Learner, Customer or Ambassador?
Identity Constructions of Overseas Students
in the Discourse of Entrepreneurialism

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Abstract

In this thesis, I examine overseas students' identity construction in the context of entrepreneurial discourse in relation to the way that the UK government, UK higher education institutions, and university staff and overseas students interact with one another.

Overseas students' identity is multifaceted. I am interested in how overseas students' learner and customer identities are constructed and reconstructed in the process of negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses, such as such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents and OSs as ambassadors.

My empirical research is carried out as qualitative research drawing on ethnographic approaches, and conducted in four UK universities. I interviewed more than 50 postgraduate overseas students and 22 university staff at different levels across universities. My analytical scope is influenced both by interactionism and poststructural concepts of discourses and ideas, emphasising the micro/macro links, rather than posing a dichotomy between micro/macro analytical levels.

My central argument is that the ways in which university staff negotiate the notions of 'learner' and 'customer' influence overseas students' identity constructions. The hidden debates on overseas students' learner and customer identities were latently entwined with the construction of overseas students *as* victims, as problems and as beneficiaries of the marketisation of higher education. These hidden debates illuminate challenges which overseas students have to overcome, when they resist and negotiate their learner and customer identities. My research should counterbalance the one-sided and distorted perspective of overseas students, particularly made by the media, which portrays them as sources of income as well as sources of problems for the UK universities.

I hereby declare that, except where explicit attribution is made, the work presented in this thesis is entirely my own.

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Chapter One

Introduction

Back in 1999, I personally set a target of an additional 75,000 international students at our universities and colleges by 2005. Thanks to hard work by the government, the British Council and our HE and FE institutions, I am pleased to say we have not only reached this target but beaten it by an extra 43,000 students. Now I want us to go further.

Today I am setting a more ambitious target of attracting 100,000 more international students to the UK by 2011. This is vital to maintaining the thriving, cosmopolitan base of students we have, and will also deepen our global education links.

(Tony Blair, 18 April, 2006, The Guardian)

Background of this Research

Internationalisation is an important strand of the UK's higher education (HE) agenda, and of the international strategies of many higher education institutions (HEIs). According to De Vita and Case (2003: 383):

> 'Internationalisation' is now firmly on the UK education agenda......In the higher education sector, it has come to dominate recruitment as financially hard-pressed institutions seek to attract increasing numbers of overseas students to shore up holes left by reduced Government funding (in real terms) in recent decades. An increasingly diverse student population brings with it new and demanding challenges, as extant pedagogical models strain to deal with attitudes, needs and expectations that have, heretofore, never been encountered.

Researchers are now studying the internationalisation in HE from several dimensions and theoretical perspectives. Hans de Wit (2002) states, "Internationalisation of higher education (HE) is one of the ways a country responds to the impact of globalisation yet, at the same time respects the individuality of the nation" (p143), highlighting the difference between globalisation and internationalisation of HE.

Globalisation, as Mauch (2000) elaborated,

> is the process of economic, political and cultural integration into the larger world, a process not limited by political borders, geographic boundaries,

time, or distance. Nation-state and economics are increasingly integrated into international organisations and the global economy. Goods, services, communications, capital, and persons move more easily and rapidly than before. Competition is now much more international, and corporate enterprises more internationally integrated than before. It is a process that, in the long term, appears difficult to avoid. Temporary walls barriers, and other attempts to isolate state or its economy seem eventually to be doomed to failure (p 26).

Moreover, Altbach (2005) said that

Globalization includes the broad, largely inevitable economic, technological, political, cultural, and scientific trends that directly affect higher education. Academic systems and institutions may make different accommodations to these trends, but cannot ignore them. Globalization, as it applies to higher education, involves information technology and the use of a common language for scientific communication....... It addresses mass demand for higher education (massification) and societal needs for highly educated personnel. Some examples of how globalization affects academe: changing patterns in the ownership of multinational publishing and Internet companies, the worldwide expenditure of research and development funds, and international patterns of cultural diffusion (p64).

As stated earlier, globalisation and internationalisation of HE are different concepts. Scott (1998: 122) claimed that not all universities are international, but all universities are subject to the same processes of globalisation. Altbach (2005) articulated the concepts of globalisation and internationalisation of HE, and the way in which contemporary universities tackle the challenges raised by these two concepts.

Internationalization includes policies and programs adopted by governments, and by academic systems and subdivisions to cope with or exploit globalization. Internationalization permits significant autonomy, initiative, and creativity in dealing with the new environment. Globalization cannot be held completely at bay, but it will not necessarily overwhelm countries or institutions, nor must the terms of the encounter be dictated from afar (p64)

Similarly, Sadlak (1998) stated that the 21st century is being marked by new and powerful forces that encompass the globalisation of economic activity, the rising importance of knowledge as essential for participation in fundamental human activities and the increasing democratisation of political systems. HE has laid the foundations of contemporary society.

The internationalisation of HE is a broad and complex concept. Knight (1997:8) suggested a process approach to internationalisation of the core functions of a university where "internationalisation of higher education is the process of integrating an international/ intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service of the institutions". Kerr (1990: 10) identified that internationalisation of higher education would affect the following dimensions of higher education:

- The flow of new knowledge
- The flow of scholars
- The content of the curriculum
- The flow of students

Among these four dimensions, the flow of students, or international student mobility and international student programmes are central to internationalisation of higher education institutions (Blight *et al*, 2000: 95). Bruch and Barty's (1998: 21) research suggested that UK HEIs make OSs one of their primary businesses so that they can infuse these institutions with educational and cultural values. At the same time, UK HEIs have always been attractive to OSs, for reasons identified as follows:

Academic reasons
- The course OSs wanted to study is not available in their home country
- The institutionalisation of overseas study
- Domestic higher education system of home countries has a humanities bias
- OSs acquire new knowledge and competencies
- OSs want to improve knowledge of English

Familiarity of Educational Systems:
- OSs were had already studied or were studying in the host countries
- OSs were accustomed to the English system of education

Cultural and/or political reasons:
- OSs have always liked the host countries
- OSs are influenced by their family
- OSs' home country are politically unstable
- It seemed the national choices/ historical links with their host countries

Host countries have good reputation:
- The schools in the host countries are respected by their home government and labour market in their home countries
- The quality of education in the host countries is high.
- Education in the host countries has a good international reputation

Other reasons:
- Influence of friends, teachers and relatives
- Sponsor decided OSs therefore ought to study in the selected host countries

(Williams, 1987:15; Cummings, 1991: 114-7; Allen and Higgins, 1994: 22; Bourke, 1997:329-331; Sadlak, 1998:105)

Furthermore, as stated in the 2003 UK Higher Education White Paper, the UK government explicitly expressed its financial incentive to recruit OSs for the UK economy.

> We have a very strong record in recruiting international students, and as we expand our provision we should build on this record. People who are educated in the UK promote Britain around the world, helping our trade and diplomacy, and also providing an important economic benefit. British exports of education and training are worth some eight billion pounds a year –money that feeds into our institutions and helps open up opportunities for more people to study. The Prime Minister has set us the target of attracting an extra 50,000 higher education students to the UK from outside Europe by 2005.
> (The Future of Higher Education, 2003: 65)

The opening quotation from a speech given by the British Prime Minister in 1999 (Stage One, 1999) officially highlights the beginning of the market relationship between the universities and overseas students (OSs). This speech – which launched 'Prime Minister's Initiative'- encouraged UK universities, UK government agencies, and private corporations to become involved with the OSs market in higher education (HE). UK could gain significant social and economic benefits from OSs. The UK government began to recognize that OS fees would generate a significant income for UK universities and, in the process, for both exports and gross domestic product (GDP) (Greenaway & Haynes, 2000; Greenaway & Tuck, 1995).

In 2002, for example, the British economy gained almost £10 billion from tuition paid by OSs, training, examinations, publishing, and international programming. In comparison, the oil service earned £14.3 billion, financial services £13.6 billion, exports of ships and aircraft £6.5 billion, and computer services £2.6 billion (Halpin & Buckley, 21 April, 2004, The Times). This initiative highlights that OSs are becoming customers of UK HE, shaping the process of UK universities.

Each political and economic philosophy has its time and its space. Entrepreneurialism began to emerge after Ms. Margaret Thatcher led the Conservative Party to victory in the general election and formed a new government in 1979. Ms. Margaret Thatcher adopted neoliberalism as UK's political and economic philosophy in 1980s and referred to the nation-state as a commercial enterprise. Indeed, the Thatcher government's entrepreneurialism was transmitted and extracted from her neoliberal beliefs. Entrepreneurialism appeared to be visible in the government's attitudes towards the public sector and services that returned to the marketplace through various forms of privatisation (Fulcher, 2004).

The neoliberal approach was adapted despite the fact that 'the Conservatives in the 1980s and early 1990s, continued when New Labour came to power in 1997' (Edwards & Miller, 1998:47; also see Harris, 2005: 422). Johnstone et al. (1998) reported that:

> The reform agenda of the 90s, and almost certainly extending well into the next century, is oriented to the market rather than to public ownership or to governmental planning and regulation. Underlying the market orientation of tertiary education is the ascendance, almost worldwide, of market capitalism and the principles of neo-liberal economics.....This market orientation has led to elements of the reform agenda such as tuition, which shifts some of the higher education cost burden from taxpayers to parents and students, who are the ultimate beneficiaries of higher education, more nearly full cost fees for institutionally-provided room and board, and more nearly market rates of interest on student loans, all of which rely upon market choices to signal worth and true trade-offs (p. 5-6)

Pushing forward Johnstone et al's argument, I want to examine the reason why OSs are targeted as customers of UK HEIs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. Additionally, many countries, such as UK, have financial incentives towards the OS market. In the early 1960s, the total number of OSs in the UK was still relatively small (Woodhall, 1989). At that time, Britain charged the same tuition fees to all students regardless of nationality. Since the numbers of OSs have grown, the British taxpayers perceived this type of tuition as an economic burden. Differential OSs fees were introduced in 1967.

However, the OSs fees were still partially subsidised by the British government. The number of OSs continued to increase until 1979, and the UK government

estimated that there were 86,779 OSs in higher and further education in the UK (Blaug, 1981). Additionally, subsidising OSs cost the British taxpayers around £100 million (ibid.). Subsequently, the Conservative government introduced full-cost OSs fees in 1980, while students from the European Community continued to pay the same fees as home students, according to the Treaty of Rome (Woodhall, 1989).

OSs fees have been a significant issue since 1979 for UK HE. Their fees went from partially subsided to full fees, reflecting the UK government's economic consideration for the UK taxpayers who perceived subsidising OSs as an excessive burden. Furthermore, the Conservative government's OSs initiative had made a further step towards the marketisation of global HE. To some extent, the HE system has reached an extreme level 'largely because of the introduction of full-cost fees for students from abroad from autumn 1978, but also because the fees for home students at the undergraduate level have been reduced' (Peter Williams, 1984: 261). 'At the extreme, therefore, the ratio of home to OSs tuition fees was 1:15 during the academic year of 1983-4' (Ibid.).

Charging OSs full cost fees was not only a financial resolution to reduce the excessive burden placed on the British taxpayers and to reduce 15 percent in the general funds for HE in 1981 (Williams, 2000) but also a financial incentive for the UK economy with a market value of £10 billion in 2002 (Halpin & Buckley, 21 April, 2004, The Times). Full cost fees for OSs partly covered the financial deficit of the UK economy.

The United Kingdom Council for Overseas Student Affairs's (UKCOSA) [now United Kingdom Council for International Student Affairs-UKCISA] report in 2000 revealed that from the UK government's perspective, charging full-cost OSs fees was based on the argument that no public funds should be used for supporting non-home students. The emphasis of the implementation of this policy shifted from removing the education cost for international students from the Exchequer to recognising that OSs' fees can serve as a means of increasing resources in HE. Recurrently, HE earnings were perceived as an important contribution to invisible

exports (UKCOSA, 2000). Indeed, this policy seems to have changed views of the UK government and that of UK HE in relation to OSs in which firstly, the OS is politically identified as the 'other' and, secondly, OS is economically projected as a consumer of UK HE in the global marketplace.

The announcement of full-cost fees policy in 1979 provoked widespread hostility and debate; the decision sent shock waves particularly within British international relations. The UK government had taken diplomatic, educational, and commercial risks (Woodhall, 1989). Nevertheless, nearly three decades since this policy was announced, there are long-term financial benefits for the UK economy and for UK HE associated with recruiting OSs through entrepreneurial approaches.

Williams (2000) explains 'it is widely recognised that at most universities, foreign students are now providing a surplus over the costs of teaching them that helps subsidise other university activities such as teaching home students' (p.214). Scott (1998) points out that UK HEIs are encouraged to take entrepreneurial approaches to the recruitment of OSs because of the fact that the UK government recognises the cash value of the OS. Thus, UK universities have adapted entrepreneurial cultures and market approaches from the private sector, acclimatizing to using marketing strategies to recruit students from within their own geographical region and beyond (West, 1996).

However, HEI's entrepreneurial cultures and market approaches might have gone too far, leading to issues such as quality and academic standard risks (I will discuss this point in detail in Chapter Five). For instance, some media mistakenly reported that some leading universities have closed their doors to well-qualified British applicants while recruiting heavily from overseas (in fact, OSs cannot take the place of home students). For instance,

> British students face the prospect of increasingly tough competition for degree places in English elite academic institutions as universities look to boost postgraduate studies and overseas students'
> (Goddard, 26 March 2004, THE,)

HE is an expanding market globally, and HEIs involved in it are becoming

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increasingly conscious of the need to attract and satisfy their 'customers'. OSs have become the focus of global competition because they have significantly contributed into the UK economy and the UK HEIs financial revenues. For instance, the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has implemented the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS). This implementation potentially has a considerable influence on the entire nature of the global HE market. The purpose of GATS, as stated by the WTO, is to eliminate barriers to trade. Education is regarded as one of the tradable services. What the WTO tries to do in relation to GATS is to enable its members to engage in trade liberalisation negotiations for education services, mainly to regulate the import of education services. The function of the GATS fosters the development of the market relationship between HEIs and OSs.

From an economic perspective, OSs' participation represents an 'invisible export' in the form of the associated income flow (OECD, 2004). Larsen et al. (2004) indicated that, given the fact that increasing numbers of OSs study abroad, some countries have opted for a revenue-generating approach to the internationalisation of higher education. By offering educational services to OSs at non-subsidised rates, the goal of this approach is to enrol a large number of OSs and to capture a large share of the market. In this respect, unlike some OECD countries (e.g. France, Greece, Iceland, Japan), which charge the same tuition fees or no fee at all for overseas and home students, four Anglophone countries, also the leading exporting countries, charge higher tuition fees for OSs than for home students. Apart from their tuition fees, they receive much in the way of exporting revenue from OSs' living expenditures.

Table 1: Export earnings from OSs, 1989, 1997 and 2001

	1989	1997	2001
	US million	US million	US million
Australia	584	2190	2145
Canada	530	595	727
United Kingdom	2214	4080	11141
United States	4575	8346	11490

(Source: OECD *Internationalisation and Trade in Higher Education: Opportunities and Challenge* 2004:31)

UK HEIs market their educational programmes internationally. However, the global HE market is very competitive since its size expanded with a steady increase in the OS numbers (see Table 1) and with the emergence of new types of educational providers such as corporate universities or for-profit institutions (CVCP, 2000; Knight, 2002).

Figure 1: Trends in the number of foreign students enrolled outside their country of origin (1998-2002)
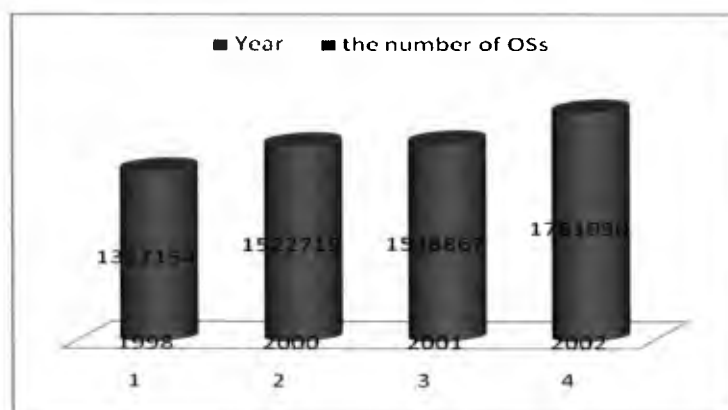
Note: Figures are based on the number of foreign students enrolled in OECD and partner countries reporting data. The coverage of these reporting countries has evolved over time; therefore, the figures are not strictly comparable and caution should be taken in interpreting trends. *Source:* OECD. See Annex 3 for Notes

The Impetus for this Research

When I started working on my doctoral thesis, I was inclined to extend the theme of my MA dissertation on the internationalization and marketisation of UK HE. I looked at the way in which UK HEIs respond to challenges associated with recruiting OSs in an increasingly competitive market within the context of entrepreneurial discourse. I examined the current position of UK HE in relation to its competitors and the market for OSs inherent in the marketing strategies currently in existence. I adapt the framework of the SWOT (Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, and Threats) analysis to highlight the factors that need to be considered when developing future marketing strategies in those UK HEIs that seek to attract OSs. According to Kotler et al. (1996: 79) and Dibb et al. (1997: 686), the SWOT analysis is the cornerstone of any marketing plan.

Opportunities and Threats

Opportunities and threats are used to make recommendations that feed into marketing strategy and the marketing mix.

Strengths and Weaknesses

These examine the company's position, its product, consumers, competitors' activity, environmental trends and resources.

Dibb et al. (1997: 686) suggest that SWOT analysis should result in a thorough understanding of the status of organisations and their markets. Gray (1991: 29) points out that evidence for the SWOT analysis can be seen in the records of educational institutions, 'and through the experience and knowledge of staff and students'. In my unpublished MA dissertation (Kuo, 2000), I used the University of Nottingham as a case study to highlight the factors that bring OSs to the UK and to the case study institutions, and those that subsequently influenced their satisfaction. (Please see **Appendix 1** for details.).

In short, I examined how UK HEIs adapted the concepts of marketing and customer services to recruit students abroad. I also considered how these concepts have transformed HE at both institutional and policy levels, particularly in

relation to the management of OS experiences and recruitment.

Furthermore, prior to conducting my doctoral research, I did not intend to look at how the concepts of marketing and entrepreneurialism affect academic relationships, staff-student interactions, and identities of learners. During my first year of my PhD, I received a letter from my own institution that implied that I was regarded as customer. I used to consider myself simply as a learner. However, after receiving this letter, I became interested in how OSs, in particular, are affected by the way in which their institutions adapt the widespread entrepreneurial cultures. Additionally, I became interested in OSs negotiating learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse.

Indeed, OSs have other identities. Taking myself as an example, I am a Taiwanese (an issue of national identity), a female (gender identity), a Doctoral student (academic identity), a Chinese language speaker (linguistic identity), and have other identities in relation to my study in the UK.

I focus *exclusively* on learner and customer identities in this research for two key reasons: firstly, contesting and negotiating learner and customer identities is a key controversial and contradictory issue in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. It is controversial because if education had become a commodity and the creation of the customer relationship would put education in jeopardy (Grace, 1989: 215; Jonathan, 1990: 131). This issue is a contradictory one because some university staff and students still see that a dichotomy between the academic and customer relationships, and students as learners and as customers (Lomas, 2007). Some UK HEIs, some academic and support staff, and some OSs may be interested in the discussion about the issue of learner and customer identities, while others may resist it. This issue also challenges and confronts some students who have been very persistent in their learner identity.

Secondly, these two identities, particularly the contestations and negotiations between them, are of significance to the age of entrepreneurialism. 'We' are living

with OSs having customer identities and cannot pretend that these identities do not exist, even if this could be an inconvenient truth for some in UK.

The letter that I received from my institution was an example of over-vigilant bureaucracy and made me feel as if I were a powerless student and customer. Yet, neither as a student nor as a customer was I given a chance to clarify the transmission error.

> Dear Miss Kuo,
> <u>Tuition Fees Invoice No.xxxxxx</u>
> Please find enclosed an invoice for your tuition fees for this academic year.
> I am afraid that your credit card has been declined therefore we have been unable to debit your card.
> Could you please either send an alternative method of payment, if you wish to still pay by instalment, or send us a cheque for the full amount owed within the next 14 days or I will have no alternative than to inform the Register to have you suspended from your course.
> I look forward to receiving your payment
> Yours sincerely,
> Xxxxxxxx
> Financial Department

Apart from the text of this letter, my own institution labelled me as a customer. All invoices and receipts that my institution forwarded back to me showed that I was regarded as a customer since they contained explicit phrases such as customer code, customer name and address instead of student code and student name and address.

Prior to my PhD study, I had always thought that I came to my institution to learn; therefore, I considered myself a student, a learner. I used to consider myself 'just' a learner engaged in a stimulating pedagogical relationship with many academic staff in my institution. However, this letter led me to reflect on the concept of OSs as customers. I realized that I am a customer, both in theory and in practice, which led to undesirable consequences. For example, I unexpectedly encountered a form of identity conflict concerning whether I am a learner or a customer to my institution, which became problematic for someone like me who is intuitively committed to academic engagement with academic staff. Consequently, I was compelled to resist and negotiate my learner and customer identities when interacting with

different university staff.

I became a 'customer' to my institution. As research (Douglas et al., 2007; Harris, 2008; Middlehurst & Woodfield, 2007) suggests, initiated by the idea of regarding students as customers, student experiences seem to have become measurable, suggesting there is the interplay between a high level of student customer satisfaction and good experiences. For instance, Douglas et al. (2007) pointed out that:

> Recruitment, student satisfaction, and retention are closely linked, and student satisfaction has become an extremely important issue for universities and their management. The aim should be to try to maximise students' satisfaction with their experience whilst they are at university and minimise dissatisfaction in order to retain students as well as to improve the institutions' performance across a number of league tables and so aid recruitment (p. 20)

Furthermore, the OS experience, as will be analyzed in details in Chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven, is multifaceted and complex. OSs' experiences are part of "the wider national and international policy context related to the 'internationalisation' agenda at institutional and national levels" (Middlehurst & Woodfield, 2007: 264), as a development of and response to political and research backgrounds. Middlehurst and Woodfield (ibid.) noted:

> The launch of this second Initiative (PMI2) is one among several national-level indicators that demonstrate how the international dimension of higher education is becoming yet more significant, sophisticated, and challenging for the UK. Other such indicators include: the launch of a new international strategy by the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) in 2004......; a call for research on 'internationalisation and the student experience' by the national Higher Education Academy (HEA) in 2005; and the mounting of 'an international leadership summit' by the Leadership Foundation for Higher Education (LFHE) in 2006 (p. 264)

Additionally, in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, both student satisfaction and student experience are of significant concepts from the points of view of the UK government, student support staff, and UK HEIs, despite the fact that they seem to be narrowly interpreted.

From my experience, student satisfaction and student experience are two concepts which are concerned about how I feel after my interactions with people I encounter in my host institutions. My experiences have both generated and cultivated from the way I look at myself in relation to others around me on the one hand. On the other hand, my experiences of interacting with people in my institution have affected my identity formation. Asking whether my experiences in the UK are good, bad, negative, or positive so far seems too early to posit an answer, as the answer is often in a state of fluidity.

There were several surveys investigating OSs' experiences, which, as Middlehurst and Woodfield (2007) indicated,

> added to a growing emphasis on 'international strategies and internationalisation...... and designed to help institutions improve their services and support for their international student body (e.g. national surveys by UKCOSA, 2004 & 2006; the ongoing International Student Barometer benchmarking research by I-Graduate, 2005 to present) (p274).

Furthermore, Middlehurst and Woodfield (ibid.) also pointed out that:

> The survey findings are remarkably consistent. They suggest that although most international students are happy with their overall experience and the quality of the teaching and course content, they are less satisfied with some social and administrative dimensions, the levels of personal and academic support received, and the value for money of their study experience. However, the research does not provide enough evidence to identify which are the most important factors, or those that drive student choice or satisfaction. Anecdotal evidence suggests that these are largely related to the academic quality of the course (e.g. teaching and course content); however, analysis that is more detailed is required. Analysis of the findings from these surveys highlights a number of dimensions (summarised below) that appear to influence particularly the study experience of international students (p. 274).

Middlehurst and Woodfield (2007) later conducted a pilot study, which is of significant value as it involved different dimensions (academic, social, environmental, cultural, and administrative) in order to "test the wider survey data against a specific institutional context so as to identify both issues of concern to international students as well as valued aspects of their experience" (p. 275).

Apart from national and international media coverage of OSs as customers (e.g., Devos, 2003), there is an increasing number of researchers who conduct researches focusing on whether the concept of students as customers (e.g., Bartram, 2006; Bolsmann & Miller, 2008; Lomas, 2007; Rolfe, 2002). Arguably, when it comes to the discussion concerning the concept of students as customers has changed pedagogical relationship between student teaching and learning, and the way in which HEIs provide service and support to students, the majority of these researchers take perspectives of the UK government, UK HEIs' senior members of staff, university academic and support staff, student recruitment agencies, UK university international officers.

The OSs were the subjects of these studies and media coverage. However, very often, OSs' own accounts have been missing. Although OSs are the researched, they are either distant or detached from these studies. As an OS, no one has ever asked me, for instance, following questions:

- Do I think my own institution treats me as a customer?
- Do I consider myself as customer of my institution?
- Do I think that I might have to contest and negotiate my learner and customer identities?
- Do I find myself having difficulties negotiating my learner and customer identities?

These questions are currently under-researched, but have confronted me for a long time.

The Aims and Research Questions of this Research

A question that emerges from my literature research is whether or not OSs are victims (unfairly treated objects) (e.g Leonard and Morley, 2003; Bartram, 2006), problems (who tarnish the high quality of UK HE provision) (Alderman, 2009; BBC, 11 September, 2008, 'Moves to Tighten Degree Scrutiny'), or beneficiaries (who demand what they want and need as a customer) (e,g. Douglas et al., 2007)

because the way in which UK HEIs over-promote the concept of students as customers in the marketisation of HE.

My main research aim is to look at how OSs negotiate and contest their learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. In particular, I aim to explore how OSs negotiate and contest their learner and customer identities at play in the political, economic, social, cultural, and academic contexts in the UK.

To achieve this aim, my research question is: to what extent do OSs' interactions with other social actors (university staff in particular) influence the construction and negotiation of their learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse?

In order to answer my research question, I break the central question down into sub-questions listed in **Appendix 2**. These different sets of questions to different groups of research participants were collected and answered utilizing the following techniques: case study; participant observation; interviews; documentation (e.g. newspaper articles, the prospectuses of case study universities, and application forms), and focus groups.

The value of looking at OSs' identity construction in the context of entrepreneurial discourse is to "identify and trace recurring metaphors and themes" (Devos, 2003: 157). These metaphors and themes extracted from the discourse of entrepreneurialism helped me examine how OSs negotiate and contest between their learner and customer identities. In addition, examining about OSs' identity construction is certainly significant and helpful for OSs and those whose work involves OSs (e.g. researchers, HEI managers, those who teach OSs at any level, those who work for student support and policy-makers); those who reflect on how to improve OSs experiences and, simultaneously, enhance the quality of UK HE.

Key Participants in this Research

Some researchers have suggested that participants consistently construct OSs' identities through discourse (Bolsmann & Miller, 2008; Devos, 2003; Haugh, 2008; Koehne, 2006). As Haugh (2008: 212) stated:

> What a certain participant says cannot be taken at face value, but must instead be carefully examined in relation to what other participants say (in order to establish the procedural relevance of the analysis), as well as relative to the researcher's own particular theoretical stance on identity (p. 212).

As a social constructivist, I am no more than a co-constitutor of my knowledge concerning OSs. When collecting data, the research participants and other data resources contribute to the construction of knowledge. In terms of participants in this research, I identify the following key people who are significant to OSs' identity construction in this research.

- OSs who are the primary concern of this research.
- Senior member of groups of UK HEIs (Vice/ deputy Chancellors; Deans of School) for their job positions and their powers in relation to international strategies and OSs policies at the institutional level).
- Heads of International Offices for their professional involvement with international strategies of their institutions, OS marketing and recruitment, bridging between academic departments, and OS support and services.
- Student support staff- they work closely with OSs based on 'the concept of students as customers'.
- Academic staff- their views are comparatively prominent in the formation of a student's self-construction (Devor, 1989), and could strongly influence OSs' decisions about prioritising their learner or customers identity. Academic (and managerial) staff's perceptions of OSs as learners or customers are of significant value, specifically to those who engage in face-to-face interaction with OSs on university campus. The prioritisation of customer identity is situation specific (e.g., international strategy and customer care policy continue to be provided by some academic staff). Given that institutions suggest that staff treat OS as customers, they could possibly facilitate OSs' to

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conform to this role. However, not every academics would necessarily treat OSs as customers (Langer, 2005).

- The UK government- the formation of self-construction does not entirely depend on generalised others and significant others. Certain political, economic, cultural, and societal influences that cannot be eliminated; therefore, the UK government's role and perceptions of OSs are vital. Although I could not gain access to government officials, along with OS related studies and news releases regarding OS policy changes and implementation, this study will include published official documentation (e.g. from British Council, HEFCE, UKCOSA/UKCISA, Universities UK, UK Border Agency (UKBA), among others). These sources will enable an examination of what role that the UK government plays in relation to the way in which OSs are constructed as customers and 'the other'.

A limitation of this research is that I intend not to look demographic variables or attribute variables, for instance, OSs' religion, ethnicity, age, social class, linguistic background. This is because carrying out demographic analysis to investigate the dimensions and dynamic relationships between these demographic variables and OSs' identity construction and negotiation in the context of entrepreneurial discourse is vital and demands further research.

My research is more innovative and exploratory. I consider these demographic variables as relatively peripheral in comparison with the primary objective of this research which is to **'explore'** how social knowledge about OSs negotiating learner and customer identities is articulated, produced and re-produced by all research participants through their negotiation of entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses, such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents, and OSs as ambassadors. Accounting for every individual variable that could affect OSs' identity construction is a large extra financial cost for this self-funding PhD thesis project.

Selection of Literature

My constructivist-oriented perspectives guided my research and have shaped my choice of literature and use of particular methods to gather and analyse the data related to my research inquiry. As mentioned briefly above, and in detail in Chapter Two, the internationalists (e.g., Callero, 1994, 1985; Goffman, 1959; Mead, 1934; Stryker & Burke, 2000) and cultural studies scholars (e.g. Denzin, 1992; Grossberg, 1996; Hall, 1990) have notably influenced my theoretical perspectives.

From the perspective of some interactionists (e.g., Goffman, 1959; Mead, 1934), the construction of identities is a product of social interaction in which the individual develops her/his self though the process of interacting with others. Furthermore, from the perspectives of some cultural studies scholars, identities that "are always incomplete and in process" (Grossberg, 1996: 89), are a matter of "becoming" as well as "being" (Hall, 1990, p. 225).

Based on these two theoretical perspectives, it is important to analyse complex relationships among all participants in order to examine OSs' identity construction in the context of entrepreneurial discourse (Hall, 1990). However, to conduct research on OSs' identity construction and the extent to which it correlates with the changes and development of the UK government's policies concerning OSs (for instance about visa, fees, immigrations, and educational diplomacy) in particular, I want to "draw from and integrate elements of multiple disciplines: political science, sociology, psychology, economics, and philosophy" (Urias & Yeakey, 2009: 75). Integrating multiple disciplines is important for the following reasons:

> There is a lack of an appropriate theoretical paradigm in the international literature. It is surprising that such an enterprise that involves significant amounts of money and millions of students worldwide and deals with important issues of knowledge transfer and international relations has generated only a modest research literature (ibid)

Key Terminologies

The voice of 'I' and my partial knowledge

When I started to write my PhD research, I had difficulty locating and negotiating my authorial presence, largely because my supervisor insisted that I to use the third 'it' or 'one', instead of 'I'. This practice is not uncommon for English academic writing. There is a conventional rule that formal academic writing would be better written 'with no reference to the "I" author' (Lerner, 2001:16). Writing in the first person may not be considered to be appropriate for academic writing which is expected to be detached, objective, impersonal and most importantly, scientific (Arnaudet and Barrett 1984: 73; Coniam 2004:283).

For a novice researcher who has learned English as a foreign language, writing in the third person can be problematic. I found that the use of third-person pronouns often makes me conceal my own voice and opinions, and disturbs both the flow of thinking about the topic and my intellectual development. I confessed that my writing was not improving, partly as a result of writing in the third person in order to 'sound' objective. I was not aware that the attempt to conceal my voice, to avoid bias and prejudice, would do the most damage to my research, missing the fundamental elements of the constructivism paradigm. There was no surprise that my own voice was absent from my writing. Furthermore, I have simultaneously wanted to present my authorial self while contest its presence in reflexive accounts. This ambivalence inhibits my writing, and my construction of social knowledge; I have to 'declaim' my authorial self as if it does not correspond to who and what I write 'on/for/with' (Griffiths, 1998: 35-6).

With respect to this problem, one of my challenges in this thesis has been to negotiate the authorial presence, and whose crucial point is in search of the equilibrium between self-discourse and indulgent introspection. The preliminary and ultimate aim of searching for this equilibrium is to extract knowledge concerning OS identity.

After my current supervisor, Penny, encouraged my authorial presence, I have found more freedom writing in the first person. In addition, taking the first-person stance enables me to write with more confidence and ease, at least to the extent that I am on the way to finding my own voice. Hyland stated that the "creation of an authorial persona is an act of personal choice, and the influence of individual personality, confidence, experience, and ideological preference are clearly important" (2005: 191). Furthermore, I in Chapter Three, I will explain that as an OS, I am more likely to have insider knowledge in relation to OS identities and experiences. Taking the first-person stance in my writing would be more authentic than taking the third person.

In this thesis, I portray myself as a novice researcher. Writing for and on OSs requires me to contest and negotiate my authorial self and my reflexivity. However having presented 'I' in my writing does not present an omniscient point of view. Therefore, being epistemologically self-conscious in relation to my personal experiences as an OS is essential for me to conduct and report my research. Ultimately I intend to go beyond self-introspection and toward the social, political, and cultural stances that motivate me to write and to research on OS's identities, and to theorise OS identities.

Furthermore, one idea that I intend to explore through this research is my partial knowledge of OSs (Chapter Three). Following the constructivist paradigm, I acknowledge 'the relative nature of social reality' and 'multiple realities' (Banister, 1994: 172). In other words, the reality that I present and the knowledge that I construct in my thesis would be partial. Epistemological reflexivity is crucial to my research, and helps me to examine the continual evolution of my authorial self (Ivanic, 1998; Hyland, 2002: 1093). Moreover, being epistemologically reflexive indeed involves a dialectical process with the research participants' commonsense constructs; the research data; and "the structural and historical forces that informed the social construction under study" (Anderson, 1989: 254-5). Thus, my authorial presence distinguishes myself from others, such as, research participants, and demonstrated a partnership between myself, as the researcher, and the

researched.

In addition, as will be discussed in Chapter Two, my ontological and epistemological positions are constructivist. I am no more than a co-constitutor of my knowledge of OSs. More importantly, as I will examine in Chapter Three, my knowledge of the identity constructions of OSs is partial. When collecting data, the research participant and other data resources participate in the construction of knowledge. I believe that the relationship between the researcher and the researched is reciprocal and dynamic. The value of my research is generated from my interpretation of the empirical data and from exploration of "the dynamics of the research-researched relationship" (Finlay, 2002b, 534). I interpret interviewees (research participants) and myself (the researcher) as co-constructors of social knowledge (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Anderson, 1989: 254; Finley, 2002a: 216).

The Usage of 'Overseas Students' (OSs)

My primary research interest is to understand OSs' contestations and negotiations of identity construction in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. I should ask what the term 'OS' means before I move on to examine the issue concerning OSs' identity in the context of entrepreneurial discourse.

My research is concerned with how we are to understand overseas students. I suggest that to understand OSs, the methodology that Said used to approach Orientalism can be adopted here. Methodology is 'a theory of how inquiry should proceed' (Schwandt, 2001: 161). Said's methodology is useful to my inquiry as to how the partial concept of OSs is understood and framed.

Said suggests that Orientalism, as a flourishing research area, deserves to be thoroughly and extensively explored. Said, here, refers to methodology as the process by which the Oriental was constructed in European thinking. I adapt Said's (1979) approach here to examine how the concept of the OS has been constructed by the UK government and by the UK HEIs.

Furthermore, when Said (1995) elaborated the meaning of 'Orientalism', which he viewed as an academic discourse, he said that "the Orient was a word which later accrued to it a wide field of meanings, associations, and connotations, and that these did not necessarily refer to the real Orient but the field surrounding the word" (p. 203).

To elaborate on OSs in this research is to illuminate and to extract the complex and sophisticated process of identity construction that corresponds to political, socio-cultural, economic, and pedagogical changes that involve OSs in UK HEIs. The discourse surrounding OSs could be considered as a representation, epitome, or condensed version of the textual, phenomenal, and recurring properties of the entrepreneurial discourse concerning OSs, with its emphasis on the impact of entrepreneurialism on their identity construction.

In this research, I choose the term 'overseas student' (OS) to 'international student' or 'foreign student' because 'OS' is used for official purposes or in policy-oriented documents and implies that this particular group of students is exclusively *different* from their home and EU counterparts. OS term is increasingly associated with HEIs' income generation as OSs are supposed to pay full-cost fees.

The term 'OS' is rather political, not only because it is an invention of political and economic forces, for Burke and Hermerschmidt (2005: 347) may argue that 'these practices are institutionally embedded in hierarchies of knowledge construction', but also because the idea of power and the idea of authority come into play regarding marginalising OSs as the other and the construction of 'the concept or meaning of OSs' (Kuo, 2008: 59). I will discuss the concept, usage, connotations, and political and financial implications of 'OS' in detail in Chapters Four and Five.

We

The position that I take draws on constructivism to examine the ways in which OSs and groups of people in UK HEIs construct their identities through different social interactions, such customer and teaching-learning relationships in the context of

the marketisation of HE (Guba & Lincoln, 1989: 44, also see Schutt, 2006: 44). Regarding epistemology as 'the relationship between that reality and the researcher', my inquiry sets out to examine how we understand different stakeholders (e.g., OSs, academic staff, senior member of groups of UK HEIs) in general, and OSs in particular (Schutt, 2006: 44).

I occasionally use 'we' in this thesis. The utility of 'we' is the way that I communicate with the prospective/ imagined readers of my thesis. In addition, I use 'we' to show the way that I engage with and take into accounts of my research participants. This is because from a methodological perspective and the perspective of ethnographic researchers in particular, both the research participants (see, e.g., Anderson, 1989: 254) and the imagined reader (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: 113) contributed to the social construction of knowledge through this inquiry.

The research participants contributed to the knowledge construction, to a large extent, through fieldwork, whereas imagined readers have done so throughout my writing and reading of it. For instance, I began as a writer in my work, with the interplay being between being a writer and being a reader over the process of writing. I continuously read what I wrote in the writing process since 'writing is a silent dialogue' that involves the writer and the imagined reader (Barone, 1995: 64). Each utterance resonated within a dialogic exchange (ibid.), so that I would consider that my imagined reader recurrently became the writer and contributed to the production of knowledge.

Entrepreneurialism and its Interrelated and Competing Discourses

The concept of entrepreneurial discourse is vital in this research. By locating my discussion in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, I want to examine the extent to which contemporary universities adapt these business-oriented concepts in order to face these environmental transformations and challenges, for instance, such as globalisation and internationalization of HE (in which UK HEIs compete with those in other Anglo-Saxon countries for research innovations and for

students) and shrinking state funding. More importantly, I intend to study how the way in which the construction of OSs identities, particularly in learner and customer identities, is influenced by the way in which the UK government, senior faculty, support and academic staff, and OSs participate in the constitution of entrepreneurial discourse.

This section will investigate four concepts: *entrepreneurialism, discourse, entrepreneurial discourses, and its interrelated and competing discourse of entrepreneurialism*. First, I will discuss the concept of *entrepreneurialism* and its related concepts such as entrepreneur, entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial universities. Entrepreneurialism, as described by Shattock (2005), is "an economic phenomenon" (p16). In addition, Williams and Kitaev (2005) identified ideology is one of these drives (apart from expansion, the knowledge society, globalisation and financial stringency) of entrepreneurialism in HEIs (p129-130). They argued that "there have been huge changes in the ideology and political thinking about the role of the state in the provision of public services" (op.cit. p129). In the UK, after Thatcher's government, neoliberalism became the prevailing political ideology and entrepreneurialism appeared to reflect the UK government's attitudes towards the marketisation and privatisation of public services, for instance, such as education. Neoliberalism is a political and economic ideology, which according to Heron (2008):

> is about facilitating freer movement of goods, resources and enterprises across national boundaries......it requires: state disengagement, reduced policy autonomy by the state (and more toward the international financial institutions which promote the implementation of a neoliberal programme).....(p. 89)

There is a power relationship between OSs and the UK HEIs and between OSs and the UK government. The relationships are "systematically asymmetrical" (Thompson, 1990). As I will discuss in Chapter Four, the UK government has a financial interest in the OS market. However, the OS market in the UK is not a free market. The UK government plays a vital interventionist role in this market, mainly through policy and regulations (such as visa-issuing, security and customs control, recruitment, and attendance). This policy and these regulations have been

inconsistent, having a significant direct and indirect influence on the ways in which OSs negotiate their identities.

Heron (2008) argued that neoliberalism:

> promotes its own brand of capitalist restructuring......It continues along a line of thinking of knowledge, society, and history, emphasising rationality, scientific objectivity, essentialism and the liner directions of time, thought and development; and operates in rigid binaries of primitive-modern, ...developed-underdeveloped.... (p89).

As Heron (ibid.) argued, neoliberalism as a political and economical ideology "operates in rigid binaries". Therefore, to consider the relation between the construction of OS identity and neoliberalism in this research, I will argue that the UK government perceives OSs economically as customers and politically and culturally as "the other" (Chapter Four).

However, neoliberalism as an ideology could be, as Van Dijk (2001) stated, "at play when language users engage in the ongoing construction of contest as subject, as well as group-sensitive, interpretations of the social situation". In line with Van Dijk (2001), the way in which the UK government promotes neoliberal ideology directly affects 'the production (or interpretation)' of entrepreneurialism, and "may happen indirectly through the relations between participants" (p. 11). Thus, in Chapter Six, I will argue that the neoliberalism paradigm and entrepreneurial spirits in the UK HEIs have top-down influence on the way in which university staff cross the University. Some staff find it difficult to carry out their work, and find themselves resisting and negotiating to be a neoliberal subject in academia. The ways in which they resist and negotiate their neoliberal being affect their interactions with OSs and their negotiations of students as learners and as customers.

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indirectly through the relations between participants" (p. 11).

Entrepreneurialism is a term "which is widely used in a popular sense but which has defied definition" (Shattock, 2005: 16). Drucker was a prominent business scholar and theorist. To elaborate the concept of entrepreneur, he asserted that around 1800 the French economist J. B. Say described the entrepreneur as the one who "shifts economic resources out of an area of lower and into an area of higher productivity and great yield" (Drucker, 1994: 19). Drucker (ibid) also pointed out that since Say coined the term two hundred years ago, there has been confusion over the definitions of 'entrepreneur' and 'entrepreneurship'. To distinguish these two terms, Drucker (ibid.) stated that "the entrepreneur is often defined as one who starts his own, new and small business". But, "not every new small business is entrepreneurial or represents entrepreneurship" (Drucker, ibid). However, to be entrepreneurial, an enterprise has to have individual characteristics. In fact, "entrepreneurs are a minority among new business. They create something new, something different; they change or transmute values" (Drucker, 1994: 20). Drucker (op.cit. p20-26) stated that entrepreneurship has the following features:

- practiced by large and often old enterprises
- not confined to economic institutions
- it is a behaviourial, not a personality trait. It is founded in concept and theory rather than intuition.
- it rests on a theory of economy and society. The theory sees changes as normal and indeed as healthy. It also sees the major task in society as doing something different rather than doing something better.
- It is risky, mainly because entrepreneurs know what they are doing.

In recent years, entrepreneurialism has become a significant concept in the management of HEIs. As will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five, UK HEIs are encouraged to adapt entrepreneurial approaches, for instance, in terms of establishing partnerships with business and industries, and recruiting students from abroad. From Drucker's (1994) point of view, the entrepreneur is initiated in the economic sphere, but is by no means limited to economic institutions. Like Drucker, educational entrepreneurs "do very much the same things, use very much the same tools, and encounter very much the same problems as the entrepreneur in a

business" (Drucker, 1994:21-25).

