *No external groups evaluate us because we are an annexed program with no domestic stakeholders* (Interview, September 29, 2010).

Instead, Command & Control tends to weigh EAP units in corporatized Mass Providers according to whether they are recruiting an acceptable number of students, and if the program keeps them moving through. Mass Provider EAP units are also weighed according to whether they successfully function as well-coordinated service providers, as this BLEAP explains:

> **GH:** *What's the main concern?*
>
> **Informant:** *The main concern?*
>
> **GH:** *Yeah, I mean, a core issue that needs to be addressed.*
>
> **Informant:** *Well, I would probably return and say what is it... what is it that you expect from the program, and how are we delivering, or not delivering, on that? Essentially, we're the service provider, so we see things, I*

see things as far as making sure that we can fix all of our infrastructure and systems so that [international student] *experiences...come through. At the start they have everything as efficiently as possible, and they're in the classes and learning as comfortably as possible. So, for me, getting through the management of setting up the orientation and getting there comfortably, making sure my teachers are prepared and have a decent curriculum, and me making sure that teachers are teaching things to the students that are appropriate, and they're doing it in ways that mesh with how I believe they're being done* (Interview, November 27, 2006).

7.3.1 Challenges to the Weighing & Measuring of EAP Programs

One informant at Polaris who was a former director of the EAP unit, discussed a problem that informants from other Tertiary EAP programs often mentioned, that of failing to find a way either to benchmark the program according to quality standards:

Problem is they didn't measure it against something like a Lexus or a BMW or a Rolls Royce, but that's OK we're measuring American manufacturing versus others. So that's what we're after. How do you do it with ESL? Well, basically we never found a way to really measure how well we did versus other institutions because we had kind of a unique program and you would have to, a lot of it depended entirely upon what level of students you admit (Interview, November 28, 2005).

Even though all of the EAP programs in Mass Providers lacked a formal, quantitative framework for assessment, it still falls to BLEAPs to devise a means by which they can report to their superiors. Not doing so, as one BLEAP warns, would put both everyone at risk:

People do need to know what you're doing. If they don't know what you're doing, if you don't send them any reports or invite them to come and see or something like that, then inevitably they operate with a stereotype set of assumptions about what they think you do, and if you can't produce any evidence about what you do and how effective it is, then you become vulnerable to restructurings and hivings off and downsizing and God knows what, so I've always regarded that as very important (Interview, September 30, 2010).

Successfully maintaining communication with superiors and patrons maintains the BLEAP's transactional or upward trajectory. Not doing so is common among Sinking BLEAPs.

7.3.2 Strategies for Weighing & Measuring EAP Programs

Common strategies observed were those of counting student enrollment, measuring student satisfaction, student interviewing and numerification. In tandem with Hunting & Gathering, BLEAPs sought to quantify the quality of the EAP program by counting the number of students recruited. More students are seen as a key quality indicator:

> **Informant:** ...*it's quality management systems, it has everything to do with efficiency, so it's built right into its own thing. More students is more efficient...It's a good problem to have too many students, is what they say.*
>
> **GH:** *It seems to me that quality is being defined as quantity.*
>
> **Informant:** (jaw drops slightly...somewhat taken aback)...*Yeah.*
>
> **GH:** *Is that a difficult question?*
>
> **Informant:** (regrouping) *No, I mean, that's...that's the system that is apparently in place* (Interview, November 5, 2008).

Another strategy is that of gauging student satisfaction. Concerns about student satisfaction among BLEAPs often superseded concerns about language acquisition. The following comes from a BLEAP in charge of a successful American schoolstay program run through her Japanese HEI:

> *I wasn't accompanying the group that year, and I did a very detailed post-program questionnaire with those students to try and see what benefits they were getting out of it. I didn't try to test their English ability...but I wanted to see what they were getting motivationally, and that sort of thing* (Presentation & Interview Follow-Up, November 2, 2008).

BLEAPs as well as language teachers in the Center of Praxis often link 'motivation' with finding out what students crave so that it can be used to create pleasant

classroom experiences (Luo 2003 ; Rivers 2008 ; Su 2010). The informant above expresses beliefs that are similar to what is written in quality assurance manuals and what was mentioned in the previous chapter, that student satisfaction must be achieved before learning can take place (*MQA Education Criteria for Performance Excellence* 2006, p. 22). The social construct framing EAP in terms of 'satisfaction then acquisition' derives from Total Quality Management, and considers the opinions and satisfaction of student-customers as core quality indicators. For EAP, it is the logical outcome of Student-Centered Learning (Gottlieb 1995 ; Greenfield 2003). It serves as an important barometer of the relative success or failure of Investment Servicing. Gauging student satisfaction is vital for determining if the educational services provided by the EAP unit are aiding in the recruitment and retention of international students, because as consumers in the modern knowledge economy, international students feel entitled to demand a satisfying educational experience. When expectations are unmet, they can express their displeasure by taking their business elsewhere and dissuading future students from coming to the HEI through their negative reviews. A BLEAP from a Japanese HEI considered this while discussing important factors for Weighing & Measuring student satisfaction in his EAP program:

GH: *How do the students determine the quality of your school's product?*

Informant: *The kids want lots of English with native speakers...and they want to feel some success with the language. So the key will be pushing the kids to make progress. And progress that they can see --*

GH: *But wait a minute. If student satisfaction is a major concern, then you might be evaluated poorly if the students don't want to study so hard. How can you improve quality when student satisfaction is a major issue?*

Informant: *The key is to from day one have a fun, well-integrated program that has frequent achievable goals. And that students have close relationships with teachers...lots of teacher involvement I believe will get students interested and meet any satisfaction issues.*

261

GH: *Am I hearing that creating satisfying lessons for learners is essentially the same as 'motivating learners'?*

Informant: *Yes it's the same thing. Good lessons with achievable goals is critical...so the basic plan is lots of English with native speakers...good enough lessons...and more teacher involvement in the learning. Last year the high schools sent six kids to us. This year under the above 'sales' [pitch], twenty-one* (Interview, September 6, 2010).

Quality is measured by a numerical increase in students. The informant uses the fact that increases in student numbers as proof of successfully satisfying them, a point to which I will return shortly.

One would expect that the most common strategy for measuring student satisfaction would seem to be through discreet point student questionnaires, as these provide clear, quantitative data that can be easily presented to Command & Control. The use of such questionnaires for gauging satisfaction and evaluating courses among domestic students is a major feature of the debate about the pervasiveness of service industry-based practices in early 21st century HEIs (Sander et al. 2000 ; Leckey & Neill 2001 ; Wiers-Jenssen, Stensaker & Grøgaard 2002). However, Ramsden (2008a, p. 10) notes that questionnaires are often overused, with the result of this 'survey fatigue' being that many student stop filling them out. This may have some relation to my discovery that student satisfaction questionnaires were rarely used in most of the EAP units studied, and even where the periodic use of questionnaires did take place, BLEAPs did not much stock in them unless there was something positive that bolstered an image of success to their peers and superiors. Survey data not reflecting this is treated in an altogether different manner, as intimated by this front-line administrative professional who worked with an Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP at Polaris:

Informant: *They have a mid-year survey that the kids did. I imagine you probably saw it, evaluation, they did it.*

GH: *No, they didn't show it to me.*

Informant: *Oh, you didn't?*

262

GH: *Uh-uh.*

> **Informant:** *Oh, that's interesting. In any other program I would have done, we would have gone together, and we would have looked at those things that the kids were saying. We would have developed goals based on those things, and we would have instituted new programs* (Interview, October 29, 2007).

What I found instead, however, is that the survey data had been quietly filed away. The BLEAP in charge of the EAP Unit would not discuss the contents with me, choosing instead to focus on what he saw as the positive things he had achieved in the program.

Managerial guides for gauging customer satisfaction in TQM recognize that discrete point questionnaires may not always be the best approach, so qualitative interviews or casual conversations with student customers are suggested as contingency strategies (*MQA Education Criteria for Performance Excellence* 2006, p. 22). I found that at every venue, even where surveys were regularly administered, it was the use of informal conversations that was the most trusted strategy for gauging student satisfaction among BLEAPs:

> **GH:** *How do you assess customer satisfaction?*
>
> **Informant:** *Well for the time being by just talking to them in casual settings...but I am the type of manager who talks to the kids all the time to find out what they like or don't like...same for teachers. In those casual settings you learn a lot* (Interview, September 6, 2010).

The strategy of conducting informal chats is akin to the supervisor taking a stroll through a factory in order to listen to the hum of the machines. Qualitative reporting of student satisfaction to HEI management might lack hard evidence, but Harper & Kuh (2007) maintain that qualitative reporting of student satisfaction and program quality can and has been used with success at some HEIs. However, the best strategy for assuring program quality is through demonstrating that Hunting & Gathering has been successful, in that an adequate numbers of students are coming into the program.

263

Regardless of other indicators, BLEAPs believe this can be enough to maintain the good will of Command & Control:

> GH: *If the results are negative, what do you plan to do?*
>
> Informant: *Well first, ultimately, if we get the student numbers up nobody will care.*
>
> GH: *You mean, if you get enough students into the program, the results from the CEF test will not be as important?*
>
> Informant: *Yes. The stability of the program is first... but what I am working on is how to assess our kids --*
>
> GH: *It is interesting. It sounds a lot more like sales than working in an educational program....*
>
> Informant: *Yes and no... but for sure the money comes first at this stage.*
>
> GH: *Yeah. You know, there are others in your position who, when getting disappointing results or negative feedback from students, they sit on the information until they get something positive to report to Command & Control.*
>
> Informant: *All I need are more students. The C and C people are business[persons]... they don't care as long as more students come. Same for everyone, really. I am probably the only one who is serious about improvements in regard to student ability* (Interview, September 6, 2010).

With regard to this last point, other BLEAPs also mentioned that a focus on quantitative measures may miss the point and focus the EAP program on peripheral issues:

> *I have mixed feelings about it you see, because to manage an organization you have got to have some performance indicators, yeah? You've got to have some data which shows you how the organization is performing, and you have to choose which aspects of it you want to have data on. I think the problem with it is if you choose the wrong indicators. I think that's one problem. Another problem is if you start trying to improve those indicators, particularly if they're quantitative indicators, directly, rather than improving what's at the core of it* (Interview, September 30, 2010).

Another consequence of quantifying quality was that, to borrow liberally from the terminology used by psychologist Paul Meehl (1998), BLEAPs and Command & Control informants frequently participated in the *numerification* of international students. The closer one is to the Center of Praxis, either physically during the day or psychologically in terms of professional identity, the more common it is to hear references to the people in their classes as 'students' or on a first name basis. For many BLEAPs, (especially those who were Upwardly-Mobile) and for members of Command & Control, international students were almost always referred to as 'the numbers' (Table 8).

	Concordance Sample
1	creasingly globalized world. GH: Mmm. Informant: So those, the fact that we've got **the numbers**, and they're at...larger events and they're a group of students t
2	lot of students besides the NUGIS students...the NUGIS students actually raises **the numbers** reached for that semester quite a bit. Was it, I think the Dean said
3	nk about talking with the people in my department about...how can we increase **the numbers**, and how they saw it, and they're like, well, I don't know. They
4	some things are filtering back to other students, and I think you can see it in **the numbers**, and at some point we can put off, and if I -- GH:
5	s went down. Is that sort of a recap? Informant: Indubitably yes. **The numbers** also obviously coincided with the economic downturn in Japan.
6	omy, but it had experienced a lot of difficulties I know in the '90s. So **the numbers** never really kind of expanded. That's the kind of economic re
7	example GH: There are a lot of them. Informant: **The numbers** go from the mid-1990s they've just gone pheeeeew. Until about
8	continually go down and I hope that this will be enough to keep **our numbers** up. Have you heard anything about this year's
9	I would say it's a program that we need to develop much more fully...um, and **the numbers** in ESL are too small...um...it falls short of being a program in

Table 8 Concordance Sample Featuring International Student Numerification

Numerification was frequently noticed by TEAPs as one element contributing to the quiet derision they held towards their administrative managers. BLEAPs typically did not know the names of the students in their programs, or if they did, their memories related to vague recollections of those who had somehow disrupted the orderly running of their APMs. The social distance of BLEAPs from students was not only a

symptom of numerification, it also contributed to their decision to make TEAPs responsible for student satisfaction, and linking that satisfaction to the manner in which they were either weighed or measured.

7.4 Weighing & Measuring TEAPs

A common feature for TEAPs in corporatized Mass Provider HEIs was that they were rarely assessed in the same manner as faculty. A BLEAP an American Tertiary EAP unit explains:

> *The nature of the ESL program does not lend itself to academic inclusion with the same checks and balances. Because ESL Programs are required by Federal Law to deliver 22 hours of instruction per week, the only option is to run it with part time staff or fewer teachers on professional contracts free from the class and office restraints of faculty....Because I know this I have not taken the larger concern (academic integrity and effectiveness) to the administration. The recent development of ESL programs and the model under which they were created (a business model designed to improve the bottom line) keeps them in this type of system because the faculty model is actually fair to the people doing the work –the ESL model is not.*

> *The result: faculty has far more oversight with checks and balances including centrally collected student evaluations and external evaluations, but enjoys 9 month contracts, more days off, 17 hours per week of in class and office hours, etc. ESL instructors need only teach English with no real oversight other than whatever system I may have time to create and get accredited (if I choose). Since those things take time and, so far, we are effective – we keep doing things as we have done them. I need to show a fiscal benefit to the university to merely keep this program here so that is the measured factor of success not a (arguably marginally) more evaluated teaching model* (Email Interview, October 1, 2010).

Instead, TEAPs are typically weighed according to their conformity to the beliefs of their administrative managers and the degree to which they willingly cooperate in administrative initiatives. This was determined through a study of interviews, online employment questionnaires that I was asked to fill out for former MA tutees seeking work at TEAPs in HEIs, and an in-depth study of the repertory grids of four administrative HEI informants. These grid interviews were analyzed using Rep 5 v.1.03 (Shaw & Gaines 2009), an upgrade from the version used in the early stages of

266

data collection for this thesis. All four grids were analyzed using the Sociogrid function of Rep 5 v.1.03, which combines individual repertory grids and filters out all but the most strongly rated constructs.

Through a principle components analysis of the constructs related to TEAPs (Appendix F), it was learned that the ideals for good TEAPs (GT) rate closely to the constructs for good administrative EAP managers (GA). This means that for TEAPs to be Weighed & Measured positively, they need to respectful to students and management, self-starters, innovative, caring towards students and team players that work with administrative management in providing course delivery that augments the educational experience of international students. A Sociogrid analysis of four EAP teachers (Appendix G) found that such ideas did not necessarily clash with many of their ideals, and indeed, a statistical study of a composite of all eight grid interviews (Appendix H) found a number of areas of common ground, a point to which I will return in the conclusion of this thesis. I will only mention here that there was a high percentage of agreement among my sample regarding the interpersonal team-building ideals for 'Good Teachers', and unsurprisingly, there was less agreement about what constituted 'Good Administrators and 'Good Organizations'. What the analysis found to be lacking was an awareness on the part of administrators about the areas of greatest interest to TEAPs, that of language instruction. Yet because BLEAPs and administrative Command & Control have greater power to define what is valued in the HEI and EAP Unit, far more important than any skill TEAPs may have in language instruction, administrative managers of TEAPs were more concerned about whether TEAPs both agreed and cooperated with Command & Control's corporatized vision for the future of international student education.

This requires TEAPs to perform all manner of duties outside their training as language educators, such as participating in student recruitment, running service learning or experiential schoolstay projects, all the while seeking to provide satisfying experiences for learners that have been gathered from abroad by their BLEAP. TEAPs

who balk at following administrative ideals or who are seen as dissatisfying to students and stakeholders will be weighed in the scales and found to be wanting. Throughout my field research, all of the TEAPs who were sacked or who did not receive contract renewals lost their jobs either for failing to satisfy students or for defying the BLEAP. None were dismissed for lacking skill as a language educator.

7.4.1 Challenges to the Weighing & Measuring of TEAPs

Weighing & Measuring TEAPs at corporatized HEIs is fraught with subtle difficulties. One relates to what was noted earlier in the chapter on Hunting & Gathering, that multiple entry points are being created, through which International Students can enter universities and effectively sidestep both the traditional Tertiary EAP units and external TOEFL or IELTs tests. Coupled with the large numbers of international students already achieving the entrance requirements for the TOEFL and IELTs in their home country, the primary source of quantitative evidence to which TEAPs have appealed for validating their contribution to the university, that of TOEFL and IELTS preparation, is being quietly erased.

A challenge to Weighing & Measuring TEAPs relates to the decision of many BLEAPs to make language teachers responsible for student satisfaction. During interviews, most TEAPs spoke of students in parental tones, which frequently resulted in caring and sacrificial expressions of student service, but there were times when teachers felt that students needed to be scolded for unacceptable behavior. For many BLEAPs, a parental model focused on cultural refinement is at odds with a customer service approach focused on preparing learners for participation in the global marketplace:

> **Informant:** *For me, my larger issue is really with teachers who have the idea that you should learn English in sort of a very forceful... they're of the mindset that we're helping these students to acquire something that they need to have because anyone that's educated obviously speaks English, and they're... they're approaching it from that manner...where I'm not of that mindset. They're here for a cultural emergent experience where they're to learn and expand, and hopefully become life-long learners, and acquire the*

language in their own ways. So I'm dealing with a theoretical model of ESL teachers that are of the mindset that 'this is the way we mold good people, is through English education, and we will make sure that being late is wrong, it's not right to be late. And doing this, and being... speaking English, and all the cultural accoutrements that come with that are what you should acquire if you're going to become a nice person' (Interview, November 27, 2006).

International Students already dealing with the stress associated with culture shock are apt to complain more vehemently if angered by TEAP discipline. By the time reports of dissatisfaction reach the BLEAP via informal conversations, as in the following interview excerpt, TEAPs will have been portrayed in the worst light possible:

When I hear of screaming teachers in classrooms, I'm concerned about that. I'm concerned about that because I think that that impacts...that impacts recruitment (Interview, November 27, 2006).

Such challenges invariably have implications for overall program assessment: *'the biggest challenge to our ESL program,'* concluded one BLEAP, *'are our teachers, and the level of risks the instructors are willing to take, to get them out of their comfort level'* (Interview, November 20, 2006). At most of the sites undergoing an intensified push towards corporatization, TEAPs were described, among other things, as 'rude', 'ineffective', 'selfish', 'uninvolved', 'negative', 'unproductive', 'inactive' and 'barriers to international student recruitment'. In the UK, one Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP told me during an unrecorded interview that TEAPs were the 'grunts' of his campus (Field Notes March 7, 2009).

Such assessments raise alarm bells both for Upwardly-Mobile and Transactional BLEAPs, because if left unchecked, their own career future will be affected. Yet because their position in the HEI is precariously ambiguous, BLEAPs need to exercise extreme caution when choosing strategies for Weighing & Measuring TEAPs.

7.4.2 Strategies for Weighing & Measuring TEAPs

Some of the strategies used by BLEAPs were those of Shadow Assessment, Commando Assessment, Using Student Informants, and Reporting, either through forms or during teachers meetings.

As noted earlier in this chapter, the absence of formal assessment such as that used for faculty means that TEAPs are constantly weighed informally according to the mental constructs of those in Command & Control. This dynamic is what I have termed as *shadow assessment*. Koslowski's (2007) qualitative case study uncovered such practices at Mid-Atlantic University in the US, and concludes that even more important than formal program measurement, it is the informal and invisible assessment lacking any documentation or feedback that makes a difference in corporatized HEIs. Koslowski claims that such practices are common at HEIs that are attempting to conform to the precepts of Total Quality Management. The bulk of my interviews with Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs and members of Command & Control support Koslowski's findings, and aspects of this can be seen as well in the repertory grid found in the appendices of this thesis. However, as with many strategies in this section, shadow assessing TEAPs was rarely successful because it was arbitrary and more a reflection of interpersonal issues between TEAPs and BLEAPs than it was of TEAP performance in the EAP Unit. When BLEAPs were at odds with TEAPs, they were shadow assessed as substandard, subversive, or both. At less stressful times, even though my observations of the TEAPs suggested that they had not significantly changed their practices, BLEAPs saw them simply as 'misguided', 'unable to see the big picture', but along the lines of a corporatized customer service model, were also seen as mostly 'good people' who were 'constantly available for students' and 'caring for students' by 'devoting their personal time to being with students'.

Another largely unsuccessful strategy observed was that of 'Commando Assessment'. This takes place when BLEAPs suspect from shadow assessment that their vision for EAP is being secretly transgressed. In order to confirm these suspicions, the BLEAP

will suddenly drop behind organizational enemy lines and engage in surprise spot check class observations, or conduct indiscriminate bombing campaign of ad hoc student satisfaction surveys. Commando Assessment failed at every site where it was observed. One BLEAP noted that whenever he engaged in sudden, unannounced observations, the best he would get was 'the canned version':

> *I say, 'I want to come and visit your class' and there's always some sort of activity. But the ones that I did do for one of our instructors were, uh, of course it was the TOEFL class...she* (Informant visibly grimaces, turns away halfway and clenches up)*...admitted that it was more of a sit down and, you know, actually learn type of event...but I wonder if her reading and writing* [class] *is not exactly the same way. So...I need to learn more about my program* (Interview, May 10, 2006).

The BLEAP learned little in further attempts, as TEAPs engaged in what many (Barrow 1999 ; Newton 2000 ; G. Anderson 2006a ; R. Turner 2009) have identified as either 'dramaturgical performances', 'dramaturgical compliance' or 'impression management'. All of these terms refer to the cat and mouse games played by teachers for keeping BLEAPs at bay, usually by appearing to conform to managerial standards during observation and then shifting back to regular practices once the Commando Assessors have left the scene.

Attempts to use student satisfaction surveys as a means of confirming non-compliance or for justifying managerial action also failed due to student support of the TEAPs, as the BLEAP explained:

> *Quite honestly, we can think about restructuring ESL, and so many times I've spoken to* [the Dean of the College] *to sort of say, let's... you know, we'll document and sort of do performance evaluations. Every survey that comes back, it's from East Asian students, who* [report that the TEAPs] *'really, really care about us. They want us to learn.' And then so I started creating the surveys, you know, do you feel comfortable in class? Does the teacher make you feel good about learning? And trying to get* something*. The students won't go negative. They just won't report...what I hear from external people just standing in the hallway with* [one TEAP] *screaming at people, and* [another

TEAP] *treating them in a way that makes them feel like children* (Interview, October 29, 2007).

In such situations, the BLEAP takes on the role of a law enforcement officer entering a domestic dispute. In such situations, regardless of the abuse, it is common for all family members to turn on the officer. Some BLEAPs had learned from experience that such strategies were counterproductive: '*I don't want to scare people with formal documents and things like that...In my situation if we decided to go hardcore it would be a disaster*' (Interview, September 6, 2010). In addition, all expressed private misgivings about student evaluations of teachers, seeing them as a waste of time.

As a contingency for dealing with dramaturgical performances, corporatized HEIs in the UK, such as Central Lancashire University, have experimented with the use of 'mystery students' (A. Douglas & Douglas 2006a ; J. Douglas & Douglas 2006b). This strategy falls somewhere between Shadow Assessment and Commando Assessment, and employs people to pose as students in order to secretly assess the quality of teacher instruction. Versions of this strategy were observed at Polaris, Wensleydale and another HEI in southern Japan, where BLEAPs cultivated friendships with student informants with the express purpose of occasionally asking their opinions about anything they find dissatisfying about teachers or the program. If secrecy is successfully maintained, BLEAPs are able to address problems and deal with teacher issues long before rumors reach the ears of the Command & Control patrons of EAP. Even if negative reports about TEAPs do leak out, BLEAPs can still strengthen their rapport with Command & Control in the manner explained by this informant:

> *For example, a department head might come to you and say that their kids have a complaint with one of our teachers. But we are always aware of it and in most cases have been already working on the problem...so they are usually surprised and relieved to know that you have been trying to fix the problem* (Interview, September 6, 2010).

Though Douglas & Douglas (2006a) contend that only bad teachers have anything to fear from mystery student assessment, their use is not only fraught with ethical

considerations, it is risky. As with Commando Assessment, the use of student informants can affect teacher morale and endanger the career prospects of the BLEAP, because those who work within the Third Spaces of their HEIs, BLEAPs are vulnerable if they lose TEAP support. If BLEAPs are discovered to be using students for informing on teachers, the respect and trust of their TEAPs can be quickly lost, and the resulting turmoil might set an otherwise Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP on a Sinking BLEAP trajectory.

The most successful strategy observed was to require reports to be written by teachers. The form of these reports differed from school to school, in that some BLEAPs required regular teacher diaries of their classes, while others provided student progress reports or required TEAPs to fill out administrative files on student attendance and testing. This was the least invasive of the strategies used, and was often supplemented through the use of regular teachers' meetings, because through the statements and behavior of TEAPs in meetings, BLEAPs could assess who was on board, and who was rocking the boat.

As Burden (2010a ; 2010c) observes, strategies for assessing TEAPs in Japan and elsewhere are carried out in a demotivating manner. The negative view of TEAPs held by Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs opens the door for self-fulfilling prophesies, in which BLEAPs, who are already stressed from teacher resistance to a 'managerial agenda', fixate upon negative feedback gathered from select students to reinforce perceptions they already had about uncooperative teachers. In a myriad of subtle and sometimes overt ways (such as Commando Assessment), managerial disappointment in the professional capacity of TEAPs is conveyed, resulting in increased teacher demotivation (Leithwood, Steinbach & Jantzi 2002 ; C. Scott & Dinham 2002) and leading to classes that are less active and engaging, which in turn fuels the potential for student dissatisfaction.

This has implications for when TEAPs are made responsible for student satisfaction. Some studies suggest that teachers are more engaging and prone to provide satisfying lessons when they have been motivated by managerial support (Sylvia & Hutchison 1985 ; Bishay 1996 ; Takeda 2010). Takeda (2010) found from her study of thirty-five TEAPs at five different Japanese HEIs that, as more teachers in Japan are being hired on short-term administrative contracts, they are in even greater need of encouragement, appreciation and understanding from those in authority over them. As will be seen in the next section, such support is especially important, because TEAPs at Mass Providers often deal with increasing numbers of international students who deal with various mental, social and academic issues.

7.5 Weighing & Measuring International Students

The visible aspects of how international students in EAP units are weighed and measured appears little changed from the time when HEIs reflected the cultural and educational values highlighted during the Cold War. The second language proficiency of EAP students is still measured against prestigious external tests such as the TOEFL, IELTs and for programs specializing in a Japanese or Korean clientele, the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC). All of these are publically upheld as quality checks for HEI access. Students achieving high scores on such tests are not only measured positively on an individual level, their success is imported to TEAPs, BLEAPs and the reputation of the EAP unit.

However, we have already seen earlier in this thesis that, behind the scenes, multiple entry points to the HEI have been created around the external tests so that greater numbers of full fee-paying students can be admitted into the institution. In addition, beyond the external frameworks for measuring EAP student language proficiencies, in a manner similar to TEAPs, international students are weighed according to how they cooperate with the plans of Command & Control for the HEI. From interviews and repertory grid analysis (see Good Student (GS) and Bad Student (BS) in Appendix F), this is often expressed as to the degree to which EAP students are 'active' and 'involved' with strategic service learning/diversity awareness program initiatives, and

whether they are 'positive' team players, as opposed to being 'passive', 'apathetic' and 'self-centered'.

7.5.1 Challenges to Weighing & Measuring International Students

In terms of academic achievement, the increase of students with limited language proficiency has presented some of the greatest challenges to Tertiary EAP units. As one former BLEAP explained, '[w]e *tended to admit anybody, even some who've taken a TOEFL and got 200 on it, we would admit it and then, you're never going to get anybody raised up in four semesters that low*' (Interview, November 28, 2005). This lack of academic progress thwarts BLEAP attempts to demonstrate that excellence is being achieved. The limited second language proficiency of the new EAP student masses was not the only problem to one BLEAP:

Informant: *They're, well...*

GH: *What are they doing, or not doing?*

Informant: *Not volun, not volunteering their...time. Not participating in class...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...not participating in group work...um...wanting people to tell them what they need to do rather than saying, 'this is what I think I can do to help, in the group.' You know, [for] a lot of Asian students that would be comfortable...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...sitting there, heads down, pretending to write notes or, sleeping* (Interview November 28, 2005).

Given the expectations of Command & Control, BLEAPs cannot risk outside EAP classroom observation. If students could be presented as smiling and interacting among each other, this would demonstrate active, satisfying and successful instructional delivery. Silent and unexpressive learners represent failure on a number of levels.

275

Another major challenge to BLEAPs seeking to Weigh & Measure EAP students is the phenomenon of large international student enclaves, which has been the subject of considerable research interest (Kagan & Cohen 1990 ; Kaczmarek et al. 1994 ; Al-Sharideh & Goe 1998 ; Myles & Cheng 2003 ; Marriott 2004 ; Katz 2006 ; Tran 2009). I have also observed during visits to Japanese campuses the growing presence of Chinese international students. Similar what has been observed in the US and UK, these students live in self-selected academic ghettos and rarely interact with domestic students throughout their time at university (Tanaka et al. 1994 ; Murphy-Shigematsu 2002). Closed socio-cultural cliques pose problems for BLEAPs in charge of EAP units who wish to showcase the positive impacts of Hunting & Gathering. Apart from economic considerations, international student recruitment is vital for furthering the internationalization of their campuses, but this often does not happen as expected or desired. Not only do studies indicate that many do not sufficiently improve linguistically after leaving the EAP Unit (Sawir 2005 ; Andrade 2006), a noticeable number also either develop or arrive with psychological issues. One TEAP explains:

Informant: *This is something that the administration doesn't see or understand, that every one of these students is like a special education student. Every one of these students has needs that are beyond the normal student in the normal classroom.*

GH: *For example?*

Informant: *You know. You've got all kinds of things. I had another student that was mutilating her body. Another student who made statements like, 'I want to kill people.' I mean, you've got all kinds of things.*

GH: *Emotional... a lot of students that come are... have some real emotional flaws, right?*

Informant: *Yeah, right.*

GH: *Psychological.*

Informant: *And you've got things that go on in the classroom that you wouldn't have in mainstream classrooms. I mean, some of these students have, you know, bulimia, or learning disabilities, and you know, there are all kinds*

of things that have not been recognized, and probably never will be recognized, but they're all in the ESL classroom (Interview, November 5, 2008).

Most HEIs have a mental health clinic for addressing some of these issues, but even here, a large number of international students fall through the safety net because their social isolation and language proficiency preclude them from knowing that such services are available. The following is from a TEAP interview:

Informant: *I know it's a really extreme case, but this could have been avoided. What about that Japanese student in the States a couple of years ago who ended up being a mass murderer and shot somebody in the street because ... and then he shot himself, and it's because he felt lonely and nobody was helping him at university.*

GH: *He wasn't Japanese. He was Korean. He lived in the States for awhile.*

Informant: (not listening) *I know it's an extreme case but if the authorities had listened and ... I don't know, just focused on his behavior ...But I'm just using that as an example as an international student. If they've got problems, if they feel aggravated and they're not getting all the help that they feel that they need ...*

GH: (reflecting back) *And the students what ... they're not getting the help they need. So there's no pastoral care for them and no overall consideration for them.*

Informant: *Yeah. Talking of that, this is what happened on Friday. One of my students who's normally very lively and bubbly, he looked skeletal, he looked really thin, and I said, '[name redacted] are you OK? You don't look very well.' He said, 'I only found out yesterday that my brother, who's doing a master's degree in India, was found dead in his room and his body had been lying there for two days.' I said, 'Are you OK? Do you need help? You know we do have a student councilor you can go and see.' And he was like all confused. I said, 'You need counseling. Are you going home?' And he was like, he didn't know what was happening.*

GH: *What did you do?*

Informant: *I just said, 'Look, if you need to speak to somebody, see me or speak to any of us about that, 'cause that's really horrible news.' They're on*

the outside, they're in the UK but ... he didn't know that there's that kind of help available (Interview, September 14, 2008).

In addition to psychological issues, some students arrive and begin to display antisocial behavior patterns, as a Command & Control informant recalls:

> *One of the young men that came had been out of school in Japan ... was ... pretty independent, and even when I met him in Japan in April I thought 'he's a little older. I don't know how this is going to go.' And we started having trouble with him day one, and he wanted to be independent, not do what we wanted to do. And <laughs> within a week he and* [the BLEAP in charge of the EAP program] *had a physical encounter with one another and he got kicked out of the program* (Interview, November 28, 2005).

Therefore, after the initial contribution made to the economic well-being of the HEI, the lack of a positive, engaging dynamic among many of these learners makes them increasingly problematic, especially when their social problems are interpreted as resistance to the managerial vision for EAP and a globally-diversified HEI. The result is that they are often not considered as truly part of the campus community, and my analysis of informant interviews leads me to theorize that growing numbers of international students not living up to Command & Control's expectations for internationalization or diversity are viewed almost as if the university were experiencing numeric decline. Bain, Luu & Green (2006) explain that, from an American perspective, any decline in international students, be it numerically or through an inability to recruit those who are socially engaging and academically talented, is a threat:

> U.S. well-being is increasingly dependent on innovation and competitiveness in the global knowledge-based economy. International students and scholars have historically provided a source of new talent for innovation in the United States. Although the demand for education abroad is increasing, so is the global competition for the 'best and brightest.' Declines in the number of international students, especially in the science and engineering fields so critical for innovation, will affect the ability of higher education, business, and government to engage in research and development. Additionally,

international students represent an important means for strengthening U.S. cultural diplomacy around the world (Bain, Luu & Green 2006).

The difficulties in weighing and measuring EAP learners take an interesting turn when studying Mass Provider Japanese HEIs that are in the process of corporatization. Although their APMs are processing a large number of students, some sort of external measurement is needed as an International Standards Organization (ISO) quality marker, because social promotion in Japanese universities means that internal grading provides little indication of a graduate's quality. At these venues, the challenge facing Command & Control is in finding a prestigious test that will recognize the work that EAP students have put into English study, and which can be used as a qualification for employment after graduation.

Japanese Translation

基本情報技術者試験: Japan Information Technology Engineers Examination
日商簿記検定: Japan Commercial Bookkeeping Examination
実用英語技能検定: Eiken Test in Practical English Proficiency
応用情報技術者試験: Applied Information Technology Engineering Examination
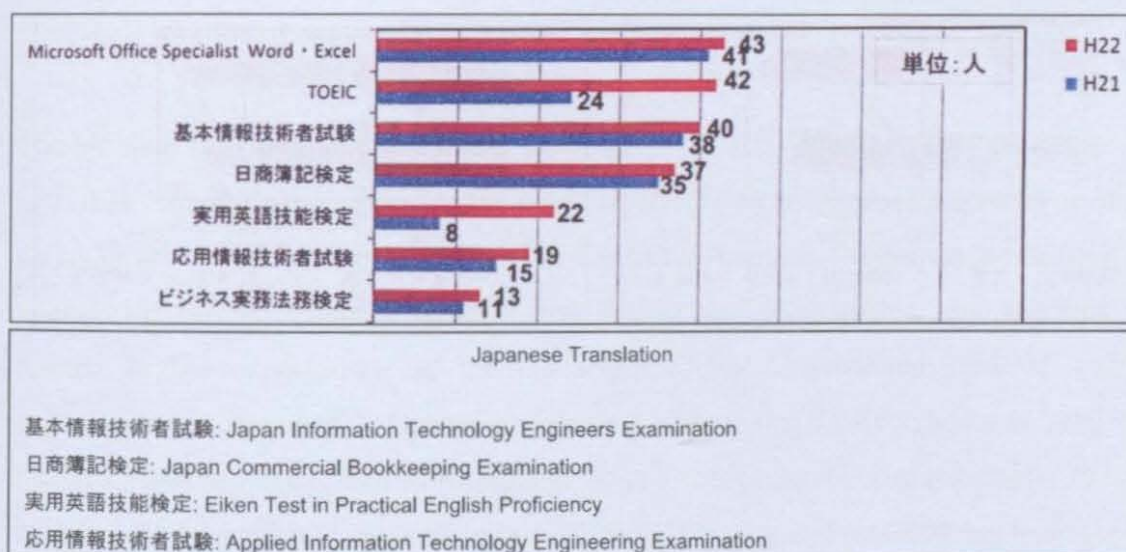
Figure 42 Top Frequency List of Desirable Business-Related Skills and Assessed Qualifications for NUGIS graduates by Managers of Prefectural Industries in 2010 (H22) and 2009 (H21) (N = 187, Non-Responders = 68 (H22) and 60 (H = 21)

This is why the Test of English for International Communication (TOEIC) has been promoted with increasing insistence over the past several years by Command & Control, since this is accepted by Japanese companies as a prestigious external

279

assessment standard of domestic graduates' second language proficiency. First developed specifically for Japanese students, and with an emphasis on English for business communication, Japan's industry leaders have fueled efforts to implement TOEIC in Japanese HEIs.

High scores on the test are often a requirement for new hires or for those seeking promotion in their organizations. Even at workplaces where English is rarely used, TOEIC scores are still utilized by Japanese company recruiters as a means for determining the potential diligence of college graduates. Managers have frequently explained this point during faculty-corporate networking dinners run by NUGIS. They express the belief that most Japanese students know they will not need English after graduation. However, if a student still attains high scores on the TOEIC test, managers feel that such a student will work hard in the company regardless of how meaningless or uninteresting the task might seem (Field Notes, November 14, 2007).

The problem for Command & Control at Japanese HEIs arises from TEAP resistance to TOEIC. It will be remembered that, until recently, in terms of providing the type of diversity desired by Japanese Command & Control on campus, the emphasis has been upon hiring foreign language teachers over that of recruiting international students. Similar to the expectations in the US and UK for international students, the expectation of Command & Control in Japanese HEIs is that TEAPs should be *genki* (active), *fureshu* (fresh), and *kyouryokusei no aru* (cooperative). Unfortunately, like many of the international students in the UK and US, many end up clumping together in closed common language groups where they solidify certain beliefs about Japan and their HEIs, the result being that many are seen as gloomy (*kurai*) and selfish (*wagamama*) by their BLEAPs and Command & Control. Many TEAPs and BLEAPs interviewed in Japan spoke of their rejection of administrative attempts to introduce TOEIC as an external assessment of their classes. The following is a typical account told by a BLEAP:

Informant: *A few years ago they wanted us to do TOEIC.*

GH: *Ah. Yes, there was TOEIC phase up here too.*

Informant: *What I mean is they wanted results, sellable results.*

GH: *I see.*

Informant: *And so they wanted basically to dump what we were doing and embrace TOEIC and there was this implied threat to do it or else...so I had to go on our big PR tour and talk to the big bosses and tell them TOEIC wasn't suitable, but in fact we were doing it and nobody was willing on their side to push any further and it died --*

GH: *You mean the big bosses at your school lost the will to keep pushing it?*

Informant: *Yes. They didn't have someone to fight on their behalf*

GH: *Why did they give up? I am curious because at another school here, there was this huge push to make the entire curriculum fit with TOEIC. Then after everything was set up, and students were not passing the classes, it just disappeared.*

Informant: *I think they realized that I knew what I was talking about and I sold them on the idea that we were doing TOEIC...I should say that we were planning to do TOEIC.*

GH: *Oh. So you told them that you were already doing TOEIC, even if it wasn't exactly what they envisaged, and so it fizzled eventually?*

Informant: *Yes they thought 'oh they are doing and thinking about TOEIC - ah okay.' But in honesty at that time we had nothing...bluffed...and nobody on their side was keen to pursue it any further.*

GH: *I see. You say that you didn't think TOEIC was appropriate. So it was your quiet resistance that stopped this initiative?*

Informant: *It wasn't quiet. I hit the hallway circuit...I would call it lobbying...basically they couldn't make us do it, we told them it wasn't doable, but told them we were on the problem and had things coming up, and on their side they didn't have an expert to match us...there was nobody in the department that supported them.*

GH: *Interesting.*

Informant: *...and they didn't have a guy who could have fought us...so the big cheeses just gave up...*(Interview, September 16, 2010).

Others who have studied resistance of TEAPs and some BLEAPs to TOEIC conclude that it proceeds from beliefs in its incompatibility with current teaching methods, fears about the disruption caused from creating new lessons designed for passing the test, and from concerns about a further loss of autonomy over deciding classroom subject matter (J. Fox 2009, p. 34; Sugino 2010). My own field research supports these findings, as in this excerpt from a TEAP:

> *We have been told by people we trust within our organization that the TOEIC has nothing to do with communicative language ability and is therefore incompatible with what we are teaching. It thus seems to be a vestige of a backwards approach to language learning in Japan, which will result in a lot of wasted effort with no communicative ability to show for it* (Informant E-Mail Correspondence, December 2, 2010).

TEAPs also resist what many see as an imposition of a corporate managerial agenda that threatens the teaching of cultural values, which they believe are intertwined with the target language. Such views stand behind the following exchange from a published interview on the role of TOEIC in the EAP classroom with Robert Woodhead, a test writer for Educational Testing Services (ETS), the company that produces the TOEIC and TOEFL tests:

> **DJW:** Graded readers are flooding the commercial market – is this the right way to go or are there other as good or better kinds of reading?
>
> **RW:** Assuming you mean in relation to improving general reading proficiency to be measured by the TOEIC, the kind of reading activities would need to be leveled...
>
> **DJW:** Many of the readers are actual British literature, often classics. Content-wise, wouldn't they be less relevant than writings relating more to the current use of language in a work-related environment?
>
> **RW:** As the TOEIC is designed as a test of English used in the international workplace, I don't really think classic British literature would have all that

much value. More effective materials might be written using contemporary language.

DJW: If any materials are potentially useful depending on their use, does it matter if they are of limited scope (such as classic British literature)? Or is a wider variety better?

RW: As I said before, the more limited the scope the less useful they would be in terms of test preparation.

DJW: Should materials include information about business culture?

RW: If the purpose is preparation for the TOEIC, then probably yes (Wood 2010, p. 42).

For Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs, the challenge is in finding a way to deal with resistance, pave the way for assessing students, and present marketable results to outside stakeholders.

7.5.2 Strategies for Weighing & Measuring International Students

Strategies to meet these challenges, which were less defined than what was observed with programs and teachers, were those of Non-action, Narrative Construction, and Alternative Implementation of Prestigious Tests.

For international students who stayed in enclaves or cultural enclaves after invitations to intercultural exchange events and other activities designed to promote international understanding, the most common strategy observed was that of 'non-action', that is, to do nothing and chalk it up to individual choice. The following excerpt is with a Command & Control informant:

> **GH:** [the NUGIS students] *seemed to gravitate, from what the ESL teachers are saying, they seem to gravitate quickly to the Asian Student Association, and join it, and the vast majority of the students in that group are Japanese. The ESL teachers actually don't like that, because they think that the students are spending so much time with the Asian students that it's taking away from their experience with American students, and there may be something to that, but what can you do? I mean one of the reasons why my school wanted the students to come to Polaris was that it was far away from Hawaii or*

California or Guam. Guam would have been a much cheaper option but they said, 'Well if the students go there they'll just hang around and speak Japanese all the time and they won't learn any English. If they go to Polaris they'll have a better chance of interacting with American students and such.' If they get here and they run down the street and hang out with the Japanese students the whole time, what are we going to do about it?

Informant: (smiling broadly) *Well there's nothing you can do.*

GH: (Taken aback. Embarrassed pause) *But it can be a source of support for them and one of the students I spoke with this morning, just said that they do provide a sense of stability and support, they let them know how to ... negotiate the campus.*

Informant: (still smiling) *Sure. You know, it's like anything...all things in moderation usually are not harmful. You know, and so it's something you can't prevent and I think if a student were to use it for that kind of purpose that's a good thing. If that causes them to interact significantly less with American students or other international students, students from Mexico, students from Brazil, students from whatever, then that's not good. That would be that. That's really up to the individual* (Meeting, November 27, 2006).

As a strategy, BLEAPs tended to focus on the minority of international students who participated in their projects, and in what psychologist Jerome Bruner (1991, p. 4) would call a purposeful act of narrative construction, 'a version of reality whose acceptability is governed by convention and 'narrative necessity' rather than by empirical verification and logical requiredness' can then be created. In this way, the BLEAP can focus on the small number of successful international students and exclude from active consciousness the failures of the majority, thus allowing the BLEAP to weigh the success of the 'real' students and showcase the success of the EAP unit. Although mostly observed, this strategy emerged during an interview, in which a BLEAP in charge of an EAP unit discussed the problems experienced after recruiting a large influx of mostly Asian students. Following this, the informant then shifted the conversation to focus on one particular student who had:

definite...goals in mind. And she had ways in which she would reach those goals...despite any hold, anything that held her back...you know, in terms of,

stagnant curriculum or a class that was boring. And she would...find ways to make that, more interesting (Interview, November 28, 2005).

These students are often described as persevering and self-directed, which are qualities possessed by 'low maintenance' EAP students in the UK. As noted earlier, such students support Hunting & Gathering and are upheld as success stories in university PR materials.

One contingency strategy observed was the implementation of alternative testing schemes that were more palatable to TEAPS, such as the Common European Framework (CEF) for student language proficiency assessment. Because of its communicative focus, there does not seem to be as much visceral resistance among TEAPs, and it is common to find considerable Japanese managerial interest in scheme, since it is a prestigious test associated with economic success of the EU. The test is also applicable to vocational training. A BLEAP at a Japanese women's college in Japan shares his experience:

> **Informant:** *I also in my proposal that was accepted told the powers that we would be adapting the Common European Framework for assessing language ability. That was a bit of sales pitch to win their vote and also let then people know in the department that accountability was coming...how that materializes is a different story --*
>
> **GH:** *'Accountability is coming'...to whom?*
>
> **Informant:** *To the teachers.*
>
> **GH:** *From?*
>
> **Informant:** *Me.*
>
> **GH:** *Ah. I see!*
>
> **Informant:** *The powers just didn't want a directionless practical English department. So I tossed out the CEF. They jumped all over it. And the other side was to let the profs in the department know that we are going to be changing to* [something] *more practical skill based and that this will be evaluated by CEF.*

GH: *And these skills are for what practical purpose?*

Informant: *For years the English Department has been graduating kids who don't have any English ability at all, so on one side the goal is to make sure that everyone in the Department knows that we are now going to be graduating kids who can speak, write, English. Now many schools are advertising English for tourism, so that is the other target. Our girls can work in hotels, or travel companies, maybe airline stewardesses --*

GH: *English study as training for use in employment?*

Informant: (pause) *Yes* (Interview, September 6, 2010).

Others have sought to link the CEF to the TOEIC in tenuous ways. One TEAP informant teaching at a Japanese Dreamweaver HEI noted this during the development of an in-house EAP assessment test that was created soon after the university's new president called for more 'practical' English courses. Based upon the CEF, though regularly compared to the TOEIC, it is a norm-referenced test used both as a placement test and end of term assessment. The informant questioned the validity of these activities and felt they were driven by BLEAPs, '*in large part to provide evidence of student progress and further justify the existence of the course to university administrators*' (Informant E-Mail Correspondence, November 28, 2010). Interest in the CEF might wane, however, if the EU begins to experience a significant economic downturn.

Strategies for Weighing & Measuring EAP students are located within the struggle between elites and the subaltern for control over the Center of Praxis. Command & Control needs hard data in order to justify later efforts at Molding & Shaping. To varying degrees, those who could be mined for such data are largely resistant. They are prone to withhold either their participation or support. Far more effort at building bridges and establishing rapport is needed before BLEAPs can succeed in this area.

7.6 Weighing & Measuring BLEAPs

Assessment of BLEAPs depends upon the intensity of corporatization at the HEI and upon the BLEAP's professional trajectory. At HEIs transitioning from a Mass

Provider to that of a Sausage Maker, BLEAPs were rarely measured either by external or internal forms of assessment. However, they were constantly Shadow Assessed both by those above and below them, and therefore needed to engage in regular self-assessment to determine whether they were succeeding as a leader and achieving the goals of Command & Control for the EAP unit. From reading the situation around them, politically astute BLEAPs in EAP units instinctively knew what was expected of them, which had very little to do with academic concerns.

BLEAPs taking the transactional approach, and who were in Mass Providers that were, for the moment, holding their own, tended to operate strategically by furthering the aims of administrative management through a loosely controlled style of management over TEAPs, students and programs. These BLEAPs typically taught classes in the EAP program alongside their co-workers and underwent the same external and internal forms of measured assessment as faculty, meaning they had to publish, insure student satisfaction with their classes, maintain TEAP satisfaction and keep the confidence of Command & Control.

7.6.1 Challenges to the Weighing & Measuring of BLEAPs

The challenge for BLEAPs, if the manner in which they would be Weighed & Measured could not be carefully managed, was in how to avoid it. This, however, was not peculiar to Blended EAP Professionals, but was seen across the spectrum of those working in administrative sections of corporatized HEIs. The following is from an interview with a midlevel Quality Assurance administrator at a Dreamweaver HEI in America:

> **GH:** *I have noticed everywhere that assessment typically focuses on faculty. Students assess faculty, and faculty are assessed by administrative management. Teachers assess students via grades, mitigated in some HEIs by student assessment, but there does not seem to be much in the way of faculty assessment of administrators. Have you noticed this? If so, do you know why? I have yet to find an HEI that employs 360 assessments.*

Informant: *The administrators would not want feedback on their work, because they would get terrible results.* (Informant E-mail Interview, October 29 - November 1, 2010).

These views were repeatedly confirmed in other interviews with BLEAPs in charge of EAP units, especially the Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs who viewed themselves more as administrators than teachers, and who certainly did not want to submit themselves to assessment, because they knew the results would damage their organizational reputation:

> **GH:** *I recognize that a lot of effort has gone into gauging student satisfaction and evaluating teachers, but have you seen at your HEI anything related to the evaluation of administrative management by students and teachers? I haven't seen much of this at other places, but maybe I haven't been looking or asking the right questions...*
>
> **Informant:** *No 360 evaluations – but it is a good idea. I feel the teachers would say I do not do a good job and need 'a real TEFL professional' to run the program. They are wrong, of course* (Informant E-mail Interview, Sept 29, 2010).

The success in avoiding the same rigors of audit as expected of others highlights the shift of power within corporatized HEIs and the loss of ideals such as democratic governance and the human contract of fairness. Among those in the Center of Praxis, such as from this frontline administrative informant, issues such as these validate their view of Command & Control as unprincipled neo-patricians bent on exploitation:

> **Informant:** *Pardon me for being cynical, but administrators seem to be focused on building their own CVs so they can get jobs elsewhere, not meeting the needs of the faculty and students below them. To me, it is a form of corruption, and it is rampant.*
>
> **GH:** *Yes that is probably the crux of it. But ironically, of the administrators that I have interviewed on the issue of assessment, and it is a topic which they often raise in interviews, even though they are not assessed by others, they often assess themselves on whether they are succeeding as leaders. By not allowing themselves to be assessed as they assess others, they undermine the rapport needed to gain the respect of others. It would seem that in order for*

assessment in HEIs to succeed, it would have to be a 360 experience. Am I being too simplistic?

Informant: *I don't think you are. I don't think self-assessment is the best kind, when it is the only source of feedback* (Informant E-mail Interview, October 29 - November 1, 2010).

Self-assessment often led BLEAPs to judge themselves less in terms of pedagogic skills, and more about if they are the type of power managers that one expects to encounter in a corporate setting:

Informant: *I am taking over the English department. So [I] need to be more managerial savvy. Leadership savvy.*

GH: *Recently in my research on people who are in your position, I have found that, in self-assessments of the quality of their work, people in your position are more interested in how well they are doing in terms of leadership than they are in terms of teaching. Not that teaching is unimportant, just that the focus or priority has shifted.*

Informant: *Oh for sure!*

GH: *Really? Tell me more. I'm interested...*

Informant: *Well my teaching is really unimportant for the economics of the school and the senior people now see me more as a political player and the person in charge of making the department profitable again.*

GH: *I have noticed in my observations elsewhere that Command & Control will assess a person in your position on how well you keep the teachers relatively satisfied...or at least compliant to administrative plans. Those people in your position who have groups of uncooperative teachers who want to do their own thing are often seen as poor leaders. That is, the behavior of the teachers reflects upon you as a manager. What do you think about that?*

Informant: *Oh for sure. My rep in the uni is how well I keep everything quiet and happy. For sure. That's a huge part of my job. And the teachers don't realize that the less trouble there is the less trouble they will have as far as cuts and so forth. Seen and not heard. I have two jobs. Keep the kids happy and the teachers doing their jobs. So far I have been good at it...so the uni sees me as a pretty important person because I can manage big things without problems* (Interview, September 6, 2010).

Transactional BLEAPs also find ways to work with self-assessment and/or to work around shadow assessment in their HEI, but are faced with the additional challenge of the REF or other unavoidable forms of external Weighing & Measuring. Sinking BLEAPs did not set aside time for formal or informal self-assessment. Instead, they tended to devote their energy to teaching or research interests, all of which contributed to their short tenure.

7.6.2 BLEAP Strategies for Weighing & Measuring

BLEAPs employed a range of strategies for negotiating Weighing & Measuring, and I have labeled these as Image Management, In-Group Construction, Authoritarian Deliberation, Kettling, Providing Structural and Moral Support, Defusing Teacher Rebellion, and Protective Firewalling. These are explained below.

One strategy for insuring the favor of Command & Control is Image Management, in which BLEAPs sought to either demonstrate or create the impression that they were members of the Command & Control tribe:

> **GH:** *So if you want to move up in the organization, you need to be seen as right of center politically, business oriented, innovative, and focused on generating surpluses for the university? Then someday you'll be in a top level post in the organization?*

> **Informant:** *Yes for sure. 100 percent. Maybe at an elite university you can be a trophy, but where I am, you have to be all that you said. If I never published again nobody would care as long as I got our quota of students* (Interview, September 6, 2010).

After establishing rapport, BLEAPs must continuously cultivate an image of successful, innovative EAP leadership. An Upwardly Mobile BLEAP continues:

> **Informant:** *I go and tell them, 'Hey look we are doing' this and that and 'our student survey feedbacks say this'...I did make a program that was evaluated by MEXT and they praised all facets of it to the head cheeses who then realized I knew what I was doing.*

> **GH:** *Ah. I see. So you go and tell them rather than wait for them to ask you.*

Informant: *Yeah I go and tell them...keep them in the loop...let them feel like they are on the inside...the guys are at the top and if you make them feel like they know what is going on then they can say in meetings...* '[BLEAP name redacted] *said this.*'

GH: *I see.*

Informant: *So that made me look good...I meet the* [Board of Governors] *people in the hallways like I did with the Prez last week in the garden...or I go see them...and when we get into committee meetings they toss out my name...* '*yes* [BLEAP name redacted] *and I talked about it...I think it is good.*'

GH: *You do a lot of politicking!*

Informant: *They don't know what is going on so you have to get them to know so they look good and look in control which makes them trust you* (Interview, September 28, 2010).

Image management helps us to understand how BLEAPs, especially the Upwardly-Mobile ones, underplay or even hide negative reports. Weighing & Measuring relates more to highlighting success than in revealing the actual conditions of the EAP Unit.

Another strategy taken when possible is what I call 'In-Group Construction.' This property will be explained in greater detail in the Molding & Shaping chapter, but with relation to Weighing & Measuring, In-Group Construction fosters the creation of a tight-knit group of loyal TEAP followers, through which BLEAPs avoid dissent of the type that would make them look weak in the eyes of Command & Control. Not all BLEAPs have the institutional authority to remove dissident teachers, but if BLEAPs have been successful in Image Management, they can eventually gain enough power to remove nonconformists, thereby assuring positive assessment. This strategy is risky, because it may inspire more fear than respect among TEAPs. During an interview following the use of repertory grids, a Command & Control informant discussed a more preferable leadership strategy for Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs aspiring to become administrators, which was to value teacher input and create a sense of teamwork necessary for implementing administrative policies for EAP:

291

GH: *How is teamwork...realized? What's a, what's a team player, for you?*

Informant: *Uh, I initially had...I wrote, 'worked collaboratively and in teams', and so I used the one word 'teamwork'...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *I guess what I meant by that is that the administrator works, they're not dictatorial...they work collaboratively.*

GH: *I see.*

Informant: *Uh, they work with those, that report to him or her...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...and uh, to determine then, uh, you know...policies and how we follow them and so it's...it's, getting people to, to work together, and valuing their input* (November 29, 2006).

This informant explained how such skills were important for the head of the EAP unit. This was known by the BLEAP in charge of the unit, who frequently spoke of 'moving language teachers to the correct level'. Moving teachers to a correct level is also synonymous with Molding & Shaping, but it also supports Weighing & Measuring, in that by persuading TEAPs to cooperate with administrative plans, the BLEAP can give positive reports to powerful campus patrons, thus insuring that the EAP Unit, TEAPs, Students and the BLEAP are all weighed favorably.

Creating teams for discussing how to carry out plans already decided by Command & Control is a strategy that Chinese scholars (He & Warren 2008 ; Jiang 2008) identify as *authoritarian deliberation*. While appearing to be democratic, authoritarian deliberation, explain He & Warren (2008, p. 2), involves persuading the powerless to discuss how to further stabilize and strengthen the agenda of the authoritarian order. While this is a common feature of modern life in China, it is surprising to find it viewed so positively among administrative informants in corporatized HEIs.

If authoritarian deliberation fails, and faced with the danger of TEAP dissent that may reach the ears of Command & Control, a tactic that I have observed being used on two occasions, both times in the UK, is that of *kettling*. My use of the term is borrowed from the containment tactics developed by British police to hem in protestors and to prevent their protests from causing further public disorder. Its use has since spread to authoritarian, post-democratic societies as a means of allowing people to protest only in certain confined spaces. In this way, protestors can burn out their anger while their demands continue to be ignored by those in power. The effectiveness of this strategy is in the elites' ability to stifle dissent while still appearing to support freedom of expression and the right to protest. I have observed both Upwardly-Mobile and Transactional BLEAPs effectively use this technique with TEAPs and international students. The BLEAPs create either an online forum or a meeting hall where dissenters are welcomed to give full vent to their anger. BLEAPs listen, take notes, and reflect their concerns back to them, while also repeating the policies and processes established by Command & Control. All dissent is kept from reaching outsiders, often facilitated unwittingly by the dissenters, since they are focusing their energies on the BLEAP. In both cases where I observed this strategy being used, protestors and dissenters eventually grew tired of expressing their anger and after a period of silence, returned to the table of authoritarian deliberation.

Yet another strategy for insuring the positive shadow assessment of those under the BLEAP, one which was described often as 'strong' and 'successful' both by Upwardly-Mobile and Transactional BLEAPs, was providing structural and moral support to teachers so that they in turn could care for students. The BLEAP of the Polaris EAP Unit discussed this during a visit to NUGIS. After comparing classes in the NUGIS program to the one at Polaris, he commented that:

> **Informant:** *...the differences would be that I think that your teachers...have a different support structure for them. I think that they've got...a program that's well developed and has strong leadership for them that allows them to being...uh...cares about them a little more. So I think that they...probably display that more with their students within the classroom.*

GH: *Hmm.*

Informant: *Our program historically has had...uh...weak leadership as far as that, it went without leadership. You've got, you know, you've got duel appoint-if you got duel appointments in any point in time...*

GH: (laughs)

Informant: *...and that means me...and their passions are...are mixed...I mean, you might have some affinity to something or other...I think that that is a shame...*

GH: *Mmm.*

Informant: *I think the teachers have, um, have some feelings about that. And I think that they...they would like to have strong leadership. I don't think that they want to be leaders themselves, actually...*

GH: *Mmm.*

Informant: *I don't think that they want that. But, what they do want is...more leadership from me.*

GH: *...and that leadership is defined as...? I mean, there's, there's all sorts of...*

Informant: *Well, I think, you know, I don't know how far they want me to go. Crea, curriculum-wise...probably, nowhere at all. But what they do what me to do is to be sitting down there, and, and going through...the, the management aspects...uh, of the program and, and showing them the, you know, how much, you know, telling them that we're going to do a trip, and this is how much money you have, and...I, I think they want me to be there and be...uh...a leader in that sense...*

GH: *...I see...*

Informant: *...and that's not the way that I see...leadership.*

GH: *Uh-huh...*

Informant: *And I don't know if we're starting to get over now into the leadership of the program...but, the teachers, uh...you know, yours are probably more, because of the caring, because of the leadership, because of what you've set up I feel, that that's...I feel that that's innovative...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*
Informant: *...and I feel that that's a result of careful thought...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...and caring about...larger things* (Interview, May 10, 2006).

Innovation and strategic thought about the larger things are key qualities by which educational entrepreneurs assess themselves. The way these qualities are implemented, however, is also considered in the chapter on Molding & Shaping.

As discussed earlier, Transactional BLEAPs face the challenge of satisfying Command & Control, TEAPs, and also external assessment bodies. The sophistication of their strategies depends in part upon the difficulties posed by external assessment. For example, satisfying the demands of the REF in the UK is far more onerous than what is often required in Japanese HEIs. Regardless however, Transactional BLEAPs insured positive shadow assessment by using the following strategies.

Relying on the opinions of TEAPs is a perilous place when assessing one's success or failure in a corporatized HEI. As one BLEAP at the University of Wensleydale noted, attempting to *manage* TEAPs was akin to herding cats, and Anderson (2006a) cites many studies documenting how university teachers tend to be highly suspicious and resistant to those seeking to manage them in ways that are at odds with their professional identities. Like other university faculty, many TEAPs have serious issues with authority. Recognizing this, Transactional BLEAPs approach TEAPs by publically acknowledging that their group dissent or dissatisfaction would eventually cost the BLEAP his or her career. Others, in a calculated move of dramaturgical performance, will go further to offer TEAPs the opportunity to remove the BLEAP from his or her post:

> *I get renewed officially every three or four years, and always say to my staff, 'Well if you've had enough of me, that's fine, just ... ' And they have a meeting by themselves, at which I'm not present, and I say, 'If one of you want to*

become it, or you want to bring someone else in, I'm not going to be offended. I've been here long enough.' And fortunately for me, they decide to renew the contract (Interview, October 31, 2008).

It is a truism that people love to give power to those who do not seem to want it, and admissions of TEAP power or offers to step aside effectively defuses the tendency among TEAPs to resist authority.

Transactional BLEAPs have neither the time nor interest to tightly manage the EAP Unit, especially if they must also engage in knowledge production for satisfying external assessment. Therefore, they often repackage their inability to control the program in terms of 'giving teachers freedom' or 'trusting them as professionals':

> *I think trust is the most important thing. I think that underlines just about anything you do in life, and...I think that you would give someone a job before and you'd say, 'This is your job. Go and do it.' And you'd trust them to do it. And there wouldn't need to be official paper controls on whether they've done it – you wouldn't need to have appraisal systems to see whether they've done it. You just trusted them. Now, OK, some people would abuse the system, so you'd get some people not performing up to standard and you would have to do something about that. But now, because this trust has gone...it's all back to numbers and measurement* (Interview, October 31, 2008).

Within this confederation of trust, the Transactional BLEAP continues to win the favor of TEAPs by cultivating an image as being one who both supports their cause and protects them from the interference of Command & Control:

> **GH:** *What would then be a key principle that guides your management style?*
>
> **Informant:** *I think really support, I think making sure that staff particularly have all the support I can give them. And I think that's really important. Support and development really. I think that's a key thing about it I think, and protection. Protection in the sense to this you're in between university admin and the teachers, and I think protecting the staff from too much interference from admin, and sorting out the problems before they actually get to staff in a sense, I think that's very important. And also presenting a view to the administration on a reorganization of staff, because there are people in the*

university that still don't really know what we do, and that's actually very important (Interview, October 31, 2008).

Protection of this type also relates to what I will discuss later as the strategy by which Transactional BLEAPs attempt to slow down the process of administrative Molding & Shaping, which I call 'firewalling', and which is discussed in the next chapter. Nevertheless, it is within the context of protection that Transactional BLEAPs hope to enable teachers to try out new ideas and take charge of their work without tight controls:

> *going back to this protection thing, is you've got a group there of fairly individualistic people, I think university academics are a fairly individualistic crowd; they've all got huge talents, they've got huge energy, huge motivation, and you've got to preserve it, and it's very easy to destroy that. If you can't let them ... you just really have got to let them create opportunities and let them develop, and develop those opportunities as much as you can within administrative and financial constraints and things like that, but you can't actually start ...certainly with our unit, and I think it's general within most of the certainly humanities departments, you can't actually start telling people what to do. Basically you suggest and so on, but ultimately the ideas have got to come bottom up and you've got to encourage that as much as you can* (Interview, October 31, 2008).

Through expressions of trust, offering protection and by allowing TEAPs the space to innovate, Transactional BLEAPs insure teacher satisfaction. Transactional BLEAPs tended to express a 'trickle-down' theory that, in satisfying teachers, this would in turn lead to satisfied students. Any positive feedback or other collected data can then be safely reported to Command & Control, who as a result will allow Transactional BLEAPs even greater latitude and autonomy in their EAP units.

Many of the qualities by which Transactional BLEAPs assessed themselves, that of teamwork, providing support, seeking balance, showing respect and that of serving as a protector, complement Bryman's (2007) exhaustive literature study of successful HE leadership qualities, and many of the areas in which BLEAPs meet with resistance and failure can also be found in scholarly studies (e.g. Wildy & Louden 2000). Based

297

upon my reading of the literature, Transactional BLEAPs assess themselves as successful when enabling those in the Center of Praxis to develop their own talents, knowing this strategy wins the trust and support needed both for the shadow assessment of Command & Control, and for later on if Molding & Shaping is required. Transactional BLEAPs essentially give people permission to find their own satisfaction and to develop their own means of productivity. Once they are working on their own, the BLEAP can focus on research for external assessment. Papers and presentations will often feature testing, curriculum development, or other aspects of the EAP unit where the BLEAP has encouraged satisfaction and success. Apart from external assessment, such publications are also presented to peers and stakeholders to strengthen rapport with these important support groups.

7.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has studied some of the external and internal factors that contextualize Weighing & Measuring in corporatized HEIs, with particular interest in how this affects members of EAP units. This chapter considered ways in which EAP programs, TEAPs, International Students and BLEAPs are weighed or measured by Command & Control according to the following quality standards.

TEAPs are assessed mainly along the lines of manufacturing based quality, especially in terms of service conformance (Crosby 1979, p. 67), which is that of delivering lessons to student consumers in a satisfying manner. Often viewed as an extension of the teachers themselves, EAP programs are assessed in terms of product based quality, that is, if the program is measurably producing and processing an adequate number of students for the HEI. Because corporatized HEI administrative management also associates international students with the overall success and failure of the EAP program, they too seem to be assessed partly in terms of whether they achieve product based quality, that is, whether they are manifesting the type of ideal person that administrative management wishes to have interacting successfully with domestic students, and whether or not they are making positive, innovative and active contributions to the HEI that proceed from their own unique cultural perspectives.

When possible, Upwardly-Mobile and Transactional BLEAPs assess themselves by transcendent quality. They build upon their proximity between Command & Control and the Center of Praxis to 'know intuitively what excellence is and how to deliver it' (Koslowski 2006, p. 282). They assess themselves according to the skills that will ensure their success with management (for Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs) or both Management and those in the Center of Praxis (Transactional). They may present themselves as a bureaucratic entrepreneurial leader, unit protector or cutting edge academic. Sinking BLEAPs at corporatized HEIs are rarely in their positions long enough to demonstrate success.

The autopoietic nature of this grounded theory revealed multiple flows from Hunting & Gathering to Weighing & Measuring in this chapter. Weighing & Measuring also leads to Molding & Shaping. It is to this third and final social process that we shall now turn.

Chapter 8

Molding and Shaping from On High

I enjoy working with the students as a teacher, not as an administrator and one who's always laying down the rules. But where greater impact occurs, is when I can make...strategic decisions. And so, that puts me in the administrator role. And if I'm going to be in administration...I'd rather be in a place...and this doesn't sound very good at all...but I'd rather be in a place that I can mold and shape from up high...(BLEAP Interview, November 28, 2006).

8.1 Introduction

When universities in Japan, the UK and USA emulated the ideals of democratic societies, most of the pedagogic and bureaucratic decisions were decided in faculty senates (Noll & Cohen 1998, p. 42). Increasingly at corporatized HEIs, however, faculty governance is all but gone, and is managed instead by administrators. In a shift from the egalitarianism of former university life, Command & Control management see themselves in a position both removed from and superior to that of faculty and students. As one HEI administrator told Flora (2008, p. 70), 'It's a good place to be. I have landed on top of the wedding cake and I'm not coming down.'