Furthermore, Keast (1995: 253) argued that 'one of two alternatives is possible': either the term "*entrepreneurship* is not truly applicable in higher education, or the definitions of the term need to be broadened for purposes of meaningful discussion". Indeed, entrepreneurism has been broadly interpreted in order to integrate as one significant element of HE management. For instance in the USA, Best (1988) found that:

> '*the origins of the corporate revolution can be found in the mass expansion of higher education in the years World War II , and further, they can be seen emerging directly from the upheavals of the late 1960s. The corporate revolution is founded on the operation of the free academic market: that system peculiar to the United States which encourages every institution of higher education, whether publicly or privately controlled and supported, to compete for enrolments of students and the tuitions they pay...It is in any event a free market model in perfect accord with American free enterprise corporate capitalism. The effect has been to create a system of higher learning that operates along business models of fiscal control and management' (p178-9)*

Similarly, Slaughter and Leslie (1997) conducted research in Australia, Canada, UK and USA and argued that "academic capitalism deals with market and marketlike behaviours on the part of universities and faculty" (p11) and the entrepreneurism consists of "activities undertaken with a view to capitalizing on university research or academic expertise through contracts or grants with government agencies seeking solutions to specific public or commercial concerns" (p114-5).

There are three influential books on entrepreneurialism in universities: Slaughter and Leslie's *Academic Capitalism* (1997), Clark's *Creating the Entrepreneurial University* (1998), and Marginson and Considine's *The Enterprise University* (2000). As Shattock (2005: 16-7) found, Clark's book "describes entrepreneurialism in a positive light" (p16), while Slaughter and Leslie's and Marginson and Considine's books "emphasise much more the academic and organisational downsides of universities being forced to diversify their resource base by engaging in the search for non-state income" (ibid.). I summarise the characteristics of entrepreneurialism in universities that are presented in these three books:

- Embedded entrepreneurial behaviour/ new managerialism

- Competition in funding
- Realising values for individuals and society and creating new values
- Academic coherence/ Academic Identity
- Taking risks for initiatives
- Innovation
- Uncertainty

Williams and Kitaev (2005) found that:

> "Marketisation" of higher education and university "entrepreneurialism" are sometimes treated as being nearly synonymous. Any activity that generates income to supplement or replace inadequate core income from public funds is often described as entrepreneurial – recruitment of fee paying students, contract research, letting out university buildings for external conferences (p126)

In the UK, entrepreneurialism is discursively constructed and reproduced by social actors and is one of the key discourses that embodies and articulates neoliberal ideology. The *2003 White Paper: The Future of Higher Education* states:

> (Our vision of a sector which) has the freedom to be innovative and entrepreneurial, with strong management and visionary leadership which will set and achieve clear goals for improving quality across the whole range of each institution's activity to implement its plans…..
> (The Future of Higher Education, 2003: 26)

In the UK, "international fees have been recognised as a means of increasing resources in tertiary (and particularly, higher) education and in the context of public parsimony towards higher education have become a lifeline for many universities" (UKCOSA, 2000: 41). Similarly, as Marginson and Considine (2000) argued, "the education of international students, are driven by a frankly commercial and entrepreneurial spirit, now a key (though by no means always dominant) element of the enterprise culture" (p. 4).

The UK HEIs adapt entrepreneurial cultures in relation to their financial management. Adapting entrepreneurialism in universities is the way that the contemporary HEIs respond to these uncertainties generated from "global and other international economic, social and cultural developments" (Deem, 2001:8). Williams and Kitaev (2005) argued, "uncertainty creates the climate that promotes entrepreneurship and uncertainty and the risk that accompanies it have increased nearly everywhere in the past decade" (p126). Thus, the UK HEIs are encouraged

by the UK government to adopt much more "entrepreneurial approaches" to the recruitment of overseas students (Scott, 1998: 117).

Hisrich and Peters (2002) state that "entrepreneurship is the process of creating something new with value by devoting the necessary time and effort, assuming the accompanying financial, psychic, and social risks, and receiving the resulting rewards of monetary" (p10). In line with Hisrich and Peters, I will argue that the UK HEIs are now establishing themselves as entrepreneurial institutions (Chapter Five). These entrepreneurial institutions use entrepreneurial approaches to recruit OSs. They also create new values for their educational programmes (e.g. employability: *utility* and *quality* of educational programmes), and, simultaneously, undertake pedagogical, quality, academic standard, and financial risks.

The 'entrepreneurial university' is also very significant in relation to the discourse of entrepreneurialism. Burton Clark (1998) identified five key pathways in the development of entrepreneurial universities.

- The strengthened steering core-is able to be applied in quite different aspects and it is expected to embrace central managerial groups and academic groups. 'It must operationally reconcile managerial values with traditional academic ones'.
- The expanded developmental periphery.
- The diversified funding base is aimed to raise funding from a multiplicity of stakeholders in response to the fact that institutional support from government is on the wane.
- The stimulated academic heartland.
- The integrated entrepreneurial culture. (Clark, 1998: 4)

Entrepreneurial universities blur the traditional boundary between academic departments and the outside world. The heartland of entrepreneurial universities is where traditional academic values are most firmly rooted. However, the managerial staff in entrepreneurial universities must respond to challenges from the external environment. Therefore, the heartland accepts a modified value system. Entrepreneurial universities renew their working cultures in order to embody changes in both the university and externally. These newer cultures come up with fresh institutional ideas which are expected to interact with daily practices. Clark believes that this interaction relationship is becoming important 'in cultivating

institutional identity and distinctive reputation' (ibid.).

Secondly, after examining the concept of entrepreneurialism, I want to discuss *discourse*. The concept of discourse, as Kress (1995) interpreted it, "is institutionally produced sets of meanings, and the formation of subjects within both an institution and discourse allows us to see a speaker and hearer as carrying these meanings into any linguistic interaction" (p. 121). Similarly, Ashcroft and Ahluwalia (2002) defined discourse as "a system of statements within which and by which the world can be known" (p. 14).

Furthermore, as Cohen and Musson (2000) observed:

> "Central to this notion of discourse is ideology, a concept, which is itself polysemic, used in a variety of (sometimes ambiguous) ways. The concept of ideology, which is being used in this paper, is based on Alvesson's (1991) definition.....as: "a relatively coherent set of assumptions, beliefs, and values about a demarcated part of social reality, being illuminated in a selective and legitimising way, restricting autonomous critical refection and sometimes favouring sectional interests" (p. 209).

According to Cohen and Musson, "discourse, in this sense, can be seen as the embodiment and articulation of ideology" (p. 33). I believe that ideology and discourse are different but interrelated concepts. From Eagleton's (1991) point of view, "Ideology has to do with legitimating the power of the dominant social group or class" (p. 5). Ideology, broadly speaking, is meaning in the service of power. Thus, the study of ideology requires us to investigate the ways in which "meaning is constructed and conveyed by symbolic forms of various kinds" (p. 7).

As examined above, the articulation between neoliberal ideology and entrepreneurialism plays a vital role in the construction of OSs identities. Van Dijk (2001) studied the relationship between ideology and discourse and investigated the effects of ideology on discursive forms and meanings and the contribution of discursive structures to the formation and transformation of ideologies. In line with Van Dijk (2001), Cohen and Musson (2000), and Alvesson and Willmott, 2002), adapted the concept of neoliberal ideology, claiming that the UK government may see itself as a global entity "where commercial deregulation, convergence and

consolidation of overseas markets is the order of the day" (McChesney, 2001, cited in Heron, 2008: 89). The New Labour government still promoted this ideology (Jonathan, 1997: 23; Edwards & Miller, 1998: 47) and influenced the way in which the UK HEI recruited students abroad.

Researchers often use the notions of discourse and/or discourse analysis to analyse:

> collections of texts, their meaningfulness through their links to other texts, the ways in which they draw on different discourses, how and to whom they are disseminated, the methods of their production, and the manner in which they are received and consumed (Phillips et al., 2004: 636).

The tools of discourse analysis often emphasise texts or the linguistic components of the data. Yet, in this research, I place less emphasis on the texts or their linguistic components and more emphasis on examining where these texts, terminologies, or linguistic components merge, just as described by Phillips et al. (2004):

> mutually constitutive relationship among discourse, text, and action as the meanings of discourses that are shared and social, emanating out of actors' actions in producing texts; at the same time, discourse gives meaning to these actions, thereby constituting the social world (p. 637).

Similarly, Cohen and Musson (2000) emphasised that "discourses are used to reveal a text's underlying logic and provide the researcher with valuable means of access this logic" (p35). In line with Phillips et al. (2004) and Cohen and Musson's (2000) approaches, I want to use discourse to explore the ways in which the UK government, UK HEIs, and OSs encounter one another in the context of entrepreneurialism and by using and reprocessing relevant terminologies concerning entrepreneurialism into OSs' daily patterns of speaking and reactions, rather than by focusing on the linguistic analysis of OSs identities formation through entrepreneurial culture (ibid).

Third, I consider the *discourse of entrepreneurialism*: a result of "strategic social construction created through interaction with social and material consequences" (Howard, 2000. 371). Based on my discussion, the discourse of entrepreneurialism

in higher education is a strategic social construction in which social actors negotiate the extent to which entrepreneurialism is applicable in HE sector. Social actors such as the UK government, UK HEIs, university staff, and OSs make sense of different meanings and approach entrepreneurialism through development, progression, and change (Kress, 1996). Social actors speak and act according to the meanings produced through entrepreneurialism. Social actors, subsequently, become both speakers and hearers of that discourse.

Cohen and Musson (2000) and Du Gay and Salaman (1992) explored the talk of individuals in their case study organisations as a means of accessing how those individuals mobilise and internalise entrepreneurial culture. Cohen and Musson (2000) and Du Gay and Salaman (1992) both explore the ways in which the discourse of entrepreneurialism is experienced and constructed by people in case study organisations, or "whose organisation have had to become more entrepreneurial in their orientation" (Cohen and Musson, 2000:33).

In a similar vein with Cohen and Musson's (2000) and Du Gay and Salaman's (1992) research about the entrepreneurial discourse, I want to explore how the identity constructions of OSs are affected by the ways in which UK government, UK HEIs, university staff, and OSs experience and engage with the constitution of entrepreneurial discourse. My research participants, including university staff and OSs, may affect, create, and reproduce the entrepreneurial discourse based on the way in which the UK government promotes neoliberal ideology.

However, unlike du Gay and Salaman (1992) and Cohen and Musson (2000) whose management perspectives looks at how employees in the private sector are affected by the discourse of entrepreneurialism Archer (2008) has wondered whether or not it is possible for younger academics not to be an academic neoliberal subject. Davies and Petersen (2005, cited in Archer 2008: 281), argued "it is not possible to resist the onslaught of neoliberalism". Archer's (2008) research acknowledges that, although there is resistance among younger academics to being neoliberal subjects, "subjects cannot exist outside of the conditions and

locations within which they are located and by which they are constituted" (op. cit., p. 282). Cohen and Musson (2000) add that "the ideology and discourse 'frame' the way that people see the world", "but that does not mean that people are rigidly trapped within this framework, prevented from creatively reworking the specific discourses and ideologies which inform their particular realities" (op.cit, p34).

What I suggest here is that the interpretation of entrepreneurial discourse and the way in which social actors adapt and interpret entrepreneurialism, as Cohen and Musson's (2000) research suggested "is not static, but a site of struggle and negotiation" (p46). The concepts of entrepreneurialism or entrepreneurial discourse could be very diverse and changeable, depending on how social actors reflect and constitute their interpretations about these concepts within social structural positions, "encompassing both consensus and negotiations" (ibid.).This is the central reason why in Chapter Six, I explain that university staff may become neoliberal subjects who resist and negotiate their neoliberal identities. The way in which they do this may affect the way in which they negotiate OSs as learners and as customers. This is the theme of Chapter Seven.

The phrase 'in the context of entrepreneurial discourse' is used to argue that my research participants, including university staff and OSs, affect, create, and reproduce the entrepreneurial discourse based on the way in which the UK government promotes neoliberal ideology. Second, social actors speak and act according to the meanings produced through by entrepreneurialism. Social actors, subsequently, become both speakers and hearers of the discourse of entrepreneurialism. Third, the discourse of entrepreneurialism is very likely to frame the way in which my research participants interpret social positions and their communications and relationships with other. However, they are not necessarily confined by the concept of entrepreneurialism. Neither, would my research participants be prevented from being creative and reworking the discourse of entrepreneurialism which inform their social realities and social interactions.

Fourth, I discuss the interrelated and competing discourses of entrepreneurialism. The discourse of entrepreneurism in UK HEIs shapes and is shaped by social participants (policy-makers, university mangers, university staff, and OSs). Discourses may have bilateral and hierarchical relationships (Fairclough, 1992). In this research, I consider that there exist competing discourses in which OSs take the role of customers, learners, change agents, and ambassadors.

The OSs as customers is one of these dominate discourse in the context of entrepreneurialism. According to Gavey (1997), the dominant discourses are multiple and "offer competing, potentially contradictory ways of giving meaning to the world" (p54). Similarly, as Coates (1997) elaborated, 'the clash between different world views produced tension and contradictions in our talk, where competing discourse come into contact with each other" (p302). As I will explain in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven OSs as customers and as learners become competing discourses. The discourse of OSs as customers challenge our conventional perception of OSs as learners. It is also noteworthy the discourse of OSs as learners was the dominant one before rise of neoliberal ideology and the ascent of entrepreneurialism in UK HEIs.

Furthermore, the discourse of OSs as customers offers "subject positions" for "individuals to take up" (Gavey, 1997: 54). UK HEIs now operate as an enterprise having some managerial staff embedded with entrepreneurial behaviours and adapting new managerial approaches, as funding cuts force them to diversify their revenue streams by seeking non-state sources of income. Under these conditions, the UK HEIs are positioning themselves as providers of education programmes and services, with OSs as their customers.

One question that has emerged from my research is that the way in which my research participants negotiate the discourses of OSs as customers and as learners. These discourses, from Fairclough's (1992) perspective, are interrelated, albeit paradoxically different and competing. OSs as learners and as customers are discourses that have emerged from academic and customer relationships

between UK HEIs and OSs. Despite the dominance of entrepreneurial cultures, academic and customer relationships can co-exist, but they cannot be independent from one another in entrepreneurial discourse. Some academic staff and OSs have faced a simplistic dichotomy between teaching-learning and customer relationships. As I will discuss in Chapter Six, some university staff conceptualise what Bhabha (1994) designed as the third space or the space of 'hybridity', as a result of negotiating the competing notions of learners and customers. I propose that OSs as learners and OSs as customers are both competing and interrelated discourses.

Johnstone (2002) stated that discourse shapes "the possibilities of future discourse" (p. 9). As examined above, although in entrepreneurial discourse, the concept of entrepreneurialism is very likely to frame the way in which my research participants interpret social positions and their communications and relationships with one another. My research participants are not necessarily prevented from being creative and reworking the discourse of entrepreneurialism which inform their social realities and social interactions. It is worth noting here that two discourses-- OSs as change agents and OSs as ambassadors—are generated through the process by which my research participants contest and negotiate the discourses of OSs as learners and as customers.

Koehne (2005, 2006, cited in Haugh, 2008) asserts that OSs "need to be examined more carefully in their own right as agents who both reconstruct their own multiple subjectivities and challenge the discursive positioning attributed to them by others" (Koehne, 2006, cited in Haugh, 2008).

In this research, I present a new and broader way of studying OSs. OSs have souls, thoughts, and the ability to make their opinions heard. They are not silent and thoughtless vessels waiting to be filled with knowledge. Many simply have not had many opportunities to speak or communicate with their own or with other institutions. OSs have been the subject of much literature and media attention. However, OSs' own accounts are missing.

In this research, OSs' voices are vital because the literature rarely discusses OSs as change agents who are able to contribute to constituting entrepreneurialism and its competing discourses. In Chapter Three, I suggest that the view of them as victims, problems, or beneficiaries, disregards the possibility of OSs as change agents. The idea of change agent is taken by OSs as defiance of the challenges they have to encounter in the UK. OSs sacrifice their family life, money and priorities, and undergo tremendous stress. After all, these students expect to learn to meet challenges, to be independent, to define and explore their interests, and eventually to achieve personal satisfaction.

The discourse of OSs as ambassadors is of significance in this research. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, the UK government seems to want to promote this discourse as part of the internationalisation of its HE agenda. In Chapter Six, I will explain that the term 'ambassador' was regarded as "a much nicer title than a customer" (HIO-Siddle, Greenford University; see Appendix 3 for the detailed coding system) and many of the UK HEIs have international student ambassadors who are "actively involved in assisting the International Marketing Team in a wide range of activities, representing the College both internally and externally" (Kings College London, International student ambassadors webpage). The ambassador allows whese OSs to complement their experiences in UK by as acting as both learners and customers and this diminish these contradictory identities.

Overview

In this section, I define the role of my reflexive account in constructing the knowledge about OS identities and the overall structure of this thesis.

Chapter Two: I provide an overview of my ontological and epistemological positions on the theoretical foundations of my research. Firstly, I discuss how ontological and epistemological positions influenced my theoretical perspectives.

Secondly, I review the theoretical foundations of this research including the theoretical perspectives of symbolic interactionists in general, identity theorists in particular, and some cultural studies scholars such as Grossberg (1996) and Hall (1990). Thirdly, I integrate and contextualise five features of these theoretical foundations: multifaceted selves; multiple identities; identity as the process of self-construction; the process of stimulus and responses; identity construction as a process involving being different and a sense of belonging, identity crisis, and negotiation; identities placed in hierarchical order in which one identity would be priortisied over others; and OSs as performers and as the audience, as recipients and as contributors of entrepreneurial discourse.

Chapter Three: I review the process of conducting my research. Firstly, I explicitly define my role (as author, as a researcher, and as an OS) in this research. Secondly, I suggest that, in the process of writing up my work, the authorial presence is essential because of the vital role that it plays in articulating the overall architecture constructed by my ontological and epistemological positions, theoretical perspectives, methodological approaches, data collection, and data analysis methods.

Chapter Four: The aim of this chapter is to discuss the role of the UK government in constructing and reconstructing the learner and customer identities of OSs by analysing inconsistent policies and regulations about OSs recruitment, visa, immigration, and educational diplomacy. I suggest that the UK government's policies or decisions could significantly affect OSs' identity construction considering that the UK government produces, imposes, and imbues the meanings and identities of OSs into UK HEIs. First, I want to argue that the UK government's OS policies are contradictory and inconsistent, reflecting different UK government units and departments competing to win discourses promoted by their individual departments and serving different political and/ or financial interests. Second, the UK government considers OSs as customers because of strong financial incentives. However, the UK government forms reciprocal but antagonistic relationships with OSs by marginalising them politically as the "other".

Chapter Five: This chapter considers the role of UK higher education institutions (HEIs) in relation to the identity construction of OSs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. First, I discuss how the political and economic forces exerted by the UK government influence UK HEIs in negotiating different and competing discourses. The second important element of this chapter is to examine how commercial-oriented inter-governmental organisations, such as the WTO, influence UK HEIs' participation in this construction. Third, it is imperative to examine how UK HEIs, the UK government, and other trade organisations, for instance the WTO, interrelate with one another as well as react and contribute to entrepreneurial discourse. Fourth, I want to argue that, when adapting entrepreneurial cultures, the UK HEIs promote the idea of quality as value for money, however at the same time undertaking pedagogical, quality, academic standard, and financial risks.

Chapter Six: My aim in this chapter is to discuss staff members' perceptions of OSs and their influence on OSs' identity formation in particular. I interviewed academic staff, heads of international offices, and senior staff in selected faculties or institutions. In the context of entrepreneurial discourse, university staff's contest and negotiate with the entrepreneurial approaches adapted by their institutions in order to tackle, primarily, with their financial deficits. I want to highlight that the majority of university staff negotiates between the realms of academia and the market. The dominant perception generated from my interviews was that there is interplay between the concepts of ambivalence and hybridity and the construction of OSs identities. More importantly, the way in which university staff contests and negotiates the notion of learner and customer have influenced OSs' identity construction.

Chapter Seven: In this chapter, I present the results of the interviews with OSs, which highlight OSs as change agents who are able to contribute to constituting entrepreneurialism and its competing discourses. OSs perform as change agents which necessitate long-term perspectives and plans in order to face future challenges and opportunities. OSs showed that they have learned to defy

challenges, to be independent, to pursue their self-defined interests, and eventually to achieve their personal satisfaction. First, I illustrate two diagrams of negotiation (3 and 4) that depict OSs' perspectives. Second, I examine the reasons for why some OSs prefer to highlight their learner identity while others their customer identity. Third, I discuss how negotiation of entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses (OSs as learners and OSs as customers) continuously serves as an important component in understanding OSs identity construction in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. I want to suggest that OSs are not only passively engaged in these negotiations and their resistances, but are also participants in and contributors to that process. OSs negotiate their learner and customer identities while participating in and contributing to constructing these discourses.

Chapter 8: First, I revisit the roles of the UK government, the UK HEIs, different groups of university staff and OSs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse and their influences on the way in which OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities. Second, I report the central argument of this research. Third, I indicate the limitations of this research and outline some possible future research directions. Fourth, I elaborate on my reflexive accounts of the process and key findings of my research. Finally, I share what I have learned from conducting this research.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Explorations of the Identities of Overseas Students

Introduction

The primary aim of this chapter is to identify my theoretical positions in order to explore OSs' identity construction at the age of entrepreneurialism. First, I discuss the pertinence of my social constructivist, ontological, epistemological, and ethical positions to this research. Second, I will review the theoretical perspectives of symbolic interactionists in general, identity theorists in particular, and some cultural studies scholars, such as Grossberg (1996) and Hall (1990), as all of which form the theoretical foundations of this research. Third, I examine and problematise the debates about the challenges and compatibility/incompatibility between the identities of OSs as learners and customers in an age of entrepreneurialism.

Ontological and Epistemological Positions

Influenced by Carson *et al.* (2001: 4), I interpret ontology as a theory of being and epistemology as the relationship between that being and myself. I began to generate the perception that my journey of research and writing about OS identities is that of self-understanding and self-construction (Lillis, 2001; Burke & Hermerschmidt, 2005). To conduct this research, I have been influenced by interpretivism. Thus, my interpretation about my understanding of OSs' identities could be very different from those of other researchers. Specifically, the interpretive approach 'accentuates' (Carson *et al.*, 2001: 5) my personal experiences, involvements, and the process of understanding and interpreting the context of my research. A wide range of epistemological perspectives lies under the umbrella of

interpretivism (op.cit., p. 6). My epistemological perspective is oriented to social constructivism, from which I consider knowledge about OSs' identities to be socially constructed, very likely by social actors in the context of this research, such as staff in UK universities (senior members of staff, e.g., pro-vice chancellors, academic staff, heads of international office) and OSs. However, I shall not forget the role that I play in the process of knowledge construction, which is an issue concerning self-reflexivity that I will examine in Chapter Three - Methodology.

Ethical Position and Considerations

As I will discuss in detail in Chapter Three, I am no more than a co-constructor of social knowledge concerning OSs, taking into account that the element of "intersubjectivity" comes into play during the process of my research (Finlay, 2002a: 211). In this section, rather than in my Methodology Chapter (Chapter Three), it is very important for me to consider and justify my ethical position (Baz, 2005) in relation to my methods of analyses.

Ethics, as May (2001) defines, "is concerned with the attempt to formulate codes and principles of moral behaviour" (p.59). There are some ethical considerations that I had to take into account when using interviews as the main method of collecting data. Fontana and Frey (1994:372) indicate that traditional ethical concerns have revolved around the matter of informed consent, right to privacy and protection from harm. That is to say, that every decision in the process of conducting empirical work must take ethical considerations seriously. In this study, two ethical considerations must be addressed: procedure for requiring access and confidentiality.

Procedure for Gaining Access

When thinking of gaining access to my case study institutions and my research participants, I had to make some ethical decisions, in particular the procedure of conducting two empirical studies. As ethical decision in research, as Barnes (1979)

defined, "arise when we try to decide between one course of action and another not in terms of expediency or efficiency but by reference to standards of what is morally right or wrong" (p16, cited in May, 2001: 59). Two kinds of accesses are discussed: access to the staff and access to OSs.

Access to the staff

In order to gain access to Whiteford University and Bluefield University for the exploratory study, emails were sent to key persons within these universities. These were followed by formal letters to Pro-Vice Chancellors, whose work was concerned with internationalisation or were in charge of the business schools at Greenford University and Redfield University.

In these letters, the following issues were addressed: a brief background about me; why their universities were chosen for this study and why were they chosen for this study; the request for permission to gain access to their universities and other relevant colleagues in the university; and a promise to give helpful feedback to the University. In the letter, the supervisor personally added some lines to indicate his personal support for this research and asked these Pro-Vice Chancellors to give their support to the researcher (see **Appendix 3**).

Some of these Pro-Vice Chancellors agreed to be interviewed and were willing to help gain access to the university, for instance, Deans of Business Schools, Heads of Departments and Heads of International Offices.

Access to OSs

After interviewing the staff, formal letters were written to the Deans of the Business Schools in order to take a sample from OSs in business schools. These letters consisted of asking permission to gain access to their schools, particularly to their OSs, and stated how many OSs were needed for this research suggesting possible ways that the researcher might approach their students (see Appendix 4).

Confidentiality

Confidentiality was an issue that was given much consideration when the data was collected, analysed, and presented.

Confidentiality and Data Collection

As mentioned above, in letters and emails to staff interviewees, the latter were informed as to what the study was about and why they were chosen to participate. When they were interviewed, they were briefly informed about the study and also advised that the conversation would be recorded for research purposes. Interviewees also were told that their names and the names of their institutions would not be identified in the thesis. They were advised that they could stop the recording at any time. The OSs were similarly advised.

Confidentiality and Data Analysis

Some interviewees gave considerable, significant information after the tape recorder had been switched off. As the interviewees had been promised, these conversations could not be quoted when the data was analysed. In these situations, the interviewees were contacted via emails or letters to ask if these conversations might be used.

Confidentiality and Data Presentation

I promised all interviewees that their identities would not be revealed. A coding system was designed and all the interview participants were given a unique code (see **Appendix 3**) that indicated the interviewee's position within their university. On the one hand, this system would allow reference to each individual interviewee without mentioning their names as they were guaranteed confidentiality. On the other hand, this would help the reader gain a better understanding of the characteristics of the universities, the position of the interviewee, and hence the perspective from which from the data was derived.

I also obtained some information and quotations from newspaper or published institutional documents, in which some names of people or institutions may be

revealed. I decided not to change these quotations because the information and quotations were obtained from public accessible sources.

Theoretical Perspectives

Departing from epistemological accounts oriented to social constructivism, I adapt two relevant and integrated theoretical perspectives to initiate my research and then to substantiate and conceptualise my research findings: the perspectives of interactionism—identity theory in particular—and cultural studies.

I also want to point out here the role of my reflexivity in the research, which I examine in detail in Chapter Three. Largely, my engagement with literature and my research is a reflection of research journey and is composed of my personal, epistemological, and methodological reflexivity.

Indeed, the choice of my theoretical perspectives and the way in which I utilise them in my research reflect my self-reflexivity. However, as I examine in Chapter Three, writing reflexively could lead to a problem of "self-indulgency" (DeVault, 1997: 225, cited in Finlay, 2002a: 226). However, I challenge myself to depart from my personal experiences and go beyond my social, political, and cultural introspective views that motivated me to conduct research on OS's identities (Finlay, 2002b: 537). Being epistemologically and methodologically self-conscious when engaging with these two theoretical perspectives is a starting point for the development of a general reflexive account that would help me to articulate and theorise OS identities (Griffiths, 1995; cited in May, 1998: 19-20).

The Interactionist Perspective

I adapt the interactionist perspective to examine how OSs construct their identities through their interactions with different research participants. Two underlying theoretical assumptions relevant to my research are, firstly, that OSs are reflexive in nature, entirely phenomenal, determined and shaped by various forces; and,

secondly, that OSs are constantly undergoing changes during their interaction with others, which changes suggest that OSs and, for instance, university staff, act in relation to one another, taking each other into consideration, acting, perceiving, interpreting, and acting again (Charon, 1979: 21-3).

Symbolic interactionism has been widely seen as a theoretical perspective with which to elucidate issues in relation to the identity construction, primarily within the areas of sociology and social psychology. The development of symbolic interactionism can be traced back to 1890 and William James, who believed that a human being possesses as many as selves as the number of groups of persons with which he or she interacts (Stryker & Burke, 2000).

Charles Horton Cooley proposed the influential metaphor of 'the looking-glass self' to argue that the self is the result of the individual's imaginative processes during interaction with others (Cooley, 1902: 152; cited in Solomon, 1983: 321). In the 1930s, Mead (1934) scrutinised the concept of symbolic interactionism in relation to self, mind and society, and generated a formula wherein "society shapes self" and, recurrently, "self shapes social behaviour' (Stryker & Burke, 2000:285). Mead's (1934) formula was extended to suggest that the individual assigns meaning to the self in the same way that he or she assigns meaning to other objects or people (Solomon, 1983: 321). The self, as Mead (ibid.) described it,

> has a character which is different from that of the physiological organism proper. The self is something which has a development; it is not initially there, at birth, but arises in the process of social experience and activity, that is, develops in the given individual as a result of his relations to that process as a whole and to other individuals within the process. (p. 135)

The hub of Mead's argument is that the self is a product of social interaction in which the individual develops herself or himself though the process of interacting with others. Individuals come to know who they are through their interactions with others as a result of taking the role of the other. Mead's idea of "self reflects society" implies that the self is multifaceted, made up of interdependent, independent, mutually reinforcing and conflicting parts (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003:340; also see Stryker & Burke, 2000: 285).

One of Mead's students, Herbert Blumer, became the most important disseminator of Mead's ideas when he compiled some of his own writing into a book entitled *Symbolic Interactionism* (1969), later recognised as the major illumination of the symbolic interactionist perspective (Sandstrom *et al*, 2001:217-8). Blumer played an influential role among a cohort of students he taught at the University of Chicago in the 1940s and 1950s. This cohort developed the symbolic interactionist perspective and became known as the Second Chicago School (ibid.).

Some of Blumer's students—for example, Howard Becker, Erving Goffman, Joseph Gusfield, Anselm Strauss and Ralph Turner—became distinguished scholars themselves. Goffman serves as an example of the extent to which these students were indirectly influenced by Mead (1934) and directly influenced by Blumer (1959). Goffman's works were imbedded with the essential theoretical assumption of social interactionism, particularly the interaction between self and others.

One of Goffman's more profound viewpoints (1959) was that there is no deeply held innate self, but only a set of marks and situated performances. Goffman suggested that everyday interactions could be better understood as a performance and individuals as all actors on a stage (Sandstrom *et al*, 2001: 220). Goffman saw the self not as a possession of the individual, but as a product of her or his interactions with others, which perspective aligned with Mead's theoretical assumption that, when one interacts, s/he tends to present a certain sense of self that will be accepted by the other (Ritzer & Goodman, 2003: 358).

Like some other social theories, symbolic interactionism has limitations when it comes to generalising and predicting plausible phenomena and human behaviours, partly because of the unpredictability of the changing world, environments and human interactions. Sandstrom et al. (2001: 219) pointed out that interactionists engage in many significant lines of research, covering six major areas of sociological concerns: self and identity theory, emotions, social coordination, social constructionism, culture and art, and macro-analysis (ibid.). In the 1960s, Sheldon

Stryker led a group of scholars who departed from Mead's key concept of 'self' and 'society', and asserted the view that:

> society is seen as a mosaic of relatively durable patterned interactions and relationships, differentiated yet organized, embedded in an array of groups, organizations, communities, and institutions, and intersected by crosscutting boundaries of class, ethnicity, age, gender, religion, and other variables (Stryker & Burke, 2000: 285).

Stryker and his group criticised the concept of symbolic interactionism for its minimisation of the facts of contemporary social structure and its impact on the marco-organisational feature of society on behaviour (Stryker, 1980:146, also see Ritzer & Goodman, 2003: 366). As a result, the group of scholars that Stryker led was designated as structural symbolic interactionists (Stryker 1980), whose goal was to understand and explain how social structures affect self and, subsequently, how self affects social behaviours (e.g., Stryker, 1980; Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Callero, 1985, 1994; Stryker & Burke, 2000).

The works produced by the group of structural symbolic interactionists have often appeared under the label of identity theory. Identity theorists recognise that 'the complexity of society is reflected in the complexity of the self'. Thus, there are many identity theorists who have endeavoured to capture the complex, multifaceted identity by merging sociological and psychological approaches (Burke, 2003: 6). In short, the research dimension of identity theory, in general, is that of a bridge between external social structure and the structure of self (Stryker & Burke, 2000). In a subsequent discussion, I will explain in what way I contextualise how some ideas of identity theory are adapted to serve as a bridge between external social structures and the structure of self of OSs.

Adapting the interactionists' perspective means highlighting that OSs' identities are constructed through their interactions with different social actors in the context of the marketisation of HE and that there is a hierarchical ordering of OSs' identities, depending on the social situation (Owens and Serpe, 2003: 88). In later sections, I will elaborate how I integrate and contextualise these two theoretical standpoints.

Cultural Studies Perspective

The interactionists' theoretical perspectives are deeply rooted within the areas of sociology and social psychology. If it adopted their perspectives exclusively, my discussion concerning the OSs' identity might be, to some extent, confined to the micro and agent level. Furthermore, I may find it difficult to connect theoretically and conceptually with other elements that affect the construction of OSs' identity, dialogues and communication with others. At a surface level, internactionalism and cultural studies might be two different theoretical perspectives. Denzin (1992, cited in Ritzer & Goodman, 2003: 370) looked for a linkage between these two perspectives by pressing his emphasis on the concept of communication. As Denzin (ibid.) observed,

> In seeking to reorient symbolic interactionists towards a cultural studies perspective, I chose, then, to focus on this missing, undertheorized term in their perspective. There is a paradox here, of course, for communication is interaction and, for interaction to unfold, interactants must communicate (p370).

Both the concepts of interaction and communication are essential to this research. Another concept which can be extracted from these two is interrelationship. The relation among these three concepts-commutation, interrelationship, and identity has been a vital theoretic theme of cultural studies perspective. This is why I find it useful to take the cultural studies perspective to look at the way that identity constructions of OSs are influenced by the interrelationships between different groups of university staff and OSs, and by the internal and external environments of UK HEIs. Aligned within Raymond Williams's standpoint, in *The Long Revolution,* Hall (1980) defined the theory of culture in Cultural Studies as:

> the study of relationships between elements in a whole way of life......It is threaded through all social practices, and is the sum of their inter-relationship. The question of what, then, is studied, and how, resolves itself. The culture is those patterns of organisation......The analysis of culture is then the attempt to discover the nature of the organisation which is the complex of these relationship ..... (p. 60)

In line with the approach outlined by Hall and with those scholars whose theoretical perspectives align with the cultural studies perspectives, such as Weeks (1990) and Grossberg (1996), this research explores a representation and illustration of social practice. This exploration is not limited to OSs' interactions in general, or to

communication, in specific, with other social actors such as university staff. Instead, it goes beyond human interaction and communication, extending to interaction and communication within the context of entrepreneurial discourse, where OSs are located in the context of entrepreneurial discourse in general and within the process of constructing entrepreneurial discourse in particular.

Moreover, one significant reason that cultural studies influences the way I conduct my research is that identity is a process, not a product, and is always incomplete and linked with the idea of openness and fluidity (e.g., Grossberg, 1996: 89; Hall, 1990). Thus, in the process of negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses, OSs have to contest and negotiate their learner and customer identities.

Contextualisation

Driven by my social-constructivism-oriented epistemological position, in this section, I want to illustrate how I integrate the perspectives of interactionists and cultural studies and contextualise them as my primary, although not exclusive, theoretical foundations in order to examine OSs' identity construction in the context of entrepreneurial discourse.

In this section, I want to concentrate on some essential elements of the continuous negotiations of OSs' identity construction. What features of OSs identities make all these continuous progressions possible? In my view, those features are: multi-faceted selves (multiple identities), -identity as the process of self-construction (the process of stimulus and responses), identity construction as a process, identities placed in hierarchical order, and identities as both performers and audience (recipients and contributors).

The First Feature: Multifaceted Selves; Multiple Identities

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, there were some concerns about whether education had become a commodity and whether the creation of the customer relationship would put education in jeopardy (Grace, 1989: 215; Jonathan, 1990: 131). These concerns underlined a dichotomy between the academic and customer relationships or between students as learners and as customers. However, in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, this distinction seems to have faded and blurred. Furthermore, the plausibility of students both as learners and as customers has, indeed, become increasingly transparent, implying that students could have multiple identities tied up with different social relationships with others.

Williams James (1890, cited in Stryker &Burke, 2000) is one of these first symbolic interaction scholars looking at the concepts of multifaceted selves and multiple identities. William James regarded as one of architects of symbolic interactionism, emphasized the social nature of the self in his research and partitioned the self into four constituents: the Material Self, the Social Self, the Spiritual Self, and Pure Ego. James believed that each of us has as many selves as the number of groups of persons with which we interact (Solomon, 1983:321; Stryker & Burke, 2000:286).

I need to distinguish between the use of 'self' and 'identity', as the use of 'identity' might be more correct than 'self' in my research. An identity is a set of meanings applied to the self in a social role or situation, which meanings define what it means to be who one is in that role or situation (Cast, 2003: 43). Hence, identities are parts of a self that are composed of the meanings that individuals attach to the multiple roles that they play in different social networks (Stryker &Burke, 2000: 284).

In line with William James' (1890, cited in Stryker &Burke, 2000) view of multifaceted selves, which may stir up whole debate about this dichotomy between the academic and customer relationships, I would consider that OSs have multiple identities. Yet, focusing my discussion on how OSs' identities are constructed

through the constitutions of interrelated and competing discourses, including entrepreneurialism, I will specifically look at how OSs can negotiate and contest their learner and customer identities.

The Second Feature: Identity as the Process of Self-Construction; the Process of Stimulus and Responses

From the perspective of the symbolic interactionist, human beings have the *capacity for thought*. Additionally, in line with the theoretical perspective of symbolic interactionism, OSs are reflective units that make up the societal entity and should not be confined within a static structure (Meltzer, 1972: 42). In additional, OSs' capacity for thought are shaped and refined during the process of their interactions with other social actors, such as university staff. OSs' minds are not a physical structure, but a continuing process that consists of the larger process of stimulus and responses. OSs act reflectively, rather than just behaving unreflectively.

This process of interaction between OSs and university staff intertwines with stimulus and responses and is dynamic. When OSs interact with a member of university, they simultaneously intend to evaluate what impact of their action makes on what the university staff may perceive about them. During this process, OSs symbolically communicate meaning about their identities with university staff, and staff interpret these symbols and choose a responding action on the basis of their interpretation. Both university staff and OSs engage in a process of mutual influence (Blumer, 1969: 68).

Each identity is internalised as role expectations. These role expectations attach to positions occupied in networks of relationships (Stryker &Burke, 2000: 286). Many OSs may highlight persistently their learner identity when they study in the UK, since UK HEIs are a place where they can spend a year or more acquiring knowledge and enjoying their student lives. The UK university is interpreted by many OSs as a window into a better picture of the western world. OSs might not give a second thought to the possibility that they are not learners; business terms

such as customers, clients and consumers, have not yet registered in their minds. OSs are persistently learners and have always wanted to be learners.

Before the adaption of the entrepreneurial culture into HEIs, the academic (teaching-learning) relationship was one in which senior, academic and possibly administrative staff were likely to label students into one of the following categories: UK nationals, EU students, or non-EU (overseas) students. Without emphasising or over-promotion of the customer relationship, OSs were learners, and this identity was "assumed to be relatively stable over time as a consequence of the stability of social relationships" (Serpe, 1987: 44).

From the interactionists' perspective, students and lecturers are counterparts in the academic relationship. OSs, for instance, have to be able to interpret and assign meaning to the acts of the lecturers in such a way that the OSs can act appropriately (Hewitt, 1984:69). The identity of OSs and that of a lecturer may be separate, but they are related since behaviours of OSs are assessed in terms of academic responsibility (Burke & Reitzes, 1991:5-6).

A lecturer knows how s/he is expected to act (Baker & Faulkner, 1991, cited in Callero, 1994: 229). According to Stets and Burkey (2000), "meanings and expectations are tied to each of these roles, regarding performance and the relationships between these roles" (p228). For instance, as a doctoral student at my institution, I establish a stable supervisory relationship with my supervisor and receive full support from her. I believe that my supervisor and I both understand what we can expect from each other and that we will both make efforts to meet the expectations of the other. In this respect, I maintain my learner identity when I interact with my supervisor, but at some stage, the meaning of learner identity could be reinterpreted by me as an OS, during the time when I interact with my supervisor.

Furthermore, from Goffman's (1963:18) perspective, in an organization like my institution, many social occasions take place, providing the structuring social context in which a pattern of conduct tends to be regarded as appropriate. I have

been a participant in some social occasions and am learning to fit myself into what is appropriate. Many of these social occasions are academically oriented, and in these I do not find it difficult to act as expected, yet there are some social occasions that are not academically oriented, such as open day, paying my tuition fees to the financial department, and so on.

As mentioned in Chapter One, prior to my PhD study, I used to consider myself 'just' a learner engaged in a stimulating pedagogical relationship with many academic staff in my institution. However, the letter that I received from my institution was an example of over-vigilant bureaucracy. All invoices and receipts that my institution forwarded back to me showed that I was regarded as a customer. I unexpectedly encountered a form of identity conflict concerning whether I am a learner or a customer to my institution, which became problematic for someone like me who is intuitively committed to academic engagement with academic staff. I was also compelled to resist and negotiate my learner and customer identities when interacting with different university staff.

The recent trend toward UK HEIs' implementing customer care management and policy has reshaped the process of OSs identity construction and the ways they interact with university staff. My institution is one among many others introduced customer care policy to manage student experience. Apart from the letter that I mentioned in Chapter one, there are other policy-related documents (e.g., international strategies), for instance, the new customer care policy that introduces a new idea for the relationship between institutions and students:

> High standards of customer care should be required of all staff who deal with prospective, registered and former international students.
> Customer care: taking care to understand our customers' experience of the service we offer and aiming to satisfy completely their expectations. Our customers can include students, staff and all those we come into contact with.
> Customers: the Institute defines its customers in the broadest possible terms to include students, staff, visitors, conference clients and all those with whom we come into contact, embodying within this the concept of internal and external customers.
> The purpose of the customer care policy is to promote a truly customer-driven environment, where the principle of customer care informs institutional policy and practice in all areas of its work. This policy embodies

the concept of customer care to the Institute's customers. (Customer Care Policy, Institute of Education, University of London, 15 July 2007)

These customer care policies present guidelines on customer care and reset how staff and OSs act in pursuit of a high standard of customer care. These custom policy statements seem to imply that OSs are customers who are 'managed' by the customer care policy. For OSs who are regarded as interpreters and architects of their self-construction, the international strategy and policy concerning customer care may be meaningless until OSs pay attention to them, define them and act based on their interpretations of them (Flint, 2006:351-2).

The meaning of customer care is anchored within the way staff and OS interact with one another. To engage in interaction within the guidelines of the customer care policy, university staff would have to assign meanings of 'customer care' to OSs, and vice versa (Hewitt, 1984: 67-8). Once the interaction proceeds, the meaning of customer care may be changed depending on both OSs' and university staff's interpretations, at which time OSs and university staff would act in terms of their re-interpretations.

I wonder whether this policy also implies that the institute would treat my supervisors as customers and whether my supervisors ought to treat me as a customer. I am confident that my supervisor and I are both engaged in an intellectual, pedagogically driven relationship and I intend to maintain the learner identity when I interact with my supervisor. In line with Goffman (1963: 19), these occasions are commonly programmed in advance and possess an agenda of activity and allocation of management functions. As a participant in some of these occasions, I find that I am obliged to consider myself as a customer by the circumstances in which the institution intends to "promote a truly customer-driven environment, where the principle of customer care informs institutional policy and practice in all areas of its work" (p19).

The Third Feature: the Identity Construction as a Process

OSs' identity as a process may involve the following progression: being different and a sense of belonging, identity crisis, and negotiation.

Being Different and a Sense of Belonging

From the perspective of cultural studies, Weeks (1990) argued,

> "identity is about belonging, about what you have in common with some people and what differentiates you from others. At its most basic it gives you a sense of personal location, the stable core to your individuality" (p 88).