Molding & Shaping in this chapter is synonymous with the HEI managerial term of 'enhancement'. Although enhancement suggests slight adjustment, as one administrative informant at the University of Wensleydale defined the term, using a phrase from Kreber (2008, p. 28; 2010), enhancement is less about doing things better, and more about doing better things. Molding & Shaping results from the economic clout gained through Hunting and Gathering and the evaluative activities of Weighing & Measuring, which provides Command & Control with a 'big picture' view. Molding & Shaping consists of doing better things, both by creating and owning bureaucratic and pedagogic frameworks, becoming the primary source for strategic decisions, making an impact on campus life, and reshaping the professional identities of those within the university. Plans for enhancement and transformation

proceed from inaccessible 'green zones', and tertiary level EAP programs find themselves in the position of relying upon the patronage of administrative power in order to survive. This chapter considers these issues, and studies some of the implications that Molding & Shaping has for EAP in corporatized and/or corporatizing HEIs (Figure 43).
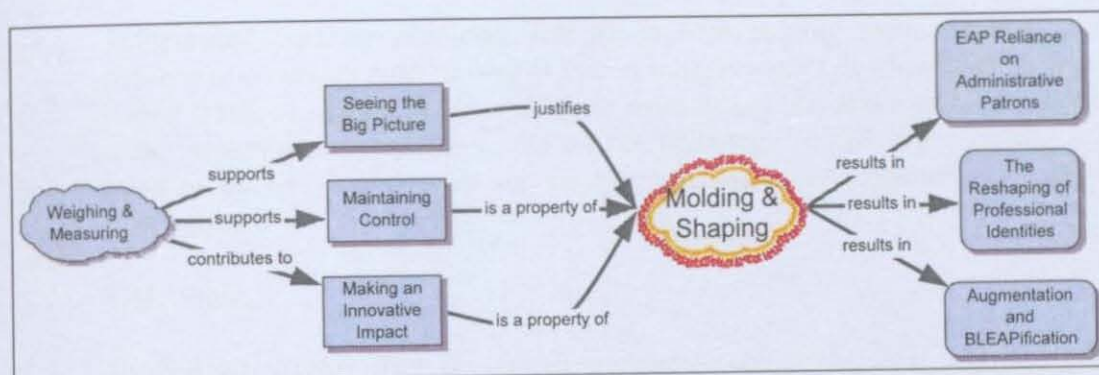
Figure 43 Interconnected Theoretical Codes and Properties of Molding & Shaping

8.2 Seeing the Big Picture

Molding and Shaping requires a vision for success. While discussing the role of EAP at Polaris, a senior administrator used the analogy of a puzzle to outline a clear hierarchy, with Command & Control administrators strategically understanding most of the institutional reality. Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs see more of the puzzle, and TEAPs exist on the periphery with only the smallest pieces:

> **Informant:** ...we're all like a piece of the puzzle. And sometimes we see the entire puzzle, sometimes we just see a corner, sometimes we just see the, the bottom line or, or the side of a puzzle...

> **GH:** Mm-hm.

> **Informant:** ...um, and all too often, uh, faculty, it's all too easy for any of us to...get a bit of a tunnel vision...and see just our piece, or maybe just those pieces that...we connect to...And, uh...

302

GH: *...and what do you mean by that? That's interesting, the connected pieces as such. Can you make it a little more of a specific...can you make that a little more specific in what you mean?*

Informant: *Well, uh* (clears throat) *sure...we look and see, well this is what I do every day. I come in and I, I teach, uh, maybe two classes in the morning and then meet with small groups of students in the afternoon...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...so my planning...has to do with helping those students, uh, achieve at a certain rate...trying to find new experiences for them...uh, is there a new textbook available...how do I get more out of the, textbook or are there other materials...what's the latest on the pedagogy in this area, maybe I, I need to go to a conference so, very focused on what's happening in that, classroom.*

GH: *Right.*

Informant: *Right? And, the pieces around me, might be, well, what is that, uh, is the student having a problem in their...in their residence halls, or how are they...affecting them...or their admission status...or are they studying hard or are they, whatever?*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *Um...then the next level would be the uh, would be the coordinator of ESL.*

GH: *I see.*

Informant: *Uh and, and it's their job then not just to see that one teacher's puzzle...piece...and the ones, that are just on the outer ring......but what's that whole corner look like?*

GH: *Right.*

Informant: *And by, by that I mean, uh, they would say, well how does ESL, fit in, with our other international programs. Are we recruiting, uh, when we are recruiting overseas, are we telling students about our ESL opportunities...*

GH: *I see.*

Informant: *Uh...and then, at, at my level, whether it's the dean's level or a provost...Well, instead of seeing just that, uh, the one piece, or the pieces surrounding it...or the...face in the corner...*
GH: *Right.*

Informant: *...well, hopefully we're seeing most of the whole puzzle. And we see where that fits with everything else so it's, it's not just well how does that fit within the international...program. How does that fit with what's going on, totally within the college of arts and sciences...or the graduate school, or, all three colleges all through academic affairs, through the whole university* (Interview, November 29, 2006).

Such views are common, as other recent qualitative studies on the professional worlds of HEI administrators have found (e.g. Mestenhauser & Ellingboe 2005 ; Flora 2008). Knowledge is power. Big picture knowledge becomes the raison d'être for making a transformative impact in their HEIs, and EAP is often an important piece of the new picture puzzle.

8.2.1 BLEAPs and the Big Picture

The degree to which others in the university agree with the administrative picture for corporatized HEIs has a bearing upon their usefulness in enhancement initiatives. Based upon their deep-seated beliefs and professional trajectory, the participation of BLEAPs in the Molding & Shaping of EAP will be seen either as a great opportunity to move closer to Command & Control, or the beginning of a deep personal crisis pulling them back to the Center of Praxis. BLEAPs who gain access to more pieces of the puzzle become privy to sensitive information about plans for the reshaping of EAP that may significantly affect the lives of TEAPs. Strategies that BLEAPs may employ in dealing with this knowledge are those of withholding, leaking, or firewalling.

Withholding knowledge of the larger puzzle pieces demonstrates loyalty and the potential for facilitating sensitive strategic projects closer to the realm of Command & Control. However, in all of the HEIs in my study, Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs who withheld knowledge lost rapport with TEAPs after plans had been set in motion, and it was discovered that they did nothing to prepare or protect their units. To these

BLEAPs, at least from my observations in the field, such risks were acceptable, since their goal was to leave the third space and gain a stable position in Command & Control.

Leaking information about big picture plans to those further down in the Center of Praxis, however, is a Sinking BLEAP strategy. Even though teachers appreciate the access to information, Command & Control will be quick to plug the flow of damaging information leaks. By preventing the BLEAP from gaining any further knowledge that might compromise their plans, leaky BLEAPs are effectively demoted to a position nearer to the Center of Praxis.

An example of what happens to Sinking BLEAPs who leak came from an informant who served as a Director of Studies for an EAP unit at a Further Education College in the UK. Early on, she was informed by administration about planned cuts and TEAP layoffs, but was instructed not to divulge this information until the end of the academic year, in order to avoid disruptive labor disputes. This informant, who watched as TEAPs worked, oblivious to what was coming, could not endure the stress of withholding vital information from people that she cared about, and with whom she identified with as an educator. She began to leak information to her teachers in order to prepare them for the upcoming crisis. However, this negatively affected teacher morale and put her at odds with her superiors, who cut her off from knowing about any further plans. Divested of structural support, she had to face her staff alone. The added stress and dissatisfaction of being unable to leverage influence from her downgraded position in the college was such that she soon resigned. I met her in the Center of Praxis at a British summer presessional, as she was unable to locate any BLEAP-related work elsewhere.

The cruel irony observed by this informant is that while leaking information was initially appreciated by teachers in her department, after losing her standing with management, she was held up to quiet derision by the very people whom she sought

305

to help. I have noticed elsewhere that, in the politics of corporatized HEIs, after the first flush of pity, few people are able to maintain feelings of long-term affinity with those who have somehow lost the game. For Sinking BLEAPs, the strategy of divulging information brings immediate gain for long-term loss.

A strategy used by Transactional BLEAPs entailed controlling the flow of transformative energy spiraling from Command & Control down towards the Center of Praxis. In most cases, as discussed earlier in the chapter highlighting aspects of the Blended EAP Professional, BLEAPs stand in the gap between those in command and those involved in pedagogic production. There are times, however, when the more successful of BLEAPs will engage in what I call 'firewalling'. Firewalling relates to protecting TEAPs by finding and heading off any plans from Command & Control which Transactional BLEAPs believe would disrupt either their own professional lives or the lives of those working in their EAP units:

> *If there's any part of the job that's stressful I suppose it's that particular part where you're having to represent the centre to the university admin, and tell them what you do all the time. Because you've got to be very careful all the time that they don't start making policy decisions that affect you, and those policy decisions are based on ignorance of what you do. This is a big problem with language teaching; sometimes people come into it, say a new head of school or a new dean, and they don't have this conception of what you do. They think you're just basically language-teaching...And you really have to quickly get in there and tell them what you're actually doing and what the centre does* (Interview, October 31, 2008).

One example of firewalling was seen earlier, in the incident described by a BLEAP who sought to stop or slow down the top-down implementation of TOEIC into his EAP unit (see pages 278-279). Other typical firewalling strategies involve BLEAPs dissuading Command & Control from implementing disruptive plans, often by educating powerful administrators about the existing strengths of their programs:

> **GH:** *How do you, if I dare use this word, how do you package or market your unit to them in a way that satisfies them?*

Informant: *The one side is financial of course, in that you demonstrate to them that you're actually quite an income generator for the school or the university, that's one way you can do it. But that has its dangers too, 'cause then they think of course, oh well,* (sly-sounding voice) ***that's good** ...*

GH: (smiling) *We want more.*

Informant: *Yes!* (Laughs) *And that's all that you'll do. But the rest, basically you have to sort of invite them in so that staff can tell them what they do, you show them the research profile you've got, anything you can do, basically, to convince them that you do research as well as the straight teaching...* (Interview, October 31, 2008).

The BLEAP can then adopt an 'if it ain't broke, don't fix it' stance towards proposals that would disrupt the functions of their APMs. If this succeeds in giving Command & Control a moment of pause, the BLEAP can begin moderating the communication between upper-level Command & Control and the Center of Praxis. Moderating between firewalling and mediating the concerns of both those above and below allows BLEAPs to serve as an asset to all involved. This is important, since dissent among those in the area of production, regardless of the reasons, is often seen as due to the BLEAP's failure as a leader.

8.2.2 TEAPs in Obscurity: Puzzling out a Different Picture

This strategy of creating space for TEAPs while acting as a firewall against outside entrepreneurs is an effective response to the daily pragmatic concerns of the APM. However, a weakness in this approach is that it maintains the disconnectedness many TEAPs already feel with their HEIs due to their rejection of the corporatized picture of higher education espoused by the new managers of their departments (Pennington 1992 ; Hargreaves 1994 ; Rasanen 2008). One TEAP explained that the discord between her and Command & Control was compounded by her professional isolation:

Informant: *...we're just a headache to them...To be honest, I think they have no idea what we do. I mean, I think that they... I really don't think they have any idea what a language teacher does.*

307

GH: *What does a language teacher do? Because I suppose a lot of times they say, 'Well, how come you're so busy?' You know?*
Informant: *I don't think that you can think that far.*

GH: *Really?*

Informant: *I think that, I mean, I think we're just so totally invisible* (Interview, November 6, 2008).

Paradoxically, while Command & Control feels that TEAPs are incapable of seeing the big picture, most TEAPs interviewed worked from an entirely different picture, a conclusion supported recently by Crookes (2009, pp. 201-211). This picture puzzle was one in which TEAPs felt that their administrative managers held only a few pieces. The failure of both administrative management and TEAPs to appreciate their different mental blueprints about the ideal role and purpose of Tertiary EAP contributes to the frequent difficulties that both BLEAPs and Command & Control informants mentioned about trying to retool TEAPs for their needs.

8.3 Maintaining Control
The key strategies that emerged from my study are of control first being established through the designation of administrative management as the source of procedural framework generation. Afterwards, the ownership of processes are both claimed and maintained by the creators. Other strategies for control maintenance are In-Group Consolidation, the Establishment of Green Zones and Flow Management.

8.3.1 Creating Process Frameworks
It bears repeating that aspects of Molding & Shaping are autopoietically connected to Weighing & Measuring, in that administrative scouts are first sent out with an array of instruments for benchmarking an HEI program. Afterwards, specific bureaucratic processes are established to enhance the program according to administrative management guidelines. These procedures reflect the big picture of administrative management, and are promulgated as representing the consensus of the entire university community. An example of this was seen at the University of Birmingham, which while during the writing of this thesis, began to restructure itself to a college-

based model similar to American State Universities. This was preceded by the Birmingham Integrated Quality Assurance and Enhancement System (BIQAES), which is annually distributed electronically as a university wide PDF handbook by administrators in charge of Academic Quality Management:

> BIQAES encompasses the key processes which the University has put in place to monitor, review and enhance academic standards, the quality of its learning, teaching and assessment and the academic support given to students. It is intended as a reference document for University staff and students, and those outside the University involved in its quality processes ('Birmingham Integrated Quality Assurance and Enhancement System (BIQAES) Guidance' 2008).

This is only one of many examples encountered in this study where Command & Control embodies itself as 'the university' that simultaneously evaluates and enhances staff and students while also moderating outside evaluation procedures. Over time, the meaning of 'process' shifts from 'doing things systematically' to something more akin to 'edict'. The following is an example from a corporatized American state HEI requesting my recommendation for a former MA student seeking a post in an EAP unit:

> *You are listed as a reference on* [name redacted]*'s application. By process, our district may not consider an applicant for employment prior to our having obtained feedback from all persons listed as references. Therefore your participation in this process is very important to* [name redacted]*'s pursuit of employment with our school* (E-mail Correspondence, September 6, 2010).

8.3.2 Owning the Process

Once standard procedures are established, ownership is maintained by Command & Control, who link their professional identities with 'the process'. They own the process; the process owns them. This has implications for many aspects of Tertiary EAP, because attempts by TEAPs or Sinking BLEAPs to change any part of The Process are interpreted as a direct challenge to managerial control. One BLEAP touched upon this issue during a discussion about one of several policies which,

although were effective in efficiently processing large numbers of domestic students, caused problems for the growing numbers of international students being recruited at the university:

> **Informant:** *...it's a policy that's, is fairly inflexible...it's a universal policy [and]...they're not going to give you any leeway, and then, helping the student through a pretty traumatic time and, just the system doesn't have any give in it, and those sorts of things, and I really feel it...*

> **GH:** *...it's still set mostly for students who are, from the community, from the region, really?*

> **Informant:** *Yeah. It's a policy that's there for everybody. So then we don't need to worry about, differences, or approach difference or how do you manage for different relations, or how do you fit culture into the, you know, you just basically say, this is our policy, it's our policy for all students, and all that, and that's the way it is and that's the way it's done. It's, you know, I have to deal with those things and lobby slowly, and say there's got to be a way to deal with policies that there should be a way to incorporate culture into your decision-making process. And so, I've started to do more of that, but that, those are, those are hard battles that are personal, that, you know because you've got people who own the process, and you know...if you criticize that then you're criticizing the person that owns that policy or process and things...*

> **GH:** *...Wow... so it's very...you have to be careful here?*

> **Informant:** *Yeah, it's, I mean, it's a quality systems model with a very heavy dash of politics tossed in because it is a small community, and I do know who that person is and I've met them personally, and when you question them, then you appear to be someone who is rabble rousing to effect, you know, nobody really wants to question...*(Interview, November 20, 2006).

International students arriving with special needs pose an especially difficult problem for administrative management intent upon asserting their authority over process control. As seen in the Hunting & Gathering chapter, TEAPs are often complicit in the attempts to modify processes by serving as advocates for international students. Their focus upon the individual international student over that of helping in the task of mass pedagogic production is another facet of the discord between TEAPs and their administrative management on the role they should play within their HEIs. This has

ramifications for empathetic EAP educators in the corporatized HEI, because those who advocate on the behalf of students often end up terminally attached to the bottom of the organizational ladder, as this Sinking BLEAP observed:

> **Informant:** ...*Caring for people ... supporting them, it's a waste of time.*

> **GH:** *It's a waste of time, huh?*

> **Informant:** *It's not ... it's valued so little in our system. The people who spend a lot of time helping students, encouraging students, they don't get any recognition for it. And because a lot of people are career minded, they don't do it.*

> **GH:** *They're not going to waste their time.*

> **Informant:** *The people I think are most empathetic and helpful towards students are the ones usually at the bottom of the ladder* (Interview, September 12, 2006).

The strategies of BLEAPs for responding to those who seek exceptions for EAP students are described in Ball's (2003) study of performativity. As a first move, there will be a statement about the dependability and robustness of a bureaucratic and/or pedagogic process. Next, the BLEAP will refer to a group of experts or outside agency that approves of the established processes, which will serve to establish an owned precedent that, it will be explained, cannot change and so requires the international students to conform. If TEAPs or others persist after this point, the response becomes increasingly firm, as I learned during an incident when NUGIS wished to implement a Japan-based policy for student attendance while its students were at Polaris. After some performative sidestepping, the BLEAP in charge of the EAP unit responds:

> *I believe that our policies are strict and I know the teachers communicate this to the students. Without speaking to [the administrative manager in charge of international programs] first, our absence policy will remain the same. I am not advocating, and never have, for NUGIS-specific policy. If you have higher demands on the students, then you will need to communicate those to them before and after their semester here. We will work to provide the data you*

need. I hope that clarifies my stance and [the TEAPs] *will answer your specific question about specific absences* (Informant E-mail Correspondence, February 8, 2008).

Process control maintenance, once owned by stakeholders within the HEI, can stimulate inconsistencies in other parts of the institution, as one part of administrative management strives to bring in increasing numbers of international students, and others deeply resenting and resisting the disruption caused by such 'foreign' students to the established procedures of their parts of the HEI bureaucracy. In the administrative sections of the Center of Praxis, with little autonomy to change processes and faced with the risk of losing control of established procedures, hard words are used by professional staff to describe interactions with international students:

> *When you're standing at a desk, and you're dealing with international student after international student after international student, it becomes really... it becomes really stressful, because you, first of all, it's a battle to communicate all the time. You're always having to think about how do I communicate this information correctly. You can feel angry at groups of students who won't accept what you say, and who want to negotiate all the time. So I think in my job at* [redacted] *University, I really saw them as the enemy, although people that I got to know, I felt more empathetic towards, but generally, they were the enemy* (Interview, August 28, 2007).

Transactional BLEAPs often respond by dealing with these problems and insuring that control is maintained. In the EAP context, this is accomplished through either mediating concerns between those in the Center of Praxis and Command & Control without making major changes to the system, or through training those in the Center of Praxis in how to work with international students:

> *When we first started the ESL program with the Japanese, because I also worked in the library a little bit and knew the library and so on, I heard maybe within the first semester, this like 'well they make me so mad because they'll come and ask me something; I don't understand them' or 'I don't hear them and then I ask them again and they won't ... won't answer.' Well that's a cultural thing. And what you have to ... I thought what we were doing is we*

312

were saying 'look Dummy, I can't understand you.' Don't do it. Turn it around and say 'I'm having a problem hearing'...so I got several of the librarians together and we had an afternoon session of how we should be responding to Japanese, Korean, Chinese, that they would be ESL students, and after I talked to them about this cultural difference that I saw, that I know, they started using their approach differently and I think they got along very well for a while (Interview, November 28, 2007).

While simultaneously working to refine international students so that they can be better assimilated by the university APM, training administrative professionals and faculty achieves the dream that many BLEAPs have of Molding & Shaping their HEIs into places that better reflect the virtues of multiculturalism and diversity, and to equip graduates to compete more successfully in a globalized economic society (Ashwill 2004 ; C. Connell 2007b ; C. Connell 2007a).

8.3.3 In-Group Consolidation

In-Group Consolidation is the recruiting of team members with the necessary skills for facilitating the transformative processes of corporatized administrative management. A typical description of the role, expectations and outcomes for in-groups can be found in the University of Birmingham's alumni newsletter, which discussed as part of the university's organizational transformation to a structure similar to America's corporatized Mass Provider HEIs, the appointment of new College Heads:

> The Heads form part of a new senior management team, directly influencing strategy and ensuring that academic endeavour is at the heart of decision making. This will enable the University to respond to change more quickly, seize opportunities and compete favourably in an international market. With a mixture of internal and external appointees, all recognised experts in their fields, the new Heads of College bring experience and innovation to the University, helping to shape it for the 21st Century ('New College Heads Drive Change' 2008, p. 2).

In-groups support the upper echelons of Command & Control HEI management by maintaining processes and working out strategic action plans for better utilizing the often-fractious Center of Praxis. The in-group also protects and supports management

during times of institutional conflict, which was frequently described by several administrative informants as 'giving push-back'. Depending upon one's perspective and relation to administrative management, In-Group Consolidation will be interpreted either as the formation of tribes, the recruitment of gang members, or simply that of developing a talented action taskforce.

At the level of EAP, I observed In-Group Construction on several occasions at Polaris, Wensleydale, and at two Japanese HEIs. In every case, this property of Molding & Shaping was spearheaded by Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs seeking to satisfy the corporate agenda of Command & Control. One BLEAP informant from a Japanese HEI, who over time was able to gain managerial powers that are often out of the reach of most BLEAPs, explains:

> **Informant:** *I pushed out all the teachers and the union. And now everyone is hired by me including the Japanese...*
>
> **GH:** *Everyone is hired by you? Wow.*
>
> **Informant:** *I screen and do the interviews. One time two years ago the hiring committee rejected some teachers I wanted hired. And I had to go to the committee and defend them. The Japanese from my group were stunned at how quickly the committee caved in.*
>
> **GH:** *You know, I call that process 'in-group construction'. For people in your position, the ability to create a team of like-minded coworkers will give you power to do innovative things that will create an impact on campus.*
>
> **Informant:** *In-group construction. I like that. We hire a lot of inexperienced people who are hungry and then basically show them how to do things well. Those are the people I hired...*
>
> **GH:** *I see. Sort of younger versions of yourself?*
>
> **Informant:** *Exactly.*
>
> **GH:** *Interesting. I have seen others who did not have the authority to make their own in-group, and as a result, they struggled terribly. They rarely got things done with their language program.*

Informant: *That is huge...you need to control the people you hire.*

GH: *Sounds like you got rid of those people who didn't agree with you, and then you replaced them with people who you could work with.*

Informant: *Yes. I fired a few as well* (Interview, September 16, 2010).

This BLEAP was later lauded for turning the EAP program around, and through this, expanded his power and influence in the institution even further.

Once the In-Group has been created, it must be maintained. Some Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs solidify their control over In-Groups by becoming instrumental in the development of TEAP contracts:

GH: *My reading of the literature suggests that teachers resist managerialism or the attempts of those to manage them....seems that they will often get entrenched and resist any plans that a manager might have for the curriculum. That is why I asked.*

Informant: *I take that as a given...resistance. So I use the unfair advantage I have.*

GH: *Which is?*

Informant: *In the last year my job has become less about pedagogy and more about managing the business contracts. They have to sign contracts. And once they do they have to follow the curriculum.*

GH: *Ah. So they have to follow your instructions or you do not renew their contracts?*

Informant: *In short yes* (Interview, September 6, 2010).

Such heavy-handed tactics do seem to work, though the question is for how long. Even if a BLEAP has a clear picture of what truly motivates Command & Control and regardless of whether he or she has claimed ownership of the process of EAP innovation, if the BLEAP loses the strategic support of the in-group within the Center

of Praxis, Molding & Shaping will fail. I found that rapport with TEAPs is lost in two ways: Divided Loyalties and Failing to Protect TEAPs.

In terms of divided loyalties, at one research venue, after the previous BLEAP resigned in disgrace, Command & Control undertook a cost-saving measure by removing the funding for the post and placing the new BLEAP in charge of both EAP and International Programs. This effectively divided him between two units, with his office at another building on campus. That, combined with frequent meetings with other managing administrators, made him generally inaccessible to TEAPs and students alike. While before, his background in TEFL was seen as a plus, his lack of regular contact contributed to a perception among the TEAPs that their new director was not one of them after all, but instead, an overworked administrator espousing uninformed pedagogic notions about second language education. As one TEAP explained, their BLEAP's ideas about EAP were:

> ...certainly not idea[s] that we teachers here in the [EAP] Program have. We are in the business of education, in which we help students discern their own goals and help them attain them. We are not in the business of entertainment in order to keep students happy and returning for more. If our classrooms are attractive, exciting, or active, it's because we believe that will enhance the students' learning, not because it will attract more students down the road. And ask any one of our students--our program is not fluff. It's hard.

> [The EAP Director] has a very murky idea of what we do in the classroom since his only ESL experience is from teaching funsie conversation courses in [East Asia]. Maybe that's where the administrators got their idea of what we do--I don't know (Informant E-mail Correspondence, August 5, 2008).

Another factor that will quickly contribute to the BLEAP's failure is if she or he is perceived as not protecting TEAPs from the plans of upper level administrators. This was the beginning of the demise of one Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP in one of the EAP Units studied. The BLEAP replaced one group of rebellious summer teachers with a new in-group the following summer, which allowed curricular innovations (many of which were also part of the BLEAP's ongoing advanced graduate degree) to go

316

forward with their enthusiastic support. Most of the BLEAP's in-group willingly overlooked the linkage of his graduate studies with the program until there was a sudden forty percent increase of students per teacher in the classroom. The attempts to provide the same level of attention to an increasing number of learners resulted in burnout and fatigue among the in-group, as evidenced in this group interview:

Informant 1: *I apologize for being really kind of grumpy about the whole thing.*

Informant 2: *You're allowed to be!*

GH: *You're a cheerful guy.*

Informant 1: *Usually! Usually, but sometimes I get a bit kind of ... I don't know. It just felt a bit too much this year, but not just here, there's lots of things going on as well and I just felt it was too much at the same time.*

GH: *Too much, yeah. When you say too much, I mean 'cause for me it was like report writing and I had more students than I had before and had to do all the work, you know, but what was too much for you on this?*

Informant 1: *Erm ...*

Informant 2: *Fifteen students for a start.*

Informant 1: *Fifteen students is a big ...*

Informant 2: *Yeah, it's a lot.*

Informant 1: *It's a lot yeah, and a huge hike in the amount of paperwork.*

Informant 2: *You had five last year.*

Informant 1: *Pardon?*

Informant 2: *You had five last year.*

Informant 1: *I was very lucky last year.*

GH: *Oh you had five last year? I had nine last year.*

Informant 1: *I started with nine but four ran away!*

317

<Laughter>

> *They did, physically!*

<Laughter>

> *But it was just ... the lack of down-time was my problem I think. I just, I couldn't relax. The weekend just wasn't relaxing time.*

GH: *Because we had to keep thinking about all the paperwork we had to do.*

Informant 2: *But it was only two weekends that we had to work, the one just gone and the first draft weekend.*

Informant 1: *I've not been ... it's the kind of looking at the email...[correcting] things wrong, looking at lecture summaries, going through all their details, fifteen students, fifteen summaries, every week.*

Informant 2: *I think the fact you had fifteen students is a big impact on that.*

GH: *Yeah, me too. I had fourteen but ...*

Informant 2: *Yeah, that's big.*

GH: *But still ... you know.*

Informant 2: *I had ten this year, so I think that obvious makes a huge ... that's 50% more, I feel like I can imagine if I had 50% more I'd have been feeling just like you, like really hacked off really, just yeah, 'cause you must ... everything's 50% more, at least, if not more, 'cause you're sort of tired by the time you've done the first ten.*

Informant 1: *I mean I can't complain since I did have a really easy time last year with just the five students and it was great, I could give them as much time as they needed and they did really well for it. And I gave the students this year as much as I gave them last year ...*

GH: *Yeah, me too.*

Informant 1: *Because I felt that if I gave them any less then I was doing them a disservice because they needed the help and I wanted them to pass so there's*

Informant 2: *Yeah.*

Informant 1: *So I just felt that was ... I felt I needed to give them much, much more...*

Informant 2: *...And so you're exhausted...*

318

Informant 1: *...And psychologically it was tiring...*

GH: *...Physically it was tiring...*

Informant 1: (nodding in agreement) *Mmm!* (Interview, September 15, 2008).

Dissent reached a boiling point in a weekly staff meeting, and after a period of extended kettling, the BLEAP explained that the decision to increase workloads was one of the changes resulting from the EAP Unit's shift to administrative management. Morale sank further as he explained that he supported the changes, and that the only option was to work harder to provide the same level of academic support. Teachers then raised the point that fatigue was being compounded by a considerable amount of reports, moderation meetings, grading sessions and the writing of lesson plans for securing British Council accreditation. The BLEAP agreed, but also reminded the teachers that accreditation, like the increase in class sizes, would bring greater prestige for the Unit, so this too was unavoidable (Field Notes, September 19, 2008).

The TEAP In-Group experienced a rapid shift in perceptions. What before was seen as innovative presessional reforms drawn from the BLEAP's cutting-edge graduate research, was now seen as the means by which the BLEAP was profiting off of their sweat equity. With the ensuing loss of rapport and demoralization, I noted that teachers secretly began to subvert the processes of the program. Some of the strategies used included privately conferring with each other on the grades of students' final projects, which effectively sabotaged the process of blind marking. Quite a few expressed a belief that the international students would be accepted into graduate university course regardless of any presessional program assessment, so any effort to reduce what they saw as meaningless work in the face of increased classroom loads was felt as justified. Suspicions among the In-Group about the Upwardly-Mobile nature of their BLEAP were confirmed later when he moved up to a Command & Control position at another university less than half a year after completing his advanced graduate degree.

Therefore, in order for BLEAPs to maintain control, they must constantly strike a balance between the stakeholder needs of students, teachers and Command & Control. Losing support among any of these groups spells disaster.

8.3.4 Green Zone Construction and Bunker Building

On September 28, 2008, the Times Higher Education Supplement featured an innocuous article about an incident at Oakland University, a Michigan State HEI. Due to an unspecified threat from a disgruntled student, a policy was quickly enacted that restricted students without an appointment from all administrative offices. What the article highlighted was that the policy had been unexpectedly extended to faculty as well, as one professor learned when she was physically barred from delivering a faculty complaint to a senior vice president about proposals to cut faculty wages ('Faculty Banned from Admin Office' 2008). The ramifications of this seemingly minor incident became clearer a year later when the faculty went on strike to protest pay cuts and a loss of faculty governance at a time when senior administration and the president had all received hefty pay raises (June 2009).

Apart from the particular issues at Oakland University, at all of the sites in my study, the placement of Command & Control HEI management in facilities shielding them from the rest of university life is what I define as Green Zone Construction. Green Zone Construction draws its symbolism from the Anglo-American occupation of Iraq, in which military and political leaders were protected within a 'Green Zone', from which they could both manage the country and implement changes without fear of retaliation. For the administrative management of HEIs, Green Zone Construction performs a similar function, and for senior administrators, the task of mediating between their HEI and major corporate as well as governmental stakeholders, has a distinctly BLEAPish quality. They require a safe place where they can strategize without disruptive organizational insurgence. Similarly, Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs seeking to implement Command & Control strategies in the Center of Praxis aspire to create their own space of unassailability:

Informant: *...it's, it's hard to put a policy in place, and...well, and that's really terrible...but, you know, you, you put a lot of policies in place, and then you have the personal aspect where the policy you've created...is potentially hurting somebody ...you know, as far as, as far as...the international students go...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...you know, you say, you know...this is how we're doing it, and they're sitting there saying you're the bad guy type of thing. So...if I'm going to be in administration, I'd rather be higher than where I am now. Middle management is a tough place to be, in general, and so...my goal and where I see myself would be at a, a higher level where I'm directing things from a little bit higher up, without, the student interaction* (Interview, November 28, 2006).

The creation of green zones is an important property of maintaining control. The closed, almost fortress-like nature of their existence and their ability to keep dissent outside are only fully realized during times of crisis, when green zones become the focus of angry protests and the site of class warfare, as witnessed in the UK during the 2011 student protests of tuition fee increases.

Green zone construction contrasts sharply with the manifestation of Bunker Building that was observed among TEAPs and academics in the arts and humanities at Polaris and Wensleydale. Bunker Building, as the term suggests, is the use of defensive tactics designed to stave off threats to their vocational well-being. While Green Zones facilitate change and minimize the risk of attack, TEAP bunkers resist outside innovations as an attack and minimize the risk of change.

Within the EAP context, I observed the struggle between those operating from Green Zones and the resistance from bunkered teachers both at Polaris and at Alpha University. In both situations, the BLEAPs found themselves caught in a no man's land between Command & Control and those in the Center of Praxis over the issue of administrative-led language curriculum reforms. Because Command & Control was

unwilling to undergo a costly and disruptive 'bunker-busting' campaign, both projects lingered in ambiguity, leaving the BLEAPs to suffer both the disappointment of administration for failing to actualize their innovative plans, and to endure a loss of rapport with TEAPs.

8.3.5 Flow Management as a Strategy for Control Maintenance

Flow Management is the decision-making process for directing the flow of resources to programs and departments within the HEI. My term is similar to Tyagi, Moore & Taylor's (1988) understanding of *funds management*, which through resources, such as space, time, staff support, autonomy and money, Command & Control can channel work to flow in a direction that actualizes strategic goals for the HEI. As with other aspects of Molding & Shaping, Flow Management derives its impetus from Weighing & Measuring:

> To ensure adequate financial resources are available to support current operations and new initiatives and to assess their financial risks, many types of analyses can be performed, including the analysis of cash flows and of current liabilities versus current and projected budgets. The specific types of analyses will vary from organization to organization. These analyses should help your organization assess the financial viability of your current operations and the potential viability of and risks associated with your new initiatives (*MQA Education Criteria for Performance Excellence* 2006, p. 51).

Control comes less from a coercive top-down, 'do this or you're fired' approach, and more through being encouraged to vie for resources provided for programs and educational initiatives that satisfy the administrative big picture for the HEI. Bremmer (2007, p. 42) and Lazzeroni & Piccaluga (2003) see this aspect of Flow Management as a growing international trend in HEIs. Informants added that more funding was being channeled towards training students in marketable skills for future vocations, while cultural initiatives in EAP and the work of academics in Philosophy, History, and other humanities, were slowly being starved to death. The following is from an academic at an American university:

We have a grants office person that works specifically with the Science Department (Biology especially) in helping to bring in money for new initiatives...this is used as rationale to 're-allocate' College of Arts & Sciences (CAS) monies for hiring, as the Sciences need additional people to manage the new programs. We, on the other hand, must make do with adjuncts, and no new Full Time hire, and a thin budget for activities.

Also, using 2009-10 'credits generated' data, hard numbers on department costs, including personnel, versus bodies in seats in classes, we learned last week that one of four Art Dept members was axed. Argument: not enough students in classes, and too few majors and minors. Two new hires in the College of Business, though, will go ahead, as the university hopes to expand a new MBA program (in a thoroughly saturated market). Cash flow and revenue were the words (Informant E-Mail, May 5, 2010).

Such views evoke strong responses from Command & Control administrators, who see this as evidence of a lack of understanding about the key pieces in the HEI's proverbial picture puzzle. They explain that, especially for state-supported HEIs, resource flows are managed through complex decision-making systems with a multitude of funding sources (Tyagi, Moore & Taylor 1988). Any 'surpluses' are reinvested back into the HEI to stabilize the institution during difficult economic times. Profit making and using money as an instrument of control, as this administrator explains, are not the real issues:

Public institutions... never seek to make profits but only minimize their debts. They never 'make money,' even when they have cash reserves. Those are vastly outweighed by enormous liabilities that are measured in debt ratios. They can't raise revenue surpluses because since they are supported by tax-based funding allotments, any surplus would drive down their allotment in the next fiscal year. Very few individual programs of any kind raise revenue for us in excess of their cost. Those that seem to produce revenue in excess of cost often do not account for their fractional burden of all ancillary costs (liability insurance, long term facility maintenance obligations, etc..). One problem is a longstanding situation in which some programs and elements of a university mission are far more expensive than others. These differences can be easily seen in the 'cost per student credit hour' tracked for department operations. At Polaris those range anywhere from half of the tuition rate to three or four times that rate. Humanities programs are the cheapest to run, and because of that are critical to minimizing debt. So, even though it may appear that universities are attempting to starve those programs

out of existence, they are merely trying to maintain the highest positive gap possible between cost per credit hour and the tuition rate, because they know they will always run a deficit in sciences (and music, theater, etc..)...institutions should collect a variety of measures in making decisions about how to navigate their liabilities within the funds available to them. This is because state institutions face the problem of meeting liabilities without liquid assets. They don't maintain expendable cash surplus and can't sell off [the] physical plant and hence face unique problems with cash flow that defy private-sector business models.

I suppose what all this means is that in assessing the sociology of an EAP program, actions that may appear to be representing cultural attitudes directed at the program are merely the collateral consequences of quite complex funding restraints, that are at worst indifferent to the EAP program -- particularly if it is not central to the mission of the school. While individuals or programs within the institution may value it highly, the broader matrix of funding (within the constraints of macro-cultural values) may apply constraints that make educational and micro-cultural preferences irrelevant (Informant E-Mail, May 21, 2010).

Nevertheless, teachers often refuse to accept such explanations at face value, as seen in the following excerpt from an informant in the United States:

...even more interesting is that these administrative resources rather than trickling down to departments seem to be trickling up into their own budgets. In the past two years we have had tremendous budget cuts relative to the economy, which have forced us to cut classes, reduce staff, freeze salaries and increase tuition and class fees while at the same time administrative salaries have continued to increase...It is interesting to me that as our enrollments are at record highs, the budgets continue to be reduced even though as the economy gets worse and people lose jobs they come back to school. Where is the 'flow management' in all this? Makes me wonder where the money goes (Informant E-Mail, May 18, 2010).

A similar question was asked by the American Association of University Professors (AAUP) during the faculty strike at Oakland University. Their investigators found that Oakland, like most state-supported universities, had developed a wealth of 'unrestricted net assets' outside of state funding rules that could be spent at the discretion of the Board of Trustees. From 2000 to 2008, the amount of funds held in these accounts increased by 185%, and apart from these funds, the university

continued to make an annual 6% surplus every year even after taking in account the total amount of yearly expenditures ('AAUP Oakland Newsletter August 21' 2009). While teachers received salary cuts and students were saddled with significant fee increases, the Board of Trustees awarded the president and senior administrators with double-digit raises from these unrestricted net asset accounts (June 2009).

A prominent issue during the world financial crisis of 2008 was that many CEOs of banks and other major corporations accepted raises or bonuses even as employees were being laid off and their organizations were losing money. Informants speaking of similar practices at their HEIs noted that even in the case where Command & Control did not take raises for themselves, after cutting faculty salaries, money would be put into the renovation of buildings and facilities in close proximity to Green Zones, and were often accompanied by the appearance of bronze statues and artwork. The following comments of a BLEAP in charge of an EAP unit in the US was a typical example of opinions expressed about such flow management decisions, seeing them as reflecting values that are essentially foreign to institutions historically devoted to humanistic values:

> *...there's all kind of* [private funding]*...this huge mass of artwork pieces that are on the back of that, all kinds of money for that, but our janitors are quitting because they haven't seen a pay raise in ten years...that's the larger disagreement I have with the admins, that when you start cutting things, at some point education will falter...I believe they make choices on what to spend money on compared to people. They'd rather spend them on buildings than people* (Interview, April 9, 2009).

While this and other informants' interpretations highlight unawareness about the lack of fungibility in HEI budgeting, many in the Center of Praxis conclude that flow management is more about the exercise of power than it is about economic accountability. This resonates with the work of Steven Levitt, co-author of the groundbreaking book *Freakonomics* (Levitt & Dubner 2005). As part of this work, they compared the economic structure and practices of African American drug gangs in impoverished neighborhoods with those of multinational corporations. Speaking on

this topic, Levitt came to some tentative conclusions during a Technology Entertainment Design (TED) Conference presentation:

> *Sometimes economists get it wrong, so one thing we observed in the data is that it looked like, in terms of the gang leader always got paid, no matter how bad it was economically he always got himself paid. So we had some theories relating to cash flow and lack of access to capital markets and things like that, but then we asked the gang member, 'Well why is it you always get paid and your workers don't always get paid?' His response is: 'You got all these niggers below you who want your job, you dig? If you start taking losses, they see you all weak and shit.' I thought about it. CEOs often pay themselves million dollar bonuses even when companies are losing a lot of money and it never really occurred to economists that this idea of 'weak and shit' could really be important, but maybe ... maybe weak and shit is an important hypothesis that needs a little more...* (audience laughs) (Levitt 2004).

Flow Management is a hotly-contested issue, but Levitt's findings may be relevant to TEAPs working under administrative management in corporatized HEIs. As Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs and Command & Control seek to maintain control by Molding & Shaping from on high, their decisions on flow management leave many TEAPs feeling shortchanged, disenchanted, and to use the words of Levitt's informant, as 'all weak and shit', as intimated by one Wensleydale TEAP:

> *At the end of the day I've just become disillusioned with the whole thing... That's how I feel... 'Get on with it. You're not here to...you want shit and crap and you've got it.' That's how I feel at the end* (Interview, September 14, 2008).

8.4 Making an Innovative Impact

Finding prominence among competitors and bringing prestige to the HEI, otherwise known as *making an impact*, is an important property of Molding & Shaping. Informants, especially Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs, frequently aspired to make innovative impacts in their HEIs:

> **GH:** *...what type of impact are you thinking about when you talk about, wanting to make, uh, a bigger impact? What, what does that impact mean?*

326

Informant: (sighs deeply) *Well, I think, I think a slightly more profound change than what I can do right now with my little glancing blows...stretched so thin like this...*
GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...you know...when you, when you...don't have more than 30 minutes in a day to devote to sitting down and doing something large and strategic...*

GH: *Right, Mm-hm.*

Informant: *But I, I would rather...make an impact, with the ESL program, and be able to lobby for that and spend more time...I'm not effective because I think the position, just doesn't, allow you to be effective...they need a full-time director over there at ESL...you need someone over there that's going to be, I think, that's going to be innovative, is going to create...a good program that really truly benefits the University on a larger level* (Interview, November 28, 2005).

A key benefit to the university, apart from quantitative contributions through an increase in international student numbers, begins when a BLEAP or member of Command & Control uses Weighing & Measuring to assess a situation, judges it as lacking in quality and uses the collected data as justification for Molding & Shaping. The educational entrepreneur will then use the strategies described in this chapter to bring about an innovative impact on campus. Two typical examples of this process by members of Command & Control management at corporatized HEIs can be found in Appendix I.

Impact making, if it complements the understanding of quality held by those in positions of authority, usually results in upward mobility. Not only have I noticed ambitious enterprising TEAPs rewarded by through promotion to BLEAP status, Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs can catch the attention of Command & Control by doing something innovative that contributes to their big picture plans. Impact making demonstrates a BLEAP's potential for a higher administrative management position or for becoming a full academic. Success, however, requires strategic thinking.

8.4.1 Strategic Thinking

'Strategic' is a common lexical item in HEI administrative discourse. *Strategic thinking* is one of a repertoire of managerial tools that Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs in EAP units need to succeed, the others being '...implementing and sustaining change; managing conflict; decision-making and risk-taking; and leadership and action planning' ('Tools of the Trade for IE Leaders' 2006, p. 12).

Most Common Collocates with *Strategic* in International Educator Journal	
Lexical Item	**Total**
PLAN/PLANNING	43
INTERNATIONAL	26
TASK	22
FORCE	20
STUDENT/S	19
GOAL/S	12
EDUCATION	10
ABROAD	8
CAMPUS	8
INTERCULTURAL	8
CLEAR	6
COMMITMENT	6
VISIBLE	6

Table 9 Analysis of 'Strategic' Using WordSmith Tools 4.0 (M. Scott 2005)

Strategic thinking is far more than, as one informant put it, 'thinking what you're going to do next,' My survey of over three years of the major articles of the *International Educator*, a journal prominently displayed in the offices of American Tertiary EAP programs, suggests that strategic thinking requires a keen reading of the true (though often unstated) priorities of Command & Control. It requires the ability to utilize in-group construction and authoritarian deliberation in order to build like-minded, talented task groups who have a stake in the ultimate aims of Molding & Shaping (Table 9).

8.4.2 Strategic Examples of BLEAP-driven Impact-Making

BLEAPs often struggle to act strategically from the isolation of the Third Space of their HEI. Finding the time to strategize while engaged in APM maintenance is difficult, which is why BLEAPs usually focus on EAP curriculum innovations. Three examples of Impact Making are now considered.

At Wensleydale, an increasing number of international students were entering the university with inadequate skills for writing graduate level research essays. The new BLEAP in charge of the EAP Unit's summer presessional program determined that the existing curriculum was inadequate and sought to demonstrate innovative dynamism and academic rigor by creating a new curriculum drawing from both the findings from Data-driven Learning (Johns 1991) and the practical implications of Written Academic Discourse Analysis. He also worked at raising the standards of the program so that they could receive British Council accreditation, which would not only improve its standing within the University, it would also aid in improving student recruitment.

At Polaris, the BLEAP assessed the TEAPs as focused upon teaching old-fashioned, teacher-fronted lessons that were boring, stagnant and ineffective. In response, the BLEAP attempted to implement a language curriculum that focused on what he called Active Learning. He envisaged were classes featuring students engaged in learning tasks and group work, with teachers milling around the class and giving instruction and positive feedback. He felt a change in materials (and ideally, TEAPs), would result in quality instructional delivery. This in turn would provide improved photo opportunities of happy, engaged international students, which could be used to further recruitment efforts.

A similar approach was taken in the EAP program that I coordinate at NUGIS. After understanding and accepting the corporatized aspects of the institution, I sought to connect the program to the desires of the key stakeholders, who were the parents,

employers, administrative management, and teachers (EAP and discipline-specific). With the exception of the teachers, I discovered the primary concern of the other major stakeholders had little to do with the language content of the EAP program, but instead were social and vocational in nature, as in the conversation I had with a company manager during a university-sponsored banquet:

> *I really don't care if your graduates can speak English. What I really care about is if they can communicate with co-workers and customers, and that they have a cheerful attitude. If you can teach them that, you can help us. We can train them in whatever else we want them to do after we hire them* (Field Notes, November 14, 2007).

Having an energetic, cooperative attitude, the ability to engage and interact with others, basic common sense, were seen as more important than anything they studied at the university. These characteristics, which were found through university questionnaires administered to over three hundred company managers (Figure 44) are virtually identical to other studies of employable attributes in Japan, especially for companies focusing on mass production (Nguyen, Yoshinari & Miyazaki 2005).

Terms (Top to Bottom): Zeal, Communicative Ability, Team Player, Vitality, Basic Common Sense, Basic Knowledge, Conceptual Richness (Imagination/Innovation), Specialist Knowledge, Sociability, Physical Health, Other Responses, No Response
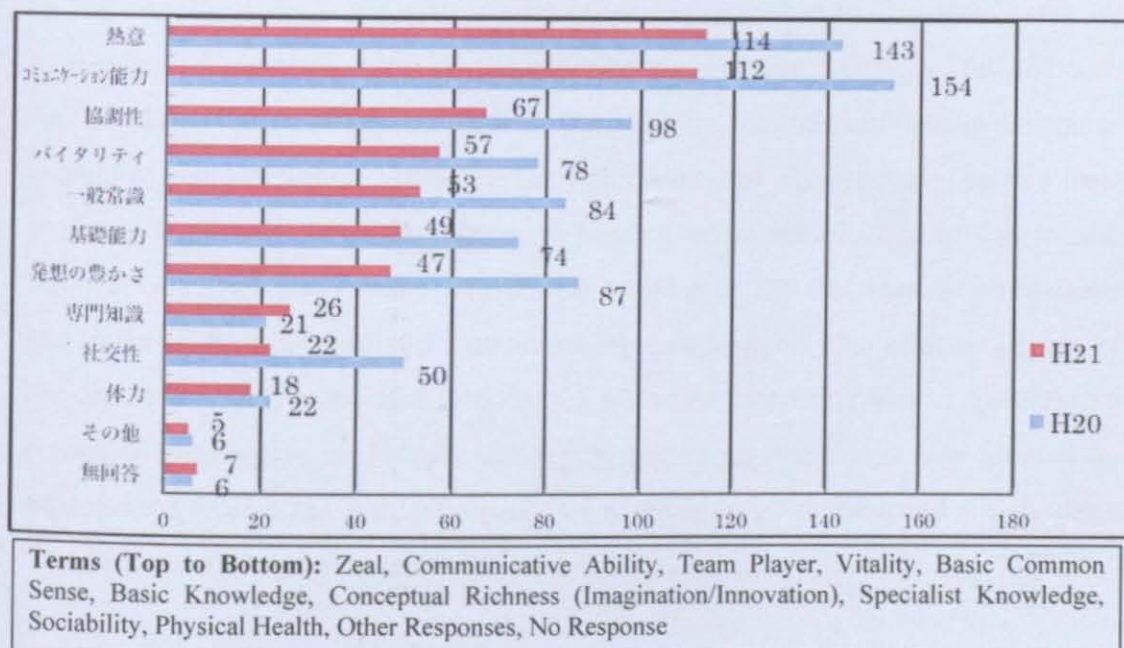
Figure 44 Survey results of desirable qualities for NUGIS graduates by regional managers of hiring companies for 2008 (H20) and 2009 (H21), n=359 and 320, respectively.

In order to make the type of impact satisfying the desire of administrative and end users for an active learning environment that developed students' social and communicative skills, together with an in-group of TEAPs chosen for their desire to become BLEAPs in their own right, we developed a class management system at NUGIS that required constant student participation in interactive task groups. Almost every aspect of movement and work, such as attendance, participation, homework, and responding to questions in class, was regularly rewarded and measured. Students were tested on listening, speaking and reading at the end of regular three-week course cycles. Students received monthly reports of their progress, which aided in building self-confidence. Those who did not keep up were given remedial work in the language laboratory. In order not to alienate TEAPs and faculty, upper level EAP classes provided students with opportunities to refine their knowledge about Japanese society and other cultures in the region, thus linking the coursework with seminar topics taught by Japanese discipline-specific teachers in the department. Because most of the faculty was fluent in English, they were occasionally invited to classes to speak on their areas of specialty. Most of the program continues to be successful and well supported by all the institutional stakeholders, with the exception of linking the course content to seminar topics. While teacher visits and materials developed around their seminars went well for a few years, it became unsustainable due to the regular turnover of TEAPs and tenured faculty who would enter the HEI with different views and interests. Shifting levels of interest among new students also affected impact of the course delivery. Every two to three years became something akin to 'rebooting a computer' with regard to this part of the program: more attention is now focused on aspects that receive the greatest amount of administrative support and which allow TEAPs to excel in teaching and motivating learners.

8.5 Consequences of Molding & Shaping for Tertiary EAP

Some of the results of administrative Molding & Shaping observed at all of the primary research sites in this study were as follows:

- EAP surviving primarily on the patronage of administrative power,
- TEAPs undergoing the unwelcome experience of having their professional identities reshaped from on high,

- Traditional EAP pedagogy augmented to include experiential learning and practical skills,

- A loss of collegiality, disempowerment and 'BLEAPification.'

8.5.1 Surviving on Administrative Patronage

At all of the sites studied, EAP units relied upon the good will and active interest of powerful university patrons. While in the past, some EAP units had been both supported and created by academic champions, by the time of my study, all of the major patrons were in administrative Command & Control. Typically, the chief patron was a vice president, provost or administrative dean of international programs. Several of these administrative patrons spoke of a formative experience from either travelling or studying abroad when they were younger. Even for those who lacked such experiences, they shared a common belief that active EAP units would contribute to the prestige of their HEI, as one Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP explained:

> **Informant:** [the President] *and, uh,* [the Vice-President of Finance] *and everybody understand... understands that ESL is important.*

> **GH:** *Mm-hm.*

> **Informant:** *We can't be...we can't have a proper international program without...(deep sigh)...ES...without the ESL program. No self-respecting place does* (Interview, November 20, 2005).

Other motivating factors for EAP administrative patrons are the multiculturalization of the HEI. These efforts bring prestige to the patron, even if EAP units fail to generate financial surpluses. A Command & Control Informant gives details:

> [The Provost] *and I looked at the ESL program very carefully, should it be a program we killed or should we continue with it? That was really before we came to NUGIS because we were having such low numbers and eight or nine and ...(chuckles) we spent a lot of time studying what it cost us and what we were doing with it and things like that. We took it to* [the President] *and left the decision up to him, we basically saying it's not costing us in that kind of the number of students pay for the teachers and that but we don't, we're not putting anything back into the coffers for space and heating and that. And* [the President] *said 'but I want ESL to continue because I want to be able to tell my people in Korea we have ESL and can bring them over'* (Interview, November 29, 2005).

Difficulties can arise for Tertiary EAP programs when they lose patrons or experience sudden changes in HEI leadership. One BLEAP discussed the changes that took place at a rival university in the United States:

> *I heard a story at another university,* [name and location redacted]*, had 300 international students. New president came, international students was not his focus, and basically, they went from 300 to 30 students, no director, they moved it off into other things* (Interview, November 5, 2008).

Making sure that powerful administrative patrons are pleased is an important reason why Upwardly-Mobile and Transactional BLEAPS engage in constant image management, rapport building and the Weighing & Measuring of the Center of Praxis. Disruptions by students or TEAPs are kettled so that news never reaches the ears of patrons. BLEAPs know they have the power of life and death over the EAP unit.

8.5.2 Reshaping Professional Identities

In many ways, this property has been diffused throughout this thesis, starting with the creation of Blended EAP Professionals in the third spaces of corporatized HEIs. As one BLEAP noted, corporatized HEI management wields the authority to reshape and redefine the professional identities of those in the Center of Praxis:

Informant: *...they've hived off the* [EAP Unit] *out to the administration. The teaching bit of it. And the academics have joined the English department.*

GH: *Now the teachers that are in it now, they seem to feel... damaged. Because a lot of them were using metaphors of working in a fast food restaurant, like 'Would you like fries with that' or something. This whole issue of the effects that administrators have upon teacher identity.*

Informant: *Yeah. Well especially if they are asking for a change in identity. I mean the problem with the* [EAP Unit], *it had an identity as an academic unit, and it used to do research as well as teach. It was a genuine applied linguistics department like that. And I'm sure this is common with lots of other universities, because what's happened now is that there's been a change of identity required now because you have been classified now as a this or that.*

GH: *It's interesting that the administration now has the power to assign identities.*

Informant: *Absolutely, yes.*

GH: *It didn't have that before.*

Informant: *No, not at all. No, not at all. And that may go on increasing* (Interview, October 31, 2008).

This transformation takes place regardless of the TEAPs' opinions of themselves or their beliefs about their mission within the HEI. Based upon themes running throughout this thesis, it is theorized that TEAP informants see their mission as operating in the realm of what linguistic anthropologist Paul Friedrich (1988 ; 1989) would call *linguaculture*. This belief holds that even though language and culture are dynamic and ever-changing in today's world of restive international interaction, language and culture are nevertheless inseparable. Culture is taught through and because of the language. Language is part of the culture, which is why TEAPs often feel a responsibility to address it in the classroom:

> *...if you ask a student to name ten British authors, that's one of the things that I like to do, I say 'name ten British authors, authors of novels, of fiction, writers.' Then you say 'right, what have they all got in common?' The one thing they've got in common is they're English, use English as a mother*

tongue. Secondly they're all dead. It's extremely unusual to find anyone naming a live British author. You occasionally get a Harry Potter, but nearly always you get Jane Austin, you get Shakespeare, you get Dickens...My concept as teaching with the Japanese Students would be this lead lecture where I get them involved in the cultural thing: 'I want you to know about...I know you're interested in British culture so I'm going to kick out ...' I don't pretend to be an expert in it. Only to the extent that I've got an interest in it myself (Interview, September 13, 2006).

Much in the manner of a craftsperson, TEAPs wish to work with international students in small numbers as apprentices so they can teach both language use and instill cultural refinement.

However, it has been seen throughout this thesis that the primary functions of TEAPs have been reshaped by Command & Control. One metaphor for describing these changes could be framed as 'TEAP as APM Factory Worker'. Although TEAPs wish to maintain small numbers in classes as 'linguacultural artisans', Upwardly Mobile BLEAPs committed to mass production and corporate values require TEAPs to process rather than cultivate:

> **Informant:** *I had a meeting with them at the start, I said, I said, how many students can ESL handle before we need to hire someone else? The number that was given to me, was fifteen students for two ESL instructors. And I said, fifteen? Fifteen? And they said, well yes the levels are just so completely different...and we do place them at levels but there are things you can teach to all levels...and that, you, you can't find one level, you can't, you know, if you have a program that has a hundred and fifty students, I think even within those divisions of all those things, you're still going to have a range...You have a range in every classroom and you can't....that's just what happens.*

> **GH:** *Yeah.*

> **Informant:** (growing visibly angry as he relives the memory): *...but they sat there, and they were resisting, and basically any more than fifteen would be a challenge...and I said, Huh? I said, I disagree, and I said, here's the train...and this is the direction it's going. I think we can handle 40, per semester, easily. And we'll get to that point and no changes will be moved, will be made, until we reach 41 per semester. And, you're either on the northbound train or you're not. Basically, so...*

335

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...well, it was a little hard, but, you know...I, I, I dealt, you know, they're telling me* (incredulously) *fifteen...* (Interview, November 20, 2005).

TEAPs who attempt to continue working as artisans will face burnout under such conditions, as was seen earlier in this chapter of the group interview excerpt. Two more metaphors, 'TEAP as Language Service Technician' and 'TEAP as Administrative Utility Staff', will now be considered.

Varghese et al. (2005) state that '[a]mong many applied linguists, for a long time language teachers were seen as technicians who needed merely to 'apply' the right methodology in order for the learners to acquire the target language' (p. 22). Combining this oft-mentioned expectation among administrative informants of TEAPs needing to service international students forms the notion of a Language Service Technician. Many informants, such as the BLEAP in charge of the Polaris EAP program, agreed with this theoretical metaphor:

> **GH:** *what I think I'm hearing from all of the different things that are being said, from those who aren't language teachers who are making decisions about what ESL is or what EAP is or what...whatever...is that they see ESL teachers as a type of language service technician. What would you say about that? That they fix broken language. The students come in and they fix the broken language, and they service the university in that...in that aspect. To get the...those students into the system. And in a sense that they need to assure, quality assurance, that this student will be able to function in class, not be affected in any way. If there are any problems, then they'll receive complaints from faculty mostly. The student's not working, you know, fix the English.*
>
> (Long pause as Informant thinks)
>
> *I'm beginning to think...think about it in those terms. At least the way they're viewed as service technicians, language service technicians. What would you...*
>
> **Informant:** (cutting in suddenly and with vigor) *I...I've not thought about it in those terms, but they're apt, you know.*

After a long and passionate monologue, the informant returns to my question:

> **Informant:** *...so, ESL, back to your question a long, long time ago, what's the function of ESL. ESL exists in many countries that you're seeing, in a place that it is...it is the operative program that brings students to a competency level that allows them to interact with native students...it becomes sort of a, you know, it's...it's a remedial program that brings them to a competency level. The ESL is the same place, and those faculty either are part of faculty or they are service technicians that are, you know, delivering skill in the most efficient manner that they can* (Interview, November 6, 2008).

TEAPs as Language Service Technicians relates in part to the view that this BLEAP and other Command & Control have of it being a form of *talent development*. Tutors offer remedial lessons for students who, due to massification, have been allowed in the HEI but who cannot keep up academically. Gone is the shop floor of the craftsperson's hut. TEAPs must now process large numbers of students as APM Service Technicians. TEAPs prepare students for HEI processing and fix any broken language along the way. This concept was readily accepted by other BLEAPs interviewed, as in the following example:

> **GH:** *It seems that a number of administrators at the universities that I've been at seem to, they don't say this right out, but they seem to view ESL teachers as a type of service technician. That their task is to maintain active classes, fix broken language and ensure quality by ensuring that the product, that is the student, is not defective or...a term I hear at the University of Wensleydale a lot, 'high maintenance'.*
>
> **Informant:** (Laughs heartily) *Absolutely, yes* (Interview, October 31, 2008).

The role of language service entails more than fixing broken language or preparing students for passing the TOEFL and IELTS tests. Because administrative management views HE as part of the service sector, language technicians are expected to serve students in ways that exceeds traditional language instruction. In a number of locations studied, TEAPs were often expected to devote time outside of class in

helping students to access the surrounding society and gain entry into the social aspects of their academic institutions.

TEAPs are also expected to provide continuous language support, usually by providing 'cultural experiences' and other interesting activities outside of class as utility staff. A Command & Control informant explains:

> **Informant:** *they're administrative staff. There's no tenure, there's no, uh, faculty rank.*
>
> **GH:** *Hmm, mmm.*
>
> **Informant:** *Um, but they do have, and uh, perhaps one of the other reasons why it's a staff position, is because there is more to the ESL position than just, 'oh, I'll meet these students from nine to eleven...'*
>
> **GH:** *Mm-hm.*
>
> **Informant:** *...uh, no, they're going to have to organize, need to organize other activities, and be with them in the afternoon at times to do things with them, to help, them, uh, learn English, use English and...provide some cultural, experiences...*
>
> **GH:** *Mmm.*
>
> **Informant:** *...that, see...would be so, totally different from the mission of a, of a regular faculty member* (Interview, November 29, 2005).

Special servicing outside that of classroom instruction is one of the first signs that the fundamental understanding of the TEAPs' identity has been reshaped. During the final meeting of the summer presessional at the University of Wensleydale, the BLEAP in charge of the program framed the relocation of the EAP Unit to administrative management in the following manner:

> [The EAP Unit] *is no longer an academic entity - it's part of Corporate Services, which serves the university rather than focusing on issues about the language. So its whole mission statement and purpose is changed* (Staff Meeting Transcript, September 19, 2008).

'Serving the university', that is, Command & Control, entails tasks that were previously those of frontline administration. TEAPs will find their workday increasingly occupied with BLEAP-led impact-making initiatives, recruitment and running schoolstay programs that focus on 'experiences' as a means of language acquisition. This is necessary; EAP units at corporatized HEIs will find themselves in peril if they do not fulfill their role as, as one administrative manager put it, 'an essential service office'.

Becoming Administrative Utility Staff means that TEAPs should *augment* (an administrative word that is synonymous in actual usage with that of 'significantly alter') their TOEFL/IELTS-centered instruction with experiences and skills. This is seen as providing what one informant called a 'value-added' education. TEAPs actively seeking out such opportunities are valued, as this not only services the students in a practical way, but by developing talents for success, it also fosters educational innovation. International students who study with such teachers, it is believed, will also be enabled to better interact with domestic students, thus fulfilling their expected role of providing intercultural experiences and training for international business.

The manner in which short-term cultural experience programs are increasingly being marketed by their administrative managers, however, touches upon the mismatch of goals and the professional identity held by many TEAPs. In schoolstay programs, BLEAPS in charge of EAP recognize the ephemeral nature of these primarily Asian students on campus and appreciate that the actual time they have for acquiring the target language is limited. In order to utilize them, they are given as many experiential events as can be managed, and are placed among domestic students as much as possible. Language instruction for these students is not as important as gaining memorable experiences. TEAPs are expected to service these students with as much zeal as they have for international students preparing to enter the university. Many

resist the idea of providing fun experiences for young short-term students, seeing this as distinct from their identity as language educators. A former Polaris Command & Control informant reminisces:

> *Those summer programs we did with the school in Korea and your school,* [the president] *loved those types of things, to say we were doing them. Now* [the TEAPs] *hated, just hated them, and tried everything in the world to sabotage them because what value are they? They're not going to try for the 500, they're not going to try for the big TOEFL score. The value was culture, the value was context, and of course* [the Provost] *and I both thought that eventually we might get more students back or we could build it into a program where we would, which we have* (Interview, November 29, 2005).

For the Molding & Shaping of TEAPs to be successful, Command & Control must work harder to 'reorient' them, as noted by an Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP during his presentation about his innovative schoolstay program:

> **Informant:** *So that's it. The idea of the program, the goals of the program, the outcome of the first time we did it, and some ideas of what goes into the program to make it experiential learning and to make opportunities for getting along together well,* koryu [interpersonal exchange], *into real opportunities for getting along together well.*
>
> *I would welcome your input, your comments, your questions please.*
>
> **GH:** *This is remarkable because in the program that I'm working with a lot of people have been talking about this very same sort of thing - the place still has a lot of ESL teachers at the university who this sort of experiential learning seems to threaten their professional identity as a language teacher. And you started it out with, 'I'm a language teacher, but let me sell you this.' Talk about the ramifications of experiential learning on language teacher identity, because most of the presentations for overseas programs deal with the teachers talking about how can they improve the language proficiency of their learners.*
>
> **Informant:** *I hope you didn't miss the punch that came later. It wasn't sold as a language program, it wasn't intended as a language program, but their language improved wonderfully. What they need to do is to say that to everybody on campus and believe me, I haven't stopped since February.*

340

GH: *But still, about language teacher identity, who still would see themselves, they would say often, 'Look, I'm not a tour guide conductor; I'm a language teacher. I want their language to improve.' And this is very different from what many language teachers are accustomed to doing. How do you respond to that, and what would you say about the issue of language teacher identity in terms of professional, with regard to this?*

Informant: *I agree. Most of my colleagues are language teachers. That's their professional identity, and they need a reorientation before they can become a facilitator for a program like this. Now the reorientation may be shorter than the training of a language teacher, but it's every bit as rigorous. Those reorientation programs will begin on our campus early next year* (Informant Presentation, November 2, 2008).

Reorientation can cause considerable professional dissonance for TEAPs, who struggle against being changed. If managed compassionately, however, reorientation can help existing TEAPs to either come to terms with, or choose to leave, the 'brave new world' of corporatized HE. Without reorientation, most of the TEAPs will hold firmly to notions of serving (not servicing) students, and of helping them to acquire the language instead of simply focusing on acquiring experiences.

8.5.3 BLEAPification

In becoming the nexus of power and innovation, administrative management at corporatized HEIs are Molding & Shaping their universities into places that complement the values, practices and worldview of a free-market business model. In the process, the irony is that few identify themselves as part of 'the university' in any meaningful, collegial way. Cornfield & Pollock (2005) explain:

> [A]s one moves around a university, the institution of the university is always, to a greater or lesser extent, 'over there'. Thus for the academics in their departments, labs and research centres, 'the university' generally refers to senior management and, particularly, central administration. By the same token, for senior management and the administrators, 'the university' which they are seeking to govern, manage and administer is very clearly 'out there' in the departments, labs and research centres...'The university,' even for those who work or study within one, is always 'them' and never 'us' (p. 121).

341

By Molding & Shaping those 'out there' so that the HE can contribute to stakeholder needs, Command & Control is not above referring to themselves as 'the university' in an attempt to effect change, as seen earlier in this chapter. Nevertheless, as Cornfield & Pollock noted, such messages are intended for 'them' and not 'us'. For those closer to the Center of Praxis, such Molding & Shaping represents a remorseless force of enslavement:

> The colonisers of higher education have been seeking to change academic identities and practices so as to reflect those of the colonizers. The consequence is that academic voices are becoming divided across different cultures and languages. Many academics feel displaced and divorced from their previous habitats and dislocated within the new and imposed ones. These colonising forms of enterprise higher education reflect the market forces and the quick fix stance of commerce and industry (Savin-Baden 2009).

Savin-Baden's anti-colonialist rhetoric is common among academics, and highlights the feelings expressed by a number of informants concerning not only a loss of humanity on their campuses, they feel increasingly objectified and disempowered by those seeking to remold and reshape their identities from on high. A TEAP informant explains:

> **Informant:** *Oh, yeah. There you... there you go. I do know that we are done TO.*
>
> **GH:** *You're DONE to?*
>
> **Informant:** *DONE TO, right, exactly.*
>
> **GH:** *What does that mean?*
>
> **Informant:** *That means that decisions are made about us without our input.*
>
> **GH:** *Hmm.*
>
> **Informant:** *Yeah. For the most part, I feel like, okay, we go on, day to day, doing our... our job, and what we are supposed to do, and most... for the most part, people don't pay much attention to us. But every now and then, someone*

says, 'Oh, hey, we need to have that room, or we need to have a computer lab. We need to do something.' You know?

GH: *Mm-hmm.*

Informant: *'And let's just make this change, and oh, let's see, oh, the ESL program is using that room. Oh, that's okay, we'll just take it.'*

GH: *And they can.*

Informant: *And they can, and they do.* (Interview, November 5, 2008)

One informant who wished *not* to be anonymized, Dr. Peter Matanle, a sociologist at the University of Sheffield, considered these issues in considerable depth during an unrecorded interview. Matanle believes that British Universities are developing along the lines of empire, stating that since today's world is too small and it is too expensive to maintain an old-fashioned empire, British Universities are participating in a phenomenon he says is going on around the world, which he calls the creation of 'Inland Empires'. Empire can no longer expand outward and upward, so it goes sideways across society, and inward - into the minds, hearts, and identities of the people who have been subjugated. University administrators in his opinion are the colonizers. Faculty members are the colonized. International Students are the raw materials which the colonized develop for the sake of the colonizers. Matanle went on to explain that academics are colonized through the formation of support service offices and centres of excellence, which through the creep of their processes, funding and policies, slowly chain faculty to a corporate, neo-liberal agenda. For those who refuse to conform, Matanle stated that they are sidestepped by the creation of educational programs and initiatives taught by BLEAPs (Interview Notes, March 16, 2009). An Upwardly-Mobile BLEAP in the United States spoke about just such activities that were underway at his university, and felt this to be a positive development:

Informant: *The educational experience is probably...one now that is starting to, I think, represent more of a seamless curriculum to where our peer education programs, and our student, you know, our student development and leadership programs, and everything that Student Affairs is about...*

343

GH: *Yeah.*

Informant: *...the softer side of things...are starting to, move into the curriculum more, and we are starting to see crossovers and other places...and so, I think it becomes an educational experience, because it's not just... traditional, classroom based education...and then...*

GH: Yeah.