Weeks (ibid.) elaborated two concepts from the concept of identity: 'belonging' and 'difference'. OSs seem to reflect upon these two concepts when they encounter groups of people in different social occasions. For instance, when I am sitting in a multicultural classroom with many other students from all over the world, I inevitably ask myself questions such as 'who am I?' and 'who am I not?'. I seem to want to apply the idea of dichotomy to differentiate myself from others or to place myself in one group but not in another.

There could appear to be a great many differences between myself and my colleagues in the classrooms, which underlying differences could be identified as distinctive categories of identities and which could be made on the basis of highly arbitrary dichotomies: Asian or European; Taiwanese or British; man or woman; blonde or brunette, English-speaking or Mandarin-speaking. In the process of differentiating myself from other students, at the same time, I may look for my personal location; I am aware that I am not a European, not an UK resident, not a man, not blonde and not primarily English-speaking. What I am is Asian, from Taiwan, brunette and primarily Mandarin-speaking. I feel emotionally better when I look for identities of my own, when I know about where and what I belong to, for the fact that being different from the majority in the UK classroom can make one feel alone and insecure.

However, a feeling of being different is not only the result of categorising races, nationalities, cultures, gender and so on. Apart from the fact that I am identified as

a 'foreigner' here in the UK, the feeling is noticeable when I compare the teaching and learning styles and cultures of my native education system with that of the UK.

When I compare these two different teaching and learning styles and cultures of my native education system with that of the UK, there are interrelated issues emerged. For instance, there is the first name culture in the UK. OSs in the UK are encouraged to call their tutors by their first names, whereas at home surnames together with the title would be used and expected. In some cases, it is extremely difficult for OSs to undertake the UK approach, particularly among those OSs who are very accustomed to a hierarchical learner-teacher relationship.

Furthermore, the learning styles and capacities of OSs from some countries, like China, Taiwan, Japan and South Korea, are directed by their lecturers, since students learn 'knowledge' from teachers. On the other hand, in the UK, students are given relatively more freedom in learning, thinking, writing and talking. Lecturers seem to prefer the ways in which students learn independently, rather than imbuing them with force-fed knowledge.

There is also a difference between the two educational systems concerning group discussions. European students are more likely than OSs to ask questions or indicated their personal viewpoints. This difference is due in part to the fact that European students seem to be more familiar with the learning environment, relatively more comfortable and confident to speak out and to make their points of view clear than their OS counterparts, However, OSs may not have been encouraged to speak out, partly because lecturers in their countries prepare what they have to learn. When OSs first arrive in the UK, it takes time for them to become familiar with their new learning environment.

In addition, few OSs speak English as their first language and are often too shy about their language skills to initiate communications, resulting less contribution to their group discussion and teamwork. Often, OSs are excluded from some groups formed by the majority EU students because of these communication gaps. To feel more comfortable, some OSs prefer to form and join groups made up of those who

are from the same regions, continents, or language systems. Academic staff may be enthusiastic about 'internationalising' groups so each group consists of a wide range of nationalities, but they may fail in the attempt since these collaborations between EU and OS could be very difficult to facilitate.

Perhaps, being different and having a sense of belonging reflect two distinct mentalities of OSs: a feeling of insecurity and a feeling of security. The journey of identity construction is that of going from feeling different to finding a fulfilling a sense of belonging—a journey of feeling insecure to feeling secure.

Identity Crisis

In understanding changes in the identity construction of OSs, I align with Mercer (1990), who said, "crisis [is] when something assumed to be fixed, coherent and stable is displaced by the experience of doubt and uncertainty" (p 43). Some OSs might have experienced so-called identity crises and felt their minds were unsettled. Giddens (1991) elaborated on why these crises could be disquieting: "It fuels a general climate of uncertainty which an individual finds disturbing no matter how far he seeks to put the back to his mind [and] it inevitably exposes everyone to a diversity of crisis situations of greater or lesser importance, crisis situation which may sometimes threaten the very core of self-identity" (op.cit., p. 184-5).

As an OS, I am aware of being in a state of ambivalence, particularly concerning wanting to be a 'learner' or a 'customer' of my institution, which can be disturbing. This awareness of being in the state of ambivalence often challenges my core value of 'I am a learner and am supposed to respect my teachers', which was what I was taught the first day of my primary school in Taiwan. However, if my teacher is an educational service provider and our relationship is reduced to the exchange between money and educational product, I wonder if I could continue to learn from her or him.

Additionally, my learning motivation is influenced by my teachers' perceptions about me and by my respect for them, which cannot be quantified or purchased.

However, the customer care policy of my institution has challenged as too conservative what I used to believe. However, as will be explored in later chapters, these customer care policies have been implemented across UK HEIs as innovative mechanisms for enhancing the quality of teaching and learning and as defensive responses to charges of 'detraditionalisation' (Callero, 2003: 64).

Negotiation

Identity is often in a state of fluidity. In Grossberg's (1996) view, identities "are always relational and incomplete, in process" (p: 89). Similarly, Hall (1990) stated that identity 'is a matter of "becoming" as well as "being" (p 225), something that belongs to the future as much as to the past; identity is not something that already exists. In contrast to the orthodox point of view, which assumes that the self is stable and independent of external influences (Edgar and Sedgwick, 1999: 184-5), both Grossberg (1996) and Hall (1990) took the same theoretical stance, emphasising that one's identity can never be in the same form. In other words, the process of identity formation is that of negotiation among differences that are constantly vacillating.

In looking for where a person belongs to modify her or his self-construction, there are two *negotiating points*. The *first* point is to negotiate the learning styles and cultures—the ones with which OSs are familiar and that of the UK. This negotiating point highlights a transition which may play the role of one of these elements in OSs' identity construction. OSs could change their perceptions of being a learner by recognising that being a learner in their home countries and in the UK could mean different things.

The second negotiating point is that, although the choice for OSs to be customers could be optional, it may not be what they learned before they came to the UK. The element of taking a position as a 'student customer' could be innovative to both OSs and UK HEIs, partly because the broad environment of HE has changed, and OSs have to encounter and witness an era in which HEIs in general are in transition between being for-profit and being not-for-profit.

The Fourth Feature: Identities Placed in Hierarchical Order

The self of an OS consists of many different identities, although my focus is on their learner and customer identities. Some identity theorists, such as Owens and Serpe (2003: 87), have seen the self as being composed of a hierarchical ordering of identities. Each identity is differentiated according to its relative importance and the individual's commitment to the relationships of her or his roles.

Taking learner and customer identities as an example, these two identities could co-exist or be organised into an 'identity salience hierarchy' (Serpe, 1987: 45). During their interactions with university staff, although "constrained" (Owens & Serpe, 2003: 87) by the discourse of entrepreneurialism, OSs still have choices about whether to use their learner or customer identities as their salient identities. In other words, OSs decide between the learner and the customer identity based on which is 'relatively important' (Serpe, 1987: 44) than the other when they interact with university staff.

The Fifth Feature: OSs as both Performers and Audience; Recipients as much as Contributors

Goffman is well known for his dramaturgical approach to his analytical accounts of human interactions. Goffman's (1959) thesis, *The Presentation of Self in Everyday Life*, took Mead's thought further to demonstrate that:

> Interaction may be roughly defined as the reciprocal influence of individuals upon one another's actions when in one another's immediate physical presence. An interaction may be defined as all the interactions which occur throughout any one occasion when a given set of individuals are in one another's continuous presence. (p 26)

Others are effective entities within the interaction order. The actor takes the influencing of others as his or her defining characteristic, and there is a reciprocal influence between the individual and the other. However, in relation to the self and the identity, Goffman emphasises the forms of the interaction order rather than self-other relationships (Smith, 2006: 389).

In line with Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach, in examining OSs' customer identity, I (as an OS) am guided by the customer care policy to perform as a customer. I have a capacity to learn, but I am not born to be a customer of UK HEIs. I either learn to be or am trained to perform as a customer (op.cit, p 244-5).

Furthermore, Goffman (1959) regarded the self not as a possession of the actor but as the product of the actor and the audience (Goffman, 1959; Ritzer & Goodman, 2003:358), so there is a dialogical relationship between the performer and the audience. As a performer who performs as a customer of my institution, I have had to learn about my performance, and it would be necessary for me in my performing capacity to conceal from myself my audience capacity (Goffman, 1959, 86). I can be fully taken in by my own act and can convince others that I am a customer (op.cit., p.28).

UK HEIs are to take a position as my co-performers 'whose dramaturgical cooperation one is dependent upon in fostering a given definition of the situation' (op.cit., p. 86). The position that my institution may take is that of educational service provider whose responsibility is to provide, monitor and evaluate the provision of customer services. However, UK HEIs could also play the role of director of the play who has the duty of assigning who performs what (op.cit., p. 102-3). Students are assigned to perform as customers, whilst HEIs, which perform as educational service providers and staff across different schools and units, have their own responsibilities in relation to customer care. The service offered to student customers and the policy of customer service have been formulated by HEIs.

Researching OSs' Identity Construction

OSs' learner and customer identities can certainly co-exist in the context of entrepreneurial discourse; OSs' identity as customer is significantly illuminated by

the UK government and UK HEIs, which I will discuss in detail in Chapters Four and Five. Discussions on the importance of maintaining OSs' learner identity seems to have been overshadowed by the concerning differences between, similarities of and possibly the amalgamation of learner and customer identities, and also between the right of student and that of customer. These debates and discussions have shown that entrepreneurialism and marketisation of HE have had significant impacts on OSs' identity construction, which may explain why OSs may find it difficult to negotiate their learner and customer identities.

These debates have also illuminated two intellectual and practical challenges. The first challenge is that, from the interactionists' perspective, the meaning of high standards of customer care is interpreted and reinterpreted by university staff and OSs, who act based on their interpretation. Such action could be very problematic because misinterpretation can possibly occur. For example, there could be a lack of consensus on what actions individuals are expected to take within the meaning of a high standard of customer care (Solomon, 1983: 321).

In practice, staff would need to ensure that their interpretations in relation to the meaning of a high standard of customer care are largely consistent with OSs' interpretations. As another example, apart from the meaning, their expectations and commitment in relation to learner-teacher relationships may vary and be complicated as a result of the diverse nature of the cultural demographics of OSs (Hanassab & Tidwell, 2002: 15); both university staff and OSs may find themselves negotiating and contest to what extent business metaphors and concepts are in/compatible in the context of HE (Scott, 1999; Sharrock, 2000).

The second challenge is that there is a trend for HEIs to adopt a number of marketing concepts and business slogans to 'manage' their relationships with students. This trend leads to a number of consequences and concerns. Eagle and Brennan's (2007:45) research exemplified three concerns:

> (1) the introduction of the "customer" concept into HE degrades educational standards and damages academic relationships;
> (2) the adoption of the terminology, systems and processes of the "student-as-

customer" may leads either to a degradation of or an improvement in the quality of education and the level of service delivered to HE students;

(3) the careful adoption of the term "customers" to refer to students could retain positive aspects, such as promoting the legitimate interests of students in the HE system, while avoiding such potentially negative aspects as the problematic idea that "the customer is always right".

Eagle and Brennan's concerns emerged from their critical literature review of arguments against the concept of student as customer. One of the arguments that is immediately relevant to my research is that the legitimacy of the concept of student-as-customer may be accompanied by reduced academic standards and grade inflation (Eagle & Brennan, 2007: 51). To respond to and support this argument, O'Reilly and Robertson reported that:

> AN INTERNATIONAL school claims OSs are being given preferential treatment by British universities over British-born applicants with higher A-level grades.... By contrast, British-born students who were predicted A grades had received rejections from most of the British universities to which they applied......A spokeswoman for Universities UK, which the represents HEIs, rejected the idea that universities are increasingly prepared to take on foreign students with lower qualifications because of the money. "Universities are not in the business of letting anyone in because of the money," she said.
> (*The Sunday Times*, 30 May, 2004)

In a follow-up article, Walsh and Goswami in *The Sunday Times* reported that:

> [it had] approached 28 of Britain's top universities and found that more than a quarter offered more encouragement to the prospective student from overseas. While British and European Union students, who are treated the same, are facing top-up fees and tougher competition for places, the cash-strapped universities are competing for income from foreign students, expected to reach £13 billion by 2020.......
> (*The Sunday Times*, 11July, 2004)

Aligned with Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical approach, the report of O'Reilly and Robertson, and that of Walsh and Goswami both published in *The Sunday Times,* and Eagle and Brennan's (2007) research all suggested that UK HEIs may not necessary force OSs to be customers, but that they may make OSs perform as customers while the UK HEIs perform as educational services providers to OSs as a co/directors of the play about the marketisation of HE. The UK government can arguably be regarded as a director of this play as well, as I will discuss in Chapter Four.

According to Goffman's (1959, 102-3) dramaturgical approach, a director has two special duties: to allocate who performs in each part and to bring back into line any member of the team whose performance becomes inappropriate. In line with Goffman's view and in response to the reports of *The Sunday Times* cited above and Eagle and Brennan's (2007) arguments, I argue that some UK universities may not identify these qualified students as customers and that some UK universities have behaved inappropriately by degrading the quality control of the sector as a whole and, in so doing, have created two delusions: that the rights of students could be equivalent to those of customers or should at least overlap them (Eagle & Brennan, 2007; Scott, 1999; Sharrock, 2000) and that the customer is always right, and prioritising the rights of individual consumers in education is necessary (Jonathan, 1997: 118, Rolfe, 2002; Eagle & Brennan, 2007). These two delusions seem to have become attributes of the image of OSs as beneficiaries who enjoy and exploit their rights as customers, and as problems who tarnish the higher quality of UK HE.

Conclusion

This chapter draws out and integrates as my theoretical foundations symbolic interactionism in general and identity theory in particular, as well as some cultural studies scholars' theoretical perspectives. Five features of these theoretical foundations are identified and contextualised in this research: (1) multifaceted selves; multiple identities; (2) identity as the process of self-construction; the process of stimulus and responses; (3) identity construction as a process involving the being different and a sense of belonging, identity crisis, and negotiation; (4) identities placed in hierarchical order; and (5) OSs as both performers and as the audience, as recipients and as contributors of entrepreneurial discourses.

OSs have multifaceted selves and multiple identities. This research focuses on OSs' identity construction in general and on their negotiations and contestations between their learner and customer identities. OSs must negotiate these two

identities because some UK universities may have created two delusions: that the rights of students should be equivalent to that of customers and that the customer is always right, so prioritising rights of individual consumers in education is necessary in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. I argue that these two delusions have created the image of OSs as beneficiaries who enjoy and exploit their right as customers, and as problems that tarnish the higher quality of UK HE.

Chapter Three

Methodology: Approaching the Study

Introduction

My PhD research was initiated from my own difficult experience of locating myself and negotiating my identities between academic and customer relationships. I am aware that I am not alone, especially after having engaged in many informative conversations with my overseas students (OSs) fellows. Thus, this research is not only about my experiences, but also my OSs fellows in the context of entrepreneurial discourse.

I understand that theoretical fundamentals, methodologies and data analysis are not disconnected entities when conducting research at the PhD level. Thus, the role I play as author is to conduct and report this vital research, paying particular attention to my ontological and epistemological positions, theoretical perspectives, methodological approaches, data collection and analysis methods, and in the process of writing up my work.

My ontological and epistemological positions and theoretical perspectives were examined in Chapter Two. In this chapter, I will concentrate on methodological approaches, data collection and data analysis methods, and in the process of writing up my work. Furthermore, I will also examine how my role as author plays on the development of the overall architecture of my PhD thesis. I will also outline the characteristics of the participants in my research, and propose that OSs are their own change agents. In this sense, OSs come to study in the UK to explore their self-defined interests and to find personal satisfaction. The idea of OSs as change agents is not only a personal, epistemological, and methodological reflexivity generated from my research so far, but one that HEIs can use to devictimise OSs, and thus to enrich their experiences.

Prior to Moving on

My methodological approach was directed by my constructivist-oriented ontological and epistemological positions, and this shaped my choice and use of particular methods to gather and analyse the data related to my research inquiry (Crotty, 1998, 3; Grix, 2002: 179). Although my ontological, epistemological positions, and theoretical perspectives were examined in Chapter Two, I briefly cite some of those key points below.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, my ontological and epistemological positions are social constructivism oriented, from which I extracted three key epistemological and methodological features:

- knowledge about OSs is socially constructed;
- this knowledge is very likely to be constructed by social actors who are staff at UK universities (Senior member of staff, e.g. pro-vice chancellors, academic staff, heads of international office) and OSs in my research;
- the idea of reflexivity is imperative in my research.

I shall never overlook and underestimate what impacts my position both as an OS myself and a novice researcher have made in the construction of this knowledge. In other words, my authorial self is not only vital for conducting this research, but also the ways in which self-revealing and self-confrontation take place in my presentation.

Furthermore, as also examined in Chapter Two, I take the theoretical perspectives of interactionism and cultural studies to examine issues concerning OSs' identities. The fundamental theoretical points that I take to conduct my empirical research are: firstly, OSs' identities are always relational and constantly in process as a result of their interactions with other significant social actors. The interactions of this kind imply that OSs and others act in relation to one another, take each other into consideration, and continually repeat the cyclical process of acting, perceiving, interpreting, and acting again (Charon, 1979; Hall, 1990; Goffman, 1959;

Grossberg, 1996; Stryker &Burke, 2000: 285). In other words, OSs would negotiate their identities through interactions with others.

Secondly, to understand how OSs negotiate their learner and customer identities through interactions with others in line with, for instance, Callero's (1985) and Owens and Serpe's (2003) arguments that the self of OSs can be interpreted as a structure of identities. When encountering different people in different social interactions, there would be a hierarchical ordering of these identities.

Methodological Approach

My methodological approach was directed by my constructivist-oriented ontological and epistemological positions, and this shaped my choice and use of particular methods to gather and analyse the data related to my research inquiry (Crotty, 1998, 3; Grix, 2002: 179). In terms of gathering data, I drew on the following techniques: case study; participant observation; interviews; documentation (e.g. newspaper articles, the prospectuses of case study universities, and application forms), and focus groups.

Case Study
The chief research strategy employed was a case study approach that attempted to conduct an in-depth investigation of the phenomena of OSs in the UK HE system. Yin (2003: 13-4) characterised the case study strategy as an empirical inquiry that enables a researcher to "investigate a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident".

In this section, two headings - the exploratory study and the main study - will elaborate on not only the chronology of the empirical work, but also the chronology of the research as a whole.

The Exploratory Study

In approaching this study, this investigation included two separate studies - an exploratory study and a main study. Each study consists of two case studies of HEIs. Both studies include one pre-'92 University and one post-'92 University. Questions arise here as to the purposes of doing an exploratory study and a main study. In this study, an exploratory study was designed to serve an "exploratory" purpose (Yin, 1993), whereas the main study served an "instrumental" purpose, namely that two particular cases were examined to provide information or insight on issues or the refinement of theory (Stake, 1994: 237).

The exploratory study was conducted in two universities: Whiteford University (a pre-'92 University) and Bluefield University (a post-'92 University) (See Table 2). The initial focus of this exploratory study was on the customer relationship between the UK HEIs and OSs in general, and on how UK HEIs use marketing strategies and customer care approach to establish the customer relationship with OSs.

Recent published literature and public debates are both concerned with the customer relationship. In addition, the strategic plans of two case study universities are likely to convey a message that building up international collaborations is building up customer relationships. This gives the overwhelming impression that the customer relationship is the dominant relationship on campus.

Carrying out the exploratory investigation required individual interviews with key staff in the case study universities and focus group interviews with OSs (see Table 2). The main findings of the exploratory study are shown below:

Table 2: Interview Schedule (Exploratory Study) (Please see **Appendix 3,** for detailed information, e.g. coding system for interviewees and interview questions)

	Whiteford University (Pre-'92 University) MSc in International Management	Bluefield University (Post-'92 University) M.A. International Business
Senior members of staff	1	1
Teaching Staff	2	2
Head of International Office	1	1
OS: English as their first/ official Language	Focus group 1	Focus group 1
OS	Focus group 2	

N.B:
(1) the reason why I focused on the business and administrative studies rather than on other subjects of study will be explained in Page 86
(2) the reason why I chose these two institutions was based on data from Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) on-line Information Service- Students data tables (from 1998-2004). These tables suggested that in comparison with other UK HEIs, Whiteford University and Bluefield University had relatively more OSs registered in their institutions.

When designing how the exploratory study was going to investigate and be conducted, the "teaching-learning relationship" was not prioritised as the primary focus of this research, but the customer relationship was. This was because the majority of literature on OS within the context of HE marketisation have highlighted the new identity of OSs as customers/consumers and marketing strategies for OS recruitment in particular (Gibbs, 2001; Knight, 2001; Mazzarol & Soutar, 2001; MORI, 2003; 2006; Naude & Ivy, 1999).

However, many university staff interviewees discussed with me that they prefer to highlight teaching-learning, although they were aware that their institutions were adapting marketing strategies to recruitment in which OSs are considered as customers. This is to say, academic staff in the universities tended to prioritise their teaching-learning relationship with OSs, but not the customer relationship. Some staff resist the concept of entrepreneurialism, and refused to consider OSs as customers.

The idea of marketatisation of HE would simplify the relationship between UK HEIs and OSs is based on the demand and the supply of the educational programmes,

considering OSs as customers. My interviews with OS research participants showed that they tended to think that their interactions with their institutions were narrowly interpreted only as customer, or the demand and the supply relationship. Moreover, many OSs refused to see themselves as customers of their institutions, despite their awareness of which their institutions have showed a sign of becoming an entrepreneurial university and capitalised on OS market.

Furthermore, my interviews suggested that both with university staff and OSs responded reflexively the roles that they play in relation to some significant discourses such as entrepreneurial discourse, OSs as customers, pedagogical interactions with OSs. OS interviewees appeared to have conflicts in their identity construction, particularly between their learner and customer identities when it comes to having to perform differently in response to their interactions with their institutions.

I also found that the concept of entrepreneurialism in universities is broader than that of marketisation of HE, as discussed in Chapter One. As already quoted Williams and Kitaev's (2005) research in Chapter One, they identified that "marketisation of higher education and university entrepreneurialism are sometimes treated as being nearly synonymous" (p126), implying that they are different concepts. Although both concepts are applied by many HEIs for the purpose of income generations, the concept of marketisation of HE very often implies that way in which UK HEIs adapt marketing strategies technically for their OS recruitment. The concept of entrepreneurialism, however, is a relatively broader concept in which, according to Clark (1998: 4), the heartland of entrepreneurial universities is where traditional academic values are most firmly rooted and UK HEIs would have to be able to make the traditional academic departments adapt entrepreneurial cultures in order to respond mainly their political and financial challenges. Universities' entrepreneurial activities undertaken with a view to capitalizing on university research or academic expertise through contracts or grants with government agencies seeking solutions to specific public or commercial concerns" (p114-5).

However, the way in which UK HEIs adapt entrepreneurial cultures have called for debates about to whether entrepreneurial cultures have any impact on important values of heartlands of universities, such as academic standards, pedagogical relationships between academic staff and OSs. Adapting entrepreneurial approaches to recruit students from abroad, as I will argue in Chapter Six, some university staff may find themselves negotiating their entrepreneurial identities, and be ambivalent about the notion of learner and that of customer.

After my exploratory study, I found I should investigate to what extent that the impact of entrepreneurialism in HEIs has influenced on the way in which both university staff and OSs perceive their positions in relations to one another. Therefore, in my main study, my research focus is on: to what extent do OSs' interactions with other social actors (university staff in particular) influence the construction and negotiation of their learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse?

The Main Study

This main study consists of two case studies - Greenford University Business School (pre-'92 University) and Redfield University Business School (post-'92 University). As already highlighted in Chapter One, the purpose of this main study is to understand to what extent do OSs' interactions with other social actors (university staff in particular) influence the construction and negotiation of their learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. It is also vital to consider the process of construction of interrelated and competing discourses, (e.g. entrepreneurialism, OSs as learners, OSs as customer or as ambassadors, OSs as change agents), particularly in relation to OSs identities; the key social actors involved in this process of construction; and very significantly, how these social actors are involved in this process.

Table 3: Interview Schedule (Main study) (Please see **Appendix 3** for detailed information, e.g. coding system for interviewees and interview questions)

	Greenford University Business School (Pre-'92 University)	Redfield University Business School (Post-'92 University)
Senior Member of Staff Group 1	1	1
Senior member of Staff Group 2	1	1
Head of Department /course leaders	1	1
Teaching Staff	2	1
Dean of Student		1
Financial Department	1	
Head/ Director of International Office	1	1
OSs (Group 1/Group 2) α. Group1: English as their mother/ official language β. Group 2: English as their Second Language	Focus group 1 Focus group 2 Focus group 3 22 students: 3 E1L(1,2,3) 19 E2L(1.2….20)	3 students (Summer 2003) 20 students: 20 students: 4 E1L(1,2, 3, 4) 16 E2L(1.2….,16)

N.B:
(1) the reason why I focused on the business and administrative studies rather than on other subjects of study will be explained in Page 86
(2) the reason why I chose these two institutions was based on data from Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) on-line Information Service- Students data tables (from 1998-2004). These tables suggested that in comparison with other UK HEIs, Greenford University and Redfield University had relatively more OSs registered in their institutions

Intention of Differentiating between Post-'92 and Pre-'92 Universities

I had reasons to situate this research in post-'92 Universities (Redfield University and Bluefield University) and pre-'92 Universities (Greenford University and Whiteford University). The 1992 Higher and Further Education Act had a significant impact on the development of HEIs as well as leading to the end of the binary HE system.

Thus, there are reasons for focusing both the exploratory study and the main study on two types of universities. Firstly, the post-'92 institutions, the so-called "new universities", were regionally or locally oriented. As polytechnics, they were expected to meet national needs but also local industries and other forms of local demand (Becher & Kogan, 1992: 30). In competition with pre-'92 Universities,

many of which have long regarded themselves as world-class institutions, there is an issue regarding how they respond in the face of challenges of internationalisation, particularly in terms of the flow of OSs.

Secondly, after the 1992 Higher and Further Education Act was implemented, both pre-'92 and post-'92 Universities were brought within a single funding mechanism and need to compete with one another for research funding through the RAE (Research Assessment Exercise). The result of the 1996 RAE demonstrates that "only with a very few exceptions, the old university outperformed the new university in terms of standard and quantity of their academic output. As such, given that research ratings are to be attached to a formula for government funding, a two-tier system could once again appear" (Bakewell & Gibson-Sweet, 1998:108).

New universities might receive less research funding than their older counterparts. For their financial health, new universities tend to be aggressive in launching into the world market and recruiting OSs who are able to pay the full-cost fees. As Greenaway and Tuck (1995) point out post-'92 Universities "felt at a distinct disadvantage in recruitment compared with the "old" universities" (p37). In comparison with their pre-"92 counterparts, post-'92 Universities are more likely to make efforts in their marketing strategies "in order to take them closer to what they see as the optimal level of international student intake" (ibid.).

From Greenaway and Tuck's (1995) point of view, post-"92 universities could make more effort and have more aggressive marketing strategies than their pre-"92 counterpart in order to recruit more student from abroad. Then, a question merged here is that whether the more market-oriented HEI is, the more likely students are to think that they are regarded as customers? Based on the interactionism perspective, which demonstrates that the self is constructed through its interactions with the other, it was theoretically assumed that within *the teaching-learning relationship,* OSs position themselves as "learners" while HEIs are positioned as "distributors of knowledge". In terms of *the customer relationship*, OSs consider themselves "customers", while HEIs are positioned as "providers of educational

services".

The identities of OSs might differ depending on their interactions with staff. Additionally, OSs' identity constructions might be affected by HEI's aim, missions, corporate strategies that correspond with their entrepreneurial cultures and orientations, student recruitment strategies, and customer service policies (if HEI admits that there is one). It is possible that the more market-oriented HEI is, the more likely students are to think that they are regarded as customers.

Research Participants: Targeting at Postgraduate OSs

This research primarily focused on postgraduate-taught courses, but excluded undergraduate and postgraduate research courses (MPhil, PhD.) for two reasons. Firstly, there is a growing need for the UK HEIs to recruit more postgraduate OSs. For instance, Professor Ivor Crewe, the President of Universities UK (UUK), points out, "International postgraduate students are particularly important to the UK. A high proportion of all postgraduate students come from overseas, including 50% of postgraduate engineers," (Donald MacLeod, The Guardian Tuesday, June 8, 2005). As Table 4 shows, by 2001, overseas postgraduate students already accounted for around one third of the UK's HE postgraduate population.

Table 4: UK universities hosting the most (taught) postgraduate students from 1998/9 to 2000/1

Postgraduates	Status	1998-1999 % OSs	1999-2000 % OSs	2000-2001 % OSs
The University of Birmingham	pre 63	26%	28%	31%
Brunel University	1960s	25%	28%	30%
The University of Leeds	pre 63	28%	28%	33%
Middlesex University	post '92	28%	30%	30%
The University of Nottingham	pre 63	32%	32%	35%
The University of Reading	pre 63	29%	30%	31%
The University of Sheffield	pre 63	24%	26%	30%
The University of Southampton	pre 63	26%	30%	31%
The University of Surrey	1960s	36%	34%	42%
The University of Sussex	1960s	34%	35%	35%

Source: based on data from Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) on-line Information Service- Students data tables.

From the OSs' point of view, Greenaway and Tuck (1995: 18) explain that, for academic reasons, many OSs will complete their first degree at home and then go abroad for their MA degrees. There are some countries in Asia and Africa where the provision of specific postgraduate courses is not available for many students (Bourke, 1997: 329-331).

Furthermore, Greenaway and Tuck's (1995) study on the economic impact of OSs on UK HE reveals that the ratio of postgraduates to undergraduates for OSs is much higher than for home students. In addition, as **Table 5** shows, in comparison with undergraduate OSs, the number of postgraduate OSs steadily grew from 1996/7 to 2001/2 by around 16%. In comparison, undergraduate OSs declined by 16%.

Table 5: Non-EU students by Level of Study 1996-2008

	1996/ 1997	1997/ 1998	1998/ 1999	1999/ 2000	2000/ 2001	2001/ 2002	2003/ 2004	2007/ 2008
Under-graduates	120335 61%	131332 62%	130507 60%	129180 58%	119505 52%	122330 50%	95345 45%	104445 45%
Post-graduates	77729 39%	81932 38%	88778 40%	95480 42%	111365 48%	120425 50%	115165 55%	125200 55%
Total	198064 100%	213264 100%	219285 100%	224660 100%	230870 100%	242755 100%	210510 100%	229645 100%

Source: based on data from Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) on-line Information Service- Students data tables.

Further expansion of postgraduate provisions is a major priority for many institutions; "partly to diversify their portfolio, partly because this sector is at present not subject to the same caps as undergraduate provision. The only real potential for significant expansion here is through international students" (Greenaway & Tuck, 1995: 37).

Secondly, postgraduate OSs not only contributed towards the income of the university and the UK economy, but also to the research and teaching enterprise of UK universities (Watts, 1999). In comparison with higher degree courses (e.g. doctorate), the 12-month taught MA degree courses are more likely to attract more OSs, as Table 4 illustrates. Those universities that would like to concentrate on the postgraduate-taught courses market rather than the research courses might do so because the former is a relatively short term market from which the university could generate a greater income at a quicker pace. This implies on the one hand that the UK universities create the customer relationships with OSs and, on the other hand that they build up the teaching-learning relationship. At this point, it would appear relevant to investigate the extent to which postgraduate OSs are regarded as learners, and to what extent they are regarded as customers.

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It is important to note that *EU and Home students were excluded from this research.* As already reviewed in Chapter One, in 1979, the Thatcher government announced that it was to withdraw public subsidies for international students, to charge OSs full cost-fees, and shrink the general funds for HE by 15% in 1981. UK HEIs were cautious about charging these increased fees (Woodhall 1989, Welch 1988), which implies that OSs started being labelled as customers by both the UK government and its universities.

Although EU students were also classified as OSs or international students by some of staff interviewees, and they account for around 31 % of the postgraduate OSs, in terms of payment bands, EU students are equivalent to home students (Gribbon, 1999: 32). As said, the Thatcher government in 1979 announced that OSs had to start paying full-cost fees. One article of this policy also states that EU students (unlike their non-EU counterparts who are excluded from the public funding schemes), are continuing to pay the same fees as UK home students because of the terms of the Treaty of Rome (Trowler, 1998). Since EU students pay home student fees, as will be developed in Chapter Four, home/EU and OS students engaged in different customer relationships with UK HEIs. EU students, like home students whose tuition fees are still partially subsided by the UK government, have lesser customer relationships with the university in comparison with non-EU OSs who pay full-cost fees. As mentioned in Chapter One, charging OSs full cost fees was not only a financial resolution to reduce the excessive burden placed on the British taxpayers but also a financial incentive for the UK economy.

Furthermore, as Table 6 showed, in comparison with their home and European student enrolments, there is a constant increase in the number of postgraduate OSs.

Table 6: HE qualifications obtained by OSs in the UK HEIs by level of study and domicile 2003/04; 2007/08

		Higher degrees		Other postgraduate		First degrees	Other undergraduate
		Doctorate	Other higher degrees	PGCE	Other postgraduate qualifications	Total First degrees	Total Other undergraduate
UK	2003/4	9645	47745	26310	37145	258560	113650
	2007/8	9600	53430	21040	36730	291515	129965
EU	2003/4	1805	12495	810	1840	13390	2455
	2007/8	2260	14680	650	1835	16660	3450
Non-EU	2003/4	3800	35210	250	5015	20140	5360
	2007/8	4775	50825	260	5920	26715	6150

Source: based on data from Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) on-line Information Service- Students and Qualifiers Data Tables

Focusing on Business Schools

Table 7 shows that in terms of non-EU OS participation, there is a gradual growth and a relatively larger number in engineering and technology as well as business and administrative studies than in other subjects of study. At the initial stage of the exploratory study, looking at both subject areas was planned. Two MA Programmes across two subjects were selected-MSc in International Management run by the Business School and MSc in Mobile & Personal Communications run by the School of Engineering. In Bluefield University, carrying out a parallel investigation into the MSc in International Business run by Business School and MSc Mobile & Personal, Satellite Communications run by Department of Electronic Systems was planned.

However, due to not being able to receive good responses from those who were in the centre of these programmes, it was not possible to gain access to both MSc in Mobile & Personal Communications at Whiteford University and to MSc Mobile & Personal, Satellite Communications at Bluefield University. As a result, it was decided that the research would concentrate on business and administrative studies.

Table 7: Non-EU OSs by Subject of Study

	1999-2000	2000-2001	2001-2002	2002-2003
Medicine & dentistry	10%	10%	10%	10%
Subjects allied to medicine	3%	3%	4%	4%
Biological sciences	4%	4%	5%	4%
Veterinary science	11%	10%	9%	9%
Agriculture & related subjects	7%	9%	7%	8%
Physical sciences	5%	5%	6%	6%
Mathematical sciences	7%	8%	8%	10%
Computer science	6%	8%	10%	12%
Engineering & technology	13%	14%	15%	18%
Architecture, building & planning	9%	8%	9%	10%
Social, economic & political studies	9%	8%	8%	9%
Law	10%	10%	11%	14%
Business & administrative studies	**11%**	**11%**	**13%**	**16%**
Languages	7%	9%	10%	11%
Creative arts & design	6%	6%	6%	6%
Education	5%	5%	5%	5%
Combined	3%	3%	3%	1%

Source: based on data from Higher Education Statistics Agency (HESA) on-line Information Service- Students data tables, http://www.hesa.ac.uk/holisdocs/pubinfo/stud.htm
N. B. that the researcher adopts the row data of non-EU OSs by subject of study from HESA show the statistics from 1999-2000 to 2002/3 by percentage.

The focus of this empirical work was business and administrative studies. This research resulted in gaining intellectual and epistemological data. The intellectual and epistemological outputs can be seen as having two aspects.

Firstly, as OSs and staff interviewees were either studying or working in business studies and were familiar with terms such as "customers" and "rights of customers", a substantial level of discussion centred on topics such as students as clients and the university as the producer of educational services, and the similarities and differences between the rights of students and the rights of customers. In other words, interviewees expressed their academic understanding of these concepts and reflected these understandings in the context that the researcher wished to investigate.

Secondly, the issue of the customer and teaching-learning relationships was highlighted when interviewing academic staff in the business schools. It was first thought that this was a problem of compatibility or incompatibility among these

relationships. Instead, some interviewees described it as an issue of "sequencing". For instance, some interviewees thought that they might start with the customer relationship with OSs and that it would be replaced by the teaching-learning relationship after OSs started their studies. This confirms, to a certain extent, hypothesis 1 presented above: that some HEIs might be more market-oriented than other, and that the customer relationship might be stronger than the teaching-learning relationship for OSs. More considerable discussions on this issue will be opened in later chapters.

Approaching Different Groups of University Staff in Each Case Study Institution

As noted earlier, this research was based on an exploratory study and a main study. Each study consists of two individual observational institutions which are of two distinct HEIs. *Data source triangulation approach* is used here to the extent, as Denzin (1978: 295-6) notes, that researchers explicitly search for as many different data sources as possible which bear upon the events under analysis.

I approached different groups of staff at the case study universities. Particularly in the main study, different groups of staff across the university were interviewed; they included senior member of staff, academic staff and heads of the International Office, a Financial Department Officer, a Dean of Students, and OSs.

There were two reasons to interview these various groups at the university. Firstly, to collect data from different resources in order to generate a holistic picture addressing the complexities of the interaction between the university and OSs as well as the interrelationship between the university's internal and external environments and OSs.

Secondly, since some staff recognise that this is an issue of compatibility or incompatibility between the teaching-learning relationship and the customer relationship rather than of "sequencing", some academic staff seemed to believe that the university and OSs were expected to establish a teaching-learning relationship in the first place rather than a customer relationship.

Indeed, different groups of staff might perceive their relationships with OSs in a different way. Some responded that their relationships with OSs are more market-driven than pedagogical-driven. Thus, there is a need for this empirical research to look at the interactions amongst these distinct groups in order to reflect the pressures and demands of the case study institutions as a whole (Denzin, 1978: 296).

Taking a head of International Office as an example, in terms of the customer relationship and the teaching-learning relationship, he/she might prioritise their customer relationship with OSs and tend to pay less attention to his/her teaching-learning relationship. This study also explores the extent to which different groups of staff have different perceptions of OSs. One group of staff might consider their jobs in relation to OSs as market-oriented rather than pedagogically-oriented. On the other hand, a different group might think that their job is completely pedagogically-oriented and that the customer relationship is irrelevant.

Participant Observation

This research technique required the gathering of data by participating in the daily life of OSs and relevant staff involved in the market and teaching-learning relationships at each case study institution. I observed and interviewed the research participants in order to

- understand their interpersonal relationships:
- interpret their views concerning their generalised others and significant others; and
- understand how the interviewees think their generalised others and significant others would describe them.

One of the major challenges for me was to maintain "the balance between 'insider' and 'outsider' status" (Brewer, 2000:59). A fine balance, as Brewe (ibid.) elaborates, is to "identify with the people under study and get close to them, but maintaining a professional distance which permits adequate observation and data collection".

In my empirical research, I met some OSs for tea or coffee after our formal interviews and ended up in counselling-esque sessions. Some OSs interviewees told privately about their unsolved dissatisfactions in relation to their OS experiences, and felt left out as they thought no one to talk to. Yet, some of them told me that I appeared to care about what they said. There was no one from their host institutions who seemed to concern about what they said and what they thought. The issues illustrated during our informal meetings were various, covering, for instance, their interrelationships with the teaching staff or other students, coursework, languages, cultural shock, university policies and so on. I am not trained as a professional counsellor, nor was it appropriate to tell these students what I have learned from staff concerning these issues.

Interviewing

An essential question that must be asked and answered before doing research is: what position do interviews hold in his research? In this research, conducting interviews helps to formulate a discourse of OSs' identities by interviewing distinct groups within the universities, as Table 2 and Table 3 show. These groups are categorised as senior member of staff, academic staff, a financial department officer, a Dean of Students, heads of the International Office, and OSs themselves. These interviews became a process of showing the ways in which interviewees construct their identities by describing their roles in relation to others. Additionally, from a symbolic interactionist's perspective, one of the purposes of carrying out interviews is to illustrate how one's identity could be created through interactions with the other.

Kvale (1996: 14-16) states that "an interview is literally an inter view, an inter-change of views between two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest". Some interviewees in both the exploratory study and the main study said "I have not thought about this question before". Some interviewees asked me to "return to the earlier question about why students come," which illustrates that these interviewees might have considered that the interview was a process of formulating their ideas in relation to OSs in UK universities.

Hammersley and Atkinson (1983: 112) state that there are differences in the way that ethnographic researchers and survey interviewers conduct interviews and whether the interviews are structured or unstructured. Hammersley and Atkinson (ibid) spell out that:

> All interviews, like any other kind of social interaction, are structured by both researcher and informant. The important distinction to be made is between standardised and reflexive interviewing (p112-3).

The interview is regarded as "a situation of knowledge production" in which knowledge is created between the views of the researcher and interviewees in the conversation (Kvale, 1996: 29) whereas the researchers and interviewees as co-constructors of social knowledge (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Anderson, 1989: 254; Finley, 2002a: 216). In ethnographic research, the form of interviews cannot be standardised, but reflexive.

Reflexivity, as Anderson (1989: 255) notes, has been at the centre of ethnographic research. The reflexive-oriented interviews are more likely to enable the interviewer "to have more latitude to probe beyond the answers and thus enter into a dialogue with the interviewees" (May, 2001: 123). This is why I had interviews with my research participants; I tried hard not to lead their answers.

I cannot pretend that there is an absence of me both as a researcher and as an OS, of which my interviewees were also aware during our interviews. Our interviews have epistemologically helped me to explore how social knowledge about OSs negotiating learner and customer identities is articulated, produced and re-produced by all research participants. Therefore, these interviewees might in fact negotiate their perspectives, not only with the entrepreneurial discourse, but also with me (both as a researcher and as an OS).

There are some positive and negative elements. The positive elements are that this highlights the value and function of my research in which it provides a virtual space for researchers, OSs, academics, professionals, practitioners, and possibly policymakers to reflect on their perspectives concerning entrepreneurial discourse.

Conversely, the negative element is that it creates a gap between their tangible account about policy or/and OSs and actual practices. I have to admit that this is a limitation within my research. But, still, I should not conceal my presence in my research and in my writing, as I will explain later.

The interview may need to be more issue-driven than question-driven (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: 113) and interview data is "combined with data from other sources" (op.cit., p. 217). Furthermore, with semi-structured interviews, there were some highly structured question sequences. On one level, during the first stage of an interview, interviewees were asked some general questions in relation to their jobs/positions, which resulted in information and perceptions in relation to the context. From there, more specific questions were asked.

Conducting interviews of this kind enables the interviewer "to have more latitude to probe beyond the answers and thus enter into a dialogue with the interviewees" (May, 2001: 123). For example, two members of the staff from the senior management team of Greenford University were interviewed on the 2nd of May 2003. On that same day an article appeared in The Times Higher Education which observed that:

> International student affairs watchdogs have warned that UK's position in
> the international market could be damaged by government proposals for HE
> that they say risk tarnishing the sector's reputation for high quality (Tysome,
> 2 May, 2003, THE).

It was therefore possible to raise the subject of what might happen if the UK universities aggressively recruit OSs without being overly concerned about the latter's academic capability. By showing a contemporary paper to the interviewees, it was possible to discuss this issue and to address, for instance to what degree the university adopted or was influenced by entrepreneurial discourse, and the interplay between the customer and academic relationships.

Documentation

The documents primarily consisted of UK government's proposals, newspaper articles and postgraduate prospectuses of the case-study universities. The

newspaper articles that were collected generally fall into following categories:

- up-to-date news concerning the OS market;
- issues concerning OSs' participation in UK HE(e.g. pedagogical issues);
- government's proposals, initiatives, policies regarding OSs;
- advertisements for jobs that take responsibility or are in charge of OSs (e.g. Heads of International Offices; International Officers).

The prospectuses of case study universities were also collected to look at the following key issues: the profiles of the universities (university history, environments, reputation, facilities and services); descriptions of MA programmes (for instance, who are these programmes designed for; the main aims of these courses; entry requirements); and support that universities specifically provide for OSs.

This work also included looking at the application forms for admission to a postgraduate programme. It is a complex form to look at since, on the one hand, it is a form that tries to assess students' academic capability in order to build up the teaching-learning relationship. On the other hand, it is also a form that can be considered as a "contract" that OSs sign in order to establish a customer relationship with UK universities.