Informant: *...queued events...I think we're starting to move to a thing where there's meaningful experiences being offered by other offices that aren't part of academic affairs, that round up their education...*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...and we're starting to see that here...and I think, 'educational experience' sums it up fairly nicely. I think it is an education in general...obviously, but it's a, it's the idea that...um, er... co-curricular activities are benefiting what they do in class...if we can, you know, if we can augment their learning as a start, and then, you know, end up with something that's totally integrated later, I think that that's a good thing. And I think that people would be, I think that educators would be proud of that.*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...I don't think that a lot of academics are really, you know, happy about...us. But student affairs is doing a lot and I think they think that it's nice.*

GH: *Mm-hm.*

Informant: *...but I think it's still the old, holdouts that think, you know well...'education is our job'--*

GH: (cutting in) *They're jealous, do you think?*

Informant: *...there's, there's a piece of that, but I think that we try, you know, try to make for students, an educational experience, a well-rounded educational experience. So what they do in the* [administrative support building] *is just as important as what they do in* [the main academic classroom building] (Interview, November 20, 2005).

Matanle explained that administrative colonizers are often nice people with high motives who truly believe they are involved in something that will better the lives of others. They seek to expand something they believe to be very good for everyone it touches. The problem, he argued, is that from the viewpoint of the colonized, things are being taken away from them - their time, their resources, their identity - and eventually, they begin to view the colonizers with deep animosity (Interview Notes, March 16, 2009). Such enmity, I theorize, leads to the feelings of dislocation described by Savin-Baden, the cynicism often seen expressed in trade journals such as the Times Higher Education, and to distrust that leads to a breakdown in collegiality.

Administrative Molding & Shaping leads many TEAPs and faculty to seek solace in 'the invisible college' (Cornfield & Pollock 2005, p. 121) -- scholastic and professional organizations where they can meet and be affirmed by others from their discipline. In viewing the reshaped HEIs as no longer representing their pedagogic beliefs and values, many leave psychologically and practice a form of performativity, as seen in the excerpt from a teacher at an American university:

> It took me a number of years here before I took the advice of an economist colleague here. He advised me to see [my university] as a platform for other interests: research, professional travel; and to focus on the positives like summers and holidays off and an okay benefits and retirement package. 'Don't,' he said, 'try to change the place, just accept it, or move on.' So I have tried to do that, with decent results (Internet Chat Interview, August 10, 2008).

When TEAPs are, to use the words of Savin-Baden and Matanle, colonized by an administrative center, maintaining a sense of collegiality becomes exceedingly difficult. Often there is a lack of time or resources to seek an invisible college of language teachers, and because of their association with administrative initiatives, many find themselves gravitating inexorably towards the third space of their BLEAP managers -- a lonely space that lacks a sense of connectedness. A TEAP explains:

> **Informant:** *You know, I don't think the fact that I'm on what kind of contract bothers me as much as just the lack of professional ties or recognition, you*

345

know. So you know, you're divided into two groups on campus. You're staff or you're faculty. So faculty gets certain benefits, certain things, and staff don't, and even though you're professional staff.

GH: *Is that what they call you, professional staff?*

Informant: *Yeah, we're professional staff, so we get more vacation days than the custodial help, for example, the different type of that, but if you're truly a professional staff, they also get comp time. They get, you know, travel allowance. They're... they have a whole different lifestyle, but we have really the lifestyle of a teacher...so we're kind...we're stuck in the middle, you know. So we go to a staff dinner, and the people are like, 'Why are you here? You're a teacher?'*

GH: *And you go to the faculty thing, if you ever get...*

Informant: (cutting in) *We're not allowed to go to the faculty thing* (Interview, November 6, 2008).

The end result is that TEAPs eventually become BLEAPified. They become small satellites orbiting a center they find difficult either to respect or trust, until eventually, they are absorbed into the organizational identity of the BLEAP.

8.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has studied some of the key properties that support Command & Control efforts at corporatized HEIs to Mold & Shape from on High. This requires vision casting to define the scope of the big picture for the HEI, maintaining control through a wide variety of strategies, from in-group construction to the maintenance of protective green zones, and in making an innovative, often entrepreneurial impact on campus. Tertiary EAP at corporatized HEIs is often affected by these dynamics. In addition, its very existence in organization often relies upon the patronage of administrative power. Professional identities are reshaped to meet the needs of administrative initiatives, as pedagogy is remolded to augment traditional language teaching with educational experiences. In addition, because of the unyielding pressures of massification, by necessity the concepts of automated manufacturing processes are being applied to corporatized Tertiary-level EAP Units in order to cope with increasing student numbers and to improve pedagogy. TEAPs cease to be

linguacultural artisans and become pedagogic factory workers. They are seen as language service technicians and/or administrative utility staff.

In such an environment, BLEAPs will seek various strategies to survive. Either they will cooperate in the process of Molding & Shaping, lest they themselves are remolded and reshaped. Sinking BLEAPs will certainly sympathize with the complaints of TEAPs and other academics about the changes brought about by HEI management carrying out the will of political and business elites. However, lamenting with those who represent what is seen as outmoded ways of construing HE eventually contributes to their professional demise. The challenge for Transactional BLEAPs will be to instill a sense of community, acceptance and recognition for efforts of those teaching in EAP units. Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs may seek to adopt a more crafty approach by hiding or downplaying their ambitions to enter Command & Control so as not to alienate themselves from their units. TEAPs may find encouragement in working with Transactional BLEAPs in a new spirit of purpose and trust. For TEAPs working with Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs, there is power in the knowledge that their BLEAP's success depends as much as on them as it does about any efforts on the part of the BLEAP to make an impact on campus.

Chapter 9

Getting to the Core: Implications and Applications

As noted in earlier chapters, many grounded theories feature a core category or basic social process that ties together all of the other social processes. I have delayed a direct discussion of this important point until now, as I wanted readers to first experience the texture and emotional pressure of the qualitative data, and to journey with me through the rationality of this critical grounded theory. It is now time to consider the core category for BLEAPs in corporatized HEIs. I theorize that *Struggling to Manage and Lead* is a core process that both links the three social processes which emerged from my data, and highlights the sense of professional disruption that takes place in the lives of new BLEAPs, regardless of whether they have been 'raised up' as TEAPs or if they have entered the Third Space as an administrative worker who has suddenly found himself in charge of an alien yet colorful group of language educators. Old methods of classroom or office management will not work, and seeking to lead TEAPs on charisma alone may prove to be the BLEAP's undoing.
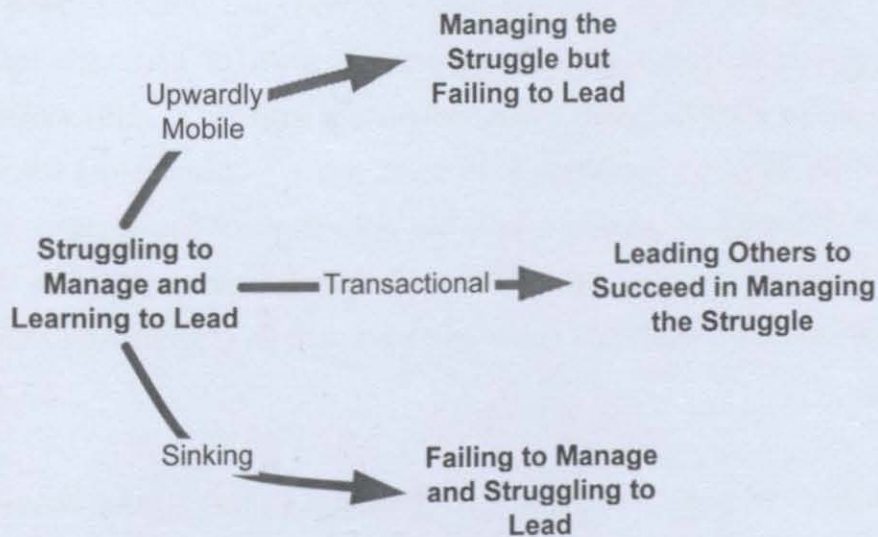
Figure 45 Basic Social Process Trajectories of BLEAPs in Corporatized HEIs

349

The trajectory of BLEAPs within this core category or basic social process can be seen in Figure 45. At the onset, virtually all BLEAPs start out with managerial responsibilities, but with little or no power and authority. They must struggle alone and learn how to deal with the processes described in this thesis. Those who fail to manage and who constantly struggle to lead TEAPs enter the Sinking BLEAP trajectory. Those who learn to deal with the daily maintenance of their APMs might approach the Hunting & Gathering, Weighing & Measuring and Molding & Shaping in an upwardly mobile manner, in which they manage the struggle but often fail to inspire TEAPs to follow, and often resort to various forms of coercion. Others may take a transactional approach, where through the strategies described in this thesis, they work to lead both Command & Control and TEAPs to manage the struggle of life in the Center of Praxis. If they can maintain balance and not fall into the excesses to which they are prone, Transactional BLEAPs can even succeed in carving out a small niche for themselves in the Third Space. In the final analysis, *Struggling to Manage and Lead* serves as the core category that contextualizes all of the other social processes discussed in this thesis. Problems occur for BLEAPs when they seek to manage people and lead processes. Solutions for BLEAPs lie in managing processes and learning to lead people.

9.1 Looking Back
This grounded theory has operated within the flow of the Sociology of English Language Education to focus on managerial issues related to Tertiary EAP in corporatized HEIs. It has been a multidisciplinary study centering on the emergence of 'Blended Professionals' – a new breed of HEI worker occupying the third spaces between academia and administration, and often managing the Tertiary EAP units that are now under administrative control. Often they are being required to manage and lead without institutional support, authority, and in some cases, without a sense of job stability.

The first half of this thesis established the philosophical perspective leading to my choice of Grounded Theory as a means to study this topic. I considered current forms

of the GT methodology and presented a critical version that both builds upon the general strengths of the approach and addresses some of the weaknesses of earlier versions. I also discussed problems and procedures encountered during data collection and analysis, and considered ethical challenges and issues related to the transcription of informant interviews.

The second half of this thesis introduced a number of socioeconomic dynamics that have shaped modern HE, and my Critical Grounded Theory was then situated within the confluence of three 'prime objects' (Kubler 1962/2008 ; Kubler 1982), that emerged from my data, and which reflected the findings of previous studies. These were identified as *The Emergence of HE as a Vocational Incubator within the Decline of Culture*, *The Rise of Automated Pedagogic Machines* (APMs) and *The Emergence of BLEAPs*. I theorized that these have shaped the manner in which English for Academic Purposes is being retooled to facilitate a neoliberal vision for higher education that denigrates communitarian values as socialist in nature. The remainder of the thesis provided a detailed discussion of the social processes of Blended EAP Professionals. These were Hunting & Gathering, Weighing & Measuring and Molding & Shaping. In an autopoietic sense, and related to the EAP context at corporatized HEIs, activities that further the hunting and gathering of international students are of fundamental importance to BLEAPs. Various strategies related to Weighing & Measuring are used to determine the success or identify risks to Hunting & Gathering, and any weaknesses or issues uncovered that reveal EAP as not fitting within the Big Picture of a neo-liberalized Command & Control center will lead to all manner of activities related to the Molding & Shaping of TEAPs, international students, and of re-crafting the professional image of the BLEAP. Within this heuristic framework, my grounded theory pragmatically connects and relates the different perspectives of stakeholders, policymakers and the research participants. It raises awareness of the restive challenges facing Tertiary EAP policies at corporatized HEIs, and this theory provides EAP stakeholders and Third Space workers with fresh perspectives, greater

351

control, and the ability to more accurately predict both institutional and external responses to decisions made within their own spheres of influence.

The patterns of the grounded theory in this thesis were located within a vast tapestry of qualitative data woven from multiple research visits to eleven HEIs in the US, Japan and the UK, the contributions of ninety-eight informants representing students, teachers and university administrators, twenty-three repertory grid sessions, over 120 in-depth interviews resulting in more than 1300 pages of transcripts, a large corpus of field notes, and archival data.

Such a wealth of data, common for GT projects, leads some, such as Silva (2005, p. 4), to conclude that GTM requires 'a whole lot of effort for very little gain.' I would grant that GT is hard work and may not be the best methodology for those in HEIs or applying to grant committees that value rapid, quantitative results. This is why quickly produced statistical studies or on-the-fly action research projects, what was earlier discussed in this thesis as a sausage-making approach to research (Gergen 1985, p. 273), may be eminently appropriate for researchers at HEIs devoted to mass production. However, I would also suggest there is truth in the adage 'you get what you pay for'. The results of this thesis also suggest what one a person starting out with very limited background knowledge of a particular area of interest and underdeveloped levels of theoretical sensitivity can produce though a first use of GTM. While admittedly lacking in the quick returns of more popular methodologies, Grounded Theory studies, such as the one found in this thesis, offer greater potential returns in terms of conceptual depth and in suggesting midlevel theoretical perspectives, in this case, for TEAPs and BLEAPs who have either started or are the middle of their professional trajectory. To support this claim, the contributions of this thesis to EAP will be considered and followed by some of the implications that can be drawn. I will close with some suggestions for areas of future research.

352

9.2 Contributions

While the social processes discussed in the previous chapters detail what has only recently started to take place in Japan, the combined effects of corporatization, McDonaldization, massification and the rise of a new HE managerialist regime have been major features of academic life in Western HEIs for over twenty years (Brubacher & Rudy 1976/2008 ; Bonstingl 1992 ; Aronowitz 2000 ; Birnbaum 2000 ; Brennan & Shah 2000 ; Bartlett et al. 2002 ; Altbach 2004 ; G. Anderson 2006b). Because many scholars outside the domain of EAP have studied aspects of these issues, some, such as Miller & Fredericks (1999, p. 546) might question as to whether the grounded theory presented in this thesis actually represents an original and significant contribution.

In response, grounded theorists point out that the contribution of Grounded Theory often lies in its capacity to complement, connect and elaborate upon existing theories using empirical evidence (Eaves 2001, p. 655). Glaser argues that the discovery of processes and themes similar to the findings of other scholars provides further evidence that both are wrestling with the same empirical issues. One's discovery, he explains, should not be denigrated simply because aspects of the theory have been considered elsewhere:

> Reverence and commemoration should be moderate based upon what the idea from the literature truly contributes to the big picture, just as the analyst uses ideas for his own theory. Idolization of 'great men' should be replaced with the attitude: 'He *too* was working with these ideas' (Glaser 1978, p. 138).

Although the creation of a completely new theoretical perspective is desirable, Glaser points to an equally valid contribution: 'a well done grounded theory will usually, if not invariably, transcend diverse previous works while integrating them into a new theory of greater scope than extant ones. This is a useful contribution' (Glaser 1978, p. 10), and indeed, this is one of the main contributions of this thesis. Others are as follows:

353

- This is one of the few qualitative EAP works that has sought to be explicit about its philosophical roots, and arguably the only one that has used autopoietic theory to frame past and present research approaches with societal developments.

- Related to this, as predicted earlier in this thesis, *critical* grounded theories are only now beginning to appear (Abrahams 2009 ; Countryman 2009 ; Gambrell 2009). This thesis represents a groundbreaking attempt to construct a critical grounded theory about sociological dynamics affecting Tertiary EAP, and one that focuses specifically on the social processes of Blended EAP Professionals as well as others closely connected to their work.

- When considering the effects of corporatization on EAP, TEAPs and academics often espouse pet theories based on personal observations or from hearsay. Without seeking to discount the truth of their claims, this thesis is constructed from an intensive six-year study carried out in three countries at several HEIs, and with scores of informants participating in in-depth interviews. The result is an account of the degree to which EAP is being molded and shaped to fit the HE managerialist agenda for global economic expansion, and it has been undertaken in a manner that is disciplined, extensive, and systematic.

- Aspects of this theory support the hypothesis put forth by Bill Readings (1996) of the University of Montreal concerning the decline of national culture in the wake of the rise in neoliberal values driving economic globalization. My work was developed independently of Readings, whose posthumous work I discovered late in the analysis of my data. Reading's hypothesis has been occasionally criticized as ungrounded, since it was based only upon his personal observations (Castree & Sparke 2000). My research, however, as mentioned before, is grounded in an extensive corpus of systematically-analyzed qualitative interviews, and validates many aspects of his work.

- This thesis also is an empirical validation of Whitchurch's research on Blended Professionals, because although I adapted her nomenclature for this study, I independently noticed the emergence of third space academics and administrators as early as late 2006, just as she was in the process of publishing similar findings (Whitchurch 2008 ; Whitchurch 2009b).

In addition, this thesis suggests how the conditions in Tertiary EAP serve as a helpful barometer for understanding the degree to which an HEI has been corporatized and one which offers clues as to the nature of administrative managements' aspirations for university academics. This theory empowers TEAPs and BLEAPs alike to better

understand the wider issues driving the organizational changes taking place in their units, to analyze the decisions of their superiors, and to consider the implications of these decisions both for themselves and their learners. TEAPs are enabled to take control by making informed decisions about how to either participate or engage in transformative discourse. For upwardly mobile TEAPs seeking either to leave the Center of Praxis or who have already entered a BLEAP-like posting, this theory reveals key conditions, strategies, processes and contingencies that can help them make informed choices while in the perilous Third Spaces of their HEIs. In short, I would argue that my theory and findings suggest many implications for the working lives of Tertiary EAP professionals, because based upon the trends witnessed at all of the HEIs in this study, I believe the 'third space' at many universities is set to grow to the point that, eventually, traditional university roles will become peripheral.

9.3 Implications

While recognizing that the findings of this thesis may be initially discouraging to some, the unvarnished presentation of the social processes affecting EAP in corporatized HEIs has been necessary in part to dispel illusionary beliefs based upon now obsolete Prime Objects, to which TEAPs and Sinking BLEAPs often cling, and to offer hope to those wishing to make principled plans for the future. For example, Upwardly-Mobile TEAPs often seek to improve their skills, knowledge and qualifications by obtaining an MA in Applied Linguistics or TEFL/TESL. Many will also give research publications at conferences, network with potential employers, and publish impressive numbers of research papers, all in an effort to land a stable university teaching post. In the past, such activities would have been sufficient, but today in most cases, it is no longer enough. Given the speed to which corporatization is spreading to all but the most unassailable of Ivory Tower HEIs, TEAPs seeking to become BLEAPs will need to supplement any knowledge gained from their MA with the canny insight of an MBA.

The changes taking place in Japanese Tertiary EAP, which are beginning to mirror the experience of American and British HEIs, are often interpreted by TEAP informants

as yet one more sign that their profession is in rapid decline. Speaking at the 34th Annual Japan Association of Language Teachers' Conference in Tokyo, Graddol (2008) predicted that by the middle of the 21st century, far fewer TEAPs will be needed, due to the work underway in many countries to introduce EAP to primary school curricula. Certainly, growing numbers of international students entering American and British HEIs without needing EAP instruction was an observed trend at Polaris and Wensleydale. Yet while TEAP postings are most certainly set for decline, (which will have implications for the plethora of MA TEFL/TESL programs in upcoming decades), I nevertheless believe that the survival of EAP in corporatized HEIs is assured, not in spite of, but *because* most units have been moved into administrative HE departments. Drawing sustenance from administrative power, Tertiary EAP Units will thrive as language service programs. They will be increasingly involved in the generation of entrepreneurial academic talent, the recruitment and retention of international students, the fostering of service learning opportunities and in guiding diversity awareness initiatives. Current MA TESOL programs must recognize and incorporate these issues in their curricula. They would benefit from adding the insights of this grounded theory, because while most focus on pedagogic and theoretical issues related to language learning and acquisition, new TEAPs are often entering Tertiary EAP units unequipped for dealing with the overarching concerns of their BLEAPs and organizational patrons in Command & Control.

Not only does this theory have implications for directing MA curricula in Applied Linguistics and TEFL/TESL, as well as for equipping Upwardly-Mobile TEAPs, it can also offer hope to Sinking BLEAPs, especially those who cannot move to another HEI for a fresh start. Sinking BLEAPs must think of themselves as literally starting over from the very beginning in their present post, without referring to any perceived past successes. They must, in effect, reboot their career. I use this term because the institutional memory of failure is far longer in corporatized HEIs than any memories of success.

Sinking BLEAPs can begin prospecting for resources, engaging in investment servicing, furthering resource partnerships, and carefully weighing the degree to which they will engage in resource leeching and milking strategies. They can begin to see students and TEAPs as allies, for by ensuring that students are satisfied and by seeking ways to help both them and TEAPs to look good in the eyes of Command & Control, in many cases, students and TEAPs will help to rehabilitate the image management efforts of the Sinking BLEAPs, thus tipping the scales of quality and excellence in their favor. The trust built from this stage will lessen resistance to later forms of Weighing & Measuring, such as using prestigious tests or undergoing external evaluations. Sinking BLEAPs should begin looking outside themselves to learn more about the Big Picture view of potential patrons, and discover aspects of it that resonate with their own beliefs. Sinking BLEAPs can then target potential areas for making what will be seen as innovative impacts, and as a result, the BLEAP will be able to form collaborative groups, access powerful green zones, and eventually begin to control new processes. Sinking BLEAPs will need to spend time reorienting TEAPs to the new mission of the HEI, which will be easier, as it will have become more intertwined with their own beliefs. However, BLEAPifying TEAPs entails their further connection to the professional standing of the identity of the BLEAP. If the Sinking BLEAP has steadily moved more to the practices of Transactional BLEAPs, TEAPs will already have a stake in the plans and mission set forth by the BLEAP, and greater cooperation should follow.

Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs do not need to struggle to find some aspect of Command & Control's Big Picture in which to believe, and most are very proficient in the properties of supporting the social processes that have been described in this thesis. However, my theory highlights the irony that within their raw ambition (and their frequent inability to hide it) lies the instrument of their professional demise. Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs will need to see TEAPs and international students neither as tools for getting ahead nor as obstacles to overcome, but more as the people that they are. This may be easier said than done for Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs prone to

testosterone-fueled strategies such as Commando Assessment, and for those who have developed an overdependence on Cash Cow Milking or Resource Leeching. Part of the way that Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs might rehabilitate themselves in the eyes of TEAPs and students is by finding aspects of their "Little Picture" that complements the Big Picture of Command & Control. I contend that if the picture of corporatized HEIs is truly as big as informants claim it to be, there must be a space where TEAPs and international students can fit in a way that affirms their talents and preferred contributions. Seeking a more transactional stance in these areas is vital, because unless they frequently move to other HEIs, as long as they are openly ambitious, Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs will usually not gain the prize that they seek: TEAPs will resist one who they see as the attack dog of a moneyed corporate elite, and will gather international students as allies in their bunkered institutional insurgency. Although Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs might quell such rebellions, few realize that their ambition is as threatening to Command & Control as it is to TEAPs. The doors to Command & Control are open for those who fit the image organizational elites have of themselves -- as one who wields power wisely. The doors to the halls of power close to those who might become rivals due to their driving ambition. Attack dogs are useful, but only on the perimeter of organizational Green Zones.

I have been suggesting that Sinking BLEAPs and Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs should seek to adopt the attitudes and approaches of the Transactional BLEAP. This will afford greater stability and job satisfaction for the Sinking BLEAP, and by fostering greater cooperation among TEAPs and international students, Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs stand a better chance of gaining the promotion they crave. Transactional BLEAPs tend to keep the social processes of Hunting & Gathering, Weighing & Measuring, and Molding & Shaping in better balance. However, maintaining this equilibrium tends to be far more stressful than they allow others to know. Because Transactional BLEAPs tend to be solitary creatures, this isolation and lack of accountability can lead to all manner of personal problems that will eventually affect their career. Although it is against their nature, Transactional BLEAPs need to seek

community and accountability with people they can trust. In this way, they can become less transactional and more interactional.

These ideas will only work, if trust, openness and compassion are upheld. A common problem in many Tertiary EAP units under corporatized management is that 'EAP teachers are frequently employed as vulnerable, short-term instructors in marginalized "service units" and ways of facilitating change in such environments remain to be explored' (Hyland & Hamp-Lyons 2002, p. 10). This vulnerability regularly leads to the Center of Praxis becoming a place of psychological suffering -- environments where subtle anger and disappointment are constantly expressed from above and below, and where fear mixed with shame for not being 'good enough' is often the experience of those in the center. As one TEAP, who was struggling to hold back tears, explained, '*sometimes, I do get down, and some of it depends on the students. If you get students that have bad attitudes, and students that are... that drag you down, it...*(eyes get misty) *it can be very exhausting*' (Interview, November 5, 2008).

Such issues underlie many of the clashes between cynically bunkered TEAPs and emotionally unintelligent managers from Command & Control, with BLEAPs often being caught in the middle. Powley (2009) and Bezzina (2000) state that professional survival for those in such situations is through building relationships between members of different factions. BLEAPs should take advantage of their position in the third spaces of their HEIs by mediating peace treaties that offer opportunities for incremental change, flexibility and trust building between both sides. BLEAPs can use the ambiguity of their third spaces to find a third way -- one which seeks balance and one which is more humane. The third way requires stepping back from performativity, of going through the motions, and instead, to encourage going '*through the emotions*' (Beatty 2007, p. 335):

> When teachers and leaders connect with each other in equal humility about issues of power and emotion, the barriers in their relationships can begin to disappear, as healing of old wounds and recovery from old patterns of

interrelating from different positions within the hierarchy begins (Beatty 2007, p. 334).

Fostering this level of emotional intelligence requires an autopoietic perspective that allows for the paradigmatic flow from structure (which views emotions that differ from those in power as variables to be excluded) towards the perspectives of pattern and process, both of which recognize that for organizations to become truly humane, there must be a greater inclusion of our emotions and an acceptance of our humanity, not just our utility.

In the EAP context, the problem is in finding common practices and beliefs upon which emotional and interpersonal bridge-building can be built. During my analysis of fieldwork data, I came across tantalizing hints as to how BLEAPs might leverage the soft power of the Third Space and lead in a humanely effective manner. I combined four repertory grids from Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs and members of Command & Control with four grids generated by veteran TEAPs, each with 10 to 20 years of EAP teaching experience. The Sociogrid analysis function in Rep IV 1.12 sorted and revealed constructs and beliefs with high correlation values common to all eight informants (Appendix H, see also Appendices F and G).

The commonly-held ideals for this sample were those of a working and teaching environment that was secure. They were for a place where co-workers were respectful, efficient, and where they work as a team while also promoting a combination of teacher autonomy and innovation. The Center of Praxis was not a closed institutional bunker, but instead, it was a positive place, an environment where people were motivated, hard-working, and enthusiastic about broadening participation while delivering an excellent curriculum to EAP students. Excellence in this case was seen in a curriculum that was elegantly simple, had clear goals, and was both progressive as well as innovative in that it promoted active learning while also seeking to embed language learning in the surrounding culture. It would be a curriculum that places importance upon student needs, not their positive evaluations.

The hope for BLEAPs was that they would put people first, that they would be caring, confident, responsible, professional, and open to new activities in an effort to create a unique, well-managed EAP program. They yearn to see in BLEAPs compassionate leadership skills that have been tempered by managerial knowhow.

Such constructs have clear links to emotions and ethical practices. A picture can be drawn from the constructs of these informants, and steps could be made towards discovering the common ground this group has regarding innovation, stability, caring and other such ideals. Doing so offers hope for breaking 'the reinforcing spiral effect, [in] that leaders, even with the best intentions, get wounded and become threatened, and thereby become threatening and wounding themselves' (Beatty 2007, p. 335). By implication, it calls for the deconstruction of Tertiary EAP and HE as Automated Pedagogic Machines relying upon a McDonaldized approach to TEAP management and language instruction. Instead of a fast food approach, where process management results in localized differences and needs being treated as undesirable and inconvenient, decommissioning McDonaldized APMs opens the way for something better, something similar to the Chinese Restaurant model, one where local pedagogic 'ingredients' are both accepted and re-contextualized. While Chinese restaurants differ in the ingredients they use depending upon the country and clientele, they maintain their overarching identity while continuing to deliver quality to customers.

Examples of such third space solutions among HE educators can be seen in groups such as the Scholarship of Teaching and Learning (SoTL) movement, which has practitioners in the US and Europe (Hutchings & Shulman 1999 ; Shulman 2000 ; Trigwell et al. 2000). SoTL workshops create spaces in which educators, including a number of TEAPs, seek to promulgate good pedagogic practices and reframe Weighing & Measuring towards highly focused educational aims (Fincher et al. 2000 ; Kreber 2006). The movement has been marginalized by Command & Control, partly because it operates outside their locus of direct control, making it a potential threat to their agenda (Schroeder 2007 ; Boshier 2009), but it is here that BLEAPs can yet

361

again bridge the gap: By communicating how movements such as SoTL represent innovation, improve content delivery to end users, focus on stakeholder needs, achieve excellence and create a positive, inclusive teaching environment free of class-based recriminations, BLEAPs can take advantage of their areas of influence to make a significant contribution to their HEIs.

Not every Tertiary EAP unit can become the site of positive engagement and principled change. Most will find the attainment of such goals to entail significant struggle. But I believe that BLEAPs can provide the leadership and vision for setting the tone in their EAP units. They are important in fostering environments that emulate humanistic values and maintain dialogue between TEAPs and Command & Control. In what Kezar (2004) calls a utilitarian approach, BLEAPs can encourage both sides to look back at the prime objects of communitarian and neoliberal approaches to Tertiary EAP, to recognize where both have failed, and to build upon their successes.

The need for BLEAPs to leverage the third space as neutral ground between TEAPs and Command & Control in order to serve the greatest number of EAP stakeholders will have even greater urgency in the years to come. History is replete with examples of how groups of disgruntled and disenfranchised workers are highly susceptible to industrial action and in time, even more radical measures. The tendency, once things have reached this level, frequently gravitates towards the destructive. The loss of community and collegiality into a slurry of conflict and recriminations is something that HEI Command & Control members cannot afford, lest they become 'Sinking Elites' in the eyes of their superiors, and are then replaced. In the EAP context, BLEAPs can help. Through existing electronic networks and face-to-face opportunities at EAP conferences, likeminded BLEAPs and TEAPs can encourage each other as they seek peaceful, transformative interaction with those in other sectors of their HEIs while working to provide learners with a critical awareness about issues in their universities and societies at large (Pennycook 1997 ; Benesch 2001 ; Harwood & Hadley 2004).

9.4 Future Research

This Critical Grounded Theory of Blended EAP Professionals in Corporatized HEIs offers additional avenues for future research. Approaching this autopoietically, quantitative investigations to validate aspects of Hunting & Gathering, Weighing & Measuring or Molding & Shaping would help to further delineate the range of this theory. Qualitative studies investigating properties such as Resource Leeching, Authoritarian Deliberation, or the ramifications of using Mystery Customers/Students/Clients, would be fruitful areas of research. Critical studies aimed at discovering how the sociological processes in this thesis are undertaken in other domains would extend the usefulness of this thesis beyond the substantive domain of Tertiary EAP. Further research on comparing the experience of TEAPs in corporatized HEIs to that of craftspeople in other professions, especially those who have become unwillingly involved in mass production, might prove insightful. Neoliberal corporatization is not limited to HE, but can be seen in Health Care Systems, Organized Religion, and other care-giving fields. Investigating to see if there are BLEAPs in hospitals, churches, hospices, orphanages, care homes and the like, might open up interesting areas of sociological study.

Another area of interest, drawing from the concept of Foucault's panopticon (1977, pp. 195-196), would be to consider the effects of third space ambiguity on Tertiary EAP units, especially those working in organizations marked by increasing levels of authoritarian control. Some of the enduring lessons of the controversial Stanford Prison Experiment are that tightly-controlled, 'total environments' (Zimbardo, Maslach & Haney 2000, p. 202) such as jails, the military and organizations with strong hierarchical Command & Control structures, easily become breeding grounds for various forms of abuse. How do BLEAPs resemble and differ from the prison guards of the Stanford Prison Experiment? In what way are Upwardly Mobile BLEAPs like Zimbardo's 'bad guards', those who enforce rules and procedures in order to both encourage fear and consolidate power? Are Transactional BLEAPs akin to the 'good guards' who, as Zimbardo, Maslach & Haney observed, are the ones 'who

most kept the prisoners in line because the prisoners wanted their approval and feared things would get worse if those good guards quit or ever took a dislike to them' (2000, p. 201). Do Transactional BLEAPs maintain harmony and order among the economically and organizationally disempowered TEAPs and socially imprisoned international students, thus averting 'prison uprisings' in the form of industrial action, union formation, or the publically embarrassing 'slave revolts' of student protests? Extending this theoretical metaphor, are Sinking BLEAPs secretly despised by Command & Control in the way that corrupt guards are seen as those who have literally gone to the other side? In effect, because of ongoing efforts to transform Tertiary EAP into ever efficient Automated Pedagogic Machines with measurable quality outcomes, are they in the process of becoming the type of places that Morgan (1997b, p. 216) identifies as Psychic Prisons?

Future research need not be as controversial as this, however. On a level closer to the Center of Praxis, a Grounded Theory methodology could be used to better understand the basic social processes of the International Student Experience, or on the pedagogic processes, strategies and contingencies of those who are considered to be 'good' TEAPs and Tutors.

9.5 Conclusion

These questions will pave the way for new journeys of sociological inquiry, and reveal the potential of this grounded theory for stimulating future studies and debate about policy decisions for Tertiary EAP. To those ends, I call on interested scholars, BLEAPs and TEAPs to encourage the creation of pedagogic environments that consider the concerns of all involved in Tertiary EAP, and to seek peaceful rapprochement between what is increasingly being construed as end users, service providers and managerial stakeholders. By transcending these labels, encouraging inclusivity and by creating innovative third spaces, it is my hope that we can help foster a view of EAP that focuses less upon processing, and more upon the positive personal development of students, TEAPs, academics and administrators. Tertiary EAP will continue to evolve in unexpected ways during this era of HE corporatization,

but by listening to each other and by truly working together, we can strive to better cooperate in the adventure of educating future generations and hopefully, to lay the foundations for a better world.

Modified Repertory Grid Procedures

On the nine cards, which represented the elements at the top of the grid, I asked the informants to write the names of specific teachers, students, administrators and the overall organizations that they had known to been involved in successful or unsuccessful language programs (Figure 46). After this, I asked them to think about a significant practice of each of these individuals or organizations. I instructed the informants to write down practices that were visible and concrete to outside observers. For example, instead of writing for 'scholastic' for a good teacher, they would be encouraged to write, for example, 'keeps up with his/her reading of the literature.'