In addition, the websites of the case-study universities were viewed, where statements can be found that describe their international strategies. Documents were also collected from some web pages designed for OSs to visit (a university's mission statement will sometimes be found on these web pages and may show how a university describes its international strategies and how it views its international co-operation in relation to OSs).

Archival records collected from the following are important to this research, particularly for designing my empirical research and for the analysis my data. HESA statistics were taken as raw data and were used to indicate the numbers of OSs by institution, mode of study, and subject of study; OECD Education at a

Glance was taken to show where UK's international HE market stands when compared to other OCED countries; and the following key reports or materials in relation to OSs in UK HE were also examined:

- CVCP (1995) *Recruitment and support of international students in UK HE* London: CVCP
- Greenaway, D. and Tuck, J. (1995) Economic Impact of International Students in UK Higher Education: A Report for the Committee of vice-chancellors and Principals London: CVCP
- HE Quality Council (1996) *Code of practice for overseas collaborative provision in HE* London: HEQC
- Leonard, D., Pelletier, C. and Morley, L. (2003) The experiences of international students in UK higher education: a review of unpublished research London: UKCOSA
- Stiasny, M (2008) *Mobility matters-Forty Years of International Student Forty Years of UKCISA* London: UK Council for International Affairs
- UKCOSA (2004) *Broadening our horizons: international students in UK universities and colleges- Report of the UKCOSA survey* London: UKCOSA

Reflexive and fieldwork diaries: I kept two types of diaries when conducting my empirical work: fieldwork and reflexive diaries. I had the fieldwork diary to record my communication and arrangements for interviews or meetings with my informants, whereas the reflexive diary was used to record my reflection upon my discussions and interviews with my research participants. This reflexive diary, in particular, plays a vital role not only when I collected my data, which helped me to clarify my interview questions and there are some significant issues emerged from previous interviews which that I felt it should be further investigated, what questioned should be probed and explored further, but also my data analysis.

Focus Group Interviews

Six focus group interviews were carried out in summer 2000: two groups at Whiteford University; one group at Bluefield University; and three groups at Greenford University. The characteristics of a focus group, as Krueger and Casey (2000:10) identify, are "people who possess certain characteristics and provide qualitative data in a focused discussion to help understand the topic of interest". Thus, in addition to conducting individual interviews with staff, focus group interviews at the first stage in the exploratory study particularly helped to identify some of the key issues relevant to the central argument.

However, I had problems of conducting these focus group interviews. There was a problem recruiting participants during the summer because most MA students were taking exams and writing their MA dissertations. Furthermore, there were not many OSs who participated in my focus group interview. Therefore, in comparison with the individual interviews with OSs at Redfield University at similar stage, the data collected from the focus groups was relatively limited in the way that I had difficulties of understanding the teaching-learning and customer relationship that OSs have with their host institutions.

Data Analysis

Three elements of undertaking of data analysis are essential to my research: analytical scope, analytical framework, and analytical strategies.

Analytical Scope

My analytical scope is influenced by post-structuralism in which the duality of micro/macro or agency/structure could be problematic (Law, 1999, cited in Ritzer & Goodman, 2003: 595). One central argument is that social processes are considered "circulating entities" (ibid.). More significantly, as Rios (2005) illustrated:

> Individual processes comprise the entire social world. There is no property or macrosociological regularity that does not correspond to a regularity of a similar nature but couched in microsociological vocabulary (p.777).

Similarly, despite looking at the micro/individual and macro/social structures in a causal relationship, Mayntz (2004: 237) pointed out that a number of contemporary social scientists are interested in the concept of social mechanisms because of their oppositional positions towards "dominant tradition of correlational (or multivariate) analysis in quantitative research". However, he also stated that "correlations are per se nothing but statistical relationships between variables, and even non-spurious correlations in which the time order is well established are inherently limited representations of causal processes" (op.cit., p. 237-8).

Additionally, Mayntz (op. cit., p. 238)suggests an idea of "causal reconstruction" that would *explain* a given social phenomenon by identifying the processes through which it is generated, assuming that social macro-phenomena typically involve 'causal regression' to micro-level elements.

Therefore, I do not see the discourse of entrepreneurialism as a fixed or static container. Instead, I see the relationship between the development and construction of entrepreneurial discourse and social actors as a state of recurrent interaction (Goldspink & Kay, 2004: 605). In line with this argument, my analytical scope emphasises the micro/macro links rather than a dichotomy between micro/macro analysis levels.

I align with Rios's (2005), Goldspink and Kay's (2004), and Mayntz's (2004) arguments. Thus, when I analyse my data and articulate social knowledge about OSs' identity constructions, I adapt a theoretical assumption that interacting individuals (at the level of micro structures) and macro-structural phenomena are reciprocally interrelated and individuals are considered to respond to larger social systems of which they are a part (also see, Sawyer, 2003; Blau, 1987).

As mentioned in the Introduction, the concepts of globalisation and internationalisation are vital to this research, and whose emergence I consider as a result of transformations of macro-structural phenomena. Thus, at the *macro* levels, I consider how UK government and economy are increasingly integrated into international organisations and the global economy. I therefore will examine, particularly in Chapters Four and Five, the extent that the transformations of world politics, of UK's domestic political and economic situations, and of UK diplomatic relations with, for instance, China and India, significantly reflected recent changes of OS policy. After examining these transformations at the micro level, I will identify six layers of constant variables merged from these changes of policies and regulations applied to social actors such as UK HEIs, university staff, and OSs.

From the perspective of Sawyer (2003), data analysts "should look for integration in the network of connections linking individuals" (p. 335). Furthermore, the macro patterns (such as communication mechanisms, group and institutional structure, which will be discussed in Chapters Four and Five) result from processes of social interactions at the micro level (I will examine in Chapters Six and Seven), "and only after this has occurred do future agents modify their behaviors under the influence of those macro phenomena" (op.cit: 347). Aligned with Sawyer (2003), the process of the macro patterns and that of social interactions at the micro level are interrelated and inseparable.

Furthermore, since I tend to emphasise the micro/macro links, first I will examine the ways in which interactions among social actors are affected by and respond to these changes, for instance in policies and regulations, and the transformations of world politics, of UK's domestic political and economic situations, and of UK diplomatic relations. Secondly, in Chapter Five, as a result of responding to the challenges of globalisation and internationalisation of HE, I will discuss how UK HEIs have to change their managerial structure and styles and ways of managing OS recruitment and experiences. I will also consider why these changes affect the role of the UK (HEIs) in relation to the identity construction of overseas students. In the context of globalisation of HE, UK HEIs are not only encouraged to compete with other domestic and international HEIs counterparts for research funding and student recruitment in national and international levels, but they are encouraged by the UK government to cooperate with other HEIs abroad, as well. For instance,

> Dramatic changes in international education suggest a very different landscape by 2011 – one in which both the UK's positioning and many of its markets will depend on strong strategic overseas partnerships.
> If we are to reach our goals, we must achieve a major step change in this area. Through PMI2, we will work with governments, education providers and industry in identified countries to build bi-lateral co-operation and partnerships.
> (British Council, PMI2 strategic alliances and partnerships - PMI2 Connect Webpage)

Analytical Framework

To examine the ways in which OSs' identities are constructed through their interaction with different groups of university staff in the context of entrepreneurial

discourse, I developed an analytical framework in which I designate diagrams of negotiation (1 & 2, please see **Appendix 8** for these two diagrams and see my discussions in Chapter Six, whereas 3 & 4 in **Appendix 9** and my discussions in Chapter Seven).

My theoretical perspectives, as discussed in Chapter Two, are largely based on ideas of interactionism in general, and identity theory in particular. As Goffman (1959) define, an interaction is that "all the interaction which occurs throughout any one occasion when a given set of individuals are in one another's continuous presence. In terms of teaching-learning or academic relationship, as Stets and Burke (2000) indicate,

> 'Teacher and student are roles that are defined within the group/ organization of a school'. Meanings and expectations are tied to each of these roles, regarding the performance and the relationships between these roles. At the same time, teacher and student are social categories or groups that constitute in-groups and out-groups. (p.228)

In line with interactionists' perspective, 'the self can be interpreted as a structure of role-identities (Callero, 1985: 203) that consists of a "hierarchical ordering of identities, with each identity differentiated according to its salience and one's commitment to his or her role relations" (Owens & Serpe, 2003: 87).

In short, these diagrams are drawn to suggest that OSs have multiple identities. I am specifically looking at OSs' learner and customer identities. There are hierarchical orders in relation to these identities. I am concerned about the ways in which OSs negotiate in relation to the hierarchical orders of learner and customer identities. I also want to suggest that the hierarchical orders of learner and customer identities are affected by the ways in which OSs encounter with different groups of university staff. In Chapters Six and Seven, I will lay out a more detailed exploration of relationships between different groups of staff and OSs.

I use quadrants to explain how I understand the changes in university staff perceptions about overseas students' learner and customer identities in the process of construction of entrepreneurial discourse. The way that I constitute

these diagrams, adapting the idea of quadrants, in my research is analogous to the theoretical and conceptual evidence from the emerging literature.

These diagrams are expected to bridge macro/micro links, illustrating a systematic conceptual view that could accommodate the analysis of multilevel interactions between UK government, UK HEIs, university staff, and OSs. Thus, in Chapter Six, I develop an analytical framework in which I designate diagrams of negotiation (1 & 2 presented in **Appendix 8**), and explore the way in which university staff's perceptions about OSs are influenced by their participation in the construction by their resistances and negotiations in the construction of entrepreneurialism, its interrelated and competing discourses. I interviewed academic staff, heads of international offices, and senior members of staff in the faculties or in the institutions from four case-study institutions.

In Chapter Seven, I will introduce diagrams of negotiation 3 & 4 (please see **Appendix 9**) to articulate my theoretical assumptions and my data. I will discuss that the ways university staff negotiate these two notions influences and affects OSs' identity construction, resulting in OSs also negotiating their learner and customer identities.

I consider the global HE market as a mosaic of large social structures, as a result of economic globalization, demanding a macro level analysis. The way in which the discourse of entrepreneurialism functions in the context of entrepreneurial discourse is a miniature form or an epitome of this large social structure. A micro analysis would probably refer to the individual or social actors such as OSs and university staff who would have to respond to the large social structure.

My diagrams, which are drawn to illustrate how OSs negotiate their identities in the process of constructing entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses, use an analytical framework to examine the way in which OSs construct and negotiate the identities that "shape and translate" (the macro-level of) the constitutions of entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing

discourses into (the micro-level of) OSs' perceptions and actions which in turn guide interactions between university staff and OSs (Alexander & Baden, 2000: 19; Simon, 2004: 44).

Analytical Strategies

I find Mauthner and Doucet's (1998, also see Brown & Gilligan, 1992, Taylor *et al*, 1996, Brown & Gilligan, 1992, 1993; Brown et al, 1991; Gilligan et al 1990) voice-centered relational method useful when examining and analyzing my interview data..

There are four categories of reading involved:
- Reading 1: reading for the plot and for our responses to the narrative
- Reading 2: reading for the voice of the "I"
- Reading 3: reading for the relationships
- Reading 4: placing people within cultural contexts and social structures
  (Restructured by Mauthner & Doucet, 1998: 126-132)

I see methodology as "a rationale for the way" and as "the theory of getting knowledge" (Griffiths, 1998: 35). My research was carried out as qualitative research drawing on ethnographic approaches. There are three interrelated methodological principles guiding the ways in which I collected and analysed data.

The First Principle

I am one of the co-constructors of social knowledge. An essential question that I asked myself prior to conducting my fieldwork was: why do I value these contributions made by the research participants (particularly interviewees) in my research? For me, conducting interviews helps to formulate a discourse of OS identities by interviewing distinct groups within four UK HEIs. I regard conducting interviews as "a situation of knowledge production" in which knowledge is created between the views of the researcher and interviewees in the conversation (Kvale, 1996: 29). This is to say, I interpret interviewees (research participants) and myself (the researcher) as co-constructors of social knowledge (Hammersley & Atkinson,

1983; Anderson, 1989: 254; Finley, 2002a: 216).

As mentioned in Chapter Two, my ontological and epistemological positions are constructivism oriented. Thus, I tend to believe that the relationship between the researcher and the researched is reciprocal and dynamic. The value of my research is generated from my interpretation of the data, particularly the interview data, as well as from exploration of "the dynamics of the research-researched relationship, which is seen to fundamentally shape research results" (Finlay, 2002b, 534). Finlay notes that reflexive analysis could come into play to "examine the impact of the research and the participants on each other and on the research" (op. cit., p.535).

However, there are concerns here. The first is that reflexivity in respect to the researcher's social position and emotional responses to the researched (Mauthner and Doucet, 1998:127); and the second is that 'interpretation and representation of people's lives into the analytical foreground and is a solution to the challenges these issues raise for researchers and the researched' (Byrne et al: 2008: 3). To respond to these two concerns, I decided to do when analysing interview data is that I adapted Mauthner and Doucet's (1998: 126-8) voice-centred relational method, and its first reading: "reading for the plot and for our responses to the narrative," which specifically required me to give my reflexive accounts, which, on the one hand, reveal my constructivist-driven ontological and epistemological perspective, and on the other, are concerned with the correlation and asymmetry between my experiences as an OS and those of my participants.

The Second Principle:
My aim was to give voice to OSs and enable them to take a direct part "in the production of sociological knowledge" (Alldred, 1998:150). The voices of OSs were essential to my research. Although there is much significant research concerning OS experiences and voices, not much research is concerned with OSs' customer and academic relationships with their institutions. However, being an OS myself, I was aware of the influence of assuming that I already knew the voices or

perspectives of the OSs (Genzuk, 2004; Hammersley, 1998).

Moreover, one research approach that I borrowed from ethnographic research method was "not to predefine a problem to be studied but rather allow interesting problems to emerge from within the social settings" (Woods, 1998: 94). In other words, my research could not be limited to "the testing of explicit hypotheses" (Genzuk, 2004:4; Hammersley, 1998:9). Accordingly, I should not hypothesise what OSs and university staff would say about their perceptions regarding one another. My aim was to "discover" (Hammersley, 1998:9) and acknowledge the voices of all research participants.

The voices of overseas students are essential to my research. However, the idea of OSs' voice could be problematic because, as Bragg (ibid) pointed out:

> For years many educators argued in favour of student voice as part of a larger emancipatory project, hoping it would be transformative not just of individuals, but of the oppressive hierarchies within educational institutions and even in society. Within higher education, these arguments were made by critical pedagogues…. who have questioned the hidden coercion in "voice", whose interests it serves and the value of silence (p.344)

Bragg (2007) is very precise to point out that the concepts such as 'oppressive hierarchies', 'transformative', and 'power relations' are essential elements of studies on student voice. I am aware of hierarchical power relations between UK government and UK HEIs, between institutional senior members of staff and academic staff, and between university staff and OSs. For instance, in Chapter Four, I first look at how the UK government exerts its political powers in some significant implementations of OS related policies and regulations, particularly with regards to OSs recruitment, visa, and immigration, in order to scrutinize and tighten the UK border control on the one hand. On the other hand, by exerting these political powers, the UK government shifts the financial pressures upon the state to control HE resources and HEIs are forced to respond to "the economic dynamic". Recruiting OSs is considered as one of these ways in which UK HEIs respond to the political expectations of the UK government and to the economic dynamic. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, the reason that the UK government encourages UK HEIs to recruit OSs is that the contribution which OSs make to exports "does

not only originate in fees , but also whilst in the UK they spend income on UK produced goods and services" (Greenaway and Tuck, 1995: 41).

Second, I examine the capability of the UK government to promote their interpretations of OSs as customers effectively to other participants of entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses, OSs as learners, OSs customers or OSs ambassadors.

My aim is to highlight the communications and negotiations between OSs and other participants in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. Thus, I have less interest in overemphasising these power relations between OSs and the UK Government, between OSs and the UK HEIs, and between OSs and university staff. This is because focusing on these relationships would imply that, for instance, UK HEIs' or/and university staff' power is greater than that of the OSs, which might suggest that OSs represent less powerful victims within these power relations. Portraying OSs as victims is in itself a way of disempowering and of reproducing their victimized position, which I have been trying to avoid.

My research attempts to highlight the communications and negotiations between OSs and other participants or at least provide space to release or liberate OSs voice in order to empower OSs in some ways. Additionally, my intention is also to suggest that when examining the constitution of entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses, such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents and OSs as ambassadors. OSs voice has an *equal* status to that of other key participants.

The Third Principle

I want to be reflexive about the process of data collection and data analysis. The social constructivist approach is of reflexive nature. Reflexive analysis, as Finlay (2002b) highlights, can "give voice to those who are normally silenced" (p. 541). "Those who are normally silent" could refer to both the OSs in my research and me as a researcher. One of the aims of being reflexive during the data collection stage

and at data analysis stage is to "expose researcher silences" (op. cit., p. 541). However, breaking my silence also invites questions such as, 'Where do I position myself in relation to my research?', 'To what extent does my personal experience influence my research?', 'How to maintain "the balance between 'insider' and 'outsider' status" (Brewer, 2000:59)?' I learned how to write and use fieldwork notes from ethnographic researchers (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Anderson, 1989; Hammersley, 1998). As Coffey (1996) elaborated,

> Documented and told a 'reality' of the field but also represented, in textual format, my relationships and transactions. Field notes provide memories and a record of what the field was like and of the cultural relationship to the field (p.69).

Revisiting my fieldwork diary would provide me with the opportunity to realise the extent to which I regard ontology as a theory of being and epistemology as the relationship between that being and myself (Carson et al., 2001: 4). Second, I took note of the extent to which (as a writer and as a researcher) I am socially constructed and constructed a field of which I am a part (Coffey, 1996: 69)

Writing: Contesting and Negotiating the Authorial Presence and Reflexivity

Although I was initially discouraged from having the first person presence in my writing, I am now encouraged and guided by my current supervisor to write with my authorial presence, which aligns with my ontological and epistemological positions. This transition of supervisory style also implies a transition of writing style, particularly with respect to the stance that I take in my writing. Both transitions emerge as the outcome of a journey of contestation and negotiation for my authorial presence and self-reflexivity. In this section, I would like to explore this journey under three headings: personal reflexivity, epistemological reflexivity and methodological reflexivity.

Personal Reflexivity

Darmer (2006: 551) points out that in practice the implications of poetry could "inspire" "stimulate" and "develop" one's research process. I tend to agree with Darmer (ibid.), and what he said remains a powerful statement concerning writing good poetry, made by a professor who taught me "Modern and Contemporary Poetry" in the third year of my undergraduate degree: *"Writing good poetry requires you to be introspective and honest with yourselves"*. I took this statement seriously and tried to find a correlation between writing poetry and writing my research.

Although creative poetry and an academic thesis are two dissimilar forms and types of texts, serving different purposes and having different audiences, there are affiliations between writing poetry and my research. Whether or not I have been introspective and honest; and the extent to which my reflexive accounts have been brought into my research.

When I first started writing my thesis, I took a third person stance. However, I was often stuck by this and not very productive. I have often seen my PhD research as a personal journey, reflecting on my internal debate about my experiences, challenges and interactions in UK HEIs. I was anxious about disclosing my authorial self and hesitated to use "I" in my writing.

I had some concerned about whether my reader would tend to take the role of psychoanalytic literary critic and analyse the psychological processes and motivations that I undertook during my writing (McManus, 1998). Using a third person presence could sound detached and "prevent" my life and emotions from being seen or analysed. I also covered my emotions for the sake of "being detached" by taking the third person stance, for I made efforts to avoid what Borg (2001) indicates, "these emotions threaten the progress of the research, analyzing and reacting to them" (p 164).

Yet, the more I write and reflect about my research, the more I experience the problems of taking a third person stance in my writing and of hiding of my authorial

self and reflexive engagement. I am aware that there is emotional side of conducting my research, and which is an "undeniable part of the human researcher's work" (Borg, 2001: 164).

I shall acknowledge, rather than overlook, the value of my emotions. These emotions could be neither threatening nor negative to my research, and could be transformed into what Fay (1996: 217) calls "epistemologically self-conscious" and what Thomas (1995) calls "intracommunication between self and writer" (cited in Borg, 2001: 165). Engaging with my emotions in this way has helped me to overcome challenges and self-doubts related to my research and life here in the UK.

Accordingly, I may invite questions such as: is it necessary to be self-reflexive in my writing? Why should the reader be interested in the ways in which I have been self-reflexive? How can I defend against criticisms concerning "indulgent introspection" (May, 1998: 19) or of being "self-indulgent" or "narcissistic" (DeVault, 1997: 225, cited in Finlay, 2002a: 226)? How does my reflexive account correspond with my research about OS identities?

To conduct and report my research, I need to be self-reflexive. My authorial presence would only be useful to my research under the condition that it has to reveal my research thread running through my ontological and epistemological position, theoretical perspectives, methodological approaches, methods of collecting data, and methods of data analysis. The construction of social knowledge should be linked to my social position within the world and the context that I research (May, 1998: 14; Gouldner, 1970: 489).

I have to be epistemologically and methodologically self-conscious. Yet, writing with my authorial presence is not "confessional", (Griffiths, 1995; cited in May, 1998: 19-20), but is a starting point for the development of a general reflexive account that is to correspond with theorising OS identities.

The art of self-reflexivity is that of constructing and expressing an authorial self in writing (Scollon, 1994: 33). On the one hand, writing reflexively with my authorial presence is to depart from my personal experiences and to go beyond my introspection toward the social, political, and cultural stances that motivate me to write and to research on OS's identities (Finlay, 2002b: 537). On the other, as May (1998), indicates,

> (Writing reflexively with first person presence) seeks to deepen self-awareness of the production of valid and reliable 'bits of information', to strengthen a commitment to the value of this awareness and to generate a willingness to be open to 'hostile information' (p.14)

My research should be more than just personal revelation or autobiographical material. I am committed to analysing its relevance in terms of broader study, which is concerned with OSs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse (DeVault, 1997: 225, cited in Finlay, 2002a:226; Fay, 1996: 216-7; May, 1998: 14-20). I would assume that this is what really interests my reader.

Epistemological Reflexivity

Epistemological reflexivity is crucial to my research. Epistemological reflexivity here indeed functions to examine how continual evaluation of my authorial self (Ivanic, 1998; Hyland, 2002: 1093), is involved in a dialectical process with the research participants' commonsense constructs; the research data; and "the structural and historical forces that informed the social construction under study" (Anderson, 1989: 254-5). The authorial presence in my writing is to distinguish myself from others, for instance, research participants, and to demonstrate that there is a partnership between me, as the researcher, and the researched.

I am not more than a co-constructor of social knowledge concerning OSs, taking into account that the element of "intersubjectivity" comes into play during the process of my research (Finlay, 2002a: 211). Being self-conscious about epistemological reflexivity is to search for where "the self-in-relation-to-others becomes both the aim and object of focus" (op.cit, p: 216).

I see the understanding and construction of knowledge concerning OSs as a means of introspection through which to observe my inner struggles as an OS myself, displaying what Finlay (op.cit., p. 213) calls the "meta-reflexive voice". Working intersubjectively, I aim to make the voices of OSs visible in the public by presenting my research.

The essential element of epistemological reflexivity is to explore the ways in which my ontological and epistemological positions "influence, act upon and inform" the process of knowledge construction via research (Nightingale & Cromby, 1999:228). Thus, following the constructivist paradigm, I acknowledge the conceptions of "the relative nature of social reality" and "multiple realities" (Banister, 1994: 172).

The reality that I present and the knowledge that I construct in my thesis are partial. Therefore, "seeking of alternatives and possibilities" (ibid.) is necessary. As mentioned earlier, I use "we" to send an invitation to those who take part in my research journey. The reader is invited to engage in and to constitute alternative social realities via my work. Thus, having had "I" presented in my writing is not to present an omniscient point of view; instead it is limited.

Methodological Reflexivity

Methodology is defined by Schwandt (2001) as "a particular social scientific discourse (a way of acting, thinking, and speaking) that occupies a middle ground between discussions of method and discussions of issues in the philosophy of social science" (p 161).

This notion of methodology raises some issues in relation to methodological reflexivity. The first is concerned with what roles my author self play in relation to the negotiation of method and discussions of the philosophy of social science. The second is the dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity.

What roles My Author Self Play?

When I first started writing my research, I used to be "distant, removed, neutral,

disengaged, above-it" (Richardson, 2000:253). As mentioned above, I found myself having difficulties progressing with my writing. I began writing relatively smoothly after using "I" in my writing and it is now easier for me to locate my position in relation to my research and my voice in my writing.

There are several ways in which I was liberated to report my research by using first person presence. In terms of contemporary qualitative research, the ways in which researchers report their work can be both "scientific and literary", and researchers are welcome to break the "boundaries between fact and faction, subjective and objective, and true and imagined" (Richardson, 2000:253). I am convinced by Richardson (ibid.) to the extent that my work could be both scientific and literary. Richardson (ibid.) states that:

> (It is) scientific – in the sense of being true to a world known through the empirical senses- and literary- in the sense of expressing what one has learned through evocative writing techniques and form (p 253).

As Isaac Levi said (1997, cited in Hendricks, 2006: 77), "because of subject-based contextualism, enforced by the rule of actuality", I, as an OS myself, am more likely to have insider knowledge in relation to OS identities and experiences than a third person. Thus, taking the first person stance in my writing would be relatively more authentic than taking the third person, corresponding with what Levi (ibid.) argues, "If there is a transcontextual third person logic of knowledge, such logic is probably rather weak".

Although I seem to have obtained comparatively more freedom with the first than the third person presence in my writing, Richardson (2000) reminds me that:

> Self reflexivity brings to consciousness some of the complex political/ideological agendas hidden in our writing. Truth claims are less easily validated; speaking for 'others' is wholly suspect (p 254).

I make efforts to pay attention to political issues within my research. For instance, the term "OS", which I use in my writing, is more political than not because it is kind of invention of political and economic forces, for Burke and Hermerschmidt (2005) may argue, "these practices are institutionally embedded in hierarchies of knowledge construction" (p 347). The idea of power and the idea of authority come

into play regarding "othering" OSs and the construction of "the concept or meaning of OSs".

The notion of reflexivity has always invited qualitative researchers to think about the issues concerning "validity and trustworthiness" (Anderson, 1989: 255). Inevitably, writing reflexively, I cannot avoid dealing with these interrelated concepts (e.g. authorship, authority, truth, validity and reliability) in my writing (Richardson, 2000: 254). In response to this, I quote Scollon (1994)

> Authorship and fact, taken together, present to the reader a stance or a position of responsibility which is being taken by the writer. From the way writers construct the authorial self and from the way they present their facts, readers construct a judgement about the extent to which authors are ready to stand behind their words and about the ideological positions they are taking (p33).

By taking a first person stance to construct knowledge in relation to OS identity, I would like to tell the reader that it is me, Yu-Ching, telling the story about OSs. My intention is to take responsibility for the presence of my authorial self in my writing and for the role that my reflexive account plays in constructing the knowledge about OS identities.

As a novice researcher, I see writing reflexively as a learning process through which I can learn to allow my political, social and cultural perspectives to interact within this academic community (Burke & Jackson, 2007: 213-4). As such, I am very likely to be challenged by my potential reader (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: 227). Yet, these challenges would not be the end, but a recurrent starting point of searching for my own voice through the social construction of knowledge.

The Dichotomy between Objectivity and Subjectivity
The positivist paradigm is powerful and influential not only in the way research is often conducted, but the ways in which the researcher often writes (Gouldner, 1970). Thus, Gouldner (ibid.) noted that social scientific research has long pursued a doctrine in which the researcher and the researched are differentiated within a concept of "methodological dualism" (p 495-7). Those who adapt a positivist paradigm would try to leave out researchers' stories and silence their voices to

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avoid "bias" or "prejudice" in their research.

Objectivity, as Robson (2002: 549) defines, "in simple terms, refers to a lack of bias or prejudice", which could be problematic in my research. From the positivist perspective, my research would fail to meet the criteria of being objective. My text and the ways in which I structure it incorporate my own biases. The point is that by examining my relations with what I research, I cannot meet the criteria of being objective (Heshusius, 1994: 15) and have been subjective to some extent; partly because I am an OS myself and, as mentioned before, because my research was initiated from my own experience; and partly because I adapt the constructivism paradigm. It is unlikely that my authorial self can be detached from my writing (Gouldner, 1970: 498). As Janesick (1994) states:

> As we try to make sense of our social world and give meaning to what we do as researchers, we continually raise awareness of our own biases. There is no attempt to pretend that research is value free (p.212).

Instead of trying to conduct and to write as if I can evade or detach from the research, I have to recognise my influences on the research process and the vital role that my authorial self plays in my writing. The subjectivity may need to be explored in my research rather than hidden away since my personal and political interests motivate me to conduct my research and if "they are concealed that they do the most damage" (Parker, 1994: 9). Similarly, Peshkin (1988) argues that researchers should be conscious about "their subjectivity throughout the course of their research" (p 17) so that they can write free from "orientations that they did not realise were intervening in their research process" (ibid.).

Engaging with debates concerning the dichotomy between objectivity and subjectivity, Harding (1991) challenges the conventional interpretation of "objectivity" and "subjectivity" and proposes the notion of "strong objectivity" in contrast to "the weak objectivity of objectivism and its mirror-linked twin, judgemental-relativism" (p 142).

Harding (op.cit., p. 144) notes that objectivists claim to achieve value-free research; to be objective the researcher is required to eliminate all social values and interests attached to them, since they would affect the results of their research. She argues this conventional notion of objectivity is weak, for the fact that

> Our cultures have agendas and make assumptions that we as individuals cannot easily detect... Cultural agendas and assumptions are parts of background assumptions and auxiliary hypotheses that philosophers have identified... we can think of strong objectivity as extending the notion of scientific research to include systematic examination of such powerful background beliefs. It must do so in order to be competent at maximizing objectivity (Harding, 1991: 149).

Harding here reminds me that there was a weak or conventional objectivity that I tried to follow, for instance, by initially adopting a third person presence, and hiding my own voice, experiences, political and cultural values and beliefs. I thought this was scientific. However, Harding's argument persuades me to hold the converse view that the strong notion of objectivity requires me to conceptualise the subject of knowledge as the object of my inquiry (Harding, 1991: 161).

Furthermore, Harding claims that the differentiation between weak and strong objectivity permits the parallel construction of weak and strong notions of reflexivity (op. cit., p.161). Although there are problematic and regressive elements, I adapt Harding's (op. cit., p. 163) notion of strong reflexivity, requiring me to explore the oppositional voices and perspectives, for instance, voices of OSs versus that of university staff. Thus, I tend to see my methodological reflexive account as a progressive negotiation of reciprocal and oppositional dialogues firstly between myself as a researcher and as an OS; and secondly, between OSs and university staff.

The Brief Portrait of My OS Research Participants as Change Agents

This research is to look at OSs in my case study of business schools. It is

important to present a brief portrait of my OS research participants, particularly as to how their decision of studying in the UK made them participate in the constitutions of entrepreneurial discourse. The way in which OSs participate in the constitutions of entrepreneurial discourse must be presented in order to understand why their contestations and negotiations of notions of students as learners and as customers is a significant issue in the context of entrepreneurialism.

However, it is also important to note here that there are two limitations of presenting the brief portrait of my OS research participants in the context of entrepreneurialism. The first is that as mentioned in Chapter One, I intend not to look at demographic variables or attribute variables, for instance, OSs' religion, ethnicity, age, social class, or linguistic background. This is because carrying out demographic analysis to investigate the dimensions and dynamic relationships between these demographic variables and OSs' identity construction and negotiation in the context of entrepreneurial discourse is vital and demands further research.

The second limitation is that my interview data was collected only from business studies. I, therefore, cannot answer the question of whether the experiences of OSs in Business Schools might be different from students in other departments without conducting further empirical researches. To address this limitation, I would need to undertake further research with university staff and OSs from different ranges of academic disciplines. Here, I primarily focus on the cultures of business schools and OSs' experiences in my case study of business schools.

Despite these two limitations, as discussed earlier, this research resulted in gaining intellectual and epistemological data. For instance, OSs and staff interviewees in business schools were relatively more familiar with terms such as 'customer', 'consumer', and 'entrepreneur'.

I will discuss in Chapters Four, Five, Six, and Seven how the UK government, UK

HEIs, university staffs, and OSs participate in and contribute to the process of constructing entrepreneurial discourse. I have a reflexive thought after this series of discussions that it seems as if what the literature, policy makers, university managers, university staff members, and OSs construct and/or negotiate about was manifestly learner and customer identities, but that these are latently *entwined with OSs as* victims (who are unfairly treated in the UK), as problems (tarnishing the higher quality of UKHE as a result of which HEIs over-promote and emphasise the synthesis between their learner and customer identities), or as beneficiaries (who enjoy exercising their rights as customers). Despite such latent entwining, regarding OSs as victims, problems, and beneficiaries, this has reflected on the way in which OSs' experiences are managed and UK HEIs' student support systems.

I want to highlight that OSs are change agents who come to study in the UK to pursue their self-defined interests and to achieve their personal satisfaction. The idea of OSs as change agents is a personal, epistemological, and methodological reflexivity generated from my research so far. I also intend to suggest that HEIs can promote this idea of OSs as change agents and use it as a strategy to devictimise OSs, which is imperative to enhance OSs' experiences in the UK. Most importantly, as stated in the Introduction, I want to propose a new way of looking at and studying OSs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse.

In the context of entrepreneurial discourse, the narrative concerning OSs is complex and constructed by different components: students-as-customers, high tuitions, educational opportunities, eligibility for obtaining extra support, and so on. Leonard and Morley's report (2003), which reviewed unpublished Master dissertations or PhD theses, revealed one of their disappointments when reading these works:

> Psychology is particularly popular as a disciplinary framework to examine international student experiences, but while some studies use it valuably to explore inter- and intrapersonal student experiences, others are in danger of medicalising and socially decontextualising stress, isolation etc. and of constructing international students in a victim role — as in need of rescue and 'help'. (5-6)

These materials, reviewed by Leonard and Morley (2003), convey a partial picture of OSs' experiences in the UK and, most importantly, that there is a growth in the literature concerning OSs as victims.

Observing the trend to victimise OSs both theoretically and practically, Bartram (2006) commented that:

> This combination of market and therapeutic values may then not only be responsible for placing student support centre stage and for refashioning its conception, but also for increasing tendencies to homogenise groups of students and legitimating views of their diminished capacity. An associated danger is that students themselves might also come to accept this rather impoverished view - a view clearly antithetical to supporting the development of the independent and self-directing learner that higher education arguably aims to promote. Such views may in fact already be helping to construct what some have referred to as a growing culture of dependency among home and international students in higher education. (p3)

The recent literature has turned HEIs' attention to OSs' needs. However, as Bartram (ibid) notes, victimising OSs in this way could diminish their capacity and discourage 'the development of the independent and self-directing learner'. Furthermore, the literature that discusses the importance of international support, which stems from "the combination of market and therapeutic values" (Bartram, ibid.), could be behind the current phenomenon in which UK HEIs prioritise the notion of OS-as-customer and promote "the language of the sovereignty of customers (ibid.) in HEIs.

I find that regarding OSs as victims or as problematic objects could be transmitted as a pessimistic feeling when staff members encounter OSs, which ultimately could do harm to OSs. One negative effect of these discussions in the literature and the media coverage could be that a pessimistic feeling hidden within daily communication could bring about a revictimisation of OSs. In short, if worse comes to worst, OSs would always be portrayed not only as "cash cows", but also as problematic.

Indeed, many OSs have problems studying and living in a foreign country. However, there are many other elements or facets of OSs' lives that are omitted or misinterpreted either in the literature, the media, or in our everyday lives.

Moreover, the current research about OSs in the UK HEIs is very much concerned about these issues covering marketing and recruitment, teaching and learning, social integration, language issues, etc. These issues seem to focus more on what might occur to OSs or what might emerge as significant problems when OSs study at UK HEIs. In short, these are issues concerning the *present*. An important question this generates is, *what about 'the future' after they finish their courses?* Arguably, paying less attention to OSs' potential after they finish their studies and taking less notice of their personalities and characteristics as change agents now might be reasons contributing to the current debates concerning OSs as victims or problems. University support, as previously argued, has been mechanically managed to improve OSs' experiences. If a university is considering making its service more efficient and effective for OSs, *listening to their voices* seems to be a very vogue concept here.

If improving OSs' experiences has been part of the UK government's policy agenda and of the UK universities' institutional missions, then devictimising OSs in order to enhance their experiences in the UK is essential. To devictimise is to enhance self-empowerment and to make OSs feel transformed after they finish their courses in the UK. I propose the idea in which OSs are change agents of their lives, primarily as a strategy (although this may not be a good word) to strip away their feelings of victimhood. Secondly, to awaken their self-awareness, this idea could be taken by OSs as an attitude of defying the challenges they have to encounter in the UK. Thirdly, under the market mechanism, it is very easy to be criticised for seeing the OS customer as an 'infantilised adult' (Nayak and Beckett, 2008a). In the discourse of entrepreneurialism, it is almost unavoidable, as Nayak and Beckett (ibid.) argued:

> In such a society (new consumerist society), the capacity to be a member is dependent on responding to the calls for choosing a consumerist lifestyle. Individual 'subjectivity' is turned into a commodity that is collaboratively re-

created and traded. Whether it is the call to re-invent our identities, social networks, homes or clothes, a consumerist society is premised on being enterprising. (p.408)

Thus, I summarise three reasons for why I propose this idea of OSs as change agents. First, to devictimise OSs is essential to enhancing their experiences in the UK. To devictimise is to enhance *self-empowerment and to make OSs feel* transformed after they finish their courses in the UK. The idea that OSs are change agents could be taken into account as a strategy to devictimise them, removing their victim roles. This idea offers an opportunity to reconstruct and redefine OSs' subjectivity in the discourse of entrepreneurialism (Salaman and Storey, 2008:315). Second, this idea is proposed here to make the authorities (such as government policy-makers and those who work with OSs in the university) aware of OSs as entrepreneurs, particularly having character elements of being courageous, assertive, and self-reliant individuals. Third, this idea could be used as *a counterbalance* to the one-sided and distorted *perspective* particularly made by the media that portrays OSs as cash cows and problems for the UK universities.

It is important to note that OSs know what they are doing and why they are studying in the UK. Many OS research participants presented themselves neither as victims nor as beneficiaries of the marketisation of HE, but demonstrated themselves as change agents (not customers) looking for opportunities to change their lives by taking a course in the UK. To reveal these personalities or characteristics of change agents, I began with why OSs want to study in the UK. I compiled results in different categories concerning the reasons that might urge them to study abroad.

I already discussed reasons of why OSs are interested in studying abroad in Chapter One, and outlined these reasons into the following categories: academic reason, familiarities of educational systems, cultural and/or political reasons, and host countries having a good reputation. Additionally, other reasons may include, for instance, students are influenced by their friends, teachers, and relatives, and had no choice (sponsor decided that OSs ought to study in the selected host

countries) (Williams, 1987:15; Cummings, 1991:114-7; Allen and Higgins, 1994:22; Bourke, 1997: 329-331; Sadlak, 1998:105).

Furthermore, the Marketing and Opinion International (MORI) in 2003 presented research on behalf of the British Council titled *Education UK: the Prime Minister's Initiative Four Years on* for British Council that reports the top 8 reasons for overseas students considering studying in the UK.

Table 8: 8 reasons that motivate OSs study in the UK.
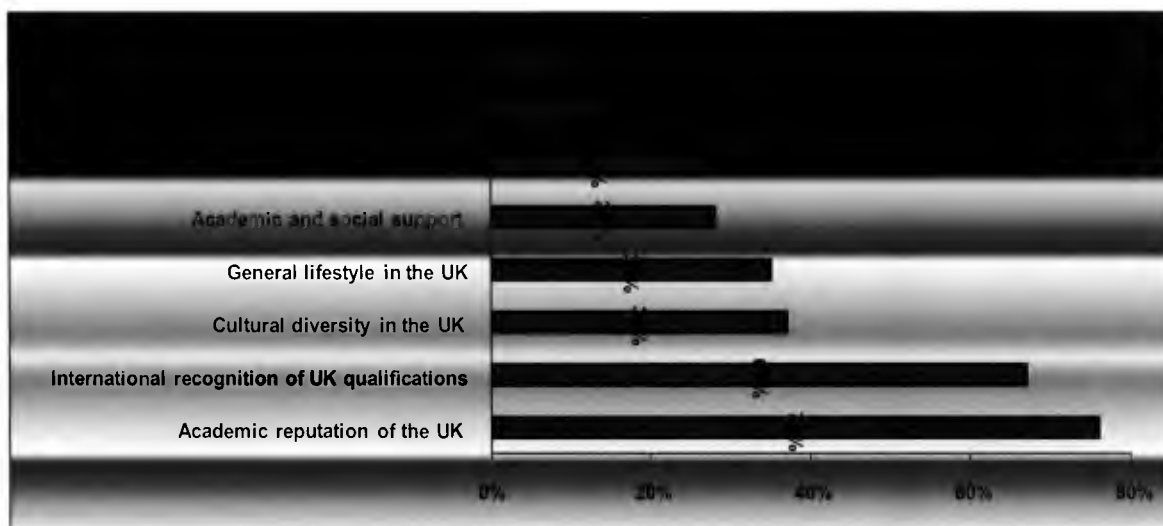
Source: (Mori 2003:17) Education UK: The Prime Minister's Initiative Four Years on for British Council.

My data more or less confirmed the reasons shown above, but the majority of OS participants highlighted that their main concerns were "the academic reputation of UK degrees", "wider range and variety of courses", and "requiring new knowledge and competencies". Despite slight differences, these reasons are interconnected. They are highlighted here to imply that OSs either come to UK with scholarships (sponsored either by their governments or by their employers) or come to the UK self-funded with, at least, the purpose of making a change in their life, making innovative transformations of their current job circumstances, their government, society, and so on. Despite being criticised by some scholars as a result of academic or cultural imperialism (e.g., Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1999; Alatas, 2003), OSs tend to think that what they can learn from their host countries (USA,

UK, or otherwise) could be new, advanced knowledge, which they can use as resources for their innovative work.

Studying abroad is an experience that represents a higher order need of the human motivational system. I want to suggest that what really motivated many OSs is their characteristics of being change agents, which entails the belief that pursuing an MA degree in the UK is an intrinsically desirable experience. Apart from employability, mentioned by many OSs in my data, the studying abroad experience meets a fundamental need in the OSs' minds. This need is unpacked as a desire for self-realisation and personal enrichment (Wagner 1999: 130).

'Making changes and being innovative' was one significant characteristic of OSs being change agents that appeared in my data. Studying abroad can only be regarded as one element of establishing their new lives after their study, equipping OSs to be able to make changes and to be innovative in their lives, to have an impact on their own communities, their educational systems, their work practice, and so on.