1 Stays current in the literature	2 Asks questions in class	3 Can be flexible to new situations	4 Rewards effort and excellence	5 Closed to cooperating with colleagues	6 Does as little as possible to "get by"	7 Impersonal and mechanistic	8 Just a money-making organization	9 This Program

↓

1		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9		5
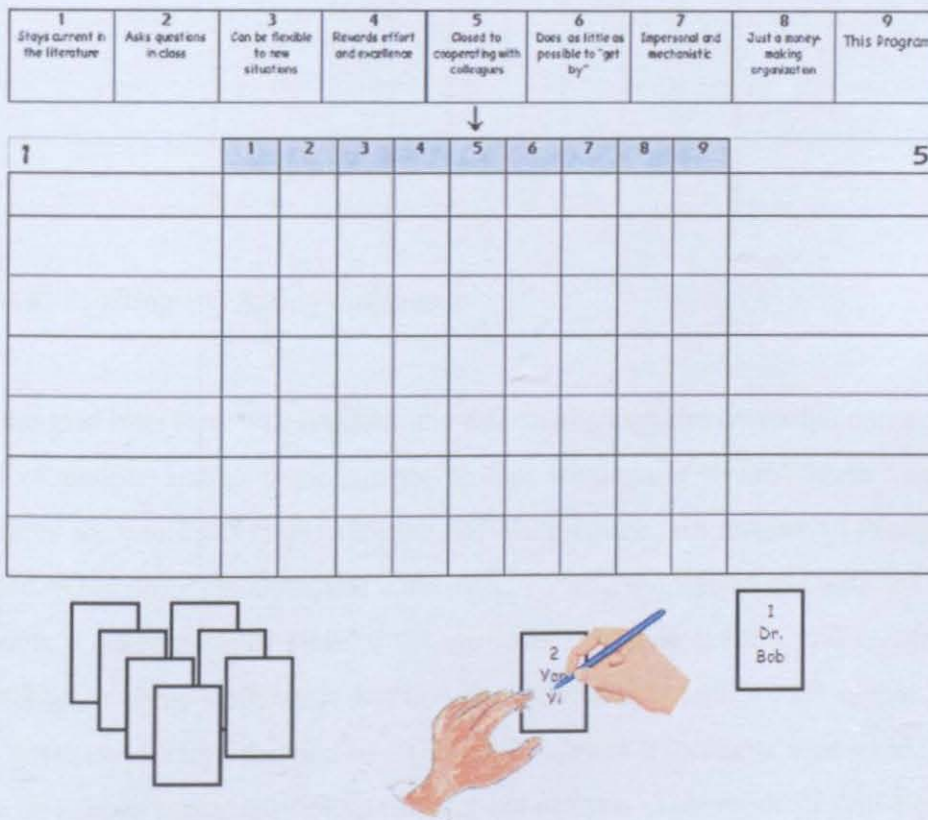
Figure 46 Eliciting Elements of Observable Professional Activities

For a good student that was remembered, an informant could write, 'asks succinct questions in class.' In order to protect the identity of the people or organizations used to elicit the elements, I asked the informants to keep the names on the cards, but only to write *observable actions* along the top of the grid. Processes were more meaningful to me than any specific names or places.
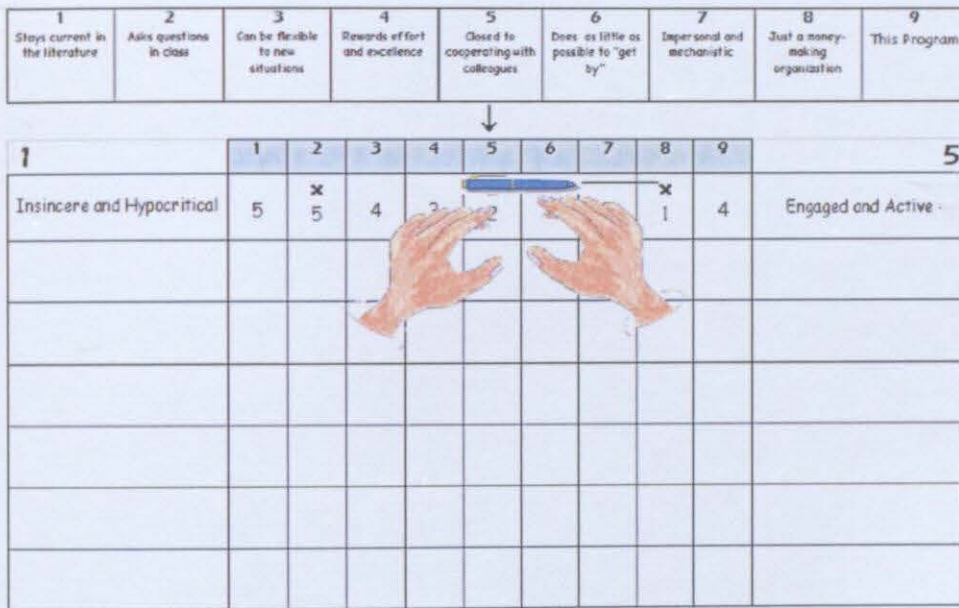
Figure 47 Eliciting and Rating Constructs

After the grid interview was finished, the informants kept the cards that contained the names of people and/or organizations so that they could destroy them later. The informants were told not to describe the NUGIS program, but instead, to think of how it related to the other elements and constructs. To help the informants with the idea of constructs, I asked them to think of the elements as visible actions, and constructs as the feelings or value statements that they would attach to seeing such actions taking place. After completing the first row (Figure 47), most informants were able to elicit four to five more constructs before running out of ideas. This mode of grid elicitation

proved to be more fruitful than my first attempts, and I used the same grid template to conduct many more rep grid interviews with TEAPs and administrators at NUGIS.

Blue nose

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
	clear focus on student learning	perseverance + attitude/acted	Leaders general goals, allows autonomy	Promotes active learning	mean, no flexibility, promotes passive learning	passive learners not motivated	stretched thin, plugging holes or...	no innovation llke all other Programs	This Program

1	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	**5**
unique and well managed	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	2	plain, not innovative
curriculum + delivery support + augment student learning	1	2	2	1	5	5	5	5	3	structure does not allow students to be active learner
promotes autonomy + innovation among teachers	1	1	1	1	5	5	5	5	3	teachers not involved in strategic plan
passive learning style	5	5	4	5	1	1	1	1	3	needs to be involved/active
clear administrative goals	1	1	1	1	1	2	3	1	4	focuses on student learning
no innovation in curriculum	5	5	5	5	1	3	4	2	5	open to new activities
overall passive learning	5	5	3	5	1	1	3	3	4	demand activities that promote active learning

PrinGrid Bluenose
"To Understand Ideal Constructs Upheld for Representatives of each Organizational Subculture"

×Focuses on Ss Learning

NUGIS-Polaris Program ·

Open to New Activities
Activities Demand and Promote Active Learning ×

Unique and Well Managed

Needs to be Involved and Active ×
Promotes Autonomy and Innovation Among Tts
Curriculum and Delivery Support Augments Ss Learning
GT Has a Clear Focus on Ss Attitudes and Learning
GO Promotes Active Learning
GS Have an Active Attitude of Perserverance
GA Decides General Goals and Allows Autonomy

Clear Administrative Goals ×

2: 6.7%

Structure does not allow Ss to be Active Learners
· BA is Stretched Thin by Plugging Holes and is Not Innovative
Passive Learning Style
×Tts not Involved in Strategic Plan
×1: 88.5%
· BS is Unmotivated and Passive
Plain and Not Innovative
· BT is Mean, Inflexible and Promotes Passive Learning
No Curricular Innovation
Overall Passive Learning
BO is not Innovative and Like all Other Programs

Percentage variance in each component
1: 88.5% 2: 6.7% 3: 3.3% 4: 1.1%

372

Example of Semi-structured Qualitative Interview

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                      Interview Transcript                         │
│                                                                   │
│  Code Name:   Dolton (D)                                          │
│                                                                   │
│  Interviewer: Gregory Hadley (GH)                                 │
│                                                                   │
│  Location:    Polaris State University                            │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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(Conversation begins with a discussion about the recording device before moving into a recap of the last week of discussions at Polaris.)

GH: Alrightie, well, uh...

D: ...before we get into, to this (taps repertory grid on table)...

GH: Ok.

D: ...uh, is there anything else that has come up as par, with your discussions with...uh, Mavis or Athena or Miles or Bluenose that we need to, uh...touch on, before, uh...?

GH: Hmm. No, I don't think so. Um...Mavis and Athena seem to be...uh, satisfied with the program, from their end.

D: (quietly) Mm-hm.

GH: Uh...they, they seem to be, in fact they seem to like to have, they like having the students there for a semester. It, it's...from, from uh...from what I understand what they're telling me...you know, that it breathes new life into their program.

D: Mm-hm.

GH: Uh, Bluenose likes it...uh, likes the program and everything as it is. He wants, of course he wants to bring in even more students.

D: Sure.

GH: Uh...if, from...anywhere he can. And he, the, the, the only thing that, uh, Mavis and Athena are worried about is, uh, the budget. Uh, how much it costs...well while...they seem to be...um, a bit worried about how Bluenose has taken from one budget to help pay for other things for the students and, you know, next year, um, they don't have to do all of that that they did. I'm, the fact that they did was incredibly, uh, kind on Bluenose's part and their part, but...we can think of some ways of, helping the students by this time, by this time become...a little more autonomous.

D: Right. Well, and another thing that they, uh, may need to do, and I'll, I'll need to, meet, meet with Bluenose and we're going to meet and look at, you know, go over the budget's of things...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, later, but...one of the things we may have to do is on some of those items...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...where there's a cost attached to and where they subsidize it, from another office, we may have to offer that as an option...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...to the NUGIS students. That they would pay in and...

GH: Right.

D: ...you know. Sort of a per service. Well, if you want to go on this trip, that's...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...you know, this many dollars, and these trips are paid. Of course as you know, we have so many...opportunities for them on campus.

GH: Yeah.

D: You saw that list.

GH: Yeah, yeah.

D: I mean, it's an, an incredible amount of...cultural interaction for them.

GH: Right, so there's, they're not going to be...

D: They're not going to be deprived...

GH: ...deprived in any way that they can't...if there's some students can't pay for cer, certain trips or something...

D: Right.

GH: Yeah. And, and, it...again, they're going to have...from what I understand...they'll have the um...host families or maybe home-visit families...or, uh, campus friends?

D: Right, there's...

GH: I don't know that nomenclature...campus friends, is that what they call them or international?

D: Yeah, friends of international students.

GH: (same time) Well...the various families that, that...yeah, friends of international students. And they take them all over the place.

D: Mm-hm.

GH: Depending on the family. They take them up to Iowa, Nebraska...

D: Mm-hm.

GH: ...down to [city redacted]...they'll have plenty of opportunities to, to get around...

D: Right.

GH: ...off campus, while they're here, so...I, I'm not worried about that.

D: You know, for instance, my next door neighbor. You know, while um, um...[name redacted].

GH: Yeah. [name redacted].

D: [name redacted], lives across the street.

GH: Mmm.

D: Kind of caddy-cornered. The person next to me, um, his wife passed away about a year ago. Uh, maybe not quite a year ago, well he's been signed up to be a friend of the international students...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...and in fact, I was over there, one day, and his...two students...uh, in fact I think they were both...I think one was Japanese and another one may have been Indian...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...he had, he had made breakfast for them that morning, and they had come over...

GH: Well, I'll be.

D: ...you know, and, and...help, help teach them how to fix an American breakfast, you know...

GH: Uh-huh.

D: ...and things like that? It's obvious that he was getting as much out of as, you know, as they, as they were. Which is always the case.

GH: Yeah.

D: Uh, but there are a lot of people in [city redacted] who...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...who like to do those things.

GH: I've noticed that. And I'm...pleasantly surprised with that.

D: Mm-hm.

GH: Because, folks in [city redacted] seem to have...warmed up more to international students than when I was here, uh, going on twenty years ago.

D: Yeah, yeah.

GH: So, things are looking up. I'm, I'm very satisfied. Um, (foot touches Dolton), oops, sorry. Um, are you satisfied?

D: Oh sure, sure. Yeah, yeah. And, and I think, my, my only uh, um...opportunities

for improvement as [name redacted] liked to say...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...OPIs...opportunities for improvement really, uh, are, in, in terms of, you know, trying to get more students to help the, economic viability...you know, of, of, of that program.

GH: Yeah.

D: But, but, I don't think it's...weak. I don't think it's in any danger. I'm just always thinking, well how do we improve it?

GH: How do we imp...

D: ...how do we, how do we...how do we make it a little stronger.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...'cause the stronger you can make the base, then you'll lay a foundation...for, years of success, even when there, there may, 'cause there's just going to be a natural cycle of things...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: You may have blip where there's nineteen students wanna come. We could have a blip where there's eight students want to come. It, it, you know, it just...and, and so we, we try to, uh, make the program as strong and healthy as uh, we can...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...you know, and so, um, so anyway...

GH: Yeah, um...I'm going to get the dates from Bluenose, uh, potential dates for next year's program. I have the figures from you for the next year's cost per student. Uh, that's the basic information that the administrators there need so that they can start advertising...

D: Right.

GH: ...and, when Miles comes, next year, of course he won't be able to recruit students for following year, he'll actually be recruiting the first year students.

D: Right.

GH: So it's an investment into...

D: Sure.

GH: But...(pause)...things seem fine to me, at the moment for me.

D: Good, good.

GH: Uh, and I think that the folks at school, will be happy with it too. I, I can't anticipate any problems. Now they're going to complain about the price going up. Uh, but I'll explain, uh, the situation as you've explained it to me. And I'll also explain all of the...extra, unpaid, uh, benefits that the students have been getting on campus. Uh, all those hidden things that Polaris has been paying for.

D: Right.

GH: That this will go...uh, I don't think it actually will go, go to paying some, some of that for next year, but...uh...(sighs)...I'll communicate...

D: Right.

GH: ...uh, (mumbles), and if they have any questions, then I'll ask you.

D: And, and hopefully, what uh, [name redacted] experienced was...and, and seeing that list was, yes, it is more expensive, but...you, you get what you pay for.

GH: Yep.

D: You know? That it's, that it's worth it.

GH: Yep.

D: If you really want to have a, uh, an enriching experience in another culture...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, in this culture...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...then...you, you can't beat the price.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: You know?

GH: Yeah.

D: And, and, and *you* know, and that's why you, one of the reasons why you guys ended up here...you couldn't, you couldn't match what we do...at, at any other school in the country...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...for, for this price.

GH: Right.

D: It, it would be...uh, you know, maybe even several hundred dollars if not thousands more at other schools.

GH: Mm-hm. Yeah, well, I think the thing that, that uh, appealed to the folks...the, even as much as the price was the flexibility on Polaris's part.

D: Yeah.

GH: The other programs that we went to said, this is our program, this is what we got, you know, and...

D: That's it.

GH: That's it. So, take it or leave it. And it was like, well...uh, you know, my school wants this, this and this, and they said, well, this is what you get. You know, it's like you go to McDonald's and...

D: ...yeah right...

GH: ...say well, could you? And no, you don't. You get what they make and...

D: Yeah, uh-huh.

GH: So...so far, it's been good for us. I hope it's been good for you all...and uh, we'll have to wait and see, uh...how it develops in the years ahead, but I'm anticipating good things.

D: Uh-huh. Well, if the uh, I know the students are making some kind of a video? Do they have a, uh...?

GH: Mmm, that's what I hear. Would you like a copy of that?

D: Yeah. I, if they could, I don't wanna, if they have a DVD burner of if that's...something they do...

GH: Yeah.

D: ...but when they back, I don't know if they'll prepare something like that.

GH: Ok.

D: Yeah, we'd love to have a copy.

GH: I will.

D: If it's possible.

GH: I'd like to have a copy too.

D: Yeah.

GH: Because we'll use those to uh, uh, recruit students for next year.

D: Sure, sure.

GH: So...

(Conversation shifts briefly to discussion of Dolton's brother-in-law, who works in the Pentagon and who might be able to provide some information for GH's book on a military incident that took place in Japan during the Second World War. Then GH and D began to look at repertory grid and discussed his experience with filling it out.)

GH: Um...I want to, I want to focus on the, uh, ESL program... the phenomenon of teaching English here on-campus. and, thinking about... let's, let's look at it from different roles or different points of view. Starting out from where you are at asan administrator, would you call yourself an administrator?

D.: Yes.

GH: OK. Um...talk about the ESL program. Where you see it, or maybe you can like, tell its story to me, uh, from the point of view of an administrator. Uh, what, what is the ESL program to you?

D: From my perspective the ESL program, uh, is designed as a, uh...as a bridge...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...for international students, who want to come to, um, America to um, get a college degree.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh...it serves as a bridge because it is for those students...who, uh, have not received a minimum TOEFL score.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh, which they have to have, before being accepted into a degr, degreed program.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh, I think it's designed...uh, for...you can see that I'm catching a cold here, so...

GH: I hope you didn't catch it from me!

D: Uh, I probably did. I got to blame it on somebody!

GH: Oh! Well, you can blame it on me!

D: I was fine until you came over here...

GH: (laughs) Oh no...

D: (laughs). Uh...I think for most students, it's, it's, it's designed... at the semester program. So they would be in it for one semester...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: And, and...if...if they still haven't passed TOEFL, then they'd have an option for a second semester, but...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: I don't think they really belong in the program for more than a year.

GH: Really?

D: 'Cause if they're unable to, to um, to pass, the TOEFL, then they are probably not... are really not gonna have what it takes to be...s...to be successful in a degree here in English.

GH: Yeah, I see. When you talk about it being a bridge, what does that mean, specifically?

D: Well, a bridge between them not... quite having enough skill...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ... in English, to be successful in the degree...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...by that, I mean...being able to... make the minimum score on the TOEFL necessary for admission...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...so, not having that...to having that.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...and so that bridge is, is going to take you, and provide you, with some of the basic skills...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...um...help you sharpen your skills...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...improve your, uh, u-um, verbal and, and writing skills...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, so that you can, um, uh...you can be successful, and working on completing a degree by passing that test.

GH: I see, I see. If um, you put yourself in the...if you looked at it, looked at the ESL program from let's say the...vantage point of the entire organization of Polaris State. Where is it and...how would you, how would you describe it, from that, from that vantage point?

D: (blank)

GH: Looking at as, as, as you know by being...

D: Sure.

GH: ...the dean of the college of arts and science, and you know all the other organizations within this, this larger organization...

D: (clears throat)

GH: ...how, how do you see it from, if you, as, as part of that body of organizations with, on cam, campus?

D: Well, i-i-it's a um...I see it as a...um, small, but important element, uh in, in the total picture.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh, in some ways analogous to what on our campus is called the talent development center. Uh...

GH: Hmm. What's, what's that?

D: Well, the, uh, talent development center, uh...may again have different names, at dif, different schools, uh, but is uh, sometimes called developmental education. So if you have someone who...if they have a high enough ACT score, I'm talking now about a...um...an American student...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...a non-international student...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...um, have a high enough ACT score, overall ACT score to be admitted...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...but, perhaps their, their math score is very low.

GH: Ah.

D: Or their English score is, is low.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: And so they're having trouble, passing uh, a college algebra class....

GH: ...I see...

D: ...or a composition class. Now the talent development center is developmental education where they go and they get, additional help.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Um, uh, specialized help.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh, working with tutors and things like this...

GH: ...I see...

D: ...to help improve those, specific skills, so that they can...pass the Gen Ed course in Math or English and that kind of thing.

GH: I see, I see, so ESL, uh, would fit within that sort of...realm, you say?

D: (Sighs deeply) Um, i-i-it is somewhat similar to that. In it, I, I, I think, in that the talent development center if we didn't have that, we would have a lot of students who would...enter this, enter...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...but would, um...but would not complete, to, to degree. And it's in our interest...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...to once students are admitted...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...to support them so that they can complete their degree.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: If they, if they are willing to work and truly have the ability to, to complete the degree.

GH: Mmm.

D: So, in some ways, ESL is analogous to that for international students.

GH: Mmm, mmm.

D: The difference is, where, with um, uh…American students, un, undergrad, once they're admitted, they're degree-seeking students.

GH: Uh-huh.

D: But the time they spend, with, in the talent development center and any…courses on how to study and things like this…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …those are not…um, they don't get university credit, for those things. They don't get degree credit for that.

GH: Do students in ESL get de, degree credit…?

D: …no, they do not.

GH: Ah, so that's similar too.

D: That is, similar to that, correct.

GH: I see. How does the lack of degree credit affect…uh, the, in the ESL program? That lack of degree credit…aspect uh, affect the program per se?

D: Well, uh…I mean by it…it's mission…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …uh, I mean it's consistent with it, it's mission. I don't see that as really having an effect or not effect…

GH: Uh-huh.

D: …because, again, for ESL, uh, it's for students…who cannot yet be admitted as degree-seeking students…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: And so, by it's very nature, the…instruction they'll be getting…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …is not university credit…

GH: Right.

D: ...because if it were, they wouldn't need ESL.

GH: Mm-hm, that's interesting. I was, something that I came across in, this research, um, over the past, week and a half, is that um...eighty percent of the international students don't come through ESL. Uh...that twenty percent, do. Uh, and that, that was a remarkable...uh, bit of information for me as a, as an English teacher.

D: (snickers quietly)

GH: What do you think about that? Uh, how do you unpack that as a, as an administrator?

D: Well, I mean, that, that's why the ESL program is fairly small, on this campus, and on most campuses. Now there'll be some campuses that...either because of their, um...tradition, or um, um...h-how they recruit international students, may have a, a fairly large ESL program...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...um, because it's like anything else. The larger you're numbers...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...the more students you're going to have that...

GH: Right.

D: ...uh haven't yet passed the TOEFL.

GH: Huh.

D: So, um...some people sell that aggressively when they go overseas, to recruit.

GH: Mmm.

D: They'll say, well, uh, you know, I'd like to come to the States, uh to study, but I haven't passed the TOEFL yet.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: They say, well, you can come on the campus...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: (thumps on table to punctuate each point)...and take courses in ESL, we'll help you pass the TOEFL, and when you do, you'll be ready to participate as a degree-seeking student.

GH: I see.

D: And uh, so it's a way to get...you know, generate more students...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...um...internationally. And, and some people are very...some schools are very aggressive about...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, using that as a recruitment tool.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: And up to this point, we have not been...

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: ...and I think that's just been, how the ESL has been um, um...the organization of ESL and it's ab...it's ability to do that. Now that we have a new...coordinator then I think we're in a better position...

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: ...uh, to, to do that.

GH: The ESL teachers, are...not really teachers in the organization, I, I came to understand. They're, um...what are they, administrative staff?

D: Correct.

GH: Interesting. How did that happen?

D: Um...I can't tell you. I don't know. Uh, because I wasn't here...

GH: Yeah.

D: ...uh, when, when that was done. And I, my guess is that that may be different at other schools?

GH: Yeah, I don't know. It's, it's all, it's all new to me...

D: ...yeah...

GH: ...I'm, I'm looking at this with, um...with wonder...

D: Right.

GH: ...that's all. Not judgmental. Don't, yeah, don't don't...

D: ...yeah, (chuckles)...no, no I understand that. Uh, it's um, uh, and, I'm, I'm assuming that...that is historical...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...on this campus...

GH: Hmm.

D: ...and so, to answer the question why is it that way on this campus, I can't, I can't tell you.

GH: Yeah.

D: Um, but what I can, certainly confirm that, they are not...um, they, they do not hold faculty positions.

GH: Hmm.

D: They do not hold faculty rank.

GH: Hmm.

D: And uh, I, I...well, I can't say I think I know why...what I can, I can give you some reasons why I think it makes, uh, uh, it makes sense that that is the case...

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: Uh, the first and foremost...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...is that...uh, that...the courses that they're teaching...are not within, a specific department, they do not count towards a degree, and there's no university credit, given it. Ok.

GH: Mm-hm, mmm, mmm. I see.

D: Were they a faculty member in Biology, they're going to teach classes, that are in our catalog, that will count towards a degree and, and will be giving university credit for.

GH: I see.

D: Um, the other thing, um...um...and so consequently there, there's no ranks within the ESL teaching faculty...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...and a regular faculty with have, you know, assistant professor...

GH: ...right...

D: ...associate, full, and...there's tenure and all those kinds of things.

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: And they're administrative staff. There's no tenure, there's no, uh, faculty rank.

GH: Hmm, mmm.

D: Um, but they do have, and uh, perhaps one of the other reasons why it's a staff position, is because there is more to the ESL position than just, oh, I'll meet these students from nine to eleven...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, no, they're going to have to organize, need to organize other activities, and be with them in the afternoon at times to do things with them, to help, them, uh, learn English, use English and...provide some cultural, experiences...

GH: Mmm.

D: ...that, see...would be so, totally different from the mission of a, of a regular faculty member.

GH: I see. Putting yourself then into the shoes of an ESL teacher...imagine, imaginary, I suppose...how would you see the ESL program from that vantage point?

D: (long pause) Uh... with regards to what?
GH: Um...it's a, it's an abstract open ended question.

D: Yeah…well, uh…it doesn't change the, uh, uh…it doesn't change the mission…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …of the, uh…of, of the ESL program. Um…if I was an ESL teacher…how would I view it?

GH: Or, or what sort of story would you tell? What I'm, what I'm doing in these questions is I'm, I'm looking a various roles…

D: …uh-huh…

GH: …on campus and, and…um, getting the informants to, uh, activate different parts of, um, historical knowledge and experiences in this study…

D: …oh really…

GH: …that's, that's why I'm asking…

D: (pause) Yeah, uh…

GH: …it you were a…

D: …now that's a…

GH: …yeah…

D: (long pause) I'm not, I'm still not sure, exactly what you're, you're wanting from me on that one because, if, if I was an ESL teacher what I…what I hope I would be focusing on…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …would be the same thing, I would focus on, if I were…as music teacher.

GH: Mmm.

D: Or…a speech teacher…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …which is, ok, how, how do I improve. What, what else can I do, to help, uh, these students, regardless of what their native language is…

GH: Mm-hm.

391

D: Um, how do I be a better teacher, how do I make them a better learner?

GH Mm-mh.

D: (begins to hit table to punctuate each point) How them to learn more...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...about, uh, the, the use of English being able to read it, being able to speak it, understand it...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...understand the context...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, of the language...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, looking for new experiences...

GH: Mmm.

D: ...uh, for the students. Looking for new ways of, of um...of, of doing that. That's what I did when I was at...a teacher.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, full-time.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh, and so my guess is that what I would do if I were teaching English as a Second Language...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...In terms of...I, I, would hope I'd have an understanding of, what my role is...it, it as we all have...we're all like a piece of the puzzle.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...and sometimes we see the entire puzzle, sometimes we just see a corner, sometimes we just see the, the bottom line or, or the side of a puzzle...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...um, and, uh, all too often, uh, faculty, it's all too easy for any of us to...get a bit of a tunnel vision...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...an see just our piece, or maybe just those pieces that...we connect to...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...just, the one piece...just the one piece that we connect to.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: And, uh...

GH: ...and, and what do you mean by that? That's interesting, the connected pieces as such. Can you make it a little more of a specific...can you make that a little more specific in what you mean?

D: Well, uh (clears throat) sure, if I uh, ah...uh, I mean it's...you know, for, for any of us to see...ok, this is what, uh we look and see, well this is what I do everyday...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...I come in and I, I teach, uh, maybe two classes in the morning and then meet with small groups of students in the afternoon...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...so my planning, has to do and my reporting...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...has to do with helping those students, uh, achieve at a certain rate...trying to find new experiences for them...uh, is there a new textbook available...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, how do I get more out of the, textbook or are there other materials...

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: ...what's the latest on the pedagogy in this area, maybe I, I need to go to a conference so, very focused on what's happening in that, classroom.

GH: Right.

D: Right? And, the pieces around me, might be, well, what is that, uh, is the student having a problem in their...in their residence halls, or how are they...affecting them...

GH: Right, right.

D: ...or their admission status...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...or have they taken the, you know, are they studying hard or are they, whatever?

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: Um...then the next level would be the uh, would be the coordinator of ESL.

GH: I see.

D: Uh and, and it's their job then not just to see that one teacher's puzzle...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...piece...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...and the ones, that are just on the outer ring...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...but that, what's that, what's that whole corner look like?

GH: Right.

D: And by, by that I mean, uh, they would say, well how does ESL, fit in, with our other international programs.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh…are we recruiting, uh, um…uh….when, when we are recruiting overseas, are they, uh…are we telling students about our ESL opportunities…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …as is necessary…

GH: Mmm.

D: You know, quite, hopefully…most of the students that are making inquires, to you, have, have passed that score on the TOEFL and so…

GH: …right…

D: …they're ready to come in to be, you know, full-time regular students…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …but you want to be able to have that in your pocket for the student, who, who really wants to come and work and…

GH: …but isn't sure that they…

D: …but, but, but…is just kind of on the border.

GH: I see.

D: Uh…and then, at, at my level, whether it's the dean's level or a provost…

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: Well, instead of seeing just that, uh, the one piece, or the pieces surrounding it…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …or, or the…face in the corner…

GH: Right.

D: …well, hopefully we're seeing most of the whole puzzle.

GH: Mmm.

D: And, and we see where that fits with everything else so it's, it's not just well how does that fit within the international...program. How does that fit with what's going on, totally within the college of arts and sciences...

GH: Mmm, mmm.

D: ...or the graduate school, or, all three colleges all through academic affairs, through the whole university.

GH: How does the, how does Polaris's efforts to uh, get the Baldridge award affect ESL?

D: (Breathes deeply) Well, uh...what I hope it does, is uh, is instead of thinking about how do we get the Baldridge Award, but thinking about how we view...uh, continuous quality improvement.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Which is...the heart of what the Baldridge criteria, are about. Is how, is having a system, where you're, you're...you're constantly looking for ways to, to improve.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: And so...uh, I, I am not...familiar with the, whether a seven step process, or, or, uh, um...specific items that ESL program would rate themselves on...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...to, to, to improve, but every department or unit should have those kinds of things.

GH: I see.

D: And so, it's not so much the award itself, but the, the criteria and being focused on...improvement.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh, which *should* impact ESL.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: It, it should impact it in two ways, the same way it does with every other unit on campus.

396

GH: Mm-hm.

D: It should impact it from a programmatic view, which is, how do we improve as a program?

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: How do we...deliver, better? In other words, how, how, are all our students achieving, more?

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: And then two, as an individual, how do I become a better teacher?

GH: I see.

D: How do I use that to improve.

GH: And has that, has that been...concretized in the ESL program in your opinion?

D: (clears throat) I don't know.

GH: Mmm.

D: I don't know.

GH: I don't know either, I'm just...

D: No...

GH: Ok, just a few more questions and then, I'll let you go. Um, switching to the...shoes of a student. Uh, an...ESL student, who's coming in through that program, how do you think, that student would...what, what sort of story would that student tell about their experience within ESL on campus?

D: Well, I think, um, that the students would find, uh, our program to be uh...um...rigorous, yet supportive...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...um, where, you know, people, um, are welcoming...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...of them?

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: Uh, I would imagine, uh, you know, if you're from another country, uh...you look different, you talk different...

GH: Mmm, mmm, mmm.

D: ...uh, it, it can be very easy to feel, uh, that, you know, everybody's, you know, staring at me or they don't like me or I'm not welcome and uh, I think they, they really make an effort to make students feel welcome.

GH: Mmm...mean, meaning the teachers?

D: Uh...they meaning the teachers but, but also others on campus and in terms of, uh now going, looking at those other pieces...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, not...that are connected to the center...central piece of the teacher...uh, would be the, folks in the residence halls, or in the Union...

GH: Mmm, mm-hm.

D: ...or when they go to other programs on campus...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...that, that they...we tend to have a, uh, a welcoming attitude towards international students.

GH: I see. It's all, it's all really interesting. Um...and, uh...I want to ask you a little bit more about these elements across the top here just to make, so I make sure to...

D: ...sure...

GH: ...get them...but, but before I do this, wait, before I do this...are there any...major milestones, that you can remember in the ESL program, that comes to mind?

D: Well, see...I, I've only been here for a year an a half.

GH: Right.

D: Um...and I, I would say that um, the...the only, what I would consider a milestone would be the, uh, semester-long agreement with NUGIS...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...I mean I, I think that is a, an important thing for the program.

GH: Why do you think so?

D: Um...well, uh, because...that brings students to our campus...for that, for an entire semester in there...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...so it, it, it helps...the foundation of the ESL...uh, program...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...but then it, it also just as much as the NUGIS students are learning from us, hopefully, other students are gaining from the interaction with them. Not just interaction within the ESL classes themselves...

GH: Mmm, mmm, mmm.

D: ...but, I mean, you can see others...students from other countries in the ESL...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...classes, so they're learning, you know uh, maybe just a bit about Japanese...culture...

GH: ...mm-hm, mm-hm...

D: ...lifestyle, from, from them. But then, our regular, regular students, or our...American students...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh the, what opportunities they have had, to interact...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...with NUGIS students. Then, then they're able to take away from that experience. Just a little bit of, of what that uh, culture may be like.

GH: Have there been any crises that the ESL phenomenon has overcome or, had to deal with in your...?

D: (long pause) I don't know of any. Um...their, their biggest...their biggest...challenge, is one of um, if financial stability.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: (low voice) Uh...keeping the program...solvent.

GH: Mm-hm. I see. Alright, well um, let me ask then, uh, about these elements across the top to make sure I know...uh, a little more concretely about what they mean. When you're talking about a teacher that cares, can you give an example of what that caring action would...

D: Ok.

GH: If, if you and I were both looking at something and says, that's what I mean...uh that teacher's doing that...

D: Uh...sure, uh, um...I guess a couple of them...if they, if...good teachers that I have seen and all, take um, take extra time with students. It's not just answering the question yes or no...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: But, but will take the time to explain.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh...and will take the time to make sure all their questions are answered.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Um...that's, that's a teacher that, that cares, I think.

GH: Would that be an English teacher or any teacher?

D: Um...well, really any, any teacher.

GH: Mm-hm. Ok.

D: Yeah.

GH: Yeah. And, um...a participating student?

D: Yeah, a student who...actively participates in class. Uh...

GH: How do they, how do they participate?

D: Uh, they're listening...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...they're answering questions...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, they're not looking at the ground...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...and when the teacher asks a question.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Um...listening, asking questions, many answering questions.

GH: I see. Ok. And this is, uh, an administrator. How is teamwork...realized.

D: Uh...

GH: What's a, what's a team player, for you?

D: Uh, by that, and, and you know I may have um, I initially had...I wrote uh,

worked collaboratively and in teams, and so I...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...I used the one word teamwork...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...I guess what I meant by that is that the uh, um...that the administrator works, it,
it they're not dictatorial...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...they work collaboratively.

GH: I see.

D: Uh, they work with those, that report to him or her...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...and uh, to determine then, uh, you know...policies and how we follow them and so it's...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...it's, it's, getting people to, to work together, and valuing their input.

GH: Hmm. Ok. And then, this...is this, supports...?

D: ...supports.

GH: Ok, how does the...what's a supportive...organization that supports...how does that, how do they do that?

D: Uh, and well, well, that's primarily through, either through, uh...uh through money...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh, that they're...going to support...uh, you know, even if it's not in their particular budget. Maybe an administrator would say, ok, I'll, I'll give you funds...to travel to a conference, to, to learn more about...how...you do what you do.

GH: Right.

D: ...to, to improve what, what you do. Uh, you know, and so it's providing that kind of, that kind of support.

GH: OK. And selfish? What, what does...

D: Uh, um...that the, uh, I think that was the teacher?

GH: Yes. What's a selfish teacher?