OSs are never fully satisfied with what they are doing and where they are. They may begin to see that an undergraduate or an MA degree is not enough for them or that the current job situation is not ideal. Something is always incomplete, waiting to be fulfilled. They need something new for a change. Their innovation process starts at the moment when they decide to study abroad. For instance,

> Definitely it is good for my career development because before I'm coming here I went to work for some companies in Japan and I need to get some changes and English and business is one way to develop my career. Actually I really would like to broaden, widen my knowledge in business because MBA's really a good cause to know everything about business (Fukuda, Japan, Greenford University)

> I wanted an English speaking country and my options were just limited to the States, Canada, and UK and the UK seemed to be the best option in regards with a choice of culture and traditions and history of the country. And also I thought that it would be valuable for me to get outside of my continent of South America and just explore what the education is like in Europe.....I wanted to develop my knowledge in management studies and I do realise there are very good schools in my home country but I wanted to know something different to get outside my circle the things I already know and

want to explore something different, to learn something different.
(Castillo, Mexcio, Greenford University)

The main reason is I want a bright future because you know the temptation in China is very intense. So I just want to brush up my English and improve myself to find a good job......The main reason for me to study in the UK I said just now to improve myself, to get a Masters degree just for one year and so that I can stay in my town. Because I think time is limited for everybody especially for girls, for ladies. If I had to say if I just want to learn something I am really interested in. But things I know it is very hard to get distinguished so maybe I don't think any expectations on that just to study what I want to and experience different life, different style
(Wen, China, Greenford University)

OSs as change agents, to some extent, could be as Drucker (cited in Gees, 1998: 2) described about an entrepreneur who "always searches for change, responds to it, and exploits it as an opportunity". A number of OS research participants in my research saw studying in the UK as an opportunity to explore their *life possibilities.* Studying abroad is an entrepreneurial opportunity. If not primarily for profit-making, studying abroad certainly has paved a way to discover entrepreneurial opportunities for changes in the OSs' life (and job prospects). For instance,

I'm from Mauritius I did a first degree in accounting and I was teaching in Mauritius. So I thought that, I was looking for a change you see I just wanted something in my field of accounting so the most appropriate which I came across was financial management. And because (Redfield University) was giving us a £1,000 scholarship in Mauritius so I grabbed the opportunity. So cost and quality wise I can't complain too much (Sithanen, Mauritius, Redfield University)

It gives wider opportunity either to get a job or to have an international perspective. (Zvyagintsev, Russia, Redfield University)

Furthermore, two interrelated issues came from their interviews about why OSs chose to study in the UK. The first is concerned with "value for money" and the second is "studying abroad is an investment". These are interrelated in that OSs very often used "value for money" to assess what they have received from their institutions in terms of return on investment. Indeed, studying abroad is generally an expensive investment, and many OSs hope what they pay in order to study in the UK will pay 'back some sort of ways'. Considering the insight into the issues of extrinsic value, value for money, and investment, this reflects what some economists claim, that "qualifications and knowledge acquired through formal

education" and "skills, competencies and expertise acquired through training on the job" are the main components of human capital (Blundell et al, 1999: 2). Blundell et al (ibid.) pointed out that:

> In the standard economic model, the accumulation of human capital is seen as an investment decision, where the individual gives up some proportion of income during the period of education and training in return for increased future earnings. Individuals will only undergo additional schooling or training (i.e., invest in their human capital) if the costs (tuition and training course fees, forgone earnings while at school and reduced wages during the training period) are compensated by sufficiently higher future earnings. In a competitive labour market where wages reflect the marginal product of workers, to be able to command higher earnings, the better-educated or more-trained workers must be sufficiently more productive in employment than their less-skilled counterparts. (p2-3)

In my data, despite the fact that the concept of human capital was not mentioned at all in my data, many OS participants kept referring to this concept as one of those significant reasons that motivated them to attend courses in the UK. This shows that for many OSs, studying abroad seems to become a good investment in human capital in order to increase the probability of exploring their nascent entrepreneurial activities (Davidsson and Honig, 2003: 6).

Studying abroad is an expensive investment. Many OSs find it necessary to take studying abroad as an opportunity to explore their entrepreneurship, even if they have to sacrifice many things.

> I think if you compare the facilities and the environment they (French and UK HE institutions) can provide for us. Also just for the knowledge or the contact when I came here, I think it is quite valuable. I know that it's a big amount of money being funded by my parents but I told them because I borrow it, when I go back, plus some interest.
> (Wang, China, Redfield University)

Many OSs may pay more attention to the extrinsic value of studying abroad, seeing it as an investment and as a means of searching for the possibilities of better prospects in life or in employment. However, some OSs look also for intrinsic aspects of value for money in relation to studying abroad. Despite prioritising customer identity, some OSs were concerned more about the intrinsic aspects of their education, which I will discuss more in Chapters Five and Seven.

What these OSs revealed about their decision to study in the UK and their expectations after finishing their courses reflects Eckhardt and Shane's (2003) definition of "entrepreneurship as the discovery, evaluation, and exploitation of future" (p. 335). Furthermore, what has emerged from these interviews is that OSs saw that studying in the UK provided entrepreneurial opportunities from which they expect to have different life perspectives from what they had received at home, better job opportunities, and new values.

Additionally, my research showed that some OSs in business schools had the reasons for developing entrepreneurship; there is a significant difference between the UK government, UK HEIs, and OSs, despite the fact that all both receive and contribute to entrepreneurial discourse. The difference is that the UK government and UK HEIs are motivated by their financial incentives, whereas some OSs may not be primarily motivated by "pecuniary incentives" (Licht and Siegel, 2006: 514). Whether OSs are consciously aware or not, their entrepreneurship development is necessary for them, particularly for improving their prospects of upgrading their income later on. Rather, it could be more like what Licht and Siegel (ibid.) have identified for other decision dimensions, such as vision, stability, lifestyle, leadership, innovation, independence, contribution, and challenges.

In my data, I found whether or not my OS research participants prioritise their learner or customer identities. Many were very confident about what they were doing, why they made decisions to study in the UK, at particular institutions, and taking particular courses. They were aware of their shortcomings and what they need to improve from their study. They told about what they expected from their courses and what they had sacrificed in order to study in the UK.

As change agents, some OSs completely go beyond the framework of the current discussions in which they are constructed either as learners or as customers. In some ways, to a small or large extent, they have the power to intervene in (affect) how they are constructed by those who intend to take a part in their identity formation through entrepreneurial discourse. Again, this is because OSs know

what they are doing. OSs come to UK for a purpose, to pursue "change for their life", to be satisfied with what they can achieve and to become a change agent. For some OSs, their learner and/or customer identities may be contingent, but they are the change agent that could be both inherited and perpetual.

It is worthwhile to note here that some academic entrepreneurs may think that the reason why their marketing strategies and the notion of OSs as customers seems to work in OS recruitment results from the fact that OSs see themselves as customers. The notions of customer and market are narrowly adopted from marketing studies to the context of HE in the way that "a market is an aggregate of people who as individuals or as organisations have a need for certain products and the ability, willingness and authority to purchase products" (Dibb et al., 1997: 200).

Those who take this perspective of market and this narrow definition about the relationship between the buyer and the provider would probably fail to explain how their marketing strategies could work to attract these OSs who have strong faith in their learner identities. Those who have strong commitments in their learner identities and come to study in the UK or find the idea of studying in the UK attractive and are interested in what the UK HEIs promote, might not be interested because they see themselves as customers, but because this is a reflection of which they are eager to be a change agent and that is grounded in their beliefs.

Furthermore, when I started conducting my research, I saw OSs as powerless objects and paid less attention to the powers of their minds. However, after my empirical research conducted in four UK HEIs, I altered the ways in which I looked at OSs. I kept a fieldwork diary after each interview. One of the most frequent words that I used to describe some of my OSs interviewees is 'impressive'. Many OSs interviewees were in their early 20s, and this is the first time for them to live abroad for so long and so far away from home.

The idea of presenting OSs as change agents is to highlight that the power of their minds has helped them to resist and reduce the negative effects of the UK

government and UK higher education institutions constructing them as "the other" politically, and as the "customer" economically through their participation in the constitution of entrepreneurial discourse. It is the power of their minds that helps OSs not to be confined too much by the political or social ascendancy and control of the UK government and UK HEIs.

Furthermore, the power of OSs' minds generates autonomy. As Buss (2008) stated, "to be autonomous is to be a law to oneself; autonomous agents are self-governing agents. Most of us want to be autonomous because we want to be accountable for what we do" and "more importantly, perhaps, the value of autonomy is tied to the value of self-integration". Although O'Neill (1998) argued that "autonomy is contrasted merely with heteronomy, celebrations of the market, by both its friends and critics, often fail to acknowledge the ways that the market can undermine autonomy, by producing conditions for the characterless who lacks an identity" (p. 78). In the context of the marketisation of HE, OSs are self-governing agents.

Despite being confined by the UK government and UK HEIs, particularly in visa and immigration policies and in the identity construction about the term "OSs", as will be examined in Chapters Four and Five, there is still a space where OSs have freedom to engage in a different academic life and to develop their autonomous characters. Moreover, my data suggests that OSs have not lost their autonomous characters. In fact, they showed me that they were determined to change their lives and were looking for opportunities for something new for their future.

As some interview quotations will show in Chapter Seven, some OSs were aware their institutions developed their entrepreneurial activities. Yet I would not let their entrepreneurial institution affect their determination to maximise the benefits of studying abroad, such as enhancing their employability in the global labour market, their self-definition or their self-development, or their ability to experience a new lifestyle and to make international friends. Most importantly, many OSs realised that studying abroad is an opportunity to learn to defy challenges, to be

independent, to pursue their self-defined interests, and eventually to achieve their personal satisfaction.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I reviewed the process of conducting my research. The central theme of my thesis is the exploration of the ways in which OSs' identities are constructed though their interactions with other research participants such as UK university staff in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. I proposed the idea of OSs as change agents. The idea of OSs as change agents is a personal, epistemological, and methodological reflexivity generated from my research so far. I also intend to suggest that HEIs can promote this idea of OSs as change agents and use it as a strategy to devictimise OSs, which is imperative to enhance OSs'. Moreover, my data suggests that OSs have not lost their autonomous characters. In fact, they showed me that they were determined to change their life and were looking for opportunities for something new for their future.

Taking social constructivism- to conduct this research orients me to ponder the following three key methodological features: first, the knowledge regarding OSs is socially constructed; second, the knowledge about OSs is socially constructed and is created by social actors, primarily but not exclusively, policy-makers, Senior members of staff, academic staff, heads of international offices and OSs in my research; and third, the idea of reflexivity is imperative in my research. Being epistemologically self-conscious in relation to my personal experiences as an OS is not the focal point, but the starting point of conducting my research.

Ultimately, I intend to go beyond self-introspection toward what social, political, and cultural stances motivate me to write and to research OSs' identities on the one hand and on the other hand to move towards the progress of theorising OS identities. As a constructivist, I confess that I am not more than a co-constitutor of my knowledge concerning OSs. When collecting data, the research participant and other data resources take a part in the construction of knowledge. The process of

writing is that of silent dialogue between my imagined reader and me. The latter cannot be excluded from the constitution of knowledge production.

Chapter Four

The Paradoxical Overseas Student Policy

The main difference between PMI1 and 2 is that we are now focussing on improving the experience of international students in the UK – these are our ambassadors for the future - the development of strategic partnerships......Education contributes a tremendous amount to our economy. Fostering an international perspective is essential to its continued success.
(Bill Rammell speech: Going Global, British Council Conference, 8 November 2006)

"We make no apology for introducing stricter rules and carrying out tougher checks, which are crucial to stopping abuses of the system and protecting those genuine students wanting to study in the UK."

(Jeremy Oppenheim, the UKBA's national head of temporary migration, cited in Newman, 29 October 2009, The THE)

Introduction

As already discussed in Chapters Two and Three, the construction of OSs identities is a complex process, shaped by overseas students' (OSs) interactions with others. Others could refer to not only university staff, but also UK higher education institutions (HEIs) and the UK government.

The focus of this chapter is on the role of the UK government in constructing and reconstructing the *learner* and *customer* identities of OSs by analysing inconsistent policies and regulations about OSs recruitment, visa, immigration, and educational diplomacy. The recent changes in OSs related policies and regulations, particularly with regards to OSs recruitment, visa, and immigration, have emerged as external constraints for OSs when they negotiate and contest between their learner and customer identities. Additionally, these constraints generated from the fact that these recent changes in policies have appeared to be contradictory and inconsistent.

I want to suggest that The UK government's policies or decisions could significantly affect OSs' identity construction particularly when considering how the UK government produces and imposes the meanings and identities of OSs and then imbues these meanings into UK HEIs, influencing their constitution of OSs.

I want to argue first that the UK government's OS policies are contradictory and inconsistent and reflect different UK government units and departments that compete to win discourses respectively promoted by their individual departments, which serve different political and/or financial interests. Second, the UK government considers OSs as customers because of the strong financial incentives. Simultaneously, the UK government also forms reciprocal but antagonistic relationships with OSs by marginalising them *politically* as *the other*.

The UK Government in the Context of Entrepreneurial Discourse

To examine how the role that UK government plays in relation to the identity construction of OSs, I begin by looking at the UK government's policy and relevant official documents concerning OSs. I compiled these policy and official documents together as shown in the Timeline 1963- 2010 (please see Table 9, page 148). I eliminated some other HE policies from this table, although they might have affected OSs.

After presenting this timeline of policies, I want to suggest that the UK government has significant impact on the constitution of meanings and identities of OSs through the ways in which they resist and negotiate their learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. The notion of OSs as the other is vital in this study, and I will examine in more detail in the following paragraph. I want to suggest that OSs have been portrayed politically and culturally as *the other* and economically as a *customer*, raising a concern that there is a very little pedagogical consideration concerning OSs as learners appearing in the majority of the policy text and official document.

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If it is not the UK government's policy since 1960s that instantaneously makes OSs become *the other* or/and *customers*, it has certainly influenced by the ways in which the UK government made UK HEIs take entrepreneurial approaches towards their OS market and develop marketing strategies to recruit students abroad. Secondly, according to interactionists (for instance Cast, 2003; Stryker & Burke, 2000), influences the ways that OSs act and talk based on the meanings of these two identities.

Interconnected Strands of Overseas Student Policy

The first strand

As far as the UK government and UK HEIs are concerned, OSs and home (including EU) students are two different categories of customers. Some of my readers may question what makes it especially important to research OSs' customer identity, because home students also became customers of UK HEIs when they started paying £3000 in tuition fees after 2006. My answer to this question is that home students (EU students could be included, as far as their fees are concerned) and their overseas (non-EU) counterparts are in different customer relationships with UK HEIs.

Home students are designated as citizen-consumers in Giddens's term (2003, cited in Peters, 2004: 624). Peters's (2004) review stated that Giddens was highly influential in New Labour's policy making and demonstrated there should be "a new agenda for social democracy in terms of what he called 'the embedded market', 'the ensuring state' and 'the civil economy'" (p. 622). Peters (op. cit., p. 23) added, "the embedded market is one where the state and market are necessarily intertwined - where the state, reformed by the principles of New Public Management (NPM), is reinvented in terms of quasi-markets, flattened hierarchies and local autonomy".

As noted by Heffernan (2006, 140-1), *new public management* is a phrase used by scholars and professionals to designate the "themes, styles and patterns of Public Service Management that have come to the forefront in the past two decades" (op. cit., p.141). "Such themes include cost-effective, accountable and market-friendly provision of services" (ibid.). New public management became the "ideological force" to bring about management in public services (op. cit., p.140). Heffernan's (ibid.) review stated that:

> by the early 1990s, the government was talking about service provision in terms of a market economy and, by the late 1990s, the language of market principles or market forces clearly permeated social work theory and practice. It is within this setting that the language of 'consumer' and later 'service user' were introduced and applied via NPM (New public management) (p140-1).

Although Heffernan (ibid.) locates her research in the setting of social work, the political-economic ideology - new public management- took a considerable role in the construction of labeling language in the context of education, which used to be categorised as one element of public services. In a speech given by Gordon Brown (2003), then the Chancellor of the Exchequer, he said:

> Our universities operate in an increasingly global marketplace at the same time their excellence depends upon drawing upon the widest pool of talent- both factors making change inevitable and necessary. One of the central questions in higher education systems round the world concerns the extent to which the university should become, in effect, the seller, setting its own price for its service, and the prospective graduate the buyer of higher education at the going rate, whether through an up-front or deferred system of payment, and what the consequences of such arrangements would be for equity and efficiency, as well as choice
> (*State and Market: towards a Public Interest Test*, 2003, p266-7)

Indeed, both home students and their overseas counterparts are customers or consumers in the sense that the contemporary HE system operates under market principles. Yet, is very important to point out that home students and OSs are two different categories of distinct customers/consumers for two different markets, a quasi-market (for home students) and a real market (for OSs). Four points are needed to be elaborated here.

Firstly, the dispute concerning home students as citizens-consumers is based on the fact that home students are legitimately citizens of the UK nation. The promotion of citizen-consumer here is meant to enhance the social dimension of the market (Peters, 2004: 623). Regarding the consumer choice of home students, Peters noted that "consumer choice is a mechanism of quality and trust in the market context" that needs to be defined "in relation to rights and responsibilities in the context of public service" (P 624). In the domain of public service, "the individual is more a citizen-consumer. Greater choice and diversity have to be introduced into public services, but in the context of clearly defined public purposes" (Giddens, 2003: 18, cited in Peters, 2004: 624).

OSs, by contrast, are not UK citizens. OSs attend UK HEIs, not as citizens but as consumers/customers who are ineligible to benefit from UK public funds. The promotion of the student-as-customer idea could significantly enhance the economic and commercial dimensions of the OS market. These students come to the UK, not to receive HE as a public good, but rather as a private one.

Secondly, Le Grand and Bartlett (1993) elaborated the essential differences between the quasi market and the real/conventional one as follows:

> (Quasi-market) are 'markets' because they replace monopolistic state providers with competitive independent ones. They are 'quasi' because they differ from conventional markets in a number of key ways. Their differences are on both the supply and the demand sides. On the supply side, as with conventional markets, there is competition between productive enterprises or service suppliers. Thus... there are independent institutions (schools, universities, hospitals, residential homes, housing associations, private landlords) competing for customers. However, in contrast to conventional markets, all these organisations are not necessarily out to maximise their profits, nor are they necessarily privately owned ... on the demand side, consumer purchasing power is not expressed in money terms in a quasi-market. Instead, it takes the form of an earmarked budget......or it is centralised in a single state purchasing agency (Le Grand & Bartlett, 1993: 10).

In the context of the marketisation of higher education, Maassen (2001: 1) elaborated that there has been a general move to a "supermarket steering" model. "The state is becoming less dominant in steering HE and the (quasi) market is

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becoming more influential". It is not a pure market approach, but a hybrid one (p1). Maassen's point (ibid.) could apply to the UK's home student market, and his research did not delve further into the nature and usage of 'pure', 'real' and 'quasi' market approaches applied separately to home students and OSs.

To recruit OSs, the UK HEIs simultaneously cooperate (to promote the high quality of their teaching and research) and compete with one another (for their individual incomes from OS fees). With regard to the OS market, UK HEIs, like the conventional market and unlike the quasi market, expect to boost their incomes. OS consumers' purchasing power is observably expressed in money terms, unlike the quasi market.

Most importantly, in the real market system, OSs, unlike their home student counterparts, are theoretically and practically independent from any official agency in exercising their purchasing right (e.g., HEFCE). Instead, the promise and the scrutiny of quality control or assurances emerge from the fact that they are portrayed as customers in the conventional market.

Thirdly, unlike the home student market -- or quasi-market -- the UK government's actions towards OS recruitment shows that there is not much difference between the OS market and conventional and commercial markets. Mostly via the British Council, the UK government assists its HEIs to take entrepreneurial approaches to the OSs market. Sidba (2002) saw the British Council as an educational broker in global education markets. The British Council's website describes itself as follows:

> Our offices have always been regarded as an authoritative and impartial source of information about UK education opportunities...The introduction in the early 1980s of full-cost tuition fees for OSs in UK Higher Education signalled the beginning of a change of emphasis, and the introduction of more proactive marketing. The establishment of the Education Counselling Service (ECS) in 1984, as a subscription-based membership organisation, was also the beginning of greater collaboration between the British Council and UK education institutions which has grown to be of great importance to us.
> (British Council, Education Counselling Service Webpage)

In the context of the global HE marketplace, there is a dynamic interrelationship between the UK government, the British council and UK HEIs. This dynamic interrelationship fosters interrelated and competing discourses such as such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents and OSs as ambassadors. The role description of the British Council not only highlights this dynamic interrelationship, but also illustrates that using marketing strategies to promote UK HEIs is considered a practice of entrepreneurial approaches in HEIs.

The practice of the entrepreneurial approaches brings academic entrepreneurs to apply a market metaphor among HEIs. UK HEIs are promoting themselves in a national and global marketplace of HEIs. They are considered equivalent to entrepreneurs promoting their own institutions and their courses abroad.

As mentioned in Chapter Three and as will be discussed in detail in Chapters Five, Six, and Seven, there are specific marketing strategies for UK HEIs to recruit OSs. Terminologies are not borrowed, however, but are adapted straightforwardly from business-related disciplines, such as marketing and consumer behaviours. Many institutions have mapped out their 'market segments', highlighting which countries to prioritise as those their marketing units should focus on the most for their recruitment trips and setting the number of OSs that international officers are supposed to recruit.

Fourthly, expanding further on the last three points, as OSs who come to the UK to receive HE as private goods do not theoretically or practically rely on any purchasing agency, their consumer choice is not confined by the role of citizen-consumer in the context of UK public services. They could enjoy more choice and diversity than their home student counterparts, for instance, in terms of university study destinations. Additionally, UK HEIs could have acted more aggressively to recruit OSs, in comparison with home students, as noted in previous chapters. This suggests that the UK government's financial incentives and policy implementation towards the home and OSs are very different.

The Second Strand

This strand is concerned about my argument of which OSs are regarded by the UK government economically as customers, and politically and culturally as the other As shown in the Timeline from 1963- February 2010 (Table 9, page 148), in 1971, 1977 and 1979, policies concerning the differential fees, in particular making OSs pay full-cost fees in 1979, can be argued to have inevitably located OSs in the position of 'the other' (Devos, 2003: 164). The debate about these differential fees raises the issue of 'fees-discrimination against OSs' (Stiasny, 2008:14), which results from the idea that OSs inherently are not citizens of the UK, so national. OSs, are, therefore, categorised as foreigners, and as 'the other'. I shall start by talking about my own experience here, and Sidhu (2006) presents a very similar story.

As an OS, I am considered as "the other" in the UK. I have always been reminded that I am not a citizen of this country. The feeling of being *the other* became expressly clear to me on the first day I arrived at Heathrow Airport in London. Before I travelled to the UK, I was supposed to apply for my student visa through the British High Commission or its embassy in my country of residence. Upon arriving in the UK as a foreign passenger, I was requesting to complete a landing card. The landing card, a statutory card completed by foreigners when they arrive in the UK at the Home Office, contains such personal detailed information about passengers, including, name, passport number, flight number, occupation, address in the UK and so on.

Like other foreign passengers, I was required to queue for passport control in the airport according to what type of passport that I was holding. At the passport control area, my passport was identified according to the following categories: UK passport holder, EU passport holder and non-European Economic Area passport holders. Holding neither a UK nor European Economic Area passport, I would have to wait for any available passport control officer in a long queue. The queue is long, moves slowly and seemed endless since it is lined up by those on the same flight as mine.

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Standing in front of a passport control office, I was waiting for my passport and the landing card to be checked. Early on, I felt a bit nervous as I waited for the officer to grant me permission to enter the UK. I was then questioned about why I am here in the UK and how long I am going to stay. I was asked to show the school letter offered by my institution of learning. Additionally, if I planned to register for a course longer than six months, I would normally be asked to have a medical examination (The Immigration and Nationality Directorate of the Home Office Webpage)

Completing a landing card, answering the passport control officer's questions, and undergoing medical examinations could be considered as ways of identifying one as a foreigner; *the other* of the UK. As in many other nations, it is inevitably necessary in the UK government's view, for security reasons, to differentiate between UK citizens and foreigners at the passport control area. This line may be invisible, yet for me, it was discernible and did not disappear after I passed through passport control. The line is meaningful here, since it reflects the ways in which the UK government sees the OSs as a foreigner, as *the other.*

The picture is partial in the sense that each time I leave and return to the UK, I would have to complete all these security procedure on day of arrival in England. Additionally, after a certain period of time, I would have to renew my student visa. As shown in the Timeline: 1963-February 2010 (Table 9, page 148), after August 1 2003, I was charged for the costs of immigration services. 'The charges are set at £155 for applications made by post and £250 for applications made in person at Public Enquiry Offices'. In 2005, there was a further increase in the charge, which raised it from £155/ £250 up to nearly £500.

The UK government recently announced that under the new system, due to be introduced in the spring of 2009, to study in the UK, I must (1) prove that I am sponsored by a UKBA-licensed education institution; (2) prove that I have the means to support myself while studying here; and (3) supply my fingerprints. Additionally, my educational institution would have to report my attendance to the

UK Border Agency.

Becoming *the other* is a process. Bauman (1991:14) probably would have looked at this invisible line as a 'dichotomy' that sets the UK citizens and foreigners apart. When Bauman explained the idea of dichotomy, he aligned with post-colonial theoretical theme to integrate two concepts: the concept of the other and the concept of power. In the tradition of post-colonial theory, 'the colonized subject is characterized as other through discourse as a means of establishing the binary separation of the colonizer and colonized' (Ashcroft *et al*, 2000: 169). Furthermore, 'the other is the excluded or "mastered" subject created by the discourse of power' (op.cit., p. 171). In Bauman's (1991) view,

> Dichotomy is an exercise in power and at the same time its disguise. Though no dichotomy would hold without the power to set apart and cast aside, it creates an illusion of symmetry. .....In dichotomies crucial for the practice and the vision of social order the differentiating power hides as a rule behind one the members of the opposition (p.14)

The UK government may not intend to see OSs as *others* or as marginalised objects. However, what Bauman describes as a dichotomy could be identified as occurring in the passport control area in the airport. If the staff who serve in the passport control area represent the state, which is entitled to exercise its political forces for security reasons, then the passport control area - the invisible security barrier - makes OSs take a position in relation to them as *the other*.

The feeling of being *the other* may still sound vague in an academic discussion. Here, I want to try to spell this out by showing how the idea of being *the other* integrates with other terminologies, such as 'OSs' and 'foreign students'. The OS, as a term, is more political than not, simply because it is a kind of invention of political and economic forces. The term 'OS' generates an abundant field of meanings and connotations. It seems unnecessary to explain what 'OS' means or who OSs are, but to an academic discourse encompassing this term, it is necessary.

Some official documents show there is a distinction made among students, and some make it intentionally. The Higher Education Funding Council, for instance, in

Higher Education Students Early Statistics Survey 2005-06, states that:

> Island and OSs are generally those from the Channel Islands or the Isle of Man or from outside the EC. They are not included in any of our funding allocations or student number targets for 2005-06. Students who are not island and overseas are home and EC. (Higher Education Funding Council for England, 2005: 9)

The UK state mediates its policies

> through what can be described as an organizational zoo in which the different species can be typified in terms of the functions they perform, the power or authority characteristics and the forms of control and dependency which they employ, and the kinds of knowledge on which they depend for their functioning (Kogan & Marton, 2000: 89).

Intermediate bodies, for instance, like The University Grants Committee (UGC) and Higher Education Funding Council have been seen as buffers between the state and the HEIs (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997: 40). The ideology of the Higher Education Funding Council is political and diplomatic towards OS-related issues, for its role is to distribute public money for teaching and research to universities and colleges. OSs are excluded from the public funding schemes of both the UK HE policies and of the HEFC. Public money is meant to benefit and reflect the needs of home students. Students from the European Union, under the Rome Treaty implemented since 1957, would have to pay the home student fees.

Furthermore, although the Higher Education Funding Council's main job is to distribute public money for teaching and research to universities and colleges, one of this funding body's responsibilities is to guide UK HEIs in how to diversify their income:

> This letter sets out some guiding principles, developed with the sector's representative bodies, for institutions engaged in international activity. ......It also gives details of other sources of advice.
> Higher education institutions have sought to diversify their sources of income to supplement the core funding received from the funding bodies. An increasingly significant source is the income gained from recruiting foreign students. For many institutions the recruitment of OSs for enrolment on domestic courses remains their primary and sole objective; while for others collaborative franchised provision with international partners and international distance learning programmes are important elements of an overall strategy.
> (Higher Education Funding Council for England, Circular letter number 8/99)

As the letter says, an increasingly significant source to supplement the core funding received from the Higher Education Funding Council is the income gained from recruiting 'foreign students'. In this letter, the HEFC uses these terms - OSs and foreign students - almost interchangeably, indicating the income that OSs (or foreign students) bring into the UK is vital for securing the financial sustainability of the UK's universities.

The term 'Overseas Students', when used for official purposes or in policy-oriented documents implies that this particular group of students is exclusively *different* from their home and EU counterparts. Furthermore, the term 'OSs' also implies that this group of students comprises those who are supposed to pay full-cost fees, suggesting this term 'OSs' is increasingly associated with HEIs' income generation, so it has strongly implication for the concept of 'customer'.

The UK government officials have often made statements that articulate three things together: university income, the increasing number of OSs and fees they bring into the UK. These statements have repeatedly appeared in media coverage about OSs, which is not a recent development. Devos (2003) reported that media coverage portrayed OSs in Australia in similar ways as 'international fee-paying students' (p160), which contributes to the constitution of discourse that sets up OSs as foreigners and *the other* on the one hand, and creates a dichotomy between the local and the overseas (p164) on the other. Correspondingly, the media in the UK, the BBC for instance, reported on 15 September 2008,

> The Universities UK report said that since 2000-01 university income had grown by more than 50%. The largest share came from OSs......Their numbers have doubled in the past decade and their fees now amount to £1.7bn - a rise of 58% since 2002-03......The report said that as global competition for students increases, such growth may not be sustained. ....It found that enrolments of students from non-EU countries had increased by 105%. Overseas fees were now a bigger source of income for most universities than research grants, it added. ......Professor Geoffrey Crossick, chairman of UUK's long-term strategy group, said the report provided evidence of the "increasingly diverse income portfolio that universities are developing as part of a wider strategy to reduce its dependence on public funding".
> (BBC News, Foreigners prop up universities, 15 September 2008).

Similarly,

> Serious concerns have been raised about the future financial sustainability of the UK's universities. ......The higher education sector overall is predicting a 4% "real terms" deficit - partly due to a £2bn shortfall in research funding and high staff costs......Some universities have surpluses, but many are not setting aside enough for future challenges, a report by university employers and unions said. .....UK universities' global standing could be damaged as a result,.....And the very countries that the UK takes most of its non-EU OSs from, India, China, Singapore and Malaysia, have seen huge growth in their own universities......"There is a concern that as the universities in these countries become more mature and attractive, the UK may lose a significant source of students and income, and this could damage the financial position of a significant number of UK institutions."
> (Richardson, BBC NEWS, 10 December 2008)

Arguably, partly because of the media's coverage, partly because of everyday discussions or conversations within the HE sector, articulations like this, which have been predominant both within and outside of the university, may cause people to misinterpret the relationship between the university and OSs by presenting and reflecting an overwhelming picture as if the customer relationship is dominant over other ones, downplaying the pedagogical side of the OS and university relationship. The OS remains a 'cash cow' who is not only an unknown object, but is also a source of students who are under-researched in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. Prior to 'understanding' OSs, some people may have prejudged them as 'customers'.

Crucially, the ways in which the UK government interprets the meaning of OSs have seemed to play a significant role in the construction of entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses (such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents and OSs as ambassadors). The media's coverage functions as a switch, on the one hand, to reinforce the commercial connotation of the term 'OSs to the public; on the other hand, it accelerates the process by which 'OSs' and 'customer' become interchangeable terms.

'Foreign student', as previously stated, is another term used interchangeably with 'OS'. In *Education at a Glance*, publicised by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development OECD (2004), *foreign student* means 'someone who is not a citizen of the country of study' (296-7). This definition spells out the views of

the OECD countries in general on the political and social status of overseas, or foreign, students. As shown above, the UK appears to be one of the OECD countries that regards foreign students as those who are exclusively political outsiders and not a citizen or UK national. Not only can they not benefit from any public means, but also their fees have becomes one significant sources of revenue for UK HEIs.

'International student' is also a term used frequently to refer to students from abroad. Both UK government officials and some university staff nicely designate these students from abroad as OSs. For instance, in the speech regarding the Prime Minister's Initiative (PMI) - Stage One, given by former Prime Minister Tony Blair in 1999, the term running throughout the speech was international students, not OSs. Similarly, the current Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, when he was made the Chancellor of the Exchequer, said during his visit to India in January, 2005:

> "We want to promote further expansion in the number of international students at UK further and higher education institutions - such as the partnership between you, the Confederation of Indian Industry, and Imperial College London's new Rajiv Gandi Centre for Innovation and Entrepreneurship.
> (Brown, G. 'Speech at the Confederation of Indian Industry, Bangalore', HM Treasury News, 17 January 2007)

Most UK HEIs have an international office to serve OSs, even if they have a strong market orientation in relation to the term *international students*. Unlike the term *OSs,* which is increasingly seen as an alternative to 'customer', the international student seems to have become more of a diplomatic term, avoiding the plausible implication that students from abroad are portrayed as customers.

Layers of Policy Conflicts and Inconsistencies

These two interconnected strands of OS policy are vital to examine the role that the UK government plays in relation to the construction of OS identities. I want to argue that there are conflicts and inconsistencies within OS policies. My aim in this

section is to elaborate six layers of these inconsistent policies.

The First Layer

As mentioned above, internationalization is an important strand of UK HE agenda. De Vita and Case, 2003) pointed out, "internationalisation of higher education (HE) affords an opportunity to engage in critical reflection on practices across the sector and to pursue a programme of widespread reform based on outcomes of practitioner dialogue and debate" (p383).However, there is a growing concern in which internationalism is narrowly interpreted as "just about making money", for instance, as reported by Fearn (3, June 2010, THE):

> Two years after a report to the government warned that British universities were seen to be treating international students as a "cash cow", the sector is still taking but not giving......The message from the head of the British Council echoes a 2008 report by Sir Drummond Bone, former vice-chancellor of the University of Liverpool, which said the perception that internationalisation was "just about making money" for UK universities could threaten the sector's reputation overseas.

This layer reflects the UK government's paradoxical position regarding OS issues. To some extent, at the surface level, these conflicts and inconsistencies may create oppositional positions among the UK government, the UK HEIs, and OSs. At a deeper level, these conflicts and inconsistencies also reflect different UK government units and departments competing to win discourses respectively promoted by their individual departments.

As quoted at the beginning of this chapter, in 2006, Bill Rammel, former Minister for Higher Education and Lifelong Learning, promoted the discourse of 'improving the experience of international students in the UK'. Jeremy Oppenheim, representative of the UK Border Agency, insisted that the discourse of the UK's national security and border controls should be prioritised over others.

The Second Layer

These inconsistent policies seem to show the UK government being both liberal and retrograde towards OSs. It is liberal towards collaborations with other countries, for instance, China and India, by encouraging UK firms to employ Chinese or Indian graduates. Additionally, the International Graduates Scheme

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was introduced to allow OSs to stay and work in the UK after obtaining their degrees.

However, it is simultaneously retrograde in relation to the policy concerning OSs' tuition fees, visa and immigration regulations. For instance, OSs are charged increasing amounts of money for the cost of the immigration services they use. OSs must prove they have the means to support their study and supply their fingerprints to the UK Border Agency. Furthermore, the UK government launched two major initiatives of collaboration, aiming to seek closer cooperation and relationships with China (the China-UK joint statement in 2004 & the UK-China collaboration programmes in 2006). These collaborative initiatives can be considered as ways in which the UK government promotes educational diplomacy between UK and other countries. However, as noted by Stiasny (2008), "'All visa systems are tightened and especially for those applying from China - with a very significant increase in rejections for student visas at a time when that 'market' is the UK's most important'"(p29).

The Third Layer

OS-related policies are subject internally to the political economic dynamic behind the UK's current environment, and externally to the immense changes in the world political-economic environment. For instance, in an interview with Peter Mandelson, when he was backed to act as the new Business Secretary of the Gordon Brown government in 2008, he warned that the recent global financial crisis could bring about 'a new wave of economic nationalism that would put the brakes on international efforts to reduce cross-border trade barriers' (Kleinman, 2008).

Recent media coverage and politicians across the world have been highlighting the discourses concerning economic nationalism and traditional protectionism that resulted from the economic crisis. For instance, Vincent Cable, the Liberal Democrat shadow chancellor, called, "In the UK and elsewhere, for a return to atavistic 'politics of the soil': the politics of identity, and old-fashioned economic

nationalism" (16 October 2008, New Statesman).

The discourse about the rise of economic nationalism influenced OSs in two bipolar dimensions. In the first dimension, as argued above, both the UK government and UK HEIs would tend to rely on OSs' financial contributions, particularly in terms of their tuition fees and living expenses. However, in the oppositional dimension, as former UK Prime Minister Gordon Brown officially announced on the 12 November 2009.

> I am announcing today a review of student visas - to be conducted jointly by the Home Office and the Department for Business. It will involve key stakeholders, and will report in December. We will look at the case for raising the minimum level of course for which foreign students can get a visa. The review will also examine the case for introducing mandatory English language testing for student visas other than for English courses. And it will review the rules under which students on lower qualification courses work part-time, especially those on short courses, to look at whether temporary students are filling jobs that would be better filled by young British workers.
> (Gordon Brown, Speech on immigration, *Number 10 News*, 12 November 2009)

This speech, as interpreted by some political commentators, was "designed to head off the growing electoral threat from the British National Party", and later "success at the European elections in June has given them (British National Party) an opportunity to neutralise immigration partially as an issue at the next general election" (Naughton, The Times, 12 November 2009; also see Castle, The Reuters, 12 November, 2009). According to Stratton, "Labour's private polling makes this a matter of urgency" (The Guardian, 12 November, 2009)

The Fourth Layer

Some of these unwelcoming policies reflect the fact that both the UK HEIs and OSs lack power or access to the process of policy-making that concerns them. There is some doubt whether or not the UK government had considered it vital to consult the viewpoints of OSs as part of its policy- making process. It is also unclear to what extent the views of OSs are valued. This doubt reflects that there is little room for negotiation, and OSs are indeed relatively powerless as *the other* in the process of policy-making and -implementation.

The Fifth Layer

The inconsistencies within the UK government's policies might have misguided, misled, and even confused the ways that UK HEIs make their own strategies to recruit and their internal/institutional policies regarding OS issues. Furthermore, the current development of the marketisation of HE is, as Williams (1997) noted, "financial power shifted from providers to consumers and proxy consumers". On the basis of this market-like principle, OSs, as customers, would enjoy and benefit from their financial power, at least as far as deciding which institutions to attend and what courses to take.

However, the recent OS policy development, as argued, does not send a welcoming message to OSs, which can be considered as repression or restriction of OSs' financial power. This repression may reduce the possibility of OSs exploiting their rights either as students or as customers.

On the contrary, if one considers that one reason for OSs to exercise their financial power is to assert their existence in the UK, to not feel excluded or marginalised, and to feel less 'dehumanised' by the visa restrictions, then the recent policy development might have done more harm than good in relation to their participation and experiences in the UK. On the one hand, this reflects that in the process of policy-making, there is a lack of cultural, psychological, and occasionally diplomatic considerations in regard to OS issues. The political force is often prioritised over other concerns in this process. Alternatively, it seems to me that it is not really in the UK government's interests to understand OSs' experiences in order to study in the UK and to finish their studies.

The Sixth Layer

Continuously shaped primarily and vitally by the previous layers, the sixth layer here is to show how individual staff would react to both external (government) and internal policies.

In the United States after September 11 2001 terror attacks on the World Trade Center, Urias and Yeakey (2009) note that:

> For the first time in the lives of many Americans, national security became a priority as the government embarked on its war on terrorism. Since that time, new safeguards in the nation's visa system have been instituted making it extremely challenging for bona fide international students, scholars, scientists, and engineers to enter this country (p.73).

Similarly, in the UK after 7 July 2005 a series of coordinated suicide bomb attacks on London's public transport system, the UK government seemed to have followed the same strict visa regulations and border control to OSs, international visiting scholars and so on. Like in the US for the same reason as to fighting against potential terrorist attacks, the UK government prioritises its national security and border controls over others, which reflects on the recent immigration and visas policy development (See the Timeline 1963-February 2010, Table 9, page 148). For instance, the UK HEIs, from 2009 on, are required to report to the UKBA on students not arriving or not attending satisfactorily. Furthermore, as Ford reports:

> Two weeks ago the Home Office unveiled its new student visa system designed to shut down "bogus colleges" that provided nothing more than a route into Britain and work......The problems are highlighted by remembering that until 2005 there was no official register of education providers — allowing anyone to set up a so-called college and accept OSs. Last year the Government admitted that an inspection of 256 colleges had resulted in 124 being removed from a register created in 2005
> (Ford, *The Times*, 15 April, 2009).

Nevertheless, the recent immigration and visa policy development, because of prioritizing UK's national security and border controls, has undermined other aspects of the flow of students. On the one hand, these particular policies seem to have made OSs doubt about their academic relationship with their host institutions. The level of satisfaction of studying and their experiences in the UK may be affected by these policies. On the other, these policies have jeopardized the pedagogical interaction between academic staff and OSs and discredit trust and reputation that UK HEIs intend to establish.

Indeed, students, MPs, UK pro-vice chancellors, academics and those university staff who work closely with OSs and for university partnerships and collaborations have raised critical disputes over the recent immigration and visa policy

development. Since I have not yet found research papers examined here about the development and disputes concerning immigration and visa policy (2003-2009 in general, and 2008/9 in particular), I collected different critical voices from newspaper. For instance,

> International students can forget peaceful study and engaging debate- a series of new proposals looks set reduce their time in the UK to a cross between Orwell's "1984" and Channel 4's "Celebrity Big Brother"........Not only is it unrealistic and unfair to expect lecturers to adopt the role of prison wardens, this legislation marks the beginning of complete collapse in the relationship between student and teacher.
> (Battersby, *The Student*, 16 November 2008)

> Many academics have complained they are being asked to "spy" on students in a quasi immigration officer role. But the government says it must clamp down on foreign nationals using student visas as a bogus route in to the UK. The petition has 4,500 signatures and will be delivered to Downing Street on Wednesday afternoon.
> (Baker, BBC News, 10 December 2008)

> Lecturers at the University and College Union (UCU) annual conference, starting in Bournemouth, will argue that the system turns "educators into immigration snoopers" and could irreparably damage the reputation of UK higher education......
> (Lipsett, The Guardian, 25 May 2009)

> The UK could miss out on thousands of international students in the coming academic year because of a tighter immigration regime, universities are warning.....Diana Warwick, chief executive, said: "We are in serious danger of sending out a message that the UK does not welcome international students."......Universities UK said local visa officers were being too picky or were not fully trained. Leeds said officials had rejected applications because they were not aware of bodies authorised to award qualifications. In some countries 85 per cent of applications were being turned down. Problems also arose because of centralised processing. Some students would now miss essential pre-entry English courses, said Peter Moizer, dean of Leeds University Business School.
> (Bounds and Turner, The Financial Times, June 25 2009)

> Dominic Scott, chief executive of the UK Council for International Student Affairs, said that in the first few weeks of the new points-based system for visa applications, refusal rates soared to more than 60 per cent."This is not about counterterrorism, it is not about illegal immigration, it is about well-qualified students who have failed on some very small technicality in the application process," he told a Westminster Education Forum seminar in London last week."It is sending some very powerful and damaging messages around the world."......Mr Scott said visa problems were part of a "battery of hurdles" facing OSs.
> (Attwood, THE, 2 July, 2009)

No one can really say that OSs can live in the UK and study on university campus without being influenced and even pressured by these visa and immigrations policies. The importance of this layer is to illustrate that these inconsistent policies affect the way in which OSs and staff interact on the campus, and eventually the construction of OSs identities.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed how overseas and home students are different categories of customers to the UK government and UK HEIs. Both the UK government and UK HEIs have strong financial incentives towards the OS market. However, I have argued that the UK government has played a vital role in the construction of OSs identities through policies and regulations of OSs recruitment, visa, immigration, and educational diplomacy. Conflicts and inconsistencies within these policies and regulations reflect different UK government units and departments competing to assert discourses promoted by their individual departments.

Furthermore, the UK government's OS policies are contradictory in the sense that, on the one hand, they intend to 'welcome' OSs based on strong financial incentives, but on the other hand, policies and regulations concerning OSs have marginalised them as *the other*, leading to reciprocal but antagonistic relationships with them.

These reciprocal but antagonistic interactions become one of the primary sources of OSs' identity formation, directly or indirectly contributing to the fluctuation between the learner and the customer identities.

Table 9: Timeline- 1963- February 2010

Key dates of UK policy changes on the marketisation of HE and OSs in HEIs

1963 Robbins Report on Higher Education	• Raising the percentage of the age group receiving full-time higher education from about 8 per cent to about 17 per cent by 1980 • Setting up of a new Ministry of Education and Sciences • Teacher training to be removed from local authorities and integrated, administratively, into the university pattern (Trowler, 1998: 33)
1971	There are increases in OS fees, and Jack Straw, President of the NUS, leads a delegation to Whitehall to protest against the fees increase and to argue that this is fee discrimination against OSs (Stiasny, 2008: 14)
1977	A new type of differential fee by level of study is introduced; as a result, fees for students in further education increase by 40%, for undergraduates by 60% and for postgraduates by 100% (Stiasny, 2008: 15)
1979	The Conservative government announced that the planned increase in OS fees should be further increased by 20% and that the existing subsidy will eventually be removed entirely. This is estimated at approximately £1 million per year, and all OSs starting at UK institutions from 1980 will have to pay full cost fees. (Stiasny, 2008: 15)
1980	• Charging full-cost fees to OSs. • Students from the EU continue to pay the same fees as British students because of the terms of the Treaty of Rome • those who had already enrolled were exempted, but new students were required to pay fees which covered the average costs of tuition (Trowler, 1998: 33)
1983 Pym Package	Pym Package (named after the then-Foreign Secretary, Francis Pym). • The UK government's 1979 decision of charging overseas students full-cost fees resulted in a sense of outrage amongst many foreign governments and groups of people in Britain. It was seen as a denial of Britain's commitment to international education and its moral obligation to assist educationally dependent countries, especially poor Commonwealth ones. • The UK government's 1979 decision was to be phased in over three years and the quotas instituted in 1977 were withdrawn. In order to protect institutions from loss of good research students a special scholarship scheme was introduced: The Overseas Research Student scheme. • Targeted schemes were introduced and existing schemes enhanced. In particular, special joint funded schemes for undergraduates from Cyprus, Hong Kong, Malaysia and certain dependant territories were introduced to bring their fees more or less to "home" levels. • A special Foreign and Commonwealth Office Awards scheme was set up to bring potential leaders and decision-makers to Britain for their higher education. • One hundred thousand pounds were given to the British Council to promote British higher education abroad. Since 1983, other targeted schemes have been introduced, notably the International Development Agency's Scheme for students from poor Commonwealth countries and special schemes for students from China and South Africa. The established Technical Cooperation and Training awards programme continues. • There remains a widely held view amongst those concerned with international education in Britain that the various schemes described are inadequate compensation for the open door pre 1979 policy. (Belcher , 1987: 129-130)
1985 The Jarratt Report	• Charged with review and making recommendations about university management, it recommended a raft of measures designed to make universities more effective and efficient through clearer management structures and styles • Widely seen as the start of the application of managerialism to the university sector; although it had little measurable effect at the time, it marked a change in attitudes and discourse about university management. (Trowler, 1998: 34)
1987 White Paper	• The priority expressed here was to reform the higher education system to meet the

Higher Education: Meeting the Challenge		economic needs of the country. • 'This reviewed the whole spectrum of higher education. The fullest review since the 1963 Robbins Report and until the 1997 Dearing Report. Many of its proposals were translated into legislation through the 1988 Education Act (Trowler, 1998: 34)
1988 Education Act		• Polytechnics freed from LEA • Universities Funding Council and Polytechnics and College Funding Council established (UGC abolished in 1989 and these two councils merged in 1992) • Tenure could no longer be granted to protect academics' jobs • Higher education should serve the economy more efficiently and have closer links with industry and commerce and promote enterprise (Trowler, 1998: 34).
1992 Further and Higher Education Act		• Polytechnics permitted to change their names to university • University status for polytechnics and all universities and colleges brought within a single funding mechanism operated by the Funding Council for England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, which formally took over from April 1993 but started functioning earlier. • The Funding Councils are required to set up Quality Assessment Committees to assess quality in higher education (Trowler, 1998: 34).
1994		• UK government sets tariffs for the numbers of OSs to be recruited • Malaysia refuses to continue to support its nationals to come to study in the UK. (Stiasny, 2008: 23)
1997		• Tony Blair becomes Prime Minister. • Tony Blair, following a visit to China, launches what comes to be known as the 'Prime Minister's Initiative', aimed at increasing, by 50,000, the number of OSs in HE and by 20,000, those in further education. (Stiasny, 2008: 24)
1997 Dearing Report		• The expansion of HE with more of the national income spent on it • Students should bear part of the cost of their higher education • The new Labour government responds by announcing the introduction of tuition fees of £1,000 per year for students, to be introduced from 1998. These are to be means-tested and repaid when the individual is in employment. (Trowler, 1998: 35)
September 1997 Announcement of an additional £165 million for HE to make good in part the funding gap		This was aimed at fulfilling the government's promise to make good the funding gap in higher education: resources had been declining relative to student numbers for some years, and it seemed that the new arrangements for funding higher education (student fees plus the gradual abolition of student grants) would not benefit higher education financially. Universities continue to threaten to introduce 'top-up', arguing that they were not seeing enough of the money which resulted from government measures. (Trowler, 1998: 35).
1999 The Prime Minister's Initiative (PMI) (STAGE 1) (to recruit OSs to the UK		A new target of attracting 75,000 extra students to the UK by 2005 announced that the prestige Chevening Scholarship Scheme would be expanded. Currently supporting 2200 students, the aim is to offer extra 500 scholarships, with funding from government, universities and business. In partnership with The British Council, the Government will undertake a 3-year global marketing campaign, starting in January 2000, in key countries around the world. Funded with around £5M from Government, the marketing strategy will brand UK education as the first for quality and choice. (Stiasny, 2008: 25)
2001		Terrorists crash aircraft on targets in New York and Washington, USA. All visa and immigration systems are tightened and especially those in the USA, leading to a downturn in their numbers and, arguably, consequent increases to other countries, including the UK. (Stiasny, 2008: 27)
2003 Visa extension Charge		• The Home Office announced on 10 July 2003 that effective from 1 August 2003, foreign nationals living in the UK would be charged for the costs of the immigration services they use. The charges are made for applications for Leave to Remain in the UK, applications for settlement and permanent residency stamps being put in new passports. • The charges are set at £155 for applications made by post and £250 for applications made in person at Public Enquiry Offices.

		(Stiasny, 2008: 27) • In October 2004, the Science and Engineering Graduates Scheme (SEGS) is introduced allowing graduates in those sectors to stay on and work in the UK for one year after graduation. (Stiasny, 2008: 28)
10 May 2004 China - UK joint statement		China and the United Kingdom issue a joint statement setting out plans for developing co-operation between the two countries on areas that include Trade & Investment; Finance; ICT; Energy; Education; Science and Technology; Environment and Sustainable Development; and Culture (Number 10-The official site of the Prime Minister's Office, 'China - UK joint statement' 10 May, 2004)
2005 Visa extension Charge		• Following the introduction of charges in 2003, the Home Office launched a consultation on further increasing charges for Leave to Remain. • Under these proposals, charges would rise further up to nearly £500. (Home Affairs Select Committee, UUK, 2004)
2005		• All visa systems are tightened, especially for those applying from China - with a very significant increase in rejections for student visas at a time when that 'market' is the UK's most important. • Labour wins a third consecutive term with Tony Blair as Prime Minister. The manifesto includes a commitment to abolish rights of appeal for, amongst others, any students whose visa applications are refused. (Stiasny, 2008: 29)
2005 UK India Education and Research Initiative (UKIERI)		• This initiative aims to substantially improve educational links between India and UK ensuring in the longer term we become each other's partner of choice in education. • UKIERI was announced by the Prime Minister Tony Blair during his visit to India in September 2005, and launched by him in April 2006. • The three main strands of the initiative are – Higher Education and Research, Schools and Professional and Technical Skills. The Initiative also presents an opportunity for high level dialogue between the two countries on areas of mutual policy interest such as quality assurance, international standards and credit recognition schemes. (UKIERI webpage)
The Prime Minister's Initiative for International Education (PMI2) was launched in April 2006		PMI2 sets out to achieve a number of targets by 2011. These targets are to: • attract an additional 70,000 OSs to UK HE, and an additional 30,000 OSs to UK FE • double the number of countries sending more than 10,000 students per annum to the UK • achieve demonstrable improvements to student satisfaction ratings in the UK • achieve significant growth in the number of partnerships between the UK and other countries (British Council, PMI Overview webpage)
2006/7 UK-China collaboration programme/ Innovation China UK (ICUK)		• Innovation China UK (ICUK) is the first UK-China collaboration programme to promote joint innovation and knowledge transfer. • Connecting five UK HEIs and over twenty Chinese partner institutions, ICUK supports academic and business partners in forging collaborations, funding proof-of-concept research, and commercialising joint intellectual property across the UK and China. (ICUK Overview webpage)
2007, 1 May International Graduates Scheme		Government announces introduction of the International Graduates Scheme allowing all graduates in any subject throughout the UK to stay on and work, but still only for one year. (Stiasny, 2008: 29)
2008/2009 New immigration rules		Under the new system, due to be introduced in the spring of 2009, universities and colleges must take greater responsibility for their OSs as they may face a ban on bringing over OSs if they fail to follow new rules. Universities and colleges face losing their license if they fail to: • keep copies of all their foreign students' passports; • keep and update their students' contact details; • alert the UKBA to any students who fail to enroll on their course; • report unauthorised absences to the UKBA; • inform the UKBA if any student stops their studies. • A student without a confirmation of acceptance for studies issued to them by their sponsoring institution or a visa application will not be considered. This also acts as a pledge from the college or university that they accept responsibility for the student while they are living in the UK. Before they can study here, foreign students must:

		• be sponsored by a UKBA-licensed education institution; • prove that they have the means to support themselves and their families while studying here; • supply their fingerprints. (New Immigration Rules for Students Monday, 4 August 2008, Migration expert.com, also see Government announces strict new rules for recruiting OSs, 4 September 2008; Stiasny, 2008: 30-1)
2008		• Major consultation and debate between government and the sector (including UKCISA) on the introduction of a radical new Points Based (immigration) System. • The Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE) announces abolition of funding for the Overseas Research Student Award Scheme. • Government introduces new Post Study Work category – as part of Tier 1 of the new Points Based System – allowing international graduates from any institution in the UK to stay on and work for up to two years. (Stiasny, 2008: 30-1)
November 2009		Gordon Brown, the Prime Minister, called for a review of student visas - to be conducted jointly by the Home Office and the Department for Business, • looking at the case for raising the minimum level of course for which foreign students can get a visa • introducing mandatory English language testing for student visas other than for English courses • reviewing the rules under which students on lower qualification courses work part-time, especially those on short courses, to look at whether temporary students are filling jobs that would be better filled by young British workers. • temporarily shutting down applications for student visas from parts of China where there was evidence of abuse (Number 10-The official site of the Prime Minister's Office, Gordon Brown, Speech on immigration, 12 November 2009)
January 2010		The UK Border Agency suspended student visas from India, Nepal and Bangladesh on the 30/31 of January amid heightened concern about illegal immigration from South Asia. The suspension is to allow immigration officials to vet an unusually high number of applications for fraud. Officials suspect that studying in the UK is being abused as a way to settle in the country. (Lamont, 31 January, 2010, Financial Times)
February 2010		Home Secretary Alan Johnson announced tougher rules to stop people abusing the student visa system. Under the new rules, effective immediately: • Successful applicants from outside the EU will have to speak English to a level only just below GCSE standard, rather than beginner level as at present • Students taking courses below degree level will be allowed to work for only 10 hours a week, instead of 20 as at present • Those on courses which last under six months will not be allowed to bring dependants into the country, while the dependants of students on courses below degree level will not be allowed to work • visas for courses below degree level will also be granted only if the institutions they attend are on a new register, the Highly Trusted Sponsors List. (BBC Online News, 7 February, 2010))

Chapter Five

Creating New Values and Undertaking Risks

Introduction

This chapter considers the role of the UK higher education institutions (HEIs) in relation to the identity construction of overseas students (OSs) in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. The UK HEIs are forced to undergo the process of articulating, negotiating, and harmonising between notions of OSs as customers and as learners. The way in which the UK HEIs negotiate different and often competing notions seems to have inevitably affected the identity construction of OSs.

First, I discuss how the political and economic forces exerted by the UK government influence the way UK HEIs negotiate its interrelated and competing discourses. The way that I approach this discussion is to look at how the entrepreneurial culture, promoted by the UK government through HE policy and in particular OS-related policies, influence UK HEIs. By engaging this discussion, I want to highlight the extent to which the UK HEIs adopt the UK government's ideology, meaning-creation, interpretation, and attitudes with regard to the term 'OS'.

The second important element of this chapter is to examine how commercial-oriented inter-governmental organisations such as the WTO influence UK HEIs' participation in this construction.

Third, HEIs in the UK are intertwined with the UK government and trade organisations, for instance, regarding the WTO. It is imperative to examine how UK HEIs relate to these powerful political and economic bodies such as the UK government and the WTO on the one hand, and react and contribute to this

process on the other in the construction of entrepreneurial discourse.

Fourth, I present my reflexive accounts of the previous three elements as well as my empirical research. My reflexive accounts, consisting of my personal reflexivity, epistemological reflexivity, and methodological reflexivity, are vital in articulating that while negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses (for instance, such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, and OSs as change agents, OSs as change agents), the UK HEIs create new values and, simultaneously, undertake some risks.

Political and Economic Influences of the UK Government

As discussed in previous chapters, the UK government has financial incentives for concentrating upon the OS market: namely, this market makes a significant financial contribution to the UK economy, both directly and more broadly through conventionally-recognised multiplier effects (Melody, 1997: 81). Furthermore, HE in the global marketplace in general has a significant impact upon conventionally-recognised macroeconomic performance indicators such as GDP, employment and balance of trade. HE is increasingly seen as a commercial product to be bought and sold like any other commodity, and has now reached the global marketplace (McNicoll *et al*, 1997:23).

In the context of entrepreneurial discourse, many European countries exert their political and economic force upon their HEIs. As Maassen (2001) describes the nature of this transformation:

> "...is on the political agenda in every country in Europe. UK higher education institutions are urged to 'modernise', 'adapt', 'diversify', 'marketise', and is expected to become 'entrepreneurial', 'competitive', more 'efficient' and more 'effective', more 'service oriented', and more 'societally relevant'" (p1)

It is generally acknowledged that this transformation can only be successful if the traditional steering relationship between state authorities and HEIs has changed dramatically.

The way in which this relationship changes in the UK context, as noted by Kogan and Hanney (2000: 22), is that HEIs can be considered either as sub-systems of the state or as independent institutions, though they are strongly affected by the nature of the state. The financial pressures upon the state to control HE resources and HEIs are forced to respond to "the economic dynamic" are overwhelming and inescapable' (Salter & Tapper, 1994: 18). These pressures have been transferred onto HEIs strategically through educational policies (Jarvis, 2001: 31) on the one hand, while on the other hand, UK HEIs are expected to produce desirable results that meet their ambitions (Salter & Tapper, 1994: 18).

Maassen (2001) adds, 'whilst HE institutions appear to have increasing autonomy, governments, through regulation, appear to wish to ensure that this autonomy is used by institutions to achieve specific political expectations' (p1). There are reasons behind the political expectations of the UK government in relation to OSs. As demonstrated in Greenaway and Tuck's (1995) research, "the contribution which international students make to exports does not only originate in fees, however, whilst in the UK they spend income on UK produced goods and services" (p41). HE earnings, from the standpoint of the national economy, are now perceived as an important contribution to invisible exports.

The way in which the UK government transfers its financial pressures onto HEIs by means of HE in general and OS-related policies is discussed in Chapter Five. In this chapter I want to focus upon some examples of how the UK government exerts its political powers in some significant implementations of these policies, as well as the significant elements of effects and consequences of these policies.

Two examples can be made here to suggest that, with the support of the UK government, HE in the UK has been a successful trade, involving OSs who are recruited as customers.

Firstly, the Queen's Awards for Enterprise are the UK's most prestigious awards for business performance. Here, I outline the timeline of the history and development

of the Queen's Awards:

- 1966-The Queen's Award to Industry, the scheme's original title, was instituted by Royal Warrant in, and it was only offered to organizations.
- 1975- The Queen's Awards for Export and Technology, with separate awards for outstanding achievement in each of the two fields.
- 1992-The Queen's Award for Environmental Achievement
- 1999- The Queen's Awards for Enterprise with three broad-based categories for organizations: International Trade, Innovation and Sustainable Development, chaired by Charles, Prince of Wales
- 2005- The Queen's Award for Enterprise Promotion (QAEP) was added to the programme.

(Source: Wikipedia, webpage for the Queen's Awards for Enterprise; The Queen's Awards for Enterprise official website)

The Queen's Awards for Enterprise are also given to UK HEIs to promote and encourage them to recruit more OSs abroad. In a way, this award reflects a trend in which the UK HEIs operate as enterprises, particularly in terms of recruiting students from abroad. For instance, the University of Nottingham won this award in 2006 for promoting its higher educational and research services; while in 2008 the University of Glasgow Business School won the award for its successful performance in promoting its business education.

According to the Queen's Awards for Enterprise official website, two Queen's Awards for International Trade eligibility criteria are:

- outstanding achievement in international trade over three years
- continuous achievement in international trade over six years

(The Queen's Awards for Enterprise official website)

By definition of the awarding organisation of the Queen's Awards for Enterprise, these international trade winners are companies which have demonstrated growth in overseas earnings. Very often, these overseas earnings can refer to incomes from non-EU OSs' fees. One of the criteria for obtaining this award is the number of OSs and the income generated from this kind of international trade. For example, below is a statement made by the University of Westminster upon receiving the Award:

> This is the University of Westminster's second Award, and recognises the continuing steady expansion of overseas earnings, rising 31% in three years to £23.3 million. Undergraduate and postgraduate students now come from all over the world to follow the University's higher education courses, particularly from China, the US, Nigeria....."Within the University

itself, the Award has also had a great impact. Our overseas operation can sometimes be seen as separate, but we cannot attract OSs without delivery on the ground. The Award helps everyone to buy into the concept and pull together better at every level."
(The Queen's Awards for Enterprise, Case Studies of International Trade, Webpage)

This statement is repetitively articulated by two correlated ideas as examined in Chapters One, Two and Four. The first idea is that there is an increasing number of OSs participating in UK HEIs; and the second is that their tuition fees have become a significant source for the incomes of UK HEIs. On the one hand, the term 'OSs', as argued, has a commercial connotation in that it could be seen as another example that HEIs in the UK adopt the meaning of 'OSs' that serves the political and economic interests of the UK government and the HEIs. On the other hand, it reinforces and strengthens the commercial connotation of the OS in the context of entrepreneurial discourse.

The second example is that the UK government has policies and market strategies for OS recruitment; for instance, the most significant are the Prime Minister's Initiative for International Education phase one (in 1999) and the phase two (in 2006). According to the newsletter released on the British Council's official website:

'The further and higher education sectors and the English Language sector have come together with the Government and the British Council to provide a total of nearly GBP 7 million in 2006 / 2007 directly to promote the objectives of the second phase of the PMI.'
(The British Council, About PMI2, Webpage)

The official website also lists the partners of the British Council involved in delivering PMI2. Apart from the British Council itself, which has been a hub acting on behalf of the UK government and HEIs in the UK to promote HE abroad, there is also the Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills (DIUS); the Scottish Executive; The Welsh Assembly; The Department for Employment and Learning Northern Ireland; UK visas; the Higher Education Funding Council for England (HEFCE); Universities UK; Guild HE; the Learning and Skills Council; the Association of Colleges (AoC); English UK; the Home Office; UK Trade and Investment (UKTI); and UKCISA: The UK Council for International Student Affairs.
I want to make two very important points. Firstly, a point I have been making

throughout this thesis is that the money the UK government invests and the number of governmental departments and offices involved in OS recruitment reflect the extent to which the OS market is important economically to the UK government and to its HEIs.

Secondly, Marginson (1995: 17) expressed that political economy, sociology, and social theory all have something to show about the contemporary development of markets in education. Furthermore, the use of the terms in higher education often implies the additional assumptions of perfectly competitive markets, as Dill (1997) described,

> When examining the dynamics of a particular sector such as higher education it is also important to recognize that there is not a single market, but multiple and interrelated markets. There include the market for programmes of tertiary edition, but also the separate market for research, and the labour market for academic professionals (p168).

However, as argued in the last chapter (Chapter Four), overseas and home students are regarded as different kinds of markets by the UK government and by higher education. The government regards the market for home students as the quasi-market. However, the OS market is considerably different from the quasi-market model and operates like a financial market which allows OSs to pay full-cost fees for their entry to study in UK HEIs. This OS financial market is also a competitive one, in which the UK has to compete with other English speaking countries such as USA and Australia, and with non-English Sweden and Germany for their degree courses taught in English.

The OS market, at a superficial level, may run on the principle of free market capitalism, in which there is no sign of intervention by the UK government. Instead, as discussed, the UK government intervenes in the OS market. The UK government's policy (for example, about regulations charging full-cost fees, visa regulations, recruitment-guidance strategies, and so on) and the diplomatic activities of key government leaders (e.g. former Prime Minister, Tony Blair) are attributed to the way in which the UK HEI's marketing officers consider OSs as customers of a market and recruit OSs from abroad. The implication of this point is

that the financial power of OSs may not be as strong, influential and negative as critics of the marketisation of HE expect it to be. Nor is this market as free as other financial markets.

The intervention also includes regulations, policy, and perhaps quality control regarding the OS market. One thing that should be highlighted here is that the UK government's position is not to slow down the overriding development of the OS market through intervention via policy or regulations. Instead, a point has to be made here is that the UK government is doing what it can to trade in HE in the UK as a commercial venture, whilst facilitating the OS market to develop into a commercial market and viewing UK HE as a commercial good.

As argued in Chapter Four, the UK government's policies and regulations concerning OSs have marginalised them politically as the other. Furthermore, the UK government considers OSs as customers because of the strong financial incentives. The way in which UK HEIs differentiate between OSs and home students is very much confined by the UK government. According to the University of Oxford Public Affairs Directorate, *Graduate Finance Guide for Entry in 2009–10*, *a* significant difference needed to be made. A student who has ordinarily been a resident in the UK or in an EC country (and is a national of an EC country) for three years immediately preceding the date upon which his or her University course begins, other than for the purpose of education, will not be defined as an OS. All others, however, will be considered to be OSs.

> ...all graduate students have to pay tuition fees and this will be at one of two rates: the 'Home/EU' or the 'Overseas' rate. It is important that your fee status is correct, as this is the basis for the University's decision on whether you should pay the Home/EU tuition fee or the Overseas tuition fee. It is not the University's judgement of your nationality. The definitions adopted by the University to classify students as 'Home/EU' or 'Overseas' for fees purposes are given in Appendix 2. However, these definitions and, in particular, the phrase 'ordinarily resident' need interpretation; being a UK or EU national does not automatically qualify you for 'Home/EU' fee status.......
> (The University of Oxford Public Affairs Directorate, *Graduate Finance Guide for Entry in 2009–10*, 2008:5)

In Appendix 2 of this *Graduate Finance Guide for Entry*, the criteria for students who are eligible to pay home / EU student fees are outlined. It is also written that:

......In determining whether students are liable for University composition fees at 'home' or 'overseas' rates, the University applies the above criteria. It should however be noted that *these are liable to be changed from time to time to conform to national legislation.* (op.cit., p. 51)

The Graduate Finance Guide for Entry of University of Oxford suggested that the ways in the term 'OS' is constructed aligned with what I argued in Chapter Four: OSs are politically and culturally constructed as *the other* and economically as customers.

Influences of Intergovernmental Organisations - the WTO

The way in which UK HEIs engage in the process of negotiating interrelated and competing discourses in the context of entrepreneurial discourse and the way in which they recruit OSs is not only influenced by the UK government, but also by the recent development of international trade in the education service; for instance, the World Trade Organisation (WTO).

To elaborate upon the relationship between the WTO and HE in the UK, I have two points to make. Firstly, as Robertson (2003: 263) says, 'in theory, as the WTO is a member-driven organisation, all decisions are taken by its 146 members', and 'the overall objective for the WTO is to work toward market liberalization shaped by the rules of' "most favoured nation", "transparency", "national treatment" and "market access"' (op.cit., p. 262).

Since 1995, the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) is 'the emerging international trade agreement administered by the World Trade Organization (WTO)' (Knight, 2003a: 1) that has raised the issue concerning the impact of new international trade regulations in HE (ibid.).

Knight (op.cit., p. 3) examines the meaning of 'trade in education services' in GATS by outlining four modes of trade in services. These are: Mode 1 - Cross-border;

Mode 2 - Consumption Abroad; Mode 3 - Commercial Presence; and Mode 4 - Presence of Natural Persons.

Mode 2 in particular, under the ramification of GATS, is referring to international students (here, including EU and OSs) travelling to another country, other than hers, to study. International student mobility is too important to be included in the GATS, as Larsen (2003) points out:

> '...there are clearly commercial motives as well as the usual cultural and political rationales behind policies to internationalise higher education. The inclusion of "educational services" in the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) negotiations now under way in the World Trade Organisation (WTO) has raised awareness of the trends and issues relating to international trade in educational services in higher and, more broadly, post-secondary education.' (p.8)

Secondly, extracted and extended from the previous point, is that the way GATS phrases education and international student mobility is vital because GATS is one of these inter-governmental agreements and regulations in which education is officially identified as trade and international students as consumers. For instance, in the original document, as quoted from Knight's (ibid.) notes, ' Mode 2 - Consumption Abroad refers to the consumer moving to the country of the supplier which in education means students taking all or part of their education in another country'. International students are clearly referred to as customers, and education as goods for consumption.

UK HEIs seem to be confined more by their domestic HE policy, and less by the WTO's GATS. As Rose et al (2003) note, 'countries do have a choice about what to sign up to so, if they do not see it in their interests, they can choose not to' (p6). However, UK HEIs cannot undermine the WTO's political and economic forces and influences in relation to the global HE market. Furthermore, the symbolic meanings in relation to trade in education and education as a service, produced in the process of negotiation and implementation of GATS.

UK HEIs' Participation in the Construction of Entrepreneurial Discourse

Given that HEIs in the UK are intertwined with the participation of the UK government and of trade organisations - for instance, the WTO - in the process of construction of the discourse of entrepreneurialism, it is imperative to examine how they relate towards these two political and economic powerful bodies on the one hand, and react and contribute to this process on the other (international strategies).

I am interested to analyse some of the job descriptions of posts related to institutional strategies and OS recruitment, and how they correspond to my interview data provided by those who occupied these positions. Along with the encouragement and promotion of entrepreneurial cultures by the UK government, UK HEIs find they have to be entrepreneurial as much as any for-profit institution in order to resolve their financial deficits. As discussed, OS recruitment has famously become one of the significant income sources.

It could be a surprise to see that entrepreneurial cultures have also affected the ways in which the university governance structure works. For instance, Anglia Ruskin University posted an advertisement in The THES, on April 28th, 2006, for a Vice-Chancellor with a six-figure salary. Some of the requirements were:

> Passion for the education and development of people, excellent interpersonal skills, entrepreneurial flair and ability to build credibility with academics......Leader, strategic thinker, team and consensus builder, with good judgement, political sensitivity and ability to take difficult decisions.

For this post, it appears as if they were looking for a senior member of staff such as a chief executive of a private organisation. The Vice-Chancellor that Anglia Ruskin University recruited was expected to act as a private sector chief executive for the university. Some of these characteristics, such as entrepreneurial flair and ability, are essential to empower the Vice-Chancellor to act as a leader of his / her university, transferring strategic plans into actions. In addition, a Vice-Chancellor with great political sensitivity would have to respond cautiously, efficiently and

appropriately to changes relating to higher education, such as education policies.

Deputy Vice-Chancellor (PVC-Bresnan) Redfield University (see **Appendix 3** for detailed coding systems and interview questions) interviewed for this research was recruited from the private sector. He clearly referred to his university as an entrepreneurial university. He said:

> Yes (we are an entrepreneurial university) because we do try things. We do try things differently. We do very much treat what we're doing overseas as a marketing effort just like you would in any company. We've incidentally just won the Queen's Award for all of our international work... I would say that we are entrepreneurial. We have a system whereby OSs can come here and study here for a while. And they could then go to some of our partner institutions in other countries and gain credit there, academic credit which they can use to get their degrees back here. So we have quite a lot of things which probably other older universities don't have.
> (PVC- Bresnan, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Redfield University)

His entrepreneurial ideas were transferred into higher education, with his job switching from director of a commercial company to the PVC- Bresnan of Redfield University. Committed to being an entrepreneurial university, Redfield University adopted some initiatives regarding OS recruitment. One of these initiatives includes building up partnerships with other HEIs abroad, offering modules that OSs can make transferable to Redfield University in the UK.

In our interview, he deliberately differentiated his ways of managing OS recruitment from his pre-'92 university counterpart. PVC- Bresnan said:

> I would say that we probably have a more organised approach. Our overseas recruitment is done through a centrally controlled organisation not done by the academic schools at the university although they help, they do participate but the organisation of all of our overseas offices is something that I organise with my senate. And then we have central positions, we have one admissions office here in the university for all OSs and so the people in there build up a knowledge themselves of the countries.
> (PVC- Bresnan, Deputy Vice-Chancellor, Redfield University)

As a former director of a commercial company, the PVC- Bresnan expressed his senior member of vision and carried his entrepreneurial management style into Redfield with regard to OS recruitment. Redfield University seemed to possess a willingness to change its strategic plans (Chaston, 1998: 214; Drucker, 1994). My

empirical research, although it cannot depict the monolithic picture, suggests that recruitment strategies of pre-'92 universities such as Greenford were very often formulated and implemented by their international offices, whereas that of Redfield University was mapped out and put into practice by the Deputy Vice-Chancellor's team. The reader may question the statement that I have just made.

Yet, my research has covered four UK HEIs in the UK that could represent just part of the picture. My research in this regard is very much exploratory, partly because contemporary HEIs change their recruitment strategies to meet the continuous challenges of the global marketplace. When it comes to the Deputy Vice-Chancellor's entrepreneurial innovation in terms of recruiting OSs, this has worked well, with Redfield University winning the Queen's Awards for Enterprise for international trade. The Deputy Vice-Chancellor's centrally-controlled organisation confirms that his efforts to engender more entrepreneurial approaches into his university seem to have been very successful.

Entrepreneurial culture in HEIs could probably be said to have been adapted from private sectors. Yet HEIs these days have reshaped some fundamental features of the private sector and generated their own academic entrepreneurial cultures. To have someone who is familiar with entrepreneurship and how it could work within universities, along with recruiting senior managers from private sectors, is a trend under which UK HEIs have recruited academic members of staff across universities to join senior member of institutional management teams.

It appeared in my empirical research that those who are recruited to join senior member of institutional management teams are senior members of staff from their own business schools. For instance, two deans of business schools, from Greenford University and Redfield University respectively, were Pro Vice-Chancellor and Deputy Vice-Chancellor of their universities at that time. A governance structure of this kind is believed to be a compromise between traditional collegiate university management and a business model of business executive management. This compromise arrives at some institutions because on

the one hand, it makes substantial progress in adapting to the demands of financial constraints; and on the other, it not only responds but is proactive in reconciling new senior member of staff values with traditional academic ones (Clark, 1998; 2004).

This compromise appears in the major responsibilities that these Deputy Vice-Chancellors, Pro Vice-Chancellors and other senior officers take on at their universities or institutions. Some entrepreneurial-oriented areas of responsibility are created for these senior managers of HEIs. The senior managers of HEIs seem to like to find the intersection between values that are high priorities in a traditional academic heartland and that serve as common ground for different groups of university staff (for instance between academic staff and those who take responsibilities for student recruitment and services). Many of them took an entrepreneurial perspective toward their OS market. They expressed that their institutions needed both academic staff providing good quality teaching and research, and academic entrepreneurs who are able to manage OSs recruitment and good student services.

Entrepreneurial cultures are adapted and applied not only for institutional governance structures, but across departments / units of institutions. Very likely, this spirit would have reached international offices or departments of external relations, as entrepreneurship amongst those whose work is involved with OS recruitment is encouraged by their institutions. Directors of international student recruitment or heads of international offices are required to demonstrate entrepreneurial abilities in relation to OS recruitment. Entrepreneurship, therefore, has become an essential quality for directors or heads of international offices in UK HEIs. These heads/ directors of international offices would have to show entrepreneurial flair in order to take on the responsibilities assigned by their institutions.

For instance, the University of Reading wanted to recruit a new Director of International Student Recruitment and posted an advertisement in the THES on

April 21st, 2006:

> We are looking for the person who will:
> - Lead our ambitious new international recruitment and marketing activities
> - Work with a cross-campus team of enthusiastic and energetic professionals
> - Have an outstanding knowledge of international marketing
> - Bring an innovative and entrepreneurial approach to our international recruitment initiatives.

A short job advertisement of this kind is very much filled and intertwined with the key concepts of entrepreneurialism - entrepreneurial approach, international recruitment initiatives, international recruitment and marketing activities.

An interview with the Head of the International Office (HIO-Denly, see **Appendix 3** for detailed coding systems and interview questions) from Bluefield University indicates that his marketing plans reflect to a large extent the mission statement and strategic plans of his university:

> We have an international marketing strategy that uses all marketing communication aspects like direct marketing, relationship marketing, advertising, you know, building relationships; we use electronic marketing we try and do the full gamut when it comes to marketing it's quite a busy department (HIO-Denly, Bluefield University)

A Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals of the Universities of the United Kingdom (CVCP) [now UUK] survey shows that most universities have a strategy for international recruitment. Out of 64 respondents, 73 % reported that their institutional missions included an international strategy. 86% stated that their institutions have International Offices that deal in the main with recruitment, student enquiries, processing applications, scholarship administration and the organisation of induction programmes (CVCP, 1998: 3). At present, International Offices in general function as a chief marketing department for OS recruitment which generates substantial income for many UK HEIs.

> My office is primarily marketing.....we're responsible basically for raising the [Redfield] profile all over the world and for establishing links between [Redfield] and institutions around the world and for recruiting students to the UK and also students to study off-shore... our job in the office really is actually a bit of a broker, brokerage arrangement, to pursue the interests of students overseas. And try to ensure that the university is responsive to that as well as to take the university's portfolio of courses and try to get students interested in doing those things. So it's a two-way function.
> (HIO-Morgan, Redfield University)

Similarly, when it comes to recruiting for International Offices, job advertisements and descriptions elaborate to a large extent upon the entrepreneurial thinking and behaviour of HEIs, reflecting the fact that UK HEIs these days are engaged with the construction of the discourse of entrepreneurialism. Brunel University, for instance, says:

> ...an international marketing officer is required to join Brunel international to market the University overseas and to provide assistance to top academic staff and schools in pursuit of their international objectives, Successful applicants will provide effective marketing support by developing and maintaining the above in the context of changes in the international marketplace and will develop activities in a range of countries, including China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Pakistan. This important and high-profile post will be part of the policy-making team in this area. A significant amount of travel will be necessary........
> (The Times Higher Education, July 29, 2005)

This job description has explored the following five issues concerned with the University's market metaphor:

- the university identifies that the flow of scholars and the flow of students would boost its international market;

- the successful applicant needs to have knowledge in marketing strategies and will have to give support to the university on those grounds;

- the successful applicant needs to have knowledge in transformation of the international market;

- the university has also identified their target markets which are China, Hong Kong, Taiwan and Pakistan;

- there is an implication that the university's policy must cover the OS market for the reason that HEIs with an entrepreneurial spirit seem to manage their OS market well, which is seen as a key private source of funding (Shattock, 2003: 48).

HEIs in the UK are likely to adapt entrepreneurial cultures which are explicitly revealed in the descriptions of jobs for international officers. Surely, when institutional support from the government is on the wane, there is a need for UK HEIs to build up their entrepreneurial capacity in order to create and exploit income-earning opportunities (Marginson & Considine, 2000: 237-8).

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Bruch's and Barty's (1998: 21) research has covered two reasons why UK HEIs make OSs one of their primary businesses. Firstly, internationalisation integrates educational and cultural values to UK HEIs. Secondly, UK HEIs desire the cash value accruing from full-fee-paying OSs. Some data collected from four case study institutions empirically support Bruch's and Barty's argument on this issue:

> OSs are high fee students and since some of the money from high fee students comes back into the department there is a financial incentive to take OSs.
> (HBS-Perry, Whiteford University)

> We do have a commercial view of international students. It would be silly of me to say that we aren't aware of the income that they bring into the university. .
> (HIO-Siddle, Greenford University)

> We also are very interested in recruiting students to come and study with us.....obviously in this day and age there is a financial imperative. International students do pay a significant amount in tuition fees
> (HIO-Denly, Bluefield University)

These three interviewees from the pre-'92 and post–'92 universities express their views with regard to OSs' tuition fees, stating that the income from OSs would certainly make up the universities' financial deficits, especially at a time when the main types of state funding, such as research funds, are strategically distributed into research-led institutions.

Indeed, to implement effective entrepreneurial strategies to recruit OSs, it is vital that the International Offices of UK universities develop this awareness of internal and external environmental forces and challenges that their universities face (Hisrich & Peters, 2002: 262). I synthesis and articulate from different sources and interview data and outline the common and general external environmental forces that UK HEIs face these days, analysing their political forces, economic/financial forces, technological forces, various demands, competitions in OS recruitment, financial incentives of UK, the marketing team, and institutional mission.

External Environmental Forces of the UK HEIs
<u>**Political Forces:**</u>

- The UK government announced the withdrawal of public subsidies for OSs and allowed universities to charge OSs full-cost fees in 1979

- The pressures upon the state to control higher education's resources and force it to respond to "the economic dynamic" are overwhelming and inescapable' (Salter and Tapper, 1994: 18)

- The 'Prime Minister's Initiative' in 1999 and in 2006 encouraged universities, government agencies and private corporations to become involved with the OS market in HEIs

<u>**Economic/ Financial Forces**</u>

- The OS market is a market worth £10 billion in 2002 (The Times April 21, 2004)

- Ancillary industries have emerged with the flow of foreign students, seeking to serve this market and gain a profit as a result: for instance, 'recruiters, expediters, counselors, testers, credential evaluators, and a huge English-language industry' (Altbach, 2003b: 2)

<u>**Various Demands**</u>

- Academic reasons: OSs acquire new knowledge and competencies. OSs want to improve their knowledge of English

- Cultural reasons: it appears to be the national choice / historical links with their host countries. For instance, affinity between India (or Pakistan) and UK

- UK HEIs have a good reputation

<u>**Technological forces**</u>

- The full potential of computer and communications technology will be used to enable individual learners to access whatever education they want, whenever and however they want

- An increasing number of HEIs are offering electronic-based collaboration by using internet technology. E-Learning and Virtual Universities are emerging (Skolnik, 2000: 56-7)

Competition in OS recruitment

For UK HEIs, there is competition in OS recruitment not only at national level, but also at international level. At national level, Bluefield University, for instance, would have to compete with its UK university counterparts, since most of them are aiming to become international universities. In addition, Bluefield inevitably has to compete with OS recruitment by US and Australian universities. As OECD research indicates, five countries - Australia, France, Germany, the United Kingdom and the United States - receive nearly 73% of all foreign students studying in the OECD area. The dominance of English-speaking countries may be largely attributable to the fact that students intending to study abroad are most likely to have learned English in their home country. Indeed, an increasing number of institutions in non-English-speaking countries now offer courses in English to attract foreign students, especially in Nordic countries (OECD, Education at a Glance, 2004: 293-8)

On the other hand, there are *internal environmental factors* that would affect UK HEIs in formulating effective marketing strategies (Hisrich and Peters, 2002: 263).

Financial Incentives of Universities

- General funds for HEIs have shrunk by 15% since the 1980s
- There is a financial imperative for UK HEIs to recruit OSs, as OSs do pay a significant amount in tuition fees (HIO-Denly, Bluefield University, post-"92 University)

The Marketing Team

- Deputy / Pro Vice-Chancellors or Heads of International Offices with entrepreneurial flair are expected to lead the management team in OS recruitment

- The entrepreneurial flair demonstrated by Deputy / Pro Vice-Chancellors or Heads of International Offices is essential in terms of managing the implementation of marketing strategies. It is also vital in identifying and in assigning expertise in OS recruitment. For instance, as an example given in Chapter Two, Brunel University posted an advertisement for International Officers who are capable of providing *effective marketing support* and *will develop recruitment activities.*

Institutional missions

Every institution has its own mission statement that defines more than the nature of the institution. It has become necessary for an indication of the international dimension and the direction of marketing strategies to be included in the university mission statement. The senior member of group is expected to accommodate and accomplish this mission statement while formulating and implementing marketing strategies.

Based on analysis of internal and external environmental forces, I synthesis marketing strategies of my case studies institutions, particularly in relation to the ways in which postgraduate OSs are recruited as below.

A Summary of Marketing Strategies

Internal environmental forces	External environmental

University marketing team

Marketing planning:
- Initiated by senior member of groups and the International Office
- To meet the goals set below
- The 1999 Prime Minister's Initiative: an increase in international student numbers by 50,000 in higher education;
- The 2006 Prime Minister's Initiative: an additional 100,000 international students in the UK by 2011
- Mission statement and international strategies of their own institutions
- To target certain overseas students from certain countries, e.g. China, India, Hong Kong, Nigeria, Pakistan and Taiwan
- May target the promotion of some specific courses or programmes; for example, in 2004/5, there were 78,270 international students enrolled in Business & Administrative Studies, compared to 40,275 in Engineering & Technology
- To formulate effective marketing strategies

Promotional techniques:
- Administer promotional visits by UK academics/ International Offices
- Host British Education Fairs/ Exhibitions
- Participate in local Career Fairs
- Organise British Education Weeks in the British Council Division libraries
- Undertake promotional visits to key institutions
- Conduct briefing sessions regularly at the ECS Centre
- Offer an ECS referral service
- Set up university Representative Offices abroad
- Cooperate with local studying abroad agencies
- Build up partnerships with other HEIs abroad, creating modules that overseas students could make transferable to the university in the UK.

Customer service:
- Academic department
- Non-academic departments: International Offices, Accommodation Offices, Student Unions, Student Support Offices, Welfare Offices, and so on
- Student service audit:
  - When overseas student recruitment is taking place: designing the institution's offerings to meet overseas students' needs and desires; using effective pricing, communication, and distribution to inform, motivate and service these markets
  - When overseas students are attending their institutions: seeing overseas students as customers; so-called customer services are to be provided by the academic departments or by the university to look after overseas students throughout their studies
  - Overseas student experience survey
  - When finishing their courses: overseas students may be required to give feedback to their institutions that evaluates to what extent the expectations of overseas students match what the institutions provide

(Source: UKCOSA; four case-study universities (interview data, marketing promotion material); Sivakumar, 1996: 59, Kotler & Armstrong, 1999; BBC website, British Council Website, Department for Education and Skill website, Home Office Website, The Times Website , UUK Website, The Observatory on Borderless HE website, Hisrich & Peters, 2002: 263; MORI, 2003; MORI, 2006)

My Reflexive Accounts

As mentioned in Chapter Three-Methodology, to a certain extent this research reflects a journey of contestation and negotiation for my authorial presence and self-reflexivity. My research journey is compressed and composed by my personal, epistemological and methodological reflexivity. I cannot underestimate and intend not to overlook the vital role my reflexive accounts play in this research. In this section, I would like to discuss my reflexive accounts regarding the role that UK HEIs play in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, generated from the last three elements and from my empirical research. In particular, I want to examine firstly the new values created from when UK HEIs take entrepreneurial perspectives toward their OS market, and secondly, the risks that UK HEIs are taking and are anticipated to take in the near future.

Creating New Values

In the context of entrepreneurial discourse, many senior member of UK HEIs take entrepreneurial perspectives to manage their own institutions as *entrepreneurial* institutions (Clark, 1998; Shattock, 2003) in general; and managing and recruiting OSs in particular. OSs are no longer purely constructed as 'students' or as 'learners'. From political and economical perspectives, as argued specifically in Chapters One, Two, and Three, OSs are becoming 'consumers'. UK HEIs create new consumers by delivering something *new*. The actual education programme is marketed by university marketing teams as product in which what students receive not only the degree certification at the end of their course, but also 'new value'. 'New value', in the line with Drucker's (1994) discussion, depends on what the value means to the individual student and on what s/he sees as value (p.232).

There are various ways to approach the interpretations of new value. This thesis will focus on one dimension of consumer value, which is the extrinsic versus intrinsic value examined in Chapter Seven. In the context of entrepreneurial discourse, perhaps extrinsic values are the fundamental or basic needs of OSs. Once OSs are satisfied with the basic need for extrinsic values provided by UK HEIs, intrinsic values of studying abroad come to predominate.

Yet some OSs are possibly more concerned with the meaning of intrinsic values than of extrinsic values. Some may participate in UK HE for extrinsic values, while some do so for intrinsic values. It is very possible that some OSs choose the UK for HE for both reasons. Thus, UK HEIs not only promote extrinsic values but also intrinsic values to OSs (Slater, 1997: 133).

Extrinsic Values

The extrinsic value is very often associated with and built upon the idea of employability. Two principal elements constitute extrinsic values in relation to the idea of employability: *utility* and *quality* of educational programmes (Richins, 1999:86-7).

In terms of *utilities*, UK HEIs respond to OSs' needs as to what knowledge and professional skills would be and perhaps will be in demand in the labour market. The ways in which both UK HEIs and OSs are concerned with the utilities of their educational programmes are to a large extent associated with the degree of employability. For example, in the Greenford University 2003 prospectus for postgraduate students, the MBA courses are described as follows:

> The course involves participation in group work with course members from many different industrial, commercial, geographical and cultural backgrounds, and is aimed at improving the decision making abilities of participants and producing managers of the highest quality......
> (General MBA)

> The programmes are specifically structured for aspiring managers with the potential for senior management and the wherewithal to take on the emerging knowledge-based economy...
> (MBA in Financial Studies)

The description of the General MBA indicates in general what the Greenford University aims to offer their postgraduate students. The recruitment of this course is targeted at those who are looking for senior positions across three different sectors - industry, commerce and public services. This course aims to provide students with knowledge and skills in fundamental management in general, and decision-making abilities specifically.