D: Um...let me see if I've got this...oh yeah (laughs) um...

GH: You were remembering a specific person...

D: Oh yeah, yeah. Uh, I, it, you know a person that in some ways, uh, um...and I need to describe it kind of...opposite of this.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Someone who doesn't seem to care. That they're more concerned about their own research...more concerned about them...less concerned about uh, whether or not the students really do well.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh, and how does that manifest itself? I think it manifests itself in being a...a...that they tend not to um, they tend not to take the time.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: They tend not to verbally, be as supportive to students. Uh, this teacher, will uh, will verbally, encourage...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, students. This teacher, uh, will not, uh, verbally encourage students.

GH: Then, am I going to infer then that the apathetic student here is a person who does the things you said earlier...looks at floor and doesn't ask questions? Or, what's, what's the apathetic, ap, ap, apathy...

D: Yeah, um, uh...doesn't seem to care...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...doesn't...will only do the absolute minimum.

GH: Ah, yeah, yeah, yeah.

D: Yeah, uh...and if they could...uh, if they could do less than the minimum, they will.

GH: I understand.

D: They won't do anything more than they absolutely have to. They don't ask questions, they never answer questions unless, unless you...call on them directly.

GH: Oh, I have a lot of students like that. (laughs quietly)

D: (laughs quietly)

GH: Maybe they're just shy. Um...this one...paranoid.

D: Paranoid.

GH: Who, who told you that? (laughs)

D: (laughs loudly) Well, if you turn the recorder off...

GH: Ok, yeah. That's an interesting one for me. What, what do you mean by paranoid?

D: Well, uh, I, I, uh...may, perhaps it was because I was a uh, um...I was thinking of a very specific...uh, person.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Uh, who was an administrator.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Of a, of a language program...who wa-, that, that was his primary problem...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...was that he was, uh...um...he, he was paranoid about...(drops pen)...

GH: What did he not do, he not trust people, or...?

D: Uh, uh...yeah. He, he trusted people, he did not trust people. He, he assumed...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...that no matter what...either superiors, or subordinates were off to him with a question or concern...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...that it was an attack on him.

GH: Oh.

D: ...and of course his program personally...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...and so he reacted...defensively to things...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...sometimes, and...in often irrationally...

GH: Hmm.

D: Uh...about, about things.

GH: Hmm.

D: Uh, because he was just, just convinced that...you know, that...well, they're out, they're out to get me and the program.

GH: I understand. And uh, and institution or an organization that's too rigid?

D: Too rigid. Uh, you know, this is what the, (hits table to emphasize points) this is what the rule is...this is the way it's gotta be...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...come hell or high water...and (hits table) we're not changing that.

GH: Got you. And, it's interesting in this one...you uh...looked at the NUGIS, uh Polaris program and you wrote...commitment?

D: Right.

GH: Well, that's interesting. Tell me about that. What do you mean?

D: Well, uh...it, it seems to me that um, each, uh, uh school and what the program represents in my, uh, my mind is, is, is a commitment, not just to each other, but, but to the students.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Um...you know, we have a um, we're making a commitment to providing certain services...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...for a certain fee, if you, if you will, but...but, but not, but it's not just...you know, ok...uh, you want the uh...you want the big mac or you want so that alright there, there's the fee, there's you're the...

GH: (under breath) ...right...

405

D: ...no, but it's, it's more than that. And I think that's typically what Polaris does. We, we tend to go above and beyond and, and...provide and provide and provide and...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, I, I think we have, uh...uh, and you know we've made a commitment to NUGIS (pointing to NUGIS-Polaris plaque made by Polaris from an earlier visit)...(mumbles)...I've got that...the thing over there...
GH: Yes, yes...the Polaris-NUGIS Plaque...

D: Um...yeah.

GH: Right.

D: Uh, that, that, you know, we've made a, we've made a commitment to, you know, serving those students and that...you've made a commitment to...uh...trying to recruit students to be a...to be a part of the program...and to uh, and so it, it, to me that, that's just the word that, that, that uh, that...that resonated with me initially...was commitment.

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm. Are you sensing that, that the levels of commitment are...equal?

D: (Sighs and clears throat uncomfortably)

GH: Or, do you feel some areas of inequity with that?

D: (clears throat)

GH: Or is, or is...equal and uh unequal...not even the right sort of thing to put on it?

D: Yeah. That, that's a good um...(very long pause)...that's an interesting question.

GH: Mmm.

D: Uh, and, and rather than equal or unequal...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...what did pop in my mind when, when you asked that I think, comes from...as I understand it, from, from you and primarily from my...visits with you...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, not only a year ago...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...but June, when, when we were there, I was thinking before during and after that...goals setting meeting that, that we had.

GH: Yeah.

D: And the...um...I think that there is varying degrees of commitment by some administrators at NUGIS...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...because of, we, we all fear what we don't know.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: And, uh, you know, the, the unknown, and what we have not experienced...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...um, and, and I, you know, all of us. I put myself in that, in that same category. And I, I think that uh, they have reservations about certain things...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...for uh, on the student's behalf and what we do...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, based on...some cultural differences...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh, based on fears of the unknown...

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: ...uh, you know, because...they may, you know, they may have student come back and say, gosh, Polaris is a really nice place...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...but their image of the States may...is strong...the image they have...is still, uh, strongly based on what they see on television...

GH: Right.

D: ...movies, radio...

GH: Yeah.

D: ...and, and not what happens in the streets of [city redacted].

GH: That's right.

D: Um, and so...uh, that...that can be hard to overcome.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: And uh, and I could give you a couple of examples of, of what I think...

GH: Please. It's, it's very interesting.

D: One of...is while it does not affect us directly...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...initially. But it could have a long term effect on the program. And that is, the, uh...I'll just use the term stronghold they try to keep on the students about where you can go, where you can't go...

GH: Right, right.

D: ...and, and those kinds of things. Uh, and I recog...I mean I, I understand the fear of, well ultimately someone may go with someone they shouldn't...get into trouble...break a leg...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...get drunk, get sick, do...

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: ...you know, get worse or whatever...

GH: ...yeah...

D: ...and you know, we'll be embarrassed and, uh, we'll have to drop out of the program and uh....

GH: Uh-huh.

D: ...and it's...everything, um...and, and, and but anyway, that's, that's one example...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...uh...

GH: ...and, and how do you, how do you...what, what, how do you resonate with that? What's, what's happening with you when, when you, when you deal with that?

D: Well, uh...(long pause)...how I'm dealing with it is, that it, it's NUGIS's issue...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...to, to resolve. I mean they're...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...they're...they have to, explain and then...um, live with those students. They're their students. I mean, these are not...I mean, yes, they're, they're sort of adopted [school mascot name]...

GH: (laughs quietly)

D: ...but they're NUGIS students, you know.

GH: Yes.

D: And so, they, they ultimately have to, you know live under what they, you know, what, what NUGIS says. Well...and, it's, it's not, it's not really our place...I mean, we may have an opinion...

GH: Certainly.

D: ...but uh, and (clears throat), but you know, everybody's got an opinion. It doesn't mean that's...

GH: ...but you're, you're struggling with that, though.

D: Well (clears throat), I'm probably not as struggling, I'm probably not struggling as much as the students are...

GH: Mmm.

D: ...with that. My only concern would be...what it, um, might do to the l...that it could be a negative...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...for students, who...uh, to attract students to the program...

GH: ...so it works against recruitment possibly...

D: Correct, correct. If it were to do that, then I think that would be unfortunate.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: If, if it doesn't do that, and it may be one of those things, you know, how do you prove a negative, you know?

GH: Yeah

D: And so, we, we may never know if that were to stay like that long term if that has, uh, affected recruitment or not.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: Um...but it, it, you know, it's uh...to the extent that it does, that it doesn't, it's a, it's a...NUGIS issue.

GH: Right.

D: But what I'm hoping is that, over time...we would find ways of...relaxing some of those things...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...still within a controlled environment.

GH: Right, right.

D: Uh, but helping the students...

GH: Yeah.

D: ...feel some...um, more responsibility.

GH: And the second thing that, uh, came to mind?

D: Yeah...I should know (mumbles to himself)...uh...

GH: One was the issue of NUGIS's control over students...

D: ...right...(extremely long pause)...you know, I, I've blanked on that.

GH: That's ok, that's ok.

D: Uh, if I think of it, I'll, I'll e-mail it to you.
GH: Ok.

D: Uh, uh, but...yeah, the uh...I think there would be people who would have just different impressions and...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...are...perhaps overly sensitive...

GH: Mmm.

D: ...to some safety and security issues...

GH: Yeah.

D: Again, I understand that. But uh, and there may be other things...some things that, maybe you haven't shared with me, which, which is fine but...other concerns that other people may, may have and, uh...that are things. Another concern would be um, oh, I understand this concern...the but...the overall budget concern where, when you take this three percent and four percent and two percent and add it up over the years, you know, where's the, where's the program going.

GH: Mm-hm.

D: And of course, um...I don't think anybody in this country...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...would ask that question, simply because, we're all in the same boat.

GH: Right.

411

D: You know, I mean…i-it and the entire country…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …you know? That's, that's been happening. I'm not saying it's a…a poor question, or it's a, it's an ill-thought question…

GH: Mm-hm.

D: …I'm just saying that, since we're all in it together here…

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm.

D: …we all see that…yeah…it's, it's happening to all of us, and there's not a darn thing we can do about it.

GH: Mm-hm, mm-hm…yeah, that's interesting. Those are some really interesting issues that, that…come up. I wished that we could um, when you were there, that we could've had a chance to get you and the president to meet. Specifically, specifically that one person that…avoided you the whole time…

D: Uh-huh.

GH: You remember? Because he's going to be the next, um, either the next chair or the next dean.

D: (blanches at the thought)

GH: And so, yes…uh, he certainly needs…I feel, needs to be…uh, put in a place where he's, I hate to use the word forced, but, com, compelled is still forced, isn't it? Where that, that he is…uh, able to confront these issues, because he had bad experiences in American when he was younger and, I suppose he was immunized, in a way, against American things…

D: Uh-huh.

GH: …and it's ironic that oftentimes these sorts of people with these sorts of issues will…end up in these positions…

D: …end up in positions, oh yeah.

GH: ….it, it happens, in Japan, a lot…maybe it happens here…

D: …oh, I, I think so. You get, you'll find people who are elected…representatives…

412

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...who had some awful experience in the public schools...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...or in a college...and it's, it's like they have a chip on their shoulder. And now they're going to show them...

GH: Mm-hm.

D: ...and, um...and so...you know it would be nice, because I think our trip in June was very helpful.
GH: I think so too.

D: It would be nice if uh, if that individual...with perhaps uh, someone else, could, could visit us, sometime.

GH: I would probably have to come along too...

D: ...sure, sure...

GH: ...interpret for him, but I...I uh...I'll try...to get them to come. Um...if you have some sort of um...thing on campus where they could give a, a brief speech or something...

D: Uh-huh.

GH: ...that, that would help justify...

D: ...kind of a reason, for them to come, yeah.

GH: Yeah. And uh, in, in terms of...sister school...uh, relations and um, interaction...then they would definitely have to save face...uh...by go, by going. They wouldn't pull out unless they were so powerful that could pull out because they didn't want to come or something.

D: Yeah.

GH: You know, they're not that powerful.

D: Yeah.

(Conversation drifts to talking about Dolton possibly coming over to NUGIS to stay a few weeks someday in the future. Feels it would be good in a lot of ways. GH jokes

413

that Dolton could play with the school's brass band, which evokes laughter. Discussion about musicians and research – positivistic experimental research – that suggests that they are more intelligent than the average person. Talked about the Mozart effect. Conversation ends)

Appendix D

ATLAS.ti Graph Showing Data and Theoretical Codes to the Social Process 'Milking Cash Cows'

AD - Preventing hunger as justification for Food service provider enforcing bulk meal plans to students {1-2}

supports

is interrelated\

AD - Forcing students to consume more {4-3}

◄ is interrelated with ►

AD - Residence Life meal plan forcing students to overeat {5-5}

AD - prof Inte Stud roo chai

BA - Regularly decreasing State support {8-16}

◄ is an attempted solution for

AD - Outsourcing {4-4}

is property of

is property of

is a pro

stimulates

explains

results in

AD - Hunting - Gathering {4-8}

is property of

[14:2][117]

' doesn't want people to buy pizza off campus, they want to force them to buy / products...
≈80% of that 1412 goes towards

GH:It's just a monopoly!
≈<Pause> Yeah. It's probably better that ... is there a [24:16] at I : <Laughs> GH:Yeah, but your family wouldn't want to come.

AD - Student ID card serving as a credit/debit card {1-1}

is property of ►

AD - Milking Cash Cows {7-17}

is property of

IS - Being manipulated by landlord {1-2}

is property of

is property of

AD - Passing on expenses to the customer {1-1}

is property of

AD - Attempting to charge students full overseas tuition for ESL {1-2}

417

come.

:The problem is more than anything is that [IA].

GH:So does that mean also for the ... yeah. Does that mean also for the convenience store over there at the station?

:No because that's all ... and have you seen the prices?

GH:They're huge.

:Oh massive. So they say, 'Oh yeah, shop away, buy $4 pizza pockets.' No problem, because they're making 300% on those things.

GH:They're juicing the students!?

:Oh entirely - students know, everyone knows it.

GH:Oh, but ours don't.

:And it's a laughable feature when I tell them the State's pulling back 5%, 'Why don't we just charge 5% more to recover that cost and charge our corporate people more to operate here, and if not then we'll shop it up and get more of our money back.' And oh no, no, it doesn't work! I mean we're so tied with ...

[14:4][131]

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you turn it over to a corporate person and then they take control and they start bumping up the prices, and bumping up the prices and you cannot stop it

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[1:77][436]

BN: You know, so they, oh well, tuition has increased this much and so we might as well increase this...
GH: Mm-hm.
BN: ... our tuition essentially mirrors out-of-state, divided by two...
GH: Mm-hm.
BN: ... for, you know... I think there are slight... it's off by about 50 bucks but it, it follows that trend.
GH: Mm-hm. Right.
BN: But why would it? Because our costs remain the same.

Milking the cash cow

This is a very short but significant reference to the previous year's negotiations.

... tried to charge ... students the same level of tuition they would be charging to full-time degree seeking international students on campus. The justification was that any special price would be seen as unfair to their other international student customers. The fact of the matter is that the ... students were coming in for a one semester ESL study, non-degree seeking, and as such, were a different type of student than the typical International Student. The attempt to get such a high level of profit from the ... students speaks a lot to the idea of the Japanese students being a type of "cash cow" for the administrators at ...

[17:29][222]

D: ...which, which would've just have been, the regular full tuition.

[3:70][351]

BN: ... I think it was a cash cow for the Japanese. Their English program sent like a ton of students...

418

AD - Residence Life Food Service Provider profiting off of undergraduate Japanese student inability to consume amounts offered in meal plan (2-3)

AD - Residential Life profiting from rent collected from Food Service Provider (1-1)

AD - Explaining that monopolistic food service contracts a common feature in university systems (1-4)

is interrelated with

is property of

is interrelated with

results in

AD - University profiting from International Students through room and board charges (2-5)

BA - Lacking the economic wherewithal in Japan to keep up with regular price increases in US (3-2)

AD - Client school experiencing difficulty in keeping up with regular program cost increases (1-5)

results in

is property of

AD - Setting the cost of housing and meals at an independent rate of increase (1-1)

is part of

AD - Charging students for Japanese university tuition while they are studying abroad (1-1)

AD - Residence Life operating as an Auxiliary Enterprise (1-5)

property of

is property of

is a problem related to

is a problem related to

is property of

is associated with

is cause of

is cause of

AD - Lacking government funding for food and dining services (1-2)

AD - Milking Cash Cows (7-17)

is property of

AD - Pushing to increase program tuition costs (3-4)

AD - Auxiliary enterprises investing money made from student payments (1-2)

AD - Lacking government funding for parking lots and student unions (1-1)

results in

AD - Feeling the need to raise prices (1-3)

is property of

resists

stimulates

AD - Providing student services for a fee (3-2)

is interrelated with

AD - Getting more bang for the buck (1-1)

[70:1][87]

GH:And they've farmed it out then to some corporation who is now setting rules that the university can't control? ..LWell evidently it's probably farmed out to someone who had the contract with MasterCard, because that's probably how they're getting extra money. GH:They're juicing the students then? ..I;In my opinion yes. So they're saying we're not raising tuition, but actually they're just doing it in other fees. It's just kind of like everything in the US right now, all the utility companies, 'we're not raising our rates' but they stick extra taxes on the end but those aren't raising our rates - we're calling them user fees and they just add them on the end.

LT - Advocating on behalf of International Students (4-1)

AD - Kicking money into IIC with International Student payments (1-1)

[58:2][578]

GH:Yeah, but you know, that's kind of weird though, because it's an old computer. They're not making any money off the computer. You know, they're charging $50 for them to use something that's going to be... that no one else is going to use. You understand? ..;Yeah. GH:So I'll just tell you, I don't watch it very often, I watched a little bit in the beginning of it, it's called The Sopranos. It was playing in Japan. It's pretty raunchy, so I stopped watching it, but they, you know, the gangsters use this term called to juice someone.

[14:4][131]

you turn it over to a corporate person and then they take control and they start bumping up the prices, and bumping up the prices and you cannot stop it

Milking the cash cow
This is a very short but significant reference to the previous year's negotiations. ...." : tried to charge : students the same level of tuition they

[68:3][564]

GH:Okay, I remember at least for... somewhere under $6000 they're paying, and that's everything, I think. We got it set up that it... we get to pay a discount if we bring in bulk. So if we have 18 or more students, we get a cheaper price than if we have 12. So I know next year, if we have 18 or more, it's something like $6037. Something like that. I... ""18 or more? GH:Yeah. And then, if it's 15 or

[14:1][108]

I don't know how, but the thing is now you're dealing with students at the back and you're asking for more money from parents and that's a difficult thing to do. GH:Yeah those back end charges... ..like a pain in the butt. GH:And they create resentment because Japanese are used to upfront prices and none of these extra charges at the end, it's just not....

but significant reference to the previous year's negotiations. ... tried to charge ... students the same level of tuition they would be charging to full-time degree seeking international students on campus. The justification was that any special price would be seen as unfair to their other international student customers.

The fact of the matter is that the ... students were coming in for a one semester ESL study, non-degree seeking, and as such, were a different type of student than the typical International Student. The attempt to get such a high level of profit from the ... students speaks a lot to the idea of the Japanese students being a type of "cash cow" for the administrators at ...

more, it's something like $9037. Something like that.
... :18 or more?
GH:Yeah. And then, if it's 15 or more, it's something in the neighborhood of $6200, I think, and the 12 or less, $6300. Something like that.
... :Mm-hmm.
GH:Something like that. I can't remember. The ESL tuition fee didn't go up. What they did was they nickeled and dimed us in... in other things. Like paying for the transportation down, for the food, that when they're here for the first three days, ... doesn't provide any food for them, so they've got to pay for that. Okay, okay. Technology fee, which means they'll get a laptop while they're here. The host country students here will get the newest one. They're paying more. The ESL students will get last year's model, which is cheaper, but, you know...
... :Well, we had such a deal with that this year.
GH:They weren't even going to provide...
... :They weren't going to provide...
GH:They were going to make them charge... charge them the technology fee, but not let them have a computer.

because Japanese are used to upfront prices and none of these extra charges at the end, it's just not...

playing in Japan. It's pretty raunchy, so I stopped watching it, but they, you know, the gangsters use this term called to juice someone. And I kept feeling like these guys... these two guys got me in this room, and their juicing me.
... :Yeah.
GH:That's how I felt. These guys are juicing me. They're charging a technology fee for something that the students were... last year, they got computers didn't they? They didn't get laptops... did they get laptops last year?
... :They got laptops, yeah.
GH:Yeah, for free.
... :Because, see, last year, it was based on on campus or off campus.
GH:Yeah.
... :And they have changed the system now so that all full-time students get a computer. Well, if you're not full-time then, you don't get a computer.
GH:Mm-hmm.
... :But you get the opportunity to rent a computer. So this is what, basically, they were telling the students. You get to rent a computer.
GH:But the thing is, is they don't have a choice. They must rent.
... :Right.
GH:See, it's not like, 'Oh, I don't want a computer. I've got my own.' Oh, no, you can't use your computer. You have to use our computer, and you have to pay $50 for that for rental. 'But I don't want to use your computer.' No, no, no, no. There's no choice. You either pay the $50, or you don't pay anything. You go home. That's what I'm getting.
... :Oh, that's what...
GH:Yeah. They have to pay. They have to pay the technology fee, they've got to pay the health fee, they've got to pay it.
... :So your students can't b...

stick extra taxes on the end but those aren't raising our rates - we're calling them user fees and they just add them on the end.
GH:What, you mean since coming here they've got to pay these extra fees now?
... :Well I mean just it's kind of the way the US whole system is turning, so like our telephone is that way, our cable, our electricity, everything is going to ... I mean it's not bad, we're not raising it' but if you notice on the bottom, you say, well you're not raising it, like my cell phone is $40 a month, I'm up to $55 now - $15 of extra fees they just add on the bottom. And that's kind of the way our whole...
GH:Well that's just lying.
... :That's the way ... it's the trend I think in all of those things

Appendix E

ATLAS.ti Graphs of 'Hunting & Gathering' and 'Molding & Shaping' Social Processes with Connected Theoretical Codes and Samples of Linked Quotations

AD - Using Total Quality Management (TQM) as the university's organizational model [4-6]

AD - Struggling to Quantify Quality [15-10]

Assessing for Control [0-4]

is part of   is part of

AD - Seeing the Big Picture [3-9]

is part of

is part of

AD - Gauging Customer Satisfaction [5-9]

is part of →

Contextual Factors for Weighing & Measuring [0-6]

is part of

supports

[2:86][210]
----
from our point-of-view, it tends to be...very...ah...very... business oriented. You plan, forecast, and measure and evaluate...
GH: ...mm-hm...
BN: ...and, and, re...reset for goals and you, you follow this process, and you try to bring in this...second loop of learning and then go out and benchmark and see if you're doing everything right.

[1:85][436]

GH: Mm-hm.
BN: Then through assessment and measurement, what are...uh, what are the results...
GH: Mm-hm.
BN: ... it's your assessment and measurement -- finding the results...
GH: Mm-hm.
BN: ...[under voice] measuremen t and assessment... and then taking those results and using those... versus our stated goals...
GH: Mm-hm.
BN: ... whether we've done well or not...

contributes to

[2:159][774]

It's, it's... the way that we've had designed it, um... and I'm the, Athena and I, met and put things together and, did some benchmarking and, and linking, and that's where, sort of, she had her experience...
GH: Mm-hm.
BN: ... and so we looked at it, and we... tweaked it a little bit,

AD - Weighing and Measuring [4-3]

results in

AD - Continuously Assessing for Quality Improvement [4-9]

[51:56][101]

We can't be Harvard but we can find other institutions that are much like us, that are state supported, not private, that serve a variety of programs, and how do our students score versus theirs? How do our faculty, how does are faculty do? Do they go out and give papers and do research compared to others? And what you're trying to say is 'we do it best'.

results in   results in   results in   results in

AD - EAP Program Assessment [0-18]

AD - EAP Teacher Assessment [2-11]

AD - International Student Assessment [0-11]

AD - BLEAP Assessment [0-6]

423

AD - Weighing and Measuring [4-6]

BA - Viewing TOEFL 500 + scores as a sign of success (2-1)

AD - Seeking to increase the number of International Students (9-7)

AD - Using roots cause analysis to dramatically increase student test performance (1-2)

AD - Declining numbers of international students needing TOEFL-IELTS/ESL/EISU Program (13-8)

is property of

results in

AD - Measuring the quality of ESL teacher work by quantity of students taught (4-4)

is part of   results in   results in

challenges

results in

AD - Struggling to Quantify Quality (15-10)

[25:31][86]

That has been so immensely successful. We've got 15 years of data, and we can show that the students that we predicted didn't need it, or needed it, are doing better than the ones we predicted didn't need it.

AD - Viewing "teacher research" as marginal (3-6)   — results in —

[99:3][4]

Dolton told Dr. Bluebeard that Six Sigma was compatible with [...]'s present processes for quality, because it uses constant measurement and analysis to catch teaching processes as they are going bad, and quickly provides data for making regular improvements.

[17:74][536]

D: Yeah. If uh, if students are seeking your program out or see you as a valued institution, even though, the total number of students you could accept would be the same, theoretically then, would you, if the competition to get in is...is higher, is greater, then...
GH: ...the quality of students...
D: ...the quality of students would increase.
GH: Essentially, yeah, and we've seen the...quality

[51:66][69]

Looking at [...] as an institution back in the '80s and the way it is now. How do you think [...] has changed, or has it, as an institution? [...] Well ...
GH: Because I remember it from like let's say 1987 or so ... '84, '85, '86, '87, all those years. So from the mid 00s up to now...

[8:74][121]

When you're talking about those bigger numbers, that appeals to my greater sense of upper administration and how you're administering an institution on a large scale.

[51:63][107]

[...] and I looked at ESL program very carefully, should it be a program we killed or should we continue with it? That was really before we came to [...] because we were having such low numbers and eight or nine and ... <chuckles> we spent a lot of time studying what it cost us and what we were doing with it and things like that.

425

[1:114][878]
I think that's changed now. I don't think the leadership sees it that way. Dolton definitely doesn't see it that way. We looked over the numbers... GH: Mm-hm. BN: ... and he's quite pleased with it. So, it's... it, you know, it's more... on a very crude level, you know... more butts in the seats.

☆ **AD - Referring to International Students as numbers [19-2]**

[3:107][558]
GH: ... what is production for you, then? BN: Well (sigh) ... there's some students that just don't improve... GH: Mm-hm. BN: ... and so, you can say they're bad students, or you can say... that the curriculum's not working.

☆ **AD - Using roots cause analysis to dramatically increase student test performance [1-2]**

☆ **AD - Declaring Success [9-3]**

[3:79][403]
BN: (pause) Well, um... it is a challenge to deal with, uh, multiple levels as far as dealing with, you know, the low and the high end. It's, um, you are teaching a... language rather than using the medium of English to convey content. So, you know, from what...from what I know, you can, you can lead a lesson plan with, with broad, with broad objectives. So the objectives are, to move each student... ahead from where they currently stand. GH: Mm-hm. BN: ... and how you measure that at the start, and how you measure that midway, and measured at the end is really up to the individual teachers to decide...

Its in

results in

[3:135][680]
Um, there's not really a measurement system there, and there's, you know...

results in   results in

☆ **AD - Struggling with inability to assess program quality with quantitative methods [7-4]**

AD - Struggling to Quantify Quality [15-10]

is a problem related to

[1:84][480]
Hmm. Well, it... what it, what it asks us to do, um... it asks us to be... thinking about... measuring our results.

[83-2][92]
The evaluation of teaching, again I don't know in everybody else's case, but certainly in the university we are in, our teaching is now very much, and accordingly our salary is very much determined by all sorts of evaluations and surveys and questionnaires and students evaluate you. You have to show your so called 'effort' during the year, what you did in terms of research papers and what papers you published, if you got any grant money. There's an increased amount of accountability, accounting for what you do. There's very much an emphasis on that. It's not just what you do in the classroom, how good you are as a teacher, but also what you do outside the classroom, what can be measured. Inside the closeted classroom it's very difficult to measure what you do with the students, but what you do outside is much easier to measure and that's where the emphasis is.

[51:63][107]
...... and I looked at ESL program very carefully, should it be a program we killed or should we continue with it? That was really before we came to ...... , because we were having such low numbers and eight or nine and ... <chuckles> we spent a lot of time studying what it cost us and what we were doing with it and things like that.

[2:88][21.2]
shedding academic, or, academia in general, and going towards the, you know, a something that you need to make sure that you're efficient and effective... GH: Mm-hm. BN: ... and you get the most bang for the buck and everything's measured.

[10:61][104]
GH: It seems to me that quality is being defined as quantity. :Yeah. GH: Is that a difficult question? :?No, I mean, that's... that's the system that is apparently in place.

[51:55][101]
<Laughs> Yeah. What it says is ... where there is a corporation manufacturing, service, medical, education, it says that you not only have in place high quality but you keep measuring it, you keep looking at what other institutions are doing and how you fit.

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an
a

AD - Making an Innovative Impact [11-18]

AD - EAP surviving on the patronage of Administrative Power [14-11]

AD - Weighing and Measuring [4-6]

— supports →

AD - Seeing the Big Picture [3-8]

— justifies →

AD - Molding and Shaping from On High [6-7]

is property of

results in →

AD - Reshaping Professional Identities [2-5]

results in →

results in

AD - Augmenting Traditional Language Learning with Cultural Experiences and Practical Skills [24-17]

is property of

AD - Maintaining Control [0-8]

results in

AD - Applying Concepts of Industrial Manufacturing to Improve Pedagogy [4-6]

[3:37][232]
_____
my goal and where I see myself would be at a, a higher level where I'm directing things from a little bit higher up, without, the student interaction.

[44:41][56]
_____
Well it's really the whole of the administration. There's been a culture change in the university since I've been there, and I've been there quite a long time, whereby administration in general was there to serve the academic staff. I'm talking generally about the university as a whole now. And now it's really there's been this sort of shift, I suppose as the university has got more run like a business there's been this shift whereby the administration basically have the power to make decisions and in a sense it's not ... they do support staff, but that has subtly changed. It used to be the academics making the decisions, and I agree that wasn't always good, but they used to have much more power and control than they have now, and the whole thing's shifted. So you get these decisions from on high about how you should operate, how you should teach, how you should evaluate, all sorts of things.

[51:71][128]
_____
... I did not like this and I ended it very shortly after he came, because he didn't want to support this idea. He thought it was foolish. GH:It's amazing, the power that the university president at I ... at my university and other universities they just don't weald that sort of power. It's amazing. ... I:Well ... GH:Although the Ministry of Education wants them to be more like that these days, but ... I:You know, he reports only to the board.

[25:17][76]
_____
I was a speaker at a banquet, and he was the instructor for the International Association of Engineers (_____) design, and I just called a group of faculty together and said here's a concept, apply it. And our supplemental instruction program came out of that.

[3:32][214]
_____
.if I'm going to be in administration... GH: Mm-hm. BN: ...I'd rather be in a place...and this doesn't sound very good at all...but I'd rather be in a place that I can, that I can mold and shape from, from up high..

[25:6][28]
_____
we started with a concept of optimizing large group behavior from an anthropological, sociological perspective.

AD - Molding and Shaping from On High [8-7]

Commando Assessment [0-1]

AD - Giving "push back" [5-2]

AD - Maintaining Control [0-8]

Assessing for Control [0-4]

AD - Weighing and Measuring [4-6]

AD - Consolidating Ingroups [0-4]

AD - Claiming Ownership of "the process" [5-5]

AD - Attempting to Loosen Administrative hold on students [2-1]

AD - Flow Management [7-14]

AD - Making plans without knowing the real situation at Host Country university [1-3]

AD - Creating Green Zones [4-9]

BA - "Pure" Administrators prioritizing office duties over student needs [1-1]

LT - Dealing with administrative demands coming down from on high [1-1]

BA - Desiring Upward Separation from Students [2-4]

AT - Criticizing Authoritarian Administrative Management [1-1]

AD - Not understanding international student issues due to ignorance resulting from detachment [8-12]

AD - Operating in a state of love disconnectedness an ideal for Administrators [1-3]

AD - Making uninformed policy decisions for International Students [2-2]

Possible Reasons for Creating Administrative Barriers

is property of · supports · is property of · explains · results in · justifies · is cause of · is a problem related to · corroborates

AD - M
Shapin
High [6

is prope

AD - Giving "push
back" [5-2]   is property of →   AD - M
Contro

↑
supports   is property of   is pr

AD -
Consolidating Ingr
oups [0-4]   supports   A
O
p

AD - Making plans
without knowing
the real situation
at Host Country
university [1-2]   ← results in ──   AD - Creating
Green Zones [4-9]

AD - Making plans
without knowing...   is property of

LT - Dealing with
administrative
demands coming
down from on
high [1-1]   stimulates

is property of   property of

AD - Not
understanding
international
student issues due
to ignorance
resulting from
detachment [8-12]   AD - Operating in
a state of true
disconnectedness
an ideal for
Administrators
[1-3]   is a problem related to

is cause of ──   [97:1][1]

All of the workers
were sitting very
quietly, doing their
work and their
respective tasks.
No one was talking
to each other, and
all seemed to be
aware of each
other. It reminded
me of a Japanese
family in a tatami
room, with each
doing their own
thing. No one was
speaking, but all
were creating
intimacy in the
shared space, and
respecting the
privacy of each
other by not
speaking.

[1:67][384]

...uh, differences,
yeah. Um... the
fact that they are
completely
disconnected...(lau
ghs)... so, it's a
similarity and a
difference... they
are, they are a bit
more disconnected

results in

AD - Making
uninformed policy
decisions for
International
Students [2-2]

AD - Molding and Shaping from On High {6-7}

is property of

Commando Assessment {0-1}

is property of

s property of

AD - Maintaining Control {0-8} ← followed by → Assessing for Control {0-4}

s property of

is property of   explains   is property of

supports

justifies

is property of

AD - Weighing and Measuring {4-6}

AD - Claiming Ownership of "the process" {5-3}

AD - Attempting to Loosen . . . Administrative hold on students {2-1}

AD - Flow Management {7-14}

Creating [. . .] n Zones {4-9} ——— results in ——→ BA - "Pure" Administrators prioritizing office duties over student needs {1-1}

results in

criticizes → BA - Desiring Upward Separation from Students {2-4}

AT - Criticizing Authoritarian Administrative Management {1-1}

[97:1][1]

All of the workers were sitting very quietly, doing their work and their respective tasks. No one was talking to each other, and all seemed to be aware of each other. It reminded me of a Japanese family in a tatami room, with each doing their own thing. No one was speaking, but all were creating intimacy in the shared space, and respecting the privacy of each other by not speaking.

[3:33][220]

BN: ...it's, it's hard to put a policy in place, uh, and... well, and that's really terrible... but, you know, you, you put a lot of policies in place, and then, you've got the... you have the personal aspect where the policy you've created...
GH: Mm-hm.
BN: ... is potentially hurting somebody ...
GH: Mm-hm.
BN: ... you know, as far as, as far as... the international students go...

[79:1][5]

Oakland University in Michigan has responded to the threat of student violence against staff by restricting access to its administrative offices - even to academics. According to the website Inside Higher Ed, a professor on her way to deliver a complaint to the senior vice-president was barred from entering the office and told that she could not come in unless she had an appointment.

Possible Reasons for Creating Administrative Barriers
From the description of overwork, constantly being in hole-plugging mode, and lacking time for innovation due to issues within the bureaucratic structure of the university, it may be understandable why the adminstrators build barriers when they can -- they are exhausted and need to minimize as much potential opposition as they can to fulfilling their mission of tending to the bigger things of the institution.