Terms, for instance 'career requirements' and 'career development', appear frequently in these course descriptions, revealing that these are the concerns of many prospective postgraduate students and providers of educational programmes. In short, the greater the utilisation that educational programmes are able to offer; the higher the degree of employability that could possibly benefit OSs.

The other element of extrinsic values that UK HEIs attempt to deliver is the *quality* of their programmes. The idea of quality as value for money, proposed by Harvey and Green (1993), demonstrates that value for money is used to assess quality in terms of return on investment. After all, as it is widely believed that UK has the capacity to offer high quality academic programmes and excellent support systems for OSs. There will always be a market for quality (Bruch & Barty, 1998: 29). I

In the Prime Minister's Initiative 1999, Tony Blair claimed that a high quality education was provided by UK HEIs, aiming to make HE in the UK the first for quality and choice (Prime Minister's Initiative, 1999). Following the spirit of the 1999 Prime Minister's Initiative, the message 'the high quality of education speaks for the quality of UK qualifications' has been aimed at OSs by offices such as the Education UK brand in British Council.

> '... high quality education' is something that the UK has always been recognised for. ......What if we were to describe UK education in terms of those brand personality characteristics that make it 'high quality' – characteristics such as poised, confident, open, innovative, smart, clever and individual – and then provide tangible evidence? Through communicating UK education in this way, it would better suggest to our audience that our qualifications are relevant to a future career
> (The British Council, What is Education UK Webpage)

The Education UK brand of the British Council believes that quality is not an intangible concept. The tangible evidence of high quality is articulated by three different components: the quality of graduates, the quality of teaching and training, and the good reputation of institutions/departments. These different components construct and reflect a rational belief that HEIs or academic departments with good reputations are likely to offer good quality teaching and training.

Educational programmes offered by these departments are very likely to attract a high quality of students. For example, a head of department (HBS-Perry, See **Appendix 3** for detailed coding system) at Whiteford University states that:

> .... all our programmes receive a very large number of applications and we want to take the best students so we will take high quality students wherever they come from.

Similarly, his colleague added that:

> .... the quality of applicants has continued to go up so I think it's been a fairly popular course it fulfils, it meets a demand. I've no doubts that it could continue to grow if we wanted to and certainly if the department wanted to advertise it more aggressively overseas we could do probably double the numbers.
> (Terry, academic staff, Whiteford University)

Apart from the idea of *utility* and *quality* of educational programmes, my research explores that the idea of '*value for money*' might be another extrinsic value for studying abroad. HEis seen as a product or a service; while OSs are either legitimately or potentially considered as consumers. However, there is a global competition for recruiting OSs as consumers. The concept of 'value for money' is underpinned as a significant one in the context of entrepreneurial discourse that directs the UK government and UK HEIs to design their market strategies for the global HE market.

The idea of value for money is also promoted by the UK government through the Higher Education Funding Council and its HEIs; through UCAS to its current and potential undergraduate students; and through the British council to OSs. The British Council is aware that different OSs have different range of needs. Performing as an entrepreneur on the behalf of the UK government and UK HEIs, the British Council states that:

> Studying in the UK is great value for money. Degree courses are generally shorter than in the USA and Australia, making them more affordable. ......Your costs while living in the UK will depend on the type of course you follow...... If you are studying a career-based, degree or postgraduate course, you will need to budget for accommodation and meals in addition to the course fees.
> (The British Council, Education UK Webpage)

Not only is value for money underpinned as a key concept within their marketing strategies, but the British Council also conveys and promotes it as essential criteria to OS when making their minds to study in the UK and to select their courses. In other words, the British Council intends to *educate* OSs using this concept. Thus, when applying this concept, OSs are looking to choose their MA courses at the right countries, at the good quality and at the right price.

UK HEIs adopt the entrepreneurial cultures and the idea of 'value for money' as well. Like the British Council, the marketing strategies of UK HEIs are embedded with the concept of value for money. An interview with a MA course leader explains this concept is brought into play in determining the appropriate price for their courses.

> It is value for money that the course is about 8 or £9,000 which is reasonably priced, certainly when you look at some of what our competitors charge it is
> (Smith, MA course leader, Bluefield University).

This interview conversation showed that this course leader has knowledge of competitors' price and which is useful for him to position and to price the course. Market research is a necessary tool in working out a reasonable price that OSs would be willing to pay for participating in their courses.

The director of postgraduate programme from Greenford University expressed that:

> I hope we offer value for money but none of the courses are cheap nowadays, this is another dimension. And we're not as expensive as some of the major MBA providers for example, but we're not cheap either. At the end of the day people want an experience that they will enjoy. I think the university is quite a caring environment it does tend to look after the OSs quite well and it's a total package. It's partly the quality of the teaching, the staff are good ......We've got a lot of very good research going on. So it's the totality of it, good teaching, a good mix of student body as well, facilities which again is a lot of investment gone into that as you are aware.
> (HBS-Fletcher, Greenford University, pre-'92 University)

Both Smith of Bluefield University and HBS-Fletcher of Greenford University mentioned the role that the concept of value for money plays in relation to the educational programmes they offer. Yet, they both addressed their concerns of whether their institutions have obtained the maximum benefit from the educational products and services they both acquire and provide within the resources available to it.

Some OS interviewees seemed to understand that some elements of the value for money concept might be subjective, difficult to measure, and intangible. Some OSs use the concept of "value for money" to assess what they have received from their institutions in terms of return on financial investment. At this point, some OSs pay more attention to the extrinsic element of value for money, which Holbrook (1999) defined as what "pertains to a means-end relationship within consumption is prized for its functional, utilitarian, or basic instrumentality in serving as a means to accomplishing some further purpose, aim, goal, or objective"' (p9-10). For instance, an OS says:

> I think I'm getting a value for money, a good relationship and value for money invested. You may note that I'm stressing a lot with the word

'investment' because I know that despite being more expensive this is something that I expect will give me a lot of experience, information, ability to make the progress in my career in the years to come.
(Castillo, Mexico, Greenford University)

Definitely it (studying abroad) is very expensive you know. If for the price you pay, for the fees you pay you feel your getting back some sort of ways …… you are happy with what you are getting but its value for money then I think it'll be, it is all right. But I don't feel really, we have got 100% value for money here. I know we can't expect 100% value for money we are a little bit disappointed.
(Sithanen, Mauritius, Redfield University)

Indeed, studying abroad is generally an expensive investment, and many OSs hope that their investment will be reimbursed in some way. Considering the issues of extrinsic value, value for money, and investment, some economists claim that, "qualifications and knowledge acquired through formal education" and "skills, competencies and expertise acquired through training on the job" are the main components of human capital (Blundell et al, 1999: 2).

Furthermore, when OSs assess whether value for money of taking a degree course has been satisfactorily achieved or not, they not only assess the cost of courses and services provided by their host institutions or by their academic departments, but also consider quality, cost, resource, fitness for purpose, and other attributes (Erlendsson, 2002). Thus, as some researchers point out (e.g., Bruch & Barty, 1998, Harvey & Green, 1993), there will always be a market for quality since it is widely believed that the UK has the capacity to offer high-quality academic programmes and excellent support systems for OSs.

Intrinsic Values

The UK HEIs may expect OSs to develop intrinsic values together with extrinsic values, which develop when OSs learn to appreciate experiences as an end in itself (Holbrook, 1999). OSs generate their self-defined interests, achieve personal satisfaction, and eventually develop intrinsic values while studying abroad.

I think the real value for money comes in if you take in much more than just the education. If you came here, stayed in your room, went for your lectures did the studies, went back to your room and did this continuously for however many years you would not get your value for money. I think the real value for money is getting to the culture, apart from education, which is

the primary aspect, apart from that, knowing the culture. You become independent......definitely confidence that's the biggest one I think. Different way of thinking, I've become more open minded I think that's another big change......
(Dinda, India, Greenford University)

Risks

UK HEIs have adopted entrepreneurial approaches to take the initiative in regard to OS recruitment. From a long term perspective, UK HEIs could be at risk if they aggressively recruit OSs, particularly if there is no authoritative scrutiny such as standards of entry requirement for OSs recruitment and admission. These risks would not only affect UK HEIs, but also eventually would do most harm to OSs. Risks that individual institutions take are dissimilar and influence different aspects of institutional life. In general, there are at least four types of risks that can be identified.

Pedagogical Risks

The main concern regarding pedagogical risk is that OSs may leave their courses without good learning experiences. This is because of the fact that the demand for these specific pedagogical needs may not be well supposed. These specific pedagogical needs may begin with OSs being aware that they face language barriers. These language barriers might prevent OSs from fully comprehending what their courses are attempting to deliver. A course leader at Whiteford University points out that:

> Their (OSs) English sometimes is not, is not fantastically strong. It is good enough but sometimes it makes it a bit more difficult for them to participate openly in class yes. So in that respect there is a bit of a difference.....But if there is one difference within the students it potentially is in terms of their command of English and that they'll have some effect in terms of their participation, class discussions and so on......
> (Terry, Course leader Whiteford University)

The level of English of some OSs may have met the entry requirements with regard to language. Yet as this course leader indicates, some OSs still face language barriers in different respects. With the help of English language support centres at the institutions, some of these linguistic issues could be resolved. The fundamental difficulty is that improving English language is a long-term business

and the support received from the language support centres may not have a considerable or immediate effect.

In addition, language exercises have diverse forms that would be taken in the real pedagogical activities. For instance, participating in lectures, group discussions, oral presentations and essay writing is particularly difficult for those for whom English is not their first language.

OSs' English levels were and will continue to be a significant issue. OSs encounter these language barriers that, not only at a linguistic level but also at an epistemological level. The language difficulties at an epistemological level would be apparent in, for instance, their ways of constructing argumentation and their logic in constructing their understanding of particular subjects.

Indeed, there are differences inherited in the ways of forming arguments in the English language and in other foreign languages. Thus, a question is proposed here: do academic staff need to be trained to teach OSs? Indeed, there are certain forms of support that OSs would particularly expect to receive from academic staff. Academic staff, however, may not be aware that there is a need to support OSs in their academic challenges. To meet the entry requirements of their courses at professional, intellectual and linguistic levels, OSs believe that they should have equipped themselves to tackle these intellectual challenges at UK HEIs.

OSs possibly may have passed their courses without enjoying the intellectual exercises that the courses were designed for, without making too much progress in the different respects of academic languages, and without fully comprehending what their courses are concerned with. OSs may not have had good learning experiences while completing their courses. This is partly why they may feel that their institutions are not particularly concerned by their academic challenges. The extrinsic value and intrinsic values that they receive from UK HEIs could be diminished as a result.

Quality Risks

The main concern regarding quality risk is that the increase in the number of students may tarnish good quality of higher education. Along with the entry requirements for each course, there is one additional requirement for many OSs, which is the English language test score as mentioned above. The requirements pertaining to the English level of OSs vary depending upon individual institutions and individual courses.

Some institutions or courses have rather loose or flexible requirements in this regard. OSs are likely to be offered a conditional offer and are required to take pre-sessional courses to compensate for the gap between their actual English level and the level institutions or academic departments set for them. For instance, some OSs who scored 6.5 in IELTS could receive a conditional offer that is subject to undertaking English language courses for academic purposes provided by the institution's language centre for two or three months, although the initial language requirement was 7 in IELTS. This conditional offer is issued partly because these overseas applicants are believed to have the potential to reach the academic requirements of the courses to which they apply. However, this offer could be understood in the context of institutions having market-oriented concerns, constructing OSs as customers.

Institutions and their academic staff have diverse understandings and concerns relating to OSs. As will be explored more in Chapter Six, In comparison with academic staff who mentioned less about the issue of OSs tuitions as significant incomes of their institutions, senior member of staff and heads of international offices did not intend to conceal that their institutions may have financial incentives. In addition, many academic staff revealed more their concern about quality control in relation to the academic performance of OSs than senior member of staff.

It is very possible that academic staff may be compelled by their institutions to teach unqualified OSs. There is a question, which I am unable to answer in this research but is worthwhile pondering nonetheless, that given the increasing

number of OSs enrolling in UK HEIs, to what extent are the academic staff ready to teach and to accommodate them, while their institutions are aggressively recruiting OSs?

Would it be possible for some institutions to change their admission criteria in order to increase the number of OSs? The international student affairs watchdogs warned that the UK's position in the international market could be damaged by government proposals for HE that they say risk tarnishing the sector's reputation for high quality (2 May, 2003, The THES). Coincidently, I read this article on the train to interview PVC-Strauss at Greenford University. I decided to show this article to PVC-Strauss. After reading this article, PVC-Strauss responded that:

> The reputation of the university would suffer if we changed our admissions criteria......I think it really depends whether the university has the resources and you can increase students as long as you increase staff, both support staff and academic staff. In this year for example we'll have an extra 100 academic posts, new academic posts, so the numbers are going up its clearly very important that the numbers of staff and support staff go up and maybe have more student accommodation and so forth. So I think the reputation changes, if the numbers go up and the resources don't match there's a problem.
> (PVC-Strauss, Pro Vice-Chancellor, Greenford University, pre-'92 University)

The response of the PVC-Strauss highlights a plausible crisis in that the number of OSs may increase, but the quality of education provision and the capacity of OSs may decrease. In other words, there is a concern that the increase in student numbers is either directly or inversely related to the quality of education provision and the capacity of OSs.

Academic Standard Risks

The increase in OS numbers not only raises concerns about the quality of education provision, as mentioned above, but also raises concerns about academic standards. This concern has partly emerged from the fact that OSs seem to be given a certain degree of recognition as consumers; can OS in turn adopt the authentic spirit of the consumer in HE as in the actual business world? As argued by Sharrock (2000), "If you call students customers, charge them full fees, then fail them, there is a fair chance that they will sue you - especially if the teaching falls

short of their expectations" (p150).

There is a possible risk to academic standards if OSs are treated as consumers. A news report released in 2006 revealed fundamental problems in regarding OSs as customers:

> OSs at the London College of Fashion regularly have their grades increased under a system of "special allowances", leaked documents suggest......The college, part of the University of the Arts, launched an investigation this week after *The Times Higher* obtained an e-mail exchange in which a course director encourages a tutor to increase a student's mark, with the comment: "She is an international student so normally we would give her an allowance for that." When questioned by a colleague about the approach, the director repeats: "The term Alan [Russell, another course director] uses is that we make allowances for international students." An LCF spokeswoman said: "The college is taking these allegations very seriously and is undertaking an investigation to get to the bottom of this matter." ......Alan Smithers, director of the Centre for Education and Employment Research at Buckingham University, said that it was "damaging and patronising to offer dumbed-down qualifications to foreign students".
> (Baty, 21 July, 2006, The THES)

There has always been discussion concerning the English level of OSs and their capacity to complete their courses with English language difficulties. This story reflects a concern that some HEIs have taken consumerism to another extreme, creating difficulties in defining the meaning of learners and that of customers in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. This story also shows that some HEIs may intend not to differentiate between treating OSs as learners and as customers. Consequently, these HEIs might have missed one positive point in adapting consumerism to their institutions, which is that they are providing good quality teaching and support as if to customers in the commercial world who would expect a good quality in goods and services.

The news did not draw sufficient public attention until summer 2008. The former chief executive of the Quality Assurance Agency (QAA), Peter Williams, was one of the people expressing concerns about the tendency of some UK HEIs to be over-dependent on overseas student fees (Coughlan, 23 June 2008, BBC,). He said "the current degree classification system is arbitrary and unreliable', warning of 'universities which have become financially dependent on the higher fees of

overseas students" (ibid.). A series of reports and debates regarding OSs and academic standards followed this comment.

> ......There are moves to lower the threshold at which concerns about university standards trigger a watchdog inquiry......Earlier this year the BBC News website highlighted a whistleblower's concerns that degrees were being awarded to OSs who spoke almost no English.
> (BBC News, 11 September 2008)

> ...... Among the concerns were the external examiner system, Overseas students with inadequate language skills, grade inflation, plagiarism, doubts over the classification of degrees, the manipulation of satisfaction surveys and the pressure on academics to adjust marks to protect a university's image...... This had prompted questions about a lack of public accountability in a university system that was seeking increasing amounts of public money......
> (BBC News, 6 November, 2008)

> In my view, over the past twenty or so years there has been a systemic failure to maintain appropriate academic standards in British higher education, with the result that these standards have measurably declined. I place the primary responsibility for this at the door of university chief executives (generally vice-chancellors), who, even if they have scholarly backgrounds, no longer see themselves as academic leaders, but rather as business managers intent on achieving 'market share.'...... In particular, vice-chancellors have permitted and indeed encouraged the decline in academic standards in the desperate search for (a) increased income from 'full cost' fee-paying international students......
> (Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills, Memorandum 14, Submission from Professor Geoffrey Alderman 2009: 73-4)

Peter Williams' criticism was *politically controversial. He* was forced to step down by the former Department for Innovation, Universities and Skills, for the reason that "negative comments about standards were not welcome, as they would damage overseas recruitment" (cited in Rebecca Attwood, 5 November 2009, THES).

Accidentally, OSs become the proximate cause of this political controversy. This political controversy could also be an example of self-contradictory reaction of the UK government. Peter Williams has served in QAA, which was established to scrutinize UK HEIs' academic standards and quality. Yet, Peter Williams was punished by what he was appointed to do.

These stories or articles about OSs are mostly provided by the media. Furthermore, these debates are mono-dimensional, with OSs being portrayed as

'cash cows' or as customers. These mono-dimensional debates appear to have directed people to come to a dubious and unjustified conclusion that problems regarding OSs, as well as the nature of these problems, are generated from the fact that OSs play a more significant role as customers than as learners.

Some of these mono-dimensional debates and unjustified conclusions seem to be unfair to OSs as a whole. OSs may be powerless, unable to defend themselves or unable to engage in these debates or discussions. Some criticisms in particular about OSs being cash cows or incapable of completing their courses have discredited the efforts and performances of hard-working and talented OSs.

There are very little positive discourses regarding the achievements of OSs. An exception is the Memorandum 76 - Submission from the Russell Group of Universities on Students and University - Memoranda of Evidence (2009), in which it is reported:

> We have seen no evidence beyond anecdotal, often anonymous, reports that entry standards are being lowered for OSs. In fact the highest performing students at Russell Group universities are just as likely to be international students as they are UK students. In 2006/07, according to HESA data, 16% of overseas (non-EU) students at Russell Group institutions obtained a first class honours degree, compared to 15% of UK students. This is a clear indication of the high standard of OSs that achieve a place at our universities and the commitment they have to their studies. Russell Group universities continue to attract the best minds from around the world to study, research and teach in our universities – bringing considerable economic and social benefit to the UK as a whole (p. 409)

I agree that there is a need for scrutiny in admissions, entry requirements and retaining proper *control* of academic standards in relation to OSs. As a Head of Department says:

> ....of course that OSs are high fee students and since some of the money from high fee students comes back into the department there is a financial incentive to take OSs. However, I would have to say that more particularly at postgraduate level we are very careful to ensure that the standards of OSs are at least as good as the UK students.
> (HBS-Perry, Whiteford University, pre-'92 University)

My empirical research reveals that academic staff believe that if they have to slow the path of teaching or set different academic standards for OSs, then it would be unfair to the UK's home students. For instance, Klum and HBS-Fletcher from

Greenford University and an academic staff, Coleman, from Redfield University believe that there is no need to differentiate between overseas and home students. Both home and overseas students should be equally treated.

UK HEIs are making efforts to improve the experiences of OSs in the UK. However, improving OSs' experiences might involve a little more than the factors of teaching, learning and social integration. Practitioners who work closely with OSs may need to take into account the effects of unfair criticism and insufficient understanding of this group of students. Human interaction to some extent is very delicate and fragile. Unfair criticism and insufficient understanding, particularly under conditions in which OSs feel they are unable to communicate culturally, socially and publicly, might reflect upon their daily interaction with one another both on campus and off campus.

Furthermore, 'we' seem to have heard a great deal of unfair criticism regarding OSs in the UK and the marketisation of global HE, which seems to discredit efforts made by those who have contributed to improving experiences for OSs.

Financial Risks

As OSs pay full-cost fees to UK HEIs, there is a financial incentive to take OSs. An optimistic prediction by the British Council indicates that, until 2020, there will be a 6% year-on-year growth in the number of OSs. In fact, numbers of OSs coming to the UK fell slightly (MacLeod, April 18, 2006, The Guardian). The same pattern was also seen in Australia, where a slowdown in demand from OSs was recently reported, suggesting that the global market in Anglophone HE may be depressed (Maslen, 17 February 2006, The THES).

A report from the Higher Education Policy Institute (Sastry, 2006), which notes that the recent slowdown was caused mainly by a drop in Chinese applicants, shows how unpredictable and therefore risky the market can be. This report also questions whether UK HEIs are financially vulnerable to the downturn in the OS market.

For some institutions, OSs become a means of supplementing demand from home and EU students. These institutions will struggle to justify expensive investments in facilities targeted at non-EU OSs, such as targeted support services, special training for lecturers, help in integrating with the host community off-campus and marketing campaigns. Yet this report warns that OS fees are surrounded by the greatest uncertainty; thus a heavy dependence upon OS fees is potentially a risk factor (Sastry, ibid).

Conclusion

In this chapter, I examine the vital role that UK HEIs play in OS identity construction in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. The political and economic forces exerted by the UK government and government policies have strong influences on the entrepreneurial thinking and behaviours of UK HEIs, for instance, in terms of its ideology and meaning-making, interpretation and attitudes with regard to 'OS'.

Along with influence of UK government, the contemporary UK HEIs cannot undermine firstly the WTO's political and economic forces and influences in relation to the global HE market, or secondly the symbolic meanings in relation to trade in education and education as a service, produced in the process of negotiation and implementation of GATS.

The entrepreneurial thinking and behaviours of UK HEIs are characterised, for instance, by injection of entrepreneurial cultures in their staff recruitment, in which I discussed job posts of Vice-Chancellor and senior marketing office for an International Office. I also analyse internal and external *environmental forces* that UK HEIs face these days. I articulate my interview data, literature and other document to map out UK university marketing strategies of OS recruitment.

Finally, I argue that in the process of participation in the construction of the discourse of entrepreneurialism, UK HEIs create new values, but simultaneously, are forced to undertake some risks. Risks, particularly pedagogical risks, quality risks, academic standard risks, and financial risks, have concerned many MPs, researchers and those who work with OSs. In other words, when the UK HEIs participate in the construction of the discourse of entrepreneurialism, they also participate in the construction of its interrelated and competing discourses concerning new values and risks.

Chapter SIX

Negotiation, Ambivalence and Hybridity-
Staff' perspectives on Overseas Students

We do negotiate even when we don't know we are negotiating......Subversion is negotiation; transgression is negotiation; negotiation is not just some kind of compromise or 'selling out' which people too easily understand it to be. .....hybridity is precisely about the fact that when a new situation, a new alliance formulates itself, it may demand that you should translate your principles, rethink them, extend them.
(Bhabha, 1990: 216)

Introduction

This chapter aims to examine staff members' perceptions of OSs, particularly their influence on OSs' identity formation. I interviewed academic staff, heads of international offices, and senior staff in the faculties or institutions. I have used two diagrams in an attempt to, first, categorize, and second, theorise and conceptualise, the staff members' perspectives about OSs.

As discussed in Chapter Two and Three, this research assumes fundamental theoretical points: first, OSs' identities are always relational and constantly changing based on of their interactions with other significant social actors. Second, the self of OSs can be interpreted as consisting of a structure of identities. When encountering different people in different social interactions, there would be a hierarchical ordering of these identities. Thus, University staff's views are vital as they shape the way in which staff interacts with OSs.

In the process of the construction of entrepreneurial discourse, university staff's perceptions of OSs are contested and negotiated within unstable, interrelated and competing discourses such as such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents and OSs as ambassadors.

This chapter argues that the majority of university staff negotiates between the realms of academia and the market. The dominant perception generated from my interviews showed there is interplay between the concepts of ambivalence and hybridity and the construction of OS identities. More importantly, the way in which university staff contests and negotiates between the notions of learner and customer have influenced OSs' identity construction.

Diagrams of Negotiation-Staff's Perspectives

Although investigating the professional identities of university staff in the context of entrepreneurial discourse is not my first priority in this research, I have found some useful literature with regard to organisational or professional identities. This is useful particularly with respect to how university staff's professional identities and working relationships may be reflected in how they view OSs' identity. For example, although Du Gay and Salaman (1992) did not suggest that the supplanting of bureaucratic structures and relationships by market relations ("the sovereign consumer") is causally determined by environmental developments (p. 616), they argued that "the restructuring of work and work relations is as much supported by the discourse of enterprise" (ibid.).

Additionally, this entrepreneurial discourse "ultimately has impact on the conduct and identities of employees" (p. 615). Aligned with Du Gay and Salaman's (ibid.) argument, Cohen and Musson (2000) argued that "even if people do not take the enterprise culture seriously, even if they feel unaffected by its values and claims, they are inevitably reproducing it through their involvement with daily practices" (p. 31).

However, unlike du Gay and Salaman (1992) and Cohen and Musson (2000) -- who come from management perspectives that look at how employees in the private sector are affected by the discourse of entrepreneurialism -- in the context of higher education, Archer (2008) has questioned whether or not it is possible for

younger academics not to be an academic neoliberal subject. Davies and Petersen (2005, cited in Archer 2008: 281), who argued "it is not possible to resist the onslaught of neoliberalism" and "not possible to do without being a neoliberal subject". Archer's (2008) research acknowledges that, although there is resistance among younger academics to being neoliberal subjects, "subjects cannot exist outside of the conditions and locations within which they are located and by which they are constituted" (op. cit., p. 282).

Many researchers have reported that the neoliberalism paradigm and entrepreneurial spirits have a top-down influence on the way in which university staff across the University related to one another. Some university staff may find it difficult to carry out their work without being a neoliberal subject in these circumstances. For instance, Peters (2001) argued that "in the context of a Foucauldian analysis of neo-liberalism that an 'enterprise form' is generalized to *all* forms of conduct and constitutes the distinguishing mark of the style of government, could not be more apt" (p60). When examining the relationship between the neoliberalism paradigm and HE, Currie (2004) noted:

> Due to reduced taxes and low public-sector funding in liberal market economies, universities are increasingly becoming corporatized and are forced to become more entrepreneurial. To survive in an increasingly competitive environment, universities are developing closer ties with industries, forming spin-off companies and private business arms, and moving toward a user-pays philosophy for most service (p44).

To discuss the rise of neo-liberalism in universities in relation to university staff, Davies et al (2006) indicate that:

> both in Australia and elsewhere, has been met by an ambivalent struggle on the part of academics. As successive governments in the globalised world have taken on the task of 'reforming' workplaces and transforming them into neo-liberal institutions, academics have been hard pressed to generate a collective position of resistance (p.305)

To examine the way in which university staff respond to the influence of neoliberalism on their institution as workplaces, Brown (2003) argued that "Neo-liberalism involves not only a configuration of individual subjects as 'individual entrepreneurial actors across all dimensions of their lives, [but also the] reduction of civil society to a domain for exercising this entrepreneurship" (Brown, 2003: 38,

cited in Davies et al, 2006: 307)

The main theme of this literature, whether from management perspectives or in the context of higher education, is that those who work in organisations that are strategically and politically strongly imbued by the discourse of entrepreneurialism may be affected by and inevitably reproduce it through their work and the way they work with one another. As Cohen and Musson (2000) conclude:

> (the discourse of entrepreneurialism) cannot be seen as monolithic......; instead it must be seen as diverse, appropriated and used by people in a variety of ways depending on their position, circumstances, and the economic / social / cultural / political world(s) in which they live. (p. 46)

To examine staff' perceptions of OSs, particularly regarding whether or not they see the students more as customers or as learners, I interviewed academic staff, heads of international offices and senior staff of the faculties and the institutions.

My data suggest that some staff see OSs more as learners than customers, but others have the opposite view. It is also important to demonstrate that some staff have found themselves in the process of negotiating their viewpoints about the notions of OSs as customer and as learner. I use a diagram in an attempt firstly, to categorize, and secondly, to theorise and conceptualise, staff member perspectives about OSs.

Following the theoretical perspective of interactionism, as discussed in Chapter Two, the process of self-construction is generated by human interaction. There is interplay between the structure of the self and the movement of OSs. The shifting of OSs' identities depends on their transcendental physical, psychological and intellectual movement, for instance, studying abroad but not limited to.

Additionally, the staff member perceptions presented here regarding OSs' learner and customer identities are diverse and complex, due largely to the fact that I interviewed both academic and administrative staff. I approached these staff for interviews, as already identified in Chapter One and Three (and see **Appendix 3** for more detail), primarily because they have significant social interactions with

OSs and thus, either directly or indirectly, take apart in the process of OSs' identity formation.

As examined in previous chapters, one aim of this research is to focus on how university staff engage two social relationships with OSs (teaching-learning and customer relationships), and on why there is interplay between these social relationships, entrepreneurialism, and its interrelated and competing discourses (e.g. such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents, and OSs as ambassadors). Diagrams 1 and 2, shown in **Appendix 8**, are to illustrate how university staff negotiate customer and academic relationships and how the way in which university staff negotiate the notions of 'learner' and 'customer' influence OSs' identity constructions.

Diagram 1 can be seen as the parallel or counter perspective of Diagram 3 (please see **Appendix 9**). And an advance view of Diagram 3 is here to illustrate the diversity of university staff perceptions, from my empirical data, about their roles in relation to students' identities as customers and learners; it can be seen as the parallel or counter perspective of Diagram 4 (OS's perspective, please see **Appendix 9**).

The aim of having Diagram 1 (please see **Appendix 9**) here is to capture my understanding and interpretation of the complex picture of university staff's perceptions of OSs in the process of negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses. The illustration in Diagram 1 is based on my ontological and epistemological positions, theoretical perspectives, and methodological approaches. Chapter Three (Methodological Chapter) previously documented that my methodological approach was directed by my constructivist-oriented ontological and epistemological positions, which shaped my choice and use of particular methods to gather and analyse the data, and illustrate three diagrams in relation to my data analysis.

I use quadrants to explain how I understand the changes in university staff perceptions about OSs' learner and customer identities in the process of negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses.

The way that I constitute these diagrams, adapting the idea of quadrants, in my research is analogous to the theoretical and conceptual evidence from the emerging literature. For instance, according to Deem and Morley (2006), "The marketisation of HE has polarized academic communities into service providers and service consumers. A provider/consumer relationship was evident in our research, articulated around the staff/ student axis" (p.194).

As discussed in Chapter Two, the process of identity construction of OS is always incomplete. The position/location of the entrepreneurial discourse is never fixed or permanent in Diagrams 1 and 2, as a result of OS constantly negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses. In Diagram 1 (please see **Appendix 8**), I identify two vital relationships tied between university staff and OSs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. The X axis represents the customer relationship, in which OSs are customers and HEIs are providers of educational services. In contrast, the Y axis represents the teaching-learning relationship, in which OSs are learners and HEIs are the distributors of knowledge.

The position of θ in Diagram 1, the angles made by dashed lines and X-axis (or Y-axis), is a metaphor to show the degree to which university staff align and misalign with their roles as providers of educational services and as distributors of knowledge and are influenced by their participation in negotiating different and interrelated and competing discourses. This idea is based on the point that I made particularly in Chapter Five that discourse of entrepreneurialism is always on a course of progression and change, which moves either towards or away from the academic relationship, depending on the situation.

I found the data that I collected from my empirical research appeared to be different from what I had anticipated prior to conducting my empirical research, at

least in the following three dimensions.

Firstly, I anticipated that my empirical data would strongly suggest that the post-1992 HEIs would be more entrepreneurial than their pre-1992 counterparts. As noted in Chapter Three, under the current HE funding mechanism, the post-'92 universities may be at a distinct disadvantage in recruitment compared with the pre-'92 universities. Thus, post-'92 universities could be more aggressive than their pre-'92 counterparts in using marketing techniques to recruit OS. Consequently, post-'92 universities are more likely to be more market-oriented than their pre-'92 counterparts. By comparison, their customer relationships could be stronger than their academic relationships, suggesting that OSs' customer identity could be more significant than their learner identity in post-'92 universities.

If I transfer my anticipation to Diagram 2 (please see **Appendix 8**), the post-'92 universities could be more likely to be allocated in Sector C.US.a, suggesting, that their role as a provider of educational services would be more significant than as a distributor of knowledge, and their OSs could be more likely to perceive themselves more as customers than as students.

Conversely, pre-'92 universities could focus more on the academic relationship and less on the customer relationship. They are more likely to be located in Sector L.US.b, signifying that pre-'92 universities play a role more like the distributor of knowledge and less like the provider of educational services, and their OSs universities would be more likely to recognize themselves more as students and less as customers.

After I conducted interviews with different groups of university staff, I found my hypotheses about the differences between pre- and post-'92 HEIs regarding their teaching-learning and customer relationships with their OSs problematic. There are several reasons for this. For instance, my empirical research was conducted in four institutions, which is a relatively small sample and is insufficient to provide answers concerning my hypotheses.

Furthermore, while writing up this research, both the UK government and UK HEIs have encountered huge financial pressure and pre-'92 institutions have become just as aggressive and ambitious towards their OSs market as their post-'92 counterparts because "more than 8% of the total income of UK universities comes from overseas students' fees" (Shepherd, 14 October, 2009, The Guardian), as reported by the Higher Education Statistics Agency. It is very difficult to draw any powerful conclusion about the type of universities that would focus more on the academic relationship and less on the customer relationship.

Undeniably, my hypotheses could be problematic and there could be no definite connection between two different types of HEIs (pre- and post-92) and two relationships (academic and customer). Despite the fact that these hypotheses were not validated, conducting interviews with university staff in order to investigate these hypotheses make me realize that to answer my research question, it is not significant whether any particular institution forms more academic or customer relationships with their OSs. What emerged though to be significant is the notion of negotiation, ambivalence, and hybridity as well as the process with which HEIs and their staff contest and negotiate these academic or customer relationships.

Secondly, to examine OSs' learner and customer identities, I interviewed those staff who engaged in both academic (teaching-learning) and customer relationships with OSs. Therefore, I approached three different groups of staff: academic staff; administrative staff (dean of student, financial department officer, head or directors of international office); and senior member of staff (e.g., pro-vice chancellors, deputy vice-chancellors, deans of Business School, heads of department).

Before my empirical research, I had assumed that administrative staff would see OSs more as customers than as learners compared to their academic staff colleagues, because of the nature of their work. At that time, I was unsure what the senior member of staff would think about OSs in relation to these identities, partly because so little literature had explored this issue so far.

However, those were assumptions. What I have gathered from my empirical research has presented a different picture. I want to make three points before presenting the data. Firstly, in the line with Cohen and Musson's (2000: 46) research, the degree to which staff are affected by and reproduce the entrepreneurial discourse is various and depends on their professional positions and circumstances.

Although researched in different contexts but sharing analogous theoretical assumptions, Alvesson and Willmott's (2002) research has suggested that institutions may regulate identity to influence employees' "self-constructions in terms of coherence, distinctiveness and commitment" (p. 619); however, simultaneously there would be resistance against these controls, which "open a space for a form of micro-emancipation" (ibid.).

As mentioned earlier, Archer (2008) has argued that it is not possible to work in the enterprising academic environment without being a neoliberal subject, even if there is resistance. The nature of the academic and administrative staff' roles and the ways that they construct their identities and commit to their institutions and to OSs have changed in the context of entrepreneurial discourse.

For these reasons, and as my findings suggest, administrative staff may not necessarily see OSs more as customers than as learners any more than their academic staff colleagues, despite the fact that they are employed to recruit or 'serve' OSs as customers. Nevertheless, some academic staff, as Harris (2005) has identified, "are now engaged in activities such as the marketing and promotion of existing as well as new courses in order to capture new student markets at home and abroad (p424-5)". Their views on OSs could be fluctuating.

Thirdly, both Alvesson and Willmott (2002) and Archer (2008) focused on the theme of resistance against identity regulations, control, or influences. In my research, I have seen less resistance, and more negotiation. The concept of negotiation is vital because it refers to the ways in which the university staff

construct their role or identities in relation to their institutions and to OSs.

I cannot underestimate the significant role that the concept of negotiation plays when staff talked about their perceptions in my interviews. Staff undergo the negotiation process, partly because their current job positions may not necessary align with the way they perceive OSs. For instance, some staff' main task is to map out business plans and to design marketing strategies to recruit OSs, which implies that OSs are recruited and considered as customers. However, they may not necessarily see OSs as customers. From their own point of views, some of university staff even challenge the current debate, which tends to articulate the concept of learners and of customers.

Furthermore, social actors such as university staff and OSs would negotiate entrepreneurialism, and its interrelated and competing discourses. In this chapter, I show how different groups of university staff negotiate between different discourses. From Fairclough's (1992) perspective, discourse such as OSs as customers, OSs as ambassadors, academic practices, and pedagogy are interrelated, but paradoxically different and competing with one another. As I want to suggest through this research, despite the dominance of entrepreneurial cultures, academic and customer relationships can co-exist, that they cannot be independent from one another in the context of entrepreneurial discourse.

In my empirical research, some staff take extremely opposite views in relation to OSs' identities, locating their position in Sector C.US.a (please see **Appendix 8**), and viewing OSs more as customers than as learners; this implies that they see their role more as a provider of educational services than as a distributor of knowledge. Others see their role more as a distributor of knowledge than as a provider of educational services, locating their position in Sector L.US.b.

However, the majority of the staff I interviewed were still undergoing the process of negotiating these two opposite views, which locates their view in Sector a.US.b, suggesting that they had diverse or mixed views about OSs' identities. Some of

them suggested that, in some circumstances, they would play the role of a provider of educational services in response to OSs' role as customers, while at other times, their role as a distributor of knowledge would be highlighted.

I will report and elaborate on three different groups of staff perspectives (managerial, academic and heads of International Offices and student services) concerning OSs' learner and customer identities, which reflect how they contest and negotiate entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses.

Senior Members of Staff

I interviewed some senior members of staff, including pro-vice chancellors and deputy vice chancellors. As I mentioned in Chapter Five, a trend in some UK HEIs is to recruit senior staff from commercial firms to their executive teams, taking on responsibility for the management and administration of their institutions. These individuals normally serve their institutions as pro-vice chancellors (PVC), deputy vice chancellors or hold other authoritative positions, for instance, the PVC-Bresnan at Redfield University (See **Appendix 3** for detailed coding system). As discussed, the primary reason why that individual joined Redfield University was because that institution wanted to use on his experience working in the commercial sectors to help Redfield University become a successful entrepreneurial university.

Similarly, some senior staff, for instance, deans of business schools, were also invited to join the HEIs' executive teams. For instance, both the PVCDB-Miller from Greenford University and the PVCDB-Ferguson from Redfield University had administrative roles as the Dean of the Business School, while also holding another role as pro-vice chancellor. There were/are senior staff of academic departments other than Business Schools who have also been invited to serve as pro-vice chancellors or deputy vice chancellors, implying that these pro-vice chancellors (or deputy vice chancellors) shifted their jobs between academic- and managerially-oriented positions.

I aim to discuss the way in which these senior staff are influenced by meaning and ideology concerning OSs' identity produced through their negotiations of entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses. They are engaged in the process of the reproducing these meaning and ideologies. I have found through my empirical study that during our interviews, these managers negotiated the meanings and ideologies produced by the mainstream entrepreneurialism. I have extracted two features from my interviews with senior members of staff in the case study institutions to illuminate process of negotiation.

Implications of Shifting their Job Positions

There are implications of shifting the institutional positions and responsibilities of these senior members of staff. As mentioned, when they talked in my interviews about their institutional roles changing, they started negotiating the notions of learner and customer, and more importantly reconstructing the meaning of OSs. For instance, the PVCDB- Ferguson at Redfield University said,

> "I have in the past taught a mixed group of students, different nationalities. I've always found that, I've always perceived that as being enormously helpful to have an international group of students because they're all coming with such different experiences. And my way of approaching that would be to get quite a lot of interaction going in the classroom to try to get different perspectives from different cultural national backgrounds upon the issue. So I think it's a kind of resources that are used. And as a teacher I would see it in that kind of way. As a manager, the temptation nowadays is to see OSs as dollar signs or pound signs. *That's not because of some perception in me, it is because the system drives you that way.* In other words, the university is seeking to make its financial targets... what is the best way for it to meet its financial targets? Well, one way is to recruit as many OSs as possible because the fees are higher. So, an OS tends to be seen in terms of the pound sign. Mind you, British students are also seen in the same way. So, it's not peculiar to the OS; there is a view of students and student numbers which translates into money."

The PVCDB- Ferguson at Redfield University revealed that his transitional perspectives towards his position changes. As noted, academia has entered the neoliberal era (Archer, 2008). Some university staff seem to negotiate to prioritise their roles as providers of educational services (and highlight), or emphasise their role as distributors of knowledge (and highlight). Furthermore, these staff may find themselves negotiating their locations either in Sector L.US.B (highlighting OSs'

learner identity) and/ or Sector C.US.a (highlighting OSs' customer identity) in my **Diagram 2 (Please see Appendix 8).** As I will argue later, it is very likely for university staff to negotiate their entrepreneurial identities, and to be ambivalent about the notion of learner and that of customer. They may locate themselves in Sector a.US.b., where that their role as the provider of educational services could be as important as the distributor of knowledge. OSs could be perceived both as customers and learners. As experienced by PVCDB- Ferguson, *"that is not because of some perception in me, it is because the system drives you that way"*. The position changes may require senior members of staff to consider OSs in a different way, at least compared to two or three decades ago, reflecting that these senior members of staff inevitably cannot avoid participating in the process of the construction of entrepreneurialism, its interrelated and competing discourses.

The PVCDB- Ferguson at Redfield University (a post-'92 university) spoke expressively about how his job position as a pro-vice chancellor and the financial situation of his institutions made him look more at the commercial aspect of OSs. As reviewed in Chapter Three, the post-'92 universities, when compared with the pre-'92 universities, tend to financially rely more on OSs' tuition fees.

Although I cannot make a generalisation (at this stage, and even in this research, because I have only visited four case-study institutions, which is a relatively small scale), the data suggests the two senior members of staff' interviews: the PVCDB- Ferguson at Redfield University talked more about the element of commercial interests, while the PVC-Strauss at Greenford University (a pre-'92 University) opened our interview by speaking about the articulation between OSs and 'internationalisation'. He said that he would not try to separate OSs from the student body as a whole, and that he has a special responsibility to them as they might need extra support from him.

> "At senior level, we always have a pro vice chancellor who is in charge of internationalisation. And there are five pro vice chancellors. I'm at the moment pro vice chancellor for internationalisation. So there will always be that post. But we also try wherever possible to link that responsibility with being responsible for students in general. And my other main responsibility is to be the pro vice chancellor for student affairs. Because that means that I don't see OSs as separate, they are part of the student body, but on the

other hand I do have a special responsibility to them". (PVC-Strauss, Greenford University, pre-92 university)

Harris (2008) argued that this notion of internationalisation is "strongly associated with an economic rather than a cultural imperative" (p. 346) and "an indicator of excellence, is now used by universities as a marketing strategy" (p. 348). In some job advertisements for international communications or documents related to international affairs, Greenford University seemed to have highlighted the notion of entrepreneurialism.

However, during our interview, the Greenford PVC-Strauss emphasised the cultural diversity of student in university, rather than the economic, imperative of internationalisation. A message that PVC-Strauss delivered was that he had tried not to differentiate OSs, because he is concerned that his institution wants to build up and maintain strong pedagogical or teaching-learning relationships with OSs. Although this has the affect of differentiation, he had "a special responsibility to them (OSs)".

The current mainstream discussion of entrepreneurial discourses, as explored in Chapter One and Four, has so far been concerned more with the market relationship and, subsequently, there is less attention on the teaching-learning/ academic relationship between OSs and their host institutions. Before I conducted my empirical research, I wondered how senior members of staff regarded OSs, given the fact that they knew OSs' tuition fees are important to their institutions. Would they pay more attention to the market relationship and regard OSs as customers and less from the teaching-learning relationship that views OSs as learners? PVC-Strauss, the pro vice chancellor of Greenford University, continued his answer to me in this way;

> "I think most university lecturers regard themselves as much as teachers as researchers or as people who work with industry or government or whatever. I think certainly, it's a different sort of job from 20 years ago. But I would have thought, I mean for me for example I have a different job now as a senior manager, but the teaching side of it remains important. I think you remember the reasons you came into the profession in the first place. So I can see it as a potential danger, not really any sort of evidence that it's become a real danger.....I think the potential danger could be that the

balance between teaching, research, working with industry and government could shift too much to one area rather than the other. I mean (Greenford) has always thought of itself as broad and best and therefore seeks to do a number of different things and to keep a reasonable balance, but that would be the potential danger, I suppose. But I think it's also a danger if the teaching is too much in a vacuum...... when I finish my period of the pro vice chancellor. I go back as a teacher and researcher. (Greenford) is one of those universities where the pro vice chancellors ... they're not permanent jobs so we do the job for four years or five years and then we go back to the department and to the students....
(PVC, Greenford University)

'Balance', as this interview illustrated, is the key word in this debate. The current debate seems to have lost the balance in the discussion about these two relationships. Staff who take different or comparable responsibility for either the market or teaching-learning aspect may not think of this meaning of this word in relation to their job, or perhaps only when discussing it in our interviews. Senior members of staff are very likely to be those who have to have this word in mind, both for institutional management's sake and for their belief in their academic careers.

As Clark (1998) mentioned, "the managerials in entrepreneurial universities must be with newer viewpoint for reacting with challenges from external environment" (p. 4), in which university finance and market relationships are vital. Yet, Clark (ibid.) also recognized that "the heartland of entrepreneurial universities is where traditional academic values are most firmly rooted".

What the PVC-Strauss of Greenford University said is important. Firstly, he indicated that the external environments of institutions have changed. The nature of some university staff member's jobs has changed, and HEIs consequently face different challenges from the last two or three decades. Secondly, he noted that academic positions sometimes rotate. 'Balance' is extremely important in situations where some academics shift between different positions.

Thirdly, he indicated that teaching and research are very often where many academics start their academic careers. They understand they will return to teaching, particularly those who really enjoy teaching. For instance, according to

one department head from Whiteford University, a pre-'92 university:

> "That's a difficult question to answer (*I asked him to describe the different roles he plays in teaching and in departmental management*). I suppose the easiest way of saying it is that first and foremost when you are teaching, you are a teacher. In other words, you have to go into that mode and you forget that you're head of department as far as it's possible to do so. And you just get on and teach your subject and enjoy doing that, which I do. So I would do as much teaching as I can find the time to do. How that relates to OSs, um, is simply I suppose that when I'm getting feedback from the students when I'm having conversations with them and so on, then I'm naturally interested in the sorts of issues and concerns that they express. I suppose one of the other slight inter-relationships is, of course, that when you know you've got a high number of OSs in the group that you are teaching, then you make a particular attempt to include international examples rather than just local ones."
> (HBS-Perry, Whiteford University)

I tried to press the issue of "a danger if the teaching is too much in a vacuum" during the interview with a senior member of staff from Greenford. But during our interview, despite addressing his awareness of the trend in HEIs to be entrepreneurial for financial reasons and to see OSs as customers, PVC-Strauss of Greenford University did not intend to give me a straightforward regarding why were teaching and learning still important, yet in jeopardy.

Indeed, there is a tendency of which the academic relationship between OSs and their host institutions is overshadowed by the customer relationship. Consequently, a concern merged here is that there is a dichotomy between the market and the teaching-learning relationship is directly relevant to the dichotomy between money and knowledge. As McMurtry (1991) has clarified:

> Money is a socially recognised unit of demand for externally produced commodities. Knowledge is the opposite. It is not a homogeneous unit, and not a demand for externally produced commodities, but a variable ability of internal comprehension (p. 211-2)

The dichotomy between money and knowledge used here by McMurtry provides an insight into the debate about the market and teaching-learning. Employing a dichotomy to interpret these relationships seems to generate some contradictions as a consequence (Grace, 1989; Jonathan, 1990; McMurtry, 1991). These arguments were drawn upon an assumption that the pedagogical relationship and the market relationship are two completely parallel or relative relationships and that

there are inconsistencies in terms of the meanings and values of these two relationships. Within the debate, there are analogies, contradictions and ambivalences among the two relationships in the context of entrepreneurial discourse.

McMurtry (1991) implied that the customer relationship is generated through an exchange in terms of money and commodity, who simultaneously refused to regard knowledge as a commodity. Sometimes, 'we' might have forgotten that some OSs merely come to the UK for the sake of learning, acquiring 'knowledge' and that some academic staff basically enjoy teaching and exchanging their latest research results through their teaching.

The relationship between UK HEIs and OSs was rather pedagogically-oriented, at least before the 1980s and before the full-cost fees law was implemented. However, when people are engaged in an almost welcoming entrepreneurialism, the inner feature of the institution-OS relationship would eventually have to be reshaped and decomposed. Neither of these relationships are purely pedagogically oriented any longer, nor is OS simply a pedagogical term. Instead, these relationships are in a process of self-evolution, eliciting a possibility of market orientation. This process of self-evolution began shortly after the UK government became aware that OSs contributed considerably to the UK economy and celebrated the fact that their financial deficits might be able to be covered by the fees that OSs pay.

Knowledge provided by HEIs has been regarded by many as a commodity. As mentioned in Chapter Four and Five, the UK university international offices promote their educational programmes abroad as products in some ways. Following the logic of their marketing strategies, OSs were anticipated or regarded as customers to symbolically purchase and consume their education from UK HEIs as if they consume a private good. McMurtry (1991: 210-211) argued that:

> Even the language of educational purpose has undergone a sea-shift of transformation into business terminology and the going discourse of the corporate culture-'resource units' for what used to be subject disciplines and

their professors; educational 'consumers' for what used to be students and learners.

Similarly, Kenway et al (1995) reflected that the literature on educational marketing includes "at one end of the spectrum simple users' guides, management manuals, tips and checklists of do's and don'ts. At the other end, it includes densely argued papers drawing on very technical language (p. 17)".

A concern emerged here is that the customer relationship show signs of dehumanisation that might have deprived OSs of human character or attributes. A sign of dehumanisation may imply that the interactions and relationships on university campuses could be understood as calculable commodifications.

Perhaps, commodification in Lukacs's (1971) view is reification. In *History & Class Consciousness,* Lukacs (1971) noticed that the individual has a desire to be identified with what he/she purchases. "This transformation of a human function into a commodity reveals in all its starkness the dehumanised function of the commodity relation" (op.cit., p. 92).

Under this condition, the teaching-learning relationship is simplified as a relationship of commodity exchange. What Lukacs (1971: 92) may have meant is that people wanting to be what they consume is a process of developing a self-identity. The process is overwhelmingly exploited by commercial cultures, and could be a process of self-objectification, or dehumanisation.

Contemporary literature has drawn distinctions concerning markets and dehumanisation that can be understood as having three dimensions. Firstly, relationships between educational institutions and students are "materialized" and might be where the contradiction lies between the market relationship and the teaching-learning relationship in general and markets and autonomy in particular. Secondly, dehumanisation in this context implies students might be in a state of a loss of the sense of belonging and having a feeling of retouched with where s/he belongs. Thirdly, pressing the second point further, the problem of being in a state

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of loss of the sense of personal identity and a feeling of strangeness might emerge from the dichotomy between the teaching-learning and customer relationships. Some OSs may see these two relationships as contradictory to each other, which I will discuss in detail in Chapter Seven. Students in general go to HEIs with a fixed, conventional, and anticipated position, which in the context of HE is recognised as the learner in the teaching-learning relationship. Prior to entrepreneurialism become an influential discourse in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, the teaching-learning relationship was used to be considered to be the dominant one that linked students and HEIs.

Are Different Institutional and Departmental Policies Applied to OSs only?

As examined in Chapters Four and Five, the UK government has a financial incentive and interest in OSs that is reflected in its OS-related policies and some government officials' speeches and initiatives. Additionally, some OSs, with whom I had informal conversations or who were participants in my empirical research, expressed a belief that "we pay three times more than home students (before 2006 when the "top up" fee policy was announced), so we deserve better treatment from our institutions".

Marketing strategies for OS recruitments and the HE policy concerning improving OS' experiences have generally projected OSs as customers. On the basis of customer service and care principles, many institutions are eager to make sure their current OSs are satisfied with their 'services' and have good experiences studying with them.

Yet the majority of staff (including senior members of and academic staff) said there is no policy of this kind. It is important to show the senior member of staff's responses to my questions, for they were heavily involved in institutional and departmental policy-making. Their responses will be helpful to reveal whether there are policies applied to OSs only; if so, what thinking is embedded in these policies; and possibly how my case study institutions or academic schools implement these polices.

My data show that, regardless to what extent their institutions have implemented customer service policies based on seeing OSs as customers, the majority of interviewees answered 'no' to the question (Are different institutional/departmental policies applied to OSs only?). I show three examples below,

Example 1:

> "But we also try wherever possible to link that responsibility with being responsible for students in general. And my other main responsibility is to be the pro vice chancellor for student affairs. Because that means that I don't see OSs as separate, they are part of the student body, but on the other hand I do have a special responsibility to them..... *(I had asked whether OSs would receive extra support or more support than home students.)* Sometimes it is different support rather than more support. We have a very strong student support unit in the university, but there is also a student support unit in the international office....So I think there's a recognition, international support needs to be different in some respects, not all but in some."
> (PVCDB-Miller-Greenford University)

Example 2:

> "We have a special member of staff for OSs.......So I think we on the one hand make sure that there is somebody between me and the students, like an international adviser. An international officer of the university we have a very close relationship with them, it is very, very good. And often people will go there and come back to us. But it is very important to us that we have an extremely good relationship with the international office because the international office's view, of course, which is rather commercial in one sense, is that the best advert for this university is word of mouth. If a student goes back from this university not happy here, you can have all the marketing in the world and you are not going to recruit students."
> (PVCDB-Miller-Greenford University)

Example 3:

> "Not really. We treat the OSs in many respects just the same as the UK students and that's deliberate because an OS will probably have a special induction programme, they have a programme called 'Introduction to Britain', which the UK students don't have. So there are things like that and there are some special social events and so on. But in most other respects we treat the OS just the same as a UK student because of a feeling that students should be treated equally and not differently......The general philosophy is equality of treatment".
> (PVCDB- Ferguson, Redfield University)

There are two issues merged from these interviews. The first is concerned about a policy regarding whether or not OSs receive extra support. To synthesise and to elaborate these four interviews as to the concept of policy, I look separately at two elements: language and actions. When asked if there is policy applied only to OSs,

the answers are generally 'no', for they intend to demonstrate a philosophy of 'equality of treatment' in which home and OSs are treated in the same way. They all have problems, but those are just 'different'. When I interviewed other staff, e.g., teaching and administrative staff, the answers are consistent. However, the head of the international office at Redfield University fundamentally challenged the way in which we used the language during our interview. He said:

> "The policy would be that all students get treated equally. I mean that would be, but that's what I said, when I said that policy can be used, interpreted in a misleading way. Or I think unhelpful way because actually I think OSs do need extra support......"
> (HIO-Morgan, Redfield University).

His words indicated that there are gaps between the language and actions; between the principle and the reality. I have found that the language used and the principles embedded in the institutional policy are rather symbolic and generally very politically correct, for example, when this head of the international office said, "policy can be used, interpreted in a misleading way". In this context, whether there is a policy for OSs or not seems to be less important than what these institutions do for their OSs.

The Oxford Dictionary defines policy as "a general plan of action". In reality, OSs do need extra support. Although these senior members of staff said there is no policy for OSs only, they did all point out that they provided OSs with 'more' or 'different' support compared to home students, e.g., English language support, guarantee of accommodations, induction programmes. While they worry that they might not understand what support OSs may need, they make sure there is someone like an international adviser in Greenford and OS co-ordinators in Redfield to play in between the institution and OSs. My reflective thought here is if not a policy, these are actions in which these institutions look after their OSs.

The second is concerned about the concept of support. As documented, the word 'support' (or help) appeared repetitively in our interviews. What do OSs need extra support for? There could be *two answers*. The first answer would be humanitarian oriented. As Bartram (2006) had argued:

> Shared beliefs in the value of support and guidance are rooted in the classical

humanist ideology that underpins our educational traditions and attaches great significance to the pastoral role in schooling. Concerns to build and maintain supportive and individual relationships with students, driven by convictions that such an approach will support academic learning and promote personal development, are arguably long-standing priorities that resonate with Holmes' and McLean's (1989) description of classical humanist values in English education. (p. 1-2)

The second answer would be that it is a vital element of customer service and marketing strategy (or the principle of markets). As examined in Chapter Two, OSs are seen as customers, whilst the institutions perform as educational service providers. There are either departments or persons, such as the OS co-coordinators at Redfield University and the OSs in Greenford University. Some HEIs have documented their customer service and care policy.

When it comes to policy implementation, the concept of 'service' or 'care' could be interpreted as 'support'. Marketing strategies or customer care, both in theory and in principle, involve a process that does not stop looking after OSs when they first apply to study. It continues, as the PVCDB-Miller at Greenford University said (and other academic staff said, which will be discussed later in this chapter), and as I have shown above. Here I repeat to emphasise:

> "If a student goes back from this university not happy here, you can have all the marketing in the world and you are not going to recruit students". (PVCDB-Miller, Greenford University).

Furthermore, UK HEIs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, as Henkel (1997) argued, "could be described in terms of significant movement(s) towards the university as corporate enterprise(s) in the context of a largely state-regulated market-but by means of a not necessarily conscious mix between bureaucratic and post-bureaucratic modes of management" (p.136-7). Henkel (ibid.) referred to the university management in general and did not exemplify the management of OS market. Yet, the way in which UK HEIs manage OSs' experiences seem to not be conscious mix between bureaucratic and post-bureaucratic modes.

In terms of managing student experience, it seems that many types of support given to OSs are more oriented to administration and welfare than to academic courses. Although many UK HEIs count English language support as academic

support, I cannot completely agree, as the issues concerning academic support for international (international in general) students are problematic.

As Heckscher (1994) noted, in terms of bureaucracy mode, each department "has to be clearly specified in terms of its duties and methods" (p19). The tendency to clearly and technically divide the support that institutions provide to OSs into the categories of administrative- and welfare-oriented, on the one hand, and academics-oriented on the other hand, suggests that the former looks at OSs as customers and the latter looks at them as learners.

Some staff in my interviews believed that there should be no conflict between the customer and learner identities, or between the teaching-learning and market relationships. Diagrams 1 and 2 in **Appendix 8** and Diagrams 3 and 4 in **Appendix 9**are intended to illustrate these scenarios.

Heckscher (ibid.) argued:

> There is such an inherent and fundamental limitation of bureaucracy, one that derives from its very foundation in the specification of offices: That is that *people are responsible only for their own jobs*........ If they move beyond their specific realms, or seek to communicate outside of their appointed channels, they cause trouble: they confuse lines of responsibility and authority......

In line with Heckscher's argument, managing teaching-learning and market relationships between OSs and university staff separately could be a 'problem of bureaucratic segmentation' (op.cit., p. 20). I want to argue that one undesirable consequence merged here is that *both the identities and the experiences of OSs have been managed very mechanically by their host institutions*. The university international offices or marketing unions recruit the OSs. When the OSs arrive, there are different units or departments that look after their academic and non-academic matters, respectively. In other words, academic departments would be expected to look after OSs' learning identity and experiences, and other service units or departments would look after their customer identities and experiences.

From an institutional management perspective, having different units or departments looking after OSs' academic and non-academic matters is sensible, effective and probably the best the institutions can do to manage OSs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. However, from my own experience as an OS, the missing element is that all identities and experiences are integrated and articulated together.

In comparison to the bureaucracy form, the post-bureaucratic system is "relatively open at the boundaries", an *interactive* type, requiring 'dialogue' among offices and departments across the institutions (Heckscher, 1994). Middlehurst and Woodfield's (2007) research showed that mechanisms for "continuing dialogue between senior management and academic units and between academic and professional service units are being created or redesigned " (p272) in some of their case study institutions.

Yet, from Cowan and Arsenault's (2008) point of view, 'dialogue' and 'collaboration' are different phases of communication. To achieve 'collaboration', communication must persist as long as there is a goal to achieve dialogue communication (op.cit., p. 12). Nevertheless, to date, no research reported that HEIs would carry out projects or schemes with "a clearly defined goal for seeking cross-departmental collaborations" (op.cit., p.18) to help OSs and /or international students. From these institutional managerial perspectives, OSs' identities and experiences remain to be mechanically managed, to a large extent, by different departments and offices. Consequently, OSs could be dehumanised by the current mechanical and bureaucratic systems, which, paradoxically, are designed to enhance their experiences.

The issue of tensions and differences between the various groups within the university staff is very important in the context of internationalisation of the HE agenda. However, I have found very little discussion about this issue from my literature research. Middlehurst and Woodfield's (2007) research was one of very few relevant ones which showed that many universities were still at an early stage

of developing international strategies when they conducted their research about 'internationalisation and the student experience' in 2005/2006. As already quoted above, Middlehurst and Woodfield (2007) indicated that their research showed that senior management, academic units, and between academic and professional service units are being created or redesigned, and just began their dialogue. I argue that there needs to be a call for seeking cross-departmental collaborations in order to improve the experiences of OSs.

Furthermore, when I conducted my empirical research, I wanted to investigate whether the managerial staff had suggested academic and/or support staff to consider OSs as customers. I asked these staff whether their heads of institutions or schools discussed with them how to interact with OSs (Please see Appendix 3 for the relevant interview questions). Most staff replied that there was no such discussion. I was concerned about whether institutional power may influence the extent to which OSs' customer identities are reinforced through interactions between staff and OSs, and whether a power relationship confined some staff over the issue concerning the identity constitution of OSs.

As previously stated, my research question is to consider to what extent OSs' interactions with other social actors (university staff in particular) influence the construction and negotiation of their learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. I found that there were signs of tensions and differences between the various groups within the university staff concerning the ways of these two discourses. I also found that some staff resisted and negotiated the discourse of OSs as customers. However, it might be problematic or incautious to suggest here that these signs of tensions and differences were significant based on this relative small scale of empirical research.

Academic Staff

If OSs' host institutions in general confuse them, so that the students sometimes wonder whether they are customers or learners, then the academic staff's attitudes are relatively significant and become vital references for those students' identity formation. Some OSs may not interact much with the senior members of staff, but are instead more concerned about their relationships with the academic staff.

As examined in Chapter Two, "teacher and student are roles that are defined within the group/organization of a school" and "meanings and expectations are tied to each of these roles" (Stets and Burke, 2000:228). Additionally, from the interactionists' viewpoints (e.g., Reitzes & Mutran, 1980; Reitzes, 1981; Burke & Reitzes, 1991; Stets & Burke, 2000; Stryker & Serpe, 1994), particularly those whose research has examined the identity salience of college students, the academic staff are generally regarded as significant and are associated with their student identity and role performances (Stets and Burke, 2000, 228; also see Burke & Reitzes, 1991).

At three pre-'92 and three post-'92 universities, Lomas' (2007) research asked whether or not staff should consider students (in general) to be customers. His conclusion stated, "although it is necessary to be tentative when drawing conclusions from a relatively small sample, nevertheless the research seems to suggest that lecturers' academic discipline was far more influential than institutional type" (p. 41).

To explore academic staff' perceptions about whether OSs have been regarded as customers, I started by reflecting on Lomas's research. Some of Lomas's findings I can take further, while I find some of them vacillating in relation to my research. I have always been "tentative when drawing conclusions from a relatively small sample" (Lomas, 2007), for I had only conducted this research with two pre-'92 and two post-'92 universities. Thus, I am unable to analyse the connection and relationship between the institutional types and the academic staff' perceptions.

My inability to generate relationship between the institutional and the academic staff' perceptions has resulted from four features that I can identify here. These three issues reflect, to a large extent, the negotiation theme I discussed above.

Firstly, Lomas (2007) has said that a lecturer's professional background influences whether or not he or she is comfortable with the notion of students as customers (p. 41). My research focuses on business schools, which have relatively more OSs than other disciplines, as identified in Chapter Three. I cannot substantiate whether or not the majority of academic staff in business schools tend to see OSs more as customers than their colleagues who work in other academic departments. Their perceptions of the customer notion are various and diverse. Instead, most academic staff whom I interviewed were more in the process of negotiating the notions of OSs as customer and OSs as learner. As I will explain later in this chapter, many academic staff in my empirical research did not see that OSs as customers and OSs as learners are two oppositional notions, and additionally, that the academic and customer relationships are no longer completely incompatible to one another.

Secondly, apart from their teaching and research commitments, as quoted from Harris (2005), some academic staff travel abroad to attend marketing fairs, either for their institutions or for "promotion of existing as well as new courses" (424-5). I encountered four academic staff who did this for their institutions. The influence of these extra-curricular commitments to market their universities or courses abroad might explain why they are involved in negotiating the notions of customer and learner.

The third is concerned about my methodological reflexivity. As discussed in my Methodology chapter (Chapter Three), I used the interview as one of my primary research methods. The interview is a technique through which knowledge is generated "between the views of the two partners in the conversation" (Kvale, 1996: 296). The knowledge generated from my interviews with university staff concerning OS's identities could be regarded as an "inter-change of views between

two persons conversing about a theme of mutual interest" (op. cit., p.14). During these interviews, staff interviewees ponder and negotiate their perceptions about OSs as learners and as customers with me, a researcher and OS myself.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, there may be an issue concerning 'bias' or 'prejudice' in my research. However, my ontological and epistemological positions are bound up by the perspectives of constructivism, in which as Janesick (1994) states, "there is no attempt to pretend that research is value free" (p. 212).

The term *ambivalence* was first developed in psychoanalysis to describe a continual fluctuation between wanting both one thing and its opposite. The concept of ambivalence is also used to refer to a simultaneous attraction toward and repulsion from an object, person or action (Young, 1995: 161; Ashcroft *et al* 2000: 12).

The concept of ambivalence is adapted here to illustrate the multifarious fusion of attraction and repulsion that characterizes the interface between the teaching-learning and the customer relationships. The nature of this interface is ambivalent because when negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses (such as OSs as learners, OSs as ambassadors, and OSs as change agents), the teaching-learning relationship is no longer completely opposite to the customer one. This is partly because in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, many UK HEIs use customer care/services as techniques to enhance OSs' satisfaction and experiences for different reasons that I will explore later.

The teaching-learning relationship is conventionally the primary concern of the academic heartland, where the concerns of liberal education are located. However, the prevailing culture *of* entrepreneurism has facilitated the creation of entrepreneurial discourse, which has come to redefine the relationship between OSs and institutions. Hereafter, many UK HEIs may believe that the teaching-learning and the customer relationship can co-exist, that they cannot be independent from one another. Most importantly, UK HEIs want to manage both

relationships well. Customer service packages will be introduced to the campus and the academic staff may look after the teaching-learning relationship, while the senior member of and administrative staff in the universities will pay more attention to the customer relationship.

My research findings have shown that academic staff' perspectives vary concerning whether OSs should be considered more as learners or as customers. Some academic staff applaud the adoption of the notion of customers, while some are extremely reluctant to accept the customer relationship, preferring to view OSs as learners.

For instance, Klum from the Greenford University said that she was a foreign student herself. She understood how difficult it is to achieve a degree when having to speak a foreign language in a foreign environment. OSs in general work very hard, but often have to struggle the practices of academic cultures in UK HEIs. She added that in the context of the marketisation of higher education, OSs are regarded as customers and that her university promotes this notion. Accordingly, the needs of OSs may be prioritised, which Klum does not think is right. To prioritise the needs of OSs and sacrifice the needs of home students seems unnecessary to her.

More significantly, my research findings showed that inherent ambivalences exist among the perceptions of academic staff regarding OSs' learner and customer identities. These inherent ambivalences could be exploited in terms of their resistances in the process of the construction of entrepreneurial discourse. These inherent ambivalences could also be exploited in the way which academic staff negotiate entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses, for instance, such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents and OSs as ambassadors, eventually resulting in a hybridity of interrelated discourse (Fairclough, 1992). These ambivalences of academic staff in my interviews can be synthesised as twofold: the priority and aim of teaching-learning relationships are changed, and the customer relationship is considered as a way to manage the

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teaching-learning relationship.

The Priority and Aim of Teaching-Learning Relationships are Changed

Some academic staff were very concerned about the quality of teaching they produced. To provide good quality teaching, academic staff have to understand who their students are, what they expect to learn, and the ways students can most easily engage with their teaching. Even if they tried not to separate OSs from home students, which is sometimes difficult as students switch from their study major as undergraduates to a new subject or discipline in their postgraduate programs, they do not underestimate the fact that OSs speak English as their second language. Different language cultures generate different learning expectations, which can be reflected in the ways they understand and interpret knowledge.

Friedman (2005) proposed an idea of 'the world is flat', the idea that many Western companies have their branches or customer service departments abroad. After getting HE degrees from UK universities, OSs are likely to gain access to these international companies when they return home. If Friedman's (ibid.) idea is valid, then contemporary HEIs are being forced to think globally, to put themselves in a global context.

Both capitalism and its industrial technological base grow in strength. New commodities that need greater technological knowledge to produce, require more highly trained people to design them. This may force HEIs to change their role from serving the state in managing society to serving industry and commerce in ensuring people are employable (Jarvis, 2001: 5). Accordingly, this may fundamentally change not only OSs' views and expectations about the programmes that UK HEIs offer, but also the ways they consider their pedagogical relationships with UK HEIs.

UK HEIs are aware of these expectations. The *Policy on Careers Education, Information & Guidance*, presented by the University of Strathclyde in 2004, says:

> Academic departments foster professional knowledge and practical competence and contribute to the development of personal skills which

equip students to meet employers' needs and to manage their own careers as employees or entrepreneurs. In many departments this includes the involvement of employers and professional practitioners in the design and delivery of the curriculum.
(University of Strathclyde- Policy on Careers Education, Information & Guidance)

OSs' teaching-learning relationships with UK HEIs could be different than those with their home institutions. For some OSs, UK HEIs offer them relatively greater opportunities than their home institutions with regard to access to the global labour market. OSs at the postgraduate level who intend to prioritise market-oriented knowledge that could meet the immediate or prospective needs of a particular labour market may be more concerned about their employment prospects while they attend UK HEIs. Particularly at the postgraduate level, OSs consider their participation in UK HE as an investment that 'pays off' by graduates entering the work-force with marketable skills and values (Kenway *et al.* 1993:106). Knowledge, for some OSs, is expected to consist of certain degrees or marketable skills and values, such as MBA programmes.

As I will argue more in Chapter Seven, OSs undertake extended education and training in tertiary education in the UK primarily as an investment in self-improvement. Some economists tend to believe that the screening and human capital value of instructional activities and their ability increases the future earnings and productivity of the existing student body (Backer & Lewis, 1993: 3). Furthermore, given the fact that the market mechanism is adapted to recruit and meet OSs' wants and needs for their teaching-learning relationship with UK HEIs, OSs would not mind investing more tuition fees in the UK than in their home HEIs.

The Customer Relationship is Considered as a Way to Manage the Teaching-Learning Relationship

The customer care approach identified in marketing strategies related to higher-education studies is useful for understanding what customers want and need. When it comes to the context of the marketisation of higher education, some research reveals that it is useful to understand potential students' needs and employment potential when making decisions about what programmes to offer

(McGinty & Fish, 1993; Naude & Ivy, 1999). A department head from Whiteford University mentioned that they had an internal audit to ensure that OSs receive good quality from their education.

> "The audit was concerned, or we were asked specific questions about the way in which we communicate with OSs during the process of application. Secondly, the way in which we communicate with them and *treat them is a terrible word* but look after them once they have been accepted on the course and in the period leading up to their arrival, to make sure they know what they need to know about the programme in advance. And then thirdly what will we do with them once they arrive here. And that can be split into these two elements one of which is concerned with initial induction and so do we have special induction programmes for students? And secondly what happens after that?"
> (HBS-Perry, Whiteford University).

The consideration underpinning this audit is the provision of a good quality education. This audit is seen as a progressive process of providing educational services, beginning when students start applying for their courses until after they finish. The idea of good quality education could be problematic in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, because UK HEIs, as Peters (2001) points out, have "encouraged the acquisition and use of so-called entrepreneurial qualities" (p.60).

Therefore, the way in which Whiteford University used to produce entrepreneurial qualities can be spelt out as the following three stages:

- OS recruitment: designing the institution's offerings to meet OSs' needs and desires, using effective pricing, communication, and distribution to inform, motivate, and service these markets (Kotler & Fox, 1995: 6).
- OSs attending their institutions: seeing OSs as customers, so-called customer services are provided by the academic departments or by the university to look after OSs during their study.
- OSs finishing their courses: OSs may need to give feedback to their institutions that evaluate to what extent these expectations of OSs match what institutions provide.

HBS-Perry said "treat them is a terrible word", reflecting his anxiety that some academic entrepreneurs who have adapted a number of terminologies and techniques from marketing or the commercial world are ambivalent.

As discussed, the current debate about the relationship between OSs and UK HEIs is stated as a dichotomy: the teaching-learning and customer relationships, which can co-exist because one cannot be independent from the other. However, one interviewee from Greenford University pointed out that it is a simplistic dichotomy to divide these relationships into teaching-learning and customer relationships. Furthermore, if these relationships must be divided like this, this may not be an issue of co-existence or incompatibility.

To transcend and move beyond the issue of co-existence or incompatibility, the MA programmes director in Greenford University mentioned:

> "As befits my training, I was using the economist's notion of a market interaction (a transaction occurring at a specific time and place) rather than a marketing definition, which would possibly include both pre- and post-transaction relationships. From that perspective, my point is that once students sign-up with us, as it were, the market interaction is finished and the pedagogic one takes over, is really a matter of tautology. As I mentioned, such a view does not imply an attitude of indifference towards the pedagogic relationship simply because the market relationship precedes it; quite the opposite, in fact, because of the characteristic of professionals to supply the best service they can regardless of market implications, and the imperative of future market interactions, via reputational effects, requiring provision of high quality teaching and learning opportunities to current students." (MPD-Broad, Greenford University)

Perspectives such as 'because of the characteristic of professionals to supply the best service they can regardless of market implications, and the imperative of future market interactions' imply that whether or not there is a market or customer relationship, or whether or not the teaching-learning relationship is 'coloured' by the customer one, teaching is their profession and those in this position want to do their best as teachers. This perspective also repetitively appeared in a number of other interviews with academic staff, even though the way it was addressed was different. For instance,

> "every student is a customer irrespective of whether they're overseas and they've paid more money than the British student. You know we're being encouraged to take a customer focus, which in effect is the student-centred focus. Focus on the wants, the needs, the desires of the individual.
> We aggressively market to the home students as well but through a different set of mechanisms. So the student-centred approach is the customer approach, the customer focus you know. But the difference would be that if I was a customer and I wanted to go into a shop and buy rat poison and eat it,

nobody would sell it to me, nobody would sell me glue that I could sniff or cocaine on the streets you know. If that was a completely customer-centred focus then we would let them do whatever they wanted.

So if you like, there is a hybrid between the two. Because you have this student-centred focus which is about we're going to focus on you and deliver the things that you need, but we are going to identify what it is you need because we're going to provide the services.....I think all students have a difficulty in the identity of a customer....I think the difficulty is that the OS has been aggressively marketed.

And sometimes when OSs are being used as a way to diversify income streams, some universities are encouraging students perhaps to apply for courses and the students want to just go and do something, they've not particularly bothered about what it is. Therefore you do wonder, you have to be very careful, which is why it is good. I think the way we handle things which is that Academics Faculty are part of the marketing teams."
(Coleman, Redfield University)

Coleman from Redfield University had a similar perspective to MPD-Broad from Greenford University. Nevertheless, Coleman took this perspective further and emphasised three points.

Firstly, her institution took the customer-focused approach, in which both home and OSs are considered as customers. Coleman argued that considering OSs as customers is not because of the higher fees they pay to the Redfield University. Students in general are treated as customers who receive student-centred services. Portraying her university as a customer-centred one, Coleman meant that Redfield University focuses on student development in designing its curricula. In this sense, her university is in a better position to identify new opportunities and set long-term strategies for its OSs.

By considering students' needs as they evolve, Redfield University can decide what student groups and what emerging needs are the most important to serve, then concentrate its resources on delivering superior value to the target customers (Kotler & Armstrong, 1999: 569). It is clear that the OS group is the target group of Redfield University in recent years. A customer-centred strategy has been used to look at OSs, who are the customers of Redfield University.

In Coleman's words, the student-centred teaching style allows OSs to gain some ownership of their learning. The customer-centred focus is used not only in OS recruitment, which is concerned more about what courses will interest OSs more, but also in lecture rooms. A student-centred teaching approach includes promoting active learning in lectures, holding students responsible for their learning, and using self-paced and/or cooperative learning. (Mundhenk, 2004: 450). Furthermore, from a constructivist view of learning, Grabinger and Dunlap (1995) defined what active learning means and suggested that the rich environments for active learning should "encourage the growth of student responsibility, initiative, decision making, and intentional learning; cultivate collaboration among students and teachers", and "utilize dynamic, interdisciplinary, generative learning activities that promote higher-order thinking processes to help students develop rich and complex knowledge structures" (p. 5).

The way in which Coleman synthesised student-centred teaching styles and the customer-centred approach is consistent with Mundhenk's (2004) and Grabinger and Dunlap's (1995) researches to the extent that both concepts focus on what students want and need to learn, as well as on what teaching and learning processes can work more effectively. Coleman's view may work for students in general and OSs in business schools in particular because many of them are mature students and have many years of working experiences before coming to take their postgraduate courses. Many OSs come to study, for instance, an MBA or MA in Marketing, in the hope that they can "integrate new knowledge with old knowledge and thereby create rich and complex knowledge structures" (Grabinger and Dunlap, op.cit, p. 5). For instance,

> I said more exposure and the market they value and there is coming from one abroad university so it will give me more job opportunities in my professional life...... I had expectations. Mostly I was looking for getting the experience and seeing what other aspects of working life.
> (Singh, India, Greenford University)

> I completed my education in 1993. And in the last years I've been working in India. I'm working in the financial service area. So a lot of its multi-nationals and basically its globalisation you know. So I thought I should upgrade my education system so. And what I have studied is quite redundant now. So it's just to upgrade and to get into better position.
> (Saha, India, Redfield University)

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In other words, the focus of Coleman is on the students' needs. I will discuss more in Chapter Seven about how OSs, for instance, Biya (from Cameroom, studied at Greenford University), understood from their comparative learning experiences between their previous ones at home and UK. Some OSs said that they were required to be more active in their pedagogical interaction with one another in the UK context.

Secondly, as did other academic staff in my interviews, Coleman stated that the customer approach is used as a technique to enhance the teaching-learning relationship between OSs and their institutions. These notions, the customer and customer/ student focus approach, are adapted from marketing strategy concepts. UK HEIs have adapted these notions due to their desire to become as attractive as possible to potential students, who have been reconceptualised as 'customers' (Scott, 1997: 40-1). Conversely, the market ideology has been brought to the fore to view students as consumers of HEIs. Students have "both responsibilities for their own fate as well as the right to demand that what they pay for is what they acquire" (Neave, 1991: 28).

The notion of the "student-centred approach is the customer approach" is embedded within the practices of UK HEIs, in particular in the areas of improving OSs' learning experiences and in enhancing teaching quality. Furthermore, some HEIs project themselves as not-for-profit institutions and see the delivery of education and training as a transaction based on trust rather than on provable benefits. Some university senior members of staff argued that they are a not-for-profit organisation in the UK and operate according to legislation that requires surpluses to be reinvested in the campus (Tallack, 13 January 2006, The THES).

Thirdly, Coleman's views regarding the notion of learner and that of customer are ambivalent, which is one of the key themes that has emerged from my interview data. Coleman was aware that the conventional view is to see these two relationships as incompatible. Like many other HEIs with an entrepreneurial approach to the OS market, Coleman's institution wants to see these two

relationships become integrated, although there could be a dilemma between 'incompatibility' and 'integration'. Coleman then suggested the idea of 'hybridity' to resolve this dilemma, which many academics may have experienced in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, implying that there is a hybrid solution to OSs' learner and customer identities.

Coleman's idea concerning hybridity is considered as a compromise between the teaching-learning and customer relationship. Also, indeed, in Diagram 2 (please see Appendix 8 and its key), the illustration of the Sector a.US.b depicts the idea of hybridity and of ambivalence that has emerged through staff' resistances negotiation of entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses.

An example of hybridity can be found in *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha (1994), which argued that from a post-colonial perspective, there are binary oppositions, such as the East/West, self/other, centre/margin, that were produced by the most powerful player. Ambivalences may occur when, for instance, *the other* fluctuates about whether or not to imitate the dominant player. Under this condition, the identity of *the other* is not stable. There is a structure of difference that could make people struggle and that demands our negotiation to resolve. The notion of 'hybridity' is introduced to rethink and to resolve the differences that cause these struggles.

Some academic staff have faced a situation in which, in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, the simplistic dichotomy is made that divides relationships among UK HEIs and OSs into teaching-learning and customer relationships. "It is the structure of difference that produces the hybridity" (op. cit., p.76). A structure of difference has caused some staff to struggle, leading them eventually to experience the processes of negotiation and ambivalence.

For some staff, the idea of hybridity may emerge to align the teaching-learning and customer relationships as a result of their negotiation. Similar to Bhabha's (1994) argument, this alignment would resolve "ambivalence in the structure of

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identification that occurs precisely in the elliptical in-between" where the shadow of the teaching-learning relationship falls upon the customer relationship (p. 85). It can be added here that from OSs' viewpoints, it is the shadow of the learner identity that falls upon the customer one.

This alignment can be seen as hybridity, which means, as Bhabha (1990) suggested, "that you should translate your principles, rethink them, extend them" (p. 216). Furthermore, "it is the structure of difference" (Bhabha, 1994: 76) that creates the hybridity of the notion of the learner and the notion of the customer. Some academic staff articulated these two notions and came up with the term 'clientele' as a result of the process of hybridity.

> "We do try to treat them as clients rather than students. We do care very much about the product we're offering and the service we provide. In terms of the overseas dimension, we realise that there are different needs for OSs particularly because they are coming from different cultures and so on.....
> I don't differentiate between student and customer personally, because otherwise I wouldn't be running an MBA......
> I don't tend to use the word 'student' but no, the course members as I call them they have rights, they are clients, they have the right to tell me I'm doing things wrong, they have the right to tell me I'm doing things right, they have the right to make suggestions if they don't feel they're getting good service or value for money, they have the right to tell me, which we encourage that because otherwise we'd be in difficulty in the long run.
> If reputations in the academic world take a long time to build up but if you do something pretty bad, then it can soon disappear. So I'd much rather have feedback on a continual basis so that we can respond and try and improve things, and this goes for all of, that's not just the MBA's, it's the MA's, it's the undergrads as well. And even they are beginning to be more vocal because they perceive now they're paying money"
> (HBS- Fletcher, Greenford University).

> "It is very difficult to try and address the issue, because we are not really student teacher relationships. What we are, if anything, is more like clientele. And its not really customer, you know the customer knows what the customer wants and if you don't give them what they want, then they won't buy it from you, OK. But a student-university sort of relationship is more clientele, they think they know what they want but they're not very sure. And they need some sort of advice and support. OK. So it's a bit like you're a professional service like solicitors and accountants, you know, you think you know so you go and see the lawyer but then the lawyer tells you 'no you can't do this because this is illegal or whatnot'. So that relationship is more kin to a student/university sort of student/teacher relationship."
> (HBS- Moores, Redfield University)

From some academic staff' perspectives, the idea of clientele is hybridised from the differences of 'learners' and of 'customers', "a subject that inhabits the rim of an in-between reality" (Bhabha, 1994: 19). Bhabha (1994) proposed another idea of 'mimicry' to articulate such ideas as ambivalence and hybridity. The discourse of mimicry could be seen "as the effect of hybridity" (op. cit., p.115).

Mimicry in entrepreneurial discourse seems to suggest that terminologies or ideas borrowed from the commercial world were considered as a resolution, as a hybridization, of the teaching-learning and customer relationships in the context of the marketisation of higher education. Mimicry, in fact, which is always incomplete, here not only ascribes differences between these two relationships and identities of OSs as learners and as customers, but also implies that there are shared common, perceived features with one another.

While many academic entrepreneurs intend to find ways to hybridise these two relationships, these two identities, in line with Bhabha's definition (ibid.), show, on the one hand, a "sign of a double articulation; a complex strategy of reform" that "appropriates" OSs (or/and home/EU students) as similar to customers who have rights to exercise. On the other hand, "mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate" (ibid.) in which "coheres the dominant strategic function" (ibid.) of entrepreneurial discourse.

Heads of International Offices and Student Services

To continue to understand staff member's perspectives about OSs, I interviewed four heads of international offices and a dean of student services at four case study institutions. My research findings regarding this group of staff' perspectives are remarkably consistent with Bolsmann and Miller's (2007), in which

> OSs are certainly seen as a source of fee income but they are also seen as contributors to the status of the university as an international institution, as an essential part of the academic community and a crucial part of the research effort. (Bolsmann & Miller, 2007: 81)

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Four heads of international offices made this point clear to me. Additionally, international offices of universities have been "focusing on marketing and recruitment without necessarily having a view which takes into account the effect of the large scale presence of OSs on a particular programme" (op. cit., p.86), regardless of whether or not they are pre- or post'92 institutions. For instance,

> "We have a role to advise the university on strategy for marketing and student care and then we work with the Alumni Office to make sure that our international alumni get the service that they need, too."
> (HIO-Siddle, Greenford University)

> "My office is primarily marketing.......OS support is to a great extent integrated into the student support given to the home students".
> (HIO-Siddle, Greenford University)

When I asked them what their office was there for at their institutions and why they recruit OSs, most of them did not deny the financial incentives from this group of students.

> "The international education office at the university exists for many different reasons; we are a multi-operational, multitasking team of people. The first and primary purpose of this department is to ensure that the university's published international strategy is linked and that it's taken forward. The international strategy very clearly indicates a number of very important things that the university wants to do now, roughly speaking....they are: internationalisation of our curriculum, the internationalisation of our faculty, of our staff to be international out lookers.......
> The other factor is the university is a progressive university; our mission statement is that we want to send our students on exchanges......We also are very interested in recruiting students to come and study with us for those reasons I've already outlined, but obviously in this day and age there is a financial imperative. OSs do pay a significant amount in tuition fees and the university is keen to encourage the best and the brightest of the generation of the country to come and study with us because we are also about developing people and giving them the best education opportunity."
> (HIO-Denly, Bluefield University).

However, as Bolsmann and Miller said (ibid.), there was "the variety of complementary and contradictory discourses within which policy and practice works". There are signs of complementarities and contradictions in which these staff were in the process of resistance and negotiation, as argued above. The most distinctive element of these "complementary and contradictory discourses" that constantly appeared in my interviews is that some interviewees stated that their office was very much marketing oriented, but not all of them tend to see OSs as

customers. In fact, there were voices rejecting the notion of customer in the university.

> "I think they (OSs) should feel a student is a student. I mean if it is all too crude, if they get a perception that all we want is their money and we don't care about their welfare that would be terrible. I don't know that that's the case; I hope not. I mean we've done quite well in terms of recruitment, we were number 1 in the country for OSs, so I think people must be having a reasonably good experience, otherwise everyone back home would hear 'don't come to (Redfield) they just treat you like a customer'. So they must be having a pretty good education, I know it is not perfect but it must be reasonably good or they wouldn't be telling other people to say it is OK."
> (HIO-Morgan, Redfield University)

> "The identity about being a customer is very, very strong......I'm getting increasingly worried about it (the notion of student as customer). ...I think it is because, um, throughout the world the consumer culture is increasing......the identity about these formed and shaped and reinforced by the outside world often doesn't work well within the confines of the university......it is quite a complex thing, this business about customer and identity. It is students will not act as internal customers within a university in the same way as they will act as external customers in the rest of the world, which I find quite fascinating but it becomes very difficult to manage from my perspective."
> (DS-Duncan, Dean of Student Service, Redfield University)

As revealed in Bolsmann and Miller's (2006) research, there are complementary and contradictory elements in the way that heads of International Office or/and of student service consider OSs' learner and customer identities. The contradictions, in particular, appeared when some of these staff spoke about the notion of customer. They were aware that their institutions have financial incentives in recruiting OSs and apply a customer service policy to this group of students. However, they personally