431

Sociogrid Analysis of Four EAP Administrators

Legend: GA/BA: Good/Bad Administrator, GT/BT: Good/Bad Teacher, GS/BS: Good/Bad Student, GO/BO: Good/Bad Organization

Focus Administrative Constructs
"To Explore How People and Programs are Weighed & Measured by BLEAPs and Administrative Managers"

60
70
80
90
100

100 90 80 70

Caring	2	1	2	3	4	5	5	3	5	Rigid and Paranoid
Places importance on Ss needs	1	1	1	3	3	5	5	4	2	Places importance on Ss happiness and positive evaluation
Participates and Works as a Team	1	2	1	1	2	3	5	3	4	Works alone and is Afraid of Others
Positive Attitude	2	1	1	1	3	3	4	3	5	Self-Centered
Works as a Team	2	1	1	2	2	4	4	5	4	Apathetic
Works Hard	3	1	2	1	3	5	5	5	4	Unware of How Learning Works
Progressive	2	2	1	1	3	5	5	5	3	Conservative
Respectful	2	2	1	1	3	4	5	5	4	Doesn't value honesty and fairness
Motivated	1	2	2	1	3	4	5	5	4	Unbalanced
Curriculum and Delivery Support Augments Ss Learning	1	1	2	2	3	5	5	5	5	Structure does not allow Ss to be Active Learners
Needs to be Involved and Active	1	1	2	1	3	5	5	5	5	Passive Learning Style
Promotes Autonomy and Innovation Among Tts	1	1	1	1	3	5	5	5	5	Tts not Involved in Strategic Plan
Unique and Well Managed	1	1	1	1	2	5	5	5	5	Plain and Not Innovative
Open to New Activities	1	1	1	1	2	3	3	5	5	No Curricular Innovation
Activities Demand and Promote Active Learning	1	1	3	1	2	3	3	5	5	Overall Passive Learning
Responsible	1	2	2	2	2	2	3	5	5	Irresponsible

BT
BS
BA
BO
NUGIS-Polaris Program
GS
GA
GT
GO

433

PrinGrid Administrative Constructs
"To Explore How People and Programs are Weighed & Measured by BLEAPs and Administrative Managers"

Irresponsible
Overall Passive Learning
BT ·
No Curricular Innovation ×
Self-Centered
BS ·
Unbalanced
Apathetic ×
Passive Learning Style
Plain and Not Innovative ×
Tts not Involved in Strategic Plan
Works alone and is Afraid of Others
Rigid and Paranoid
BA ·
BO ·
Structure does not allow Ss to be Active Learners
Doesn't value honesty and fairness ×
Conservative
Places importance on Ss happiness and positive evaluation
Unware of How Learning Works

Participates and Works as a Team
Places importance on Ss needs
Progressive
Works Hard
Unique and Well Managed
×Caring GA   Curriculum and Delivery Support Augments Ss Learning
GT
×Respectful Promotes Autonomy and Innovation Among Tts
1: 84.0%
Motivated Needs to be Involved and Active
Positive Attitude   · GS
NUGIS-Polaris Program   GO
Works as a Team
× Open to New Activities
Activities Demand and Promote Active Learning
Responsible

2: 7.2%

Percentage variance in each component
1: 84.0% 2: 7.2% 3: 3.1% 4: 2.2% 5: 1.6% 6: 1.2%

434

Appendix G

Sociogrid Analysis of Four EAP Teachers

Legend: GA/BA: Good/Bad Administrator, GT/BT: Good/Bad Teacher, GS/BS: Good/Bad Student, GO/BO: Good/Bad Organization

Focus EAP Teacher Constructs
"To Explore the Values Held by EAP Teachers about Management and Programs"

.50
.60
.70
.80
.90
.100

100 90 80 70

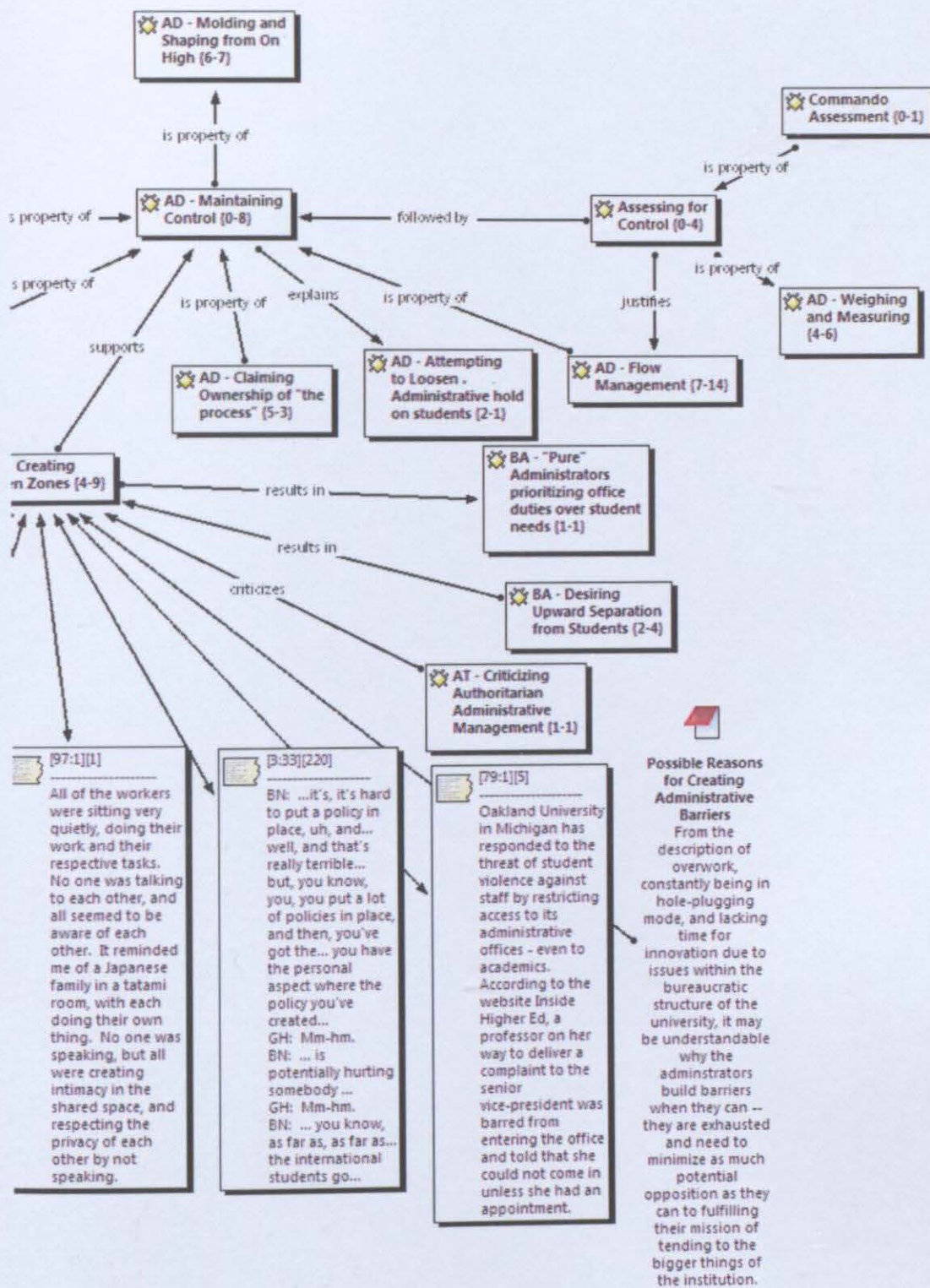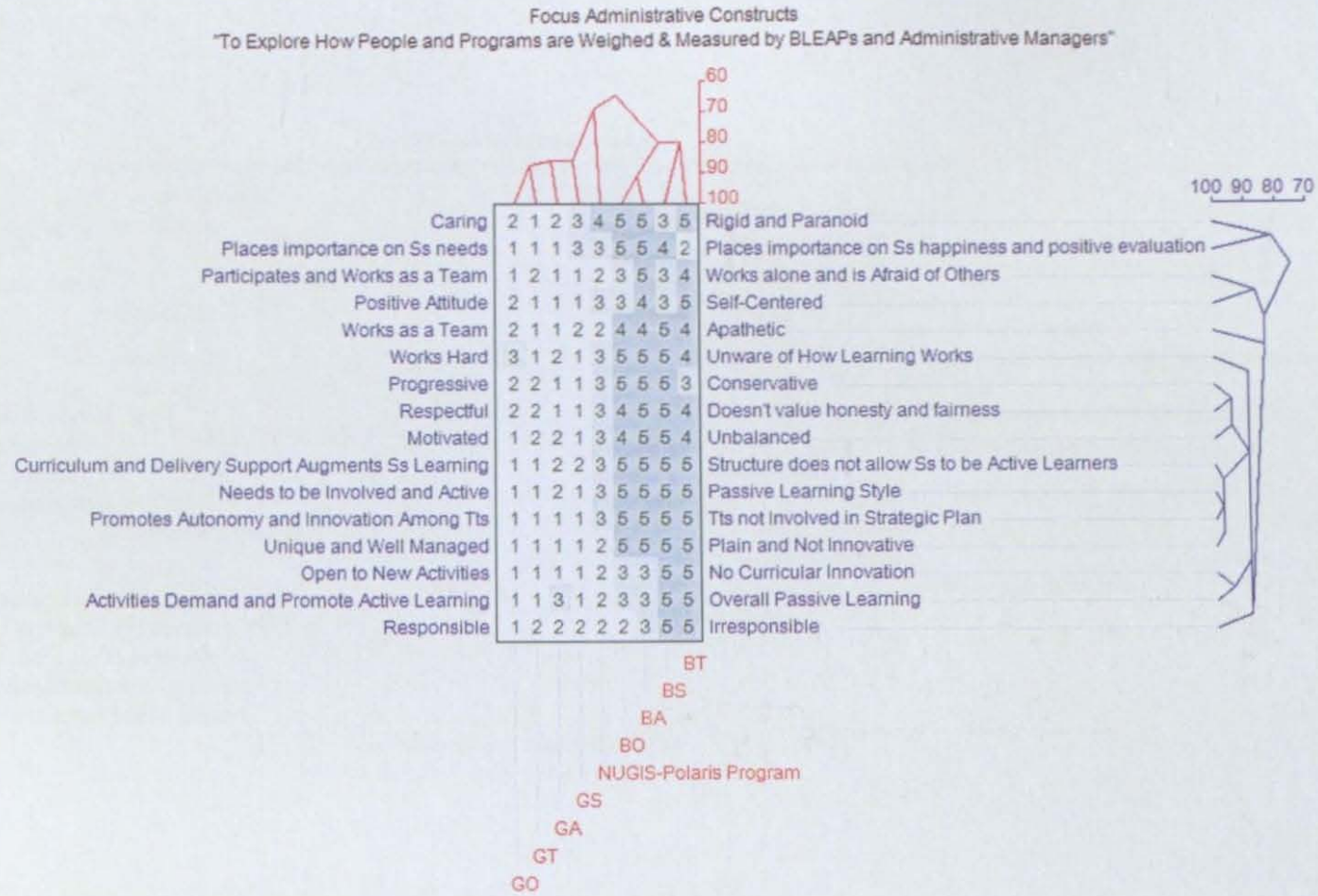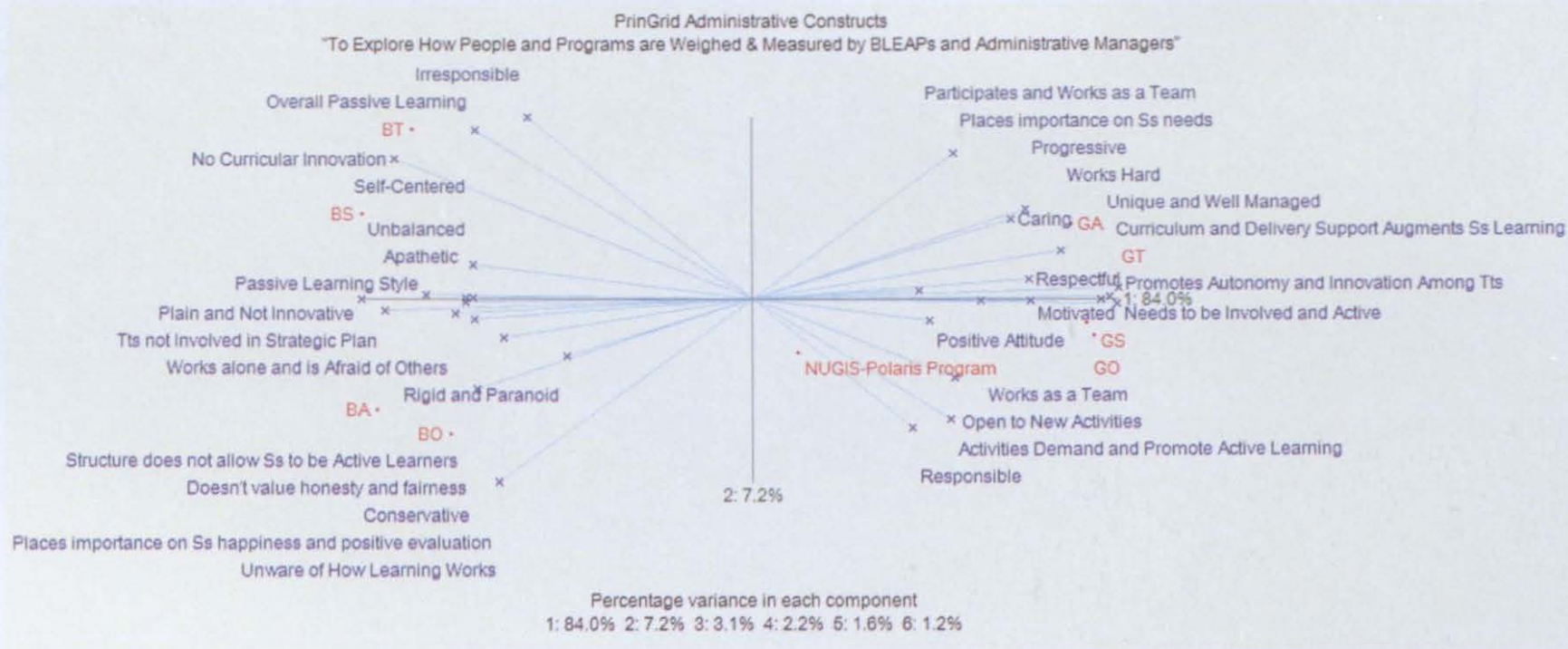| Left Pole	Ratings	Right Pole
Progressive	3 2 2 2 4 4 3 3	'Only Friendly'
Embeds Language into Culture	2 1 1 1 2 4 4 3 2	Treats Language with Cultural Sterility
Enthused about Broadening Participation	1 1 1 2 2 4 4 5 2	Indifferent to Growth
Infuses Engaging Personalities into the Program	1 3 2 2 3 4 5 4 2	Dull Personal Interaction
Sense of Objective and Purpose	1 3 2 3 3 4 5 4 5	No Integrity in Any Regard
Simple and Lacking Complexity	2 1 2 3 3 5 5 5 5	Not Revisitable in Terms of Research and Professional Pursuits
Innovative	1 1 2 3 3 5 5 5 4	Emphasizes Stability over Program Development
Clearly Ss-centered in Practical use of L2	1 1 2 2 3 4 4 4 4	Meets Institutional Needs Only
Promotes Global Multi-lingualism	2 1 2 2 2 4 4 5 4	Envisions a Limited Population of Language Learners
Clear Goals	1 1 2 2 2 4 4 5 5	Lack of Direction
Dependable	2 2 2 2 2 4 4 5 5	Undependable
Excellent	1 2 2 2 2 4 4 5 5	Inefficient
Secure	1 2 2 2 2 4 4 4 5	Lousy
Efficient	2 2 2 2 2 4 4 4 5	Defensive
Exact	2 2 2 2 2 3 3 5 5	Careless
Confident	1 2 2 2 1 3 4 5 5	Weak
Eager to Promote Multi-language Acquisition	1 1 2 2 2 3 3 3 5	Pessimistic about Foreign Language Fluency
Professional	1 1 1 3 1 2 3 4 5	Unprofessional
Puts People First	1 2 1 3 2 5 5 4 4	Not on the Same Page with Colleagues

BS
BT
BA
BO
GO
NUGIS-Polaris Program

PrinGrid EAP Teacher Constructs
"To Explore the Values Held by EAP Teachers about Management and Programs"

No Integrity in Any Regard

BS

Unprofessional ×

Careless

Embeds Language into Culture

Infuses Engaging Personalities into the Program

Enthused about Broadening Participation

×

Clearly Ss-centered in Practical use of L2

Undependable

Pessimistic about Foreign Language Fluency ×

Weak ×

×

Puts People First

Defensive

Inefficient

×Innovative

× NUGIS-Polaris Program

×Progressive

Promotes Global Multi-lingualism

Lack of Direction × Lousy × × ×

· GA

× Simple and Lacking Complexity

BT .

× .GS .GT

Envisions a Limited Population of Language Learners ×

×

× 1: 81.7%

Sense of Objective and Purpose

Meets Institutional Needs Only ×

×Efficient ×Clear Goals

Not on the Same Page with Colleagues × ×

'Only Friendly' ×

. GO

Excellent

×

Emphasizes Stability over Program Development .

BO ·

× Exact

Dependable

BA

Confident

Indifferent to Growth ×

×

Secure

Treats Language with Cultural Sterility ×

Professional

Not Revisitable in Terms of Research and Professional Pursuits

2: 9.2%

Eager to Promote Multi-language Acquisition

Dull Personal Interaction

Percentage variance in each component
1: 81.7% 2: 9.2% 3: 3.0% 4: 2.3% 5: 1.9% 6: 1.4%

437

Appendix H

Composite Analysis of Four EAP Teachers and Four BLEAPs/Administrators
Legend of Elements: GA/BA: Good/Bad Administrator, GT/BT: Good/Bad Teacher, GS/BS: Good/Bad Student, GO/BO: Good/Bad Organization
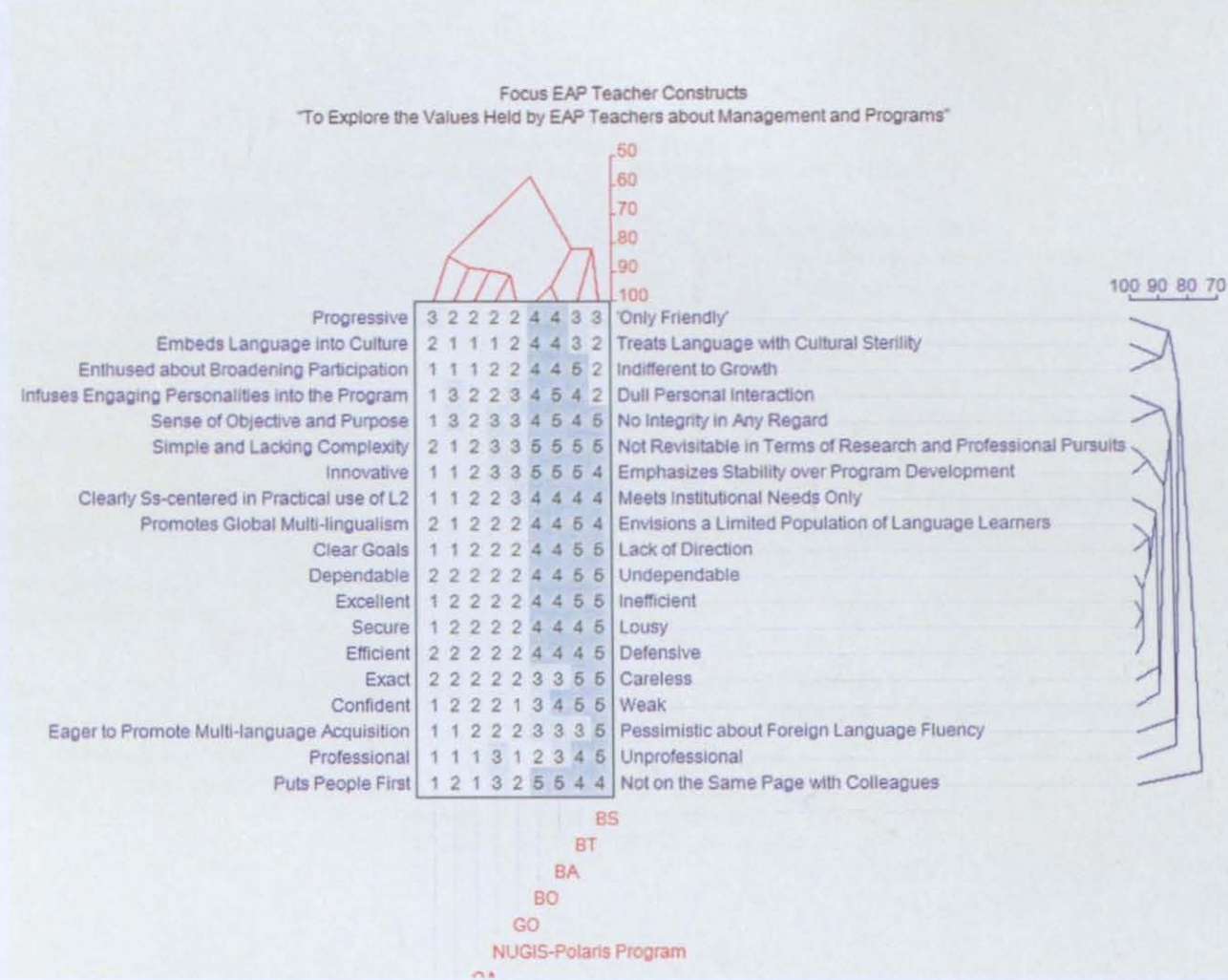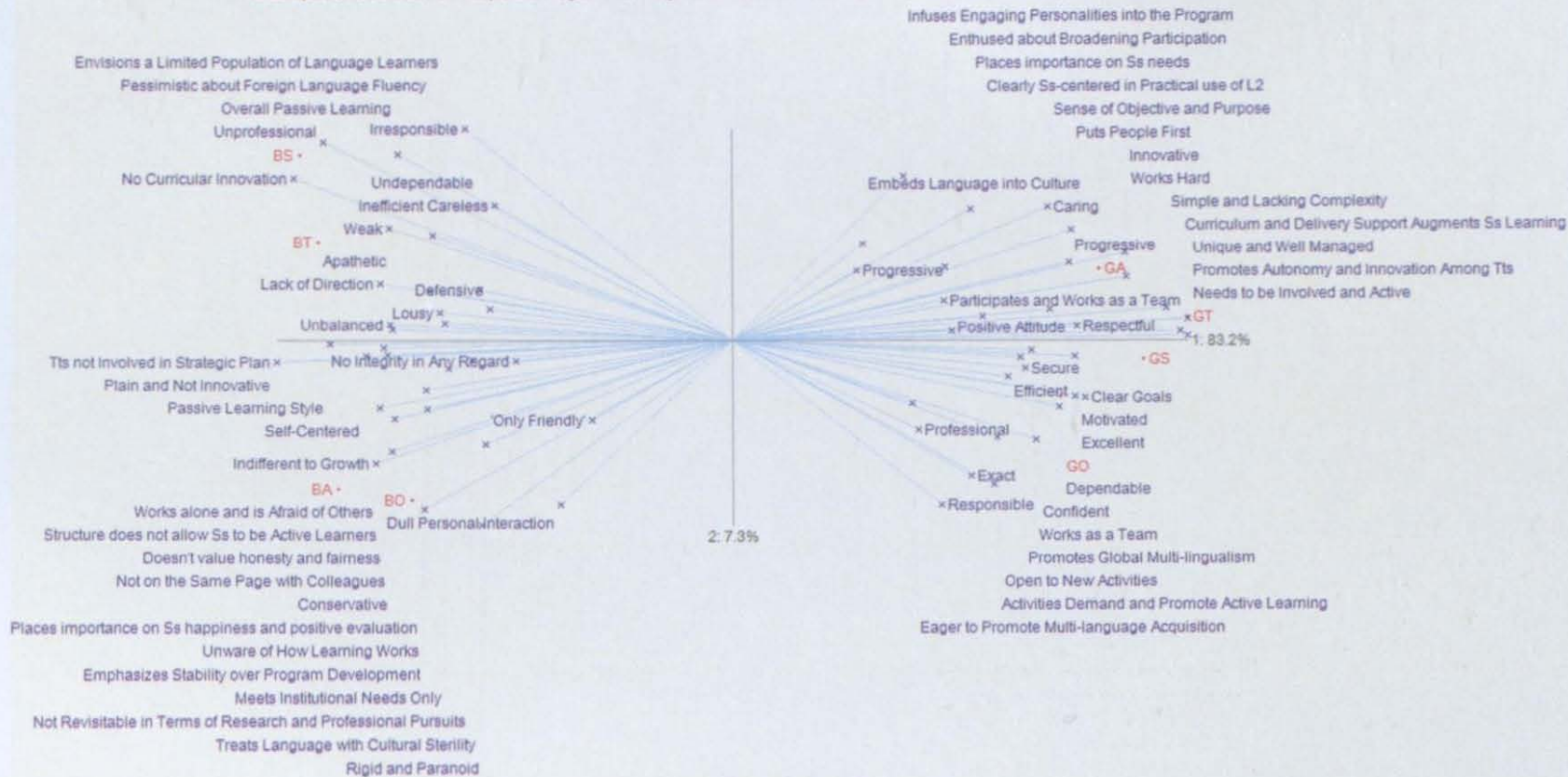
On the following page is an analysis, using the Sociogrid function in *Rep IV 1.12*, in which grids of four TEAPs and four Upwardly-Mobile BLEAPs and Command & Control Administrators were combined and analyzed for issues of commonality. Using the above elements as anchors, *Rep IV1.12* identified bipolar constructs which, when rated against the elements, had common group correlations ranging between 84% to 98%. Anything below 80% was discarded. Some of the bipolar constructs were 'flipped' by *Rep IV 1.12* in the analysis to match correlations, suggesting that some of the informants may have been ambiguous in the rating of some constructs. A larger principle components analysis map of all the constructs, which represent a composite of Appendices F & G, can be found on page 439.

Compare Administrative Constructs correspondence from EAP Teacher Constructs 90.43
"To Compare and Contrast How People and Programs are Weighed & Measured between BLEAPs, Administrative Managers and EAP Teachers"

100 80 60

Left	Ratings	Right	Value
Works as a Team	2 4 4 4 2 1 5 1	Apathetic	96.9 (6.3%)
Secure	2 4 4 4 2 2 5 1	Lousy	
Positive Attitude	2 3 4 5 1 1 3 1	Self-Centered	93.8
Enthused about Broadening Participation	2 4 4 5 1 1 2 1	Indifferent to Growth	
No Curricular Innovation	5 3 3 1 5 5 1 5	Open to New Activities	93.8
Unprofessional	5 4 3 2 5 5 1 5	Professional	
Unware of How Learning Works	3 1 1 2 5 4 1 5	Works Hard	93.8
Not Revisitable in Terms of Research and Professional Pursuits	3 1 1 1 5 4 1 4	Simple and Lacking Complexity	
Responsible	1 2 3 5 2 2 5 2	Irresponsible	93.8 (31.3%)
Exact	2 3 3 5 2 2 5 2	Careless	
Motivated	1 4 5 4 1 2 5 2	Unbalanced	90.6
Efficient	2 4 4 4 2 2 5 2	Defensive	
Overall Passive Learning	5 3 3 1 5 3 1 5	Activities Demand and Promote Active Learning	90.6
Weak	5 3 2 1 4 4 1 5	Confident	
Passive Learning Style	5 1 1 1 5 4 1 5	Needs to be Involved and Active	90.6
Lack of Direction	4 2 2 1 5 4 1 5	Clear Goals	
Curriculum and Delivery Support Augments Ss Learning	1 5 5 5 2 2 5 1	Structure does not allow Ss to be Active Learners	90.6
Excellent	2 4 4 5 2 2 5 1	Inefficient	
Doesn't value honesty and fairness	4 2 1 2 5 5 1 4	Respectful	90.6 (62.5%)
Defensive	4 2 2 2 4 4 1 4	Efficient	
Promotes Autonomy and Innovation Among Tts	1 5 5 5 1 1 5 1	Tts not Involved in Strategic Plan	87.5
Clear Goals	2 4 4 5 1 2 5 1	Lack of Direction	
Progressive	2 5 5 3 1 1 5 2	Conservative	87.5
Simple and Lacking Complexity	3 5 5 5 1 2 5 2	Not Revisitable in Terms of Research and Professional Pursuits	
Rigid and Paranoid	4 1 1 1 3 4 3 5	Caring	87.5
Emphasizes Stability over Program Development	3 1 1 1 5 4 2 5	Innovative	
Unique and Well Managed	1 5 5 5 1 1 5 1	Plain and Not Innovative	87.5
Clear Goals	2 4 4 5 1 2 5 1	Lack of Direction	
Places importance on Ss needs	1 5 5 2 3 1 4 1	Places importance on Ss happiness and positive evaluation	87.5 (93.8%)
Puts People First	2 5 5 4 2 1 4 1	Not on the Same Page with Colleagues	
Participates and Works as a Team	1 3 5 4 1 1 3 2	Works alone and is Afraid of Others	84.4 (100.0%)
Embeds Language into Culture	2 4 4 3 1 1 2 2	Treats Language with Cultural Sterility	

100 80 60

GT	98.4 (12.5%)
BS	95.3 (25.0%)
GA	90.6
GS	90.6 (50.0%)
BT	89.1 (62.5%)
BA	87.5
BO	87.5 (87.5%)
GO	84.4 (100.0%)

440

PrinGrid Composite Constructs Repgrid Data
"To Compare and Contrast How People and Programs are Weighed & Measured between BLEAPs, Administrative Managers and EAP Teachers"

Infuses Engaging Personalities into the Program
Enthused about Broadening Participation
Places importance on Ss needs
Clearly Ss-centered in Practical use of L2
Sense of Objective and Purpose
Puts People First
Innovative

Envisions a Limited Population of Language Learners
Pessimistic about Foreign Language Fluency
Overall Passive Learning
Unprofessional   Irresponsible ×
        BS ·   ×
No Curricular Innovation ×
                Undependable
                Inefficient Careless ×
            Weak ×   ×
        BT ·
            Apathetic
        Lack of Direction ×   Defensive
                Lousy ×   ×
        Unbalanced ×   ×
            ×   ×
Tts not Involved in Strategic Plan ×   No Integrity in Any Regard ×
Plain and Not Innovative
Passive Learning Style   ×   ×
    Self-Centered   ×
                ×
    Indifferent to Growth ×
        BA ·
        BO · ×
Works alone and is Afraid of Others
Structure does not allow Ss to be Active Learners   Dull Personal Interaction
Doesn't value honesty and fairness
Not on the Same Page with Colleagues
Conservative
Places importance on Ss happiness and positive evaluation
Unware of How Learning Works
Emphasizes Stability over Program Development
Meets Institutional Needs Only
Not Revisitable in Terms of Research and Professional Pursuits
Treats Language with Cultural Sterility
Rigid and Paranoid

Embeds Language into Culture   Works Hard
                    Simple and Lacking Complexity
        ×   × Caring
                ×   Curriculum and Delivery Support Augments Ss Learning
        ×   Progressive   Unique and Well Managed
× Progressive ×   × · GA   Promotes Autonomy and Innovation Among Tts
                ×   Needs to be Involved and Active
    × Participates and Works as a Team
        ×   × GT
    × Positive Attitude × Respectful
                    × 1: 83.2%
            × ×   · GS
        × × Secure
        Efficient × × Clear Goals
        ×   ×
    × Professional   Motivated
            ×   Excellent
        × Exact   GO
            ×
    × Responsible Confident
            Dependable
            Works as a Team
            Promotes Global Multi-lingualism
            Open to New Activities
            Activities Demand and Promote Active Learning
Eager to Promote Multi-language Acquisition

'Only Friendly' ×
            ×

2: 7.3%

441

Percentage variance in each component
1: 83.2% 2: 7.3% 3: 3.5% 4: 2.4% 5: 2.0% 6: 1.0%

Appendix I

Examples of Impact Making in Action

A Recent Radical Shift in Mission at Fairleigh Dickinson University

When I became president of Fairleigh Dickinson University in 1999, we were a financially stable institution, but as the board said, we had no sense of vision or direction. Our mission at the time was to be the regional leader in lifelong learning. The mission put me to sleep when I read it. So I said we've really got to look at our history, where we are geographically, and assess our strengths and capabilities. I then interviewed hundreds of alumni, visited 73 corporate leaders, visited with 54 departments in the university, and came back and suggested that we return to the vision of our founder, Peter Sammartino, who emphasized international studies and who believed that we should be of and for the world. And so I suggested within six months a dramatic new vision and mission for the university, and we were the first university in the world, as far as I know, to make global education a centerpiece of the mission of the institution. Our mission is to build world citizens through a global education. We then developed a series of strategic drivers that guided everything we were doing. And so over the last eight years, this has been a race between translating a mission statement into a sense of mission across the entire university. The results of that include the development of innovative programs, significant increase in enrollment and new connections around the world.

—J. Michael Adams president of Fairleigh Dickinson University (Loveland 2008, p. 30).

Internationalization at the Center of Old Dominion's Blueprint

JoAnn S. McCarthy, now assistant provost for International Affairs at the University of Pennsylvania, was Heyl's predecessor at Old Dominion before leaving in 1999 to head the University of South Florida's international education efforts. 'I was hired by President Koch in 1991 to head up a consolidated and revitalized Office of

International Programs that would lead the internationalization on campus. I reported directly to the president in this undertaking, and his support was absolutely crucial in those early days,' she recalled.

The international office, like Old Dominion itself, had humble roots.

'When I first arrived, I moved into a very depressing office with beat up, mismatched furniture, and my skeleton staff was scattered in other parts of the building. For the first year or so, we struggled to function with grossly inadequate space, not to mention with the subliminal message that these marginalized quarters sent to all internal and external visitors,' McCarthy said.

ODU was 'a fertile place for innovation and progress,' said McCarthy. 'Through small grants that supported faculty efforts, critical financial and organizational support from the president and provost, the generosity of donors, and partnerships with the community, the international dimensions of the university quickly began to take shape.'

'ODU faculty and administrators shared a vision of what a public university could be in the twenty-first century and they were willing to focus effort and resources in very productive ways over a sustained period of time,' McCarthy said.

Old Dominion's enrollment of nonimmigrant students peaked at 1,230 in fall 2001 but, like many campuses, dropped after the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001. It enrolled 1,031 international students in fall 2005. Hundreds of other students from overseas attend ODU's English Language Center each year to prepare to matriculate (NAFSA 2006, pp. 70-71).

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467

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472

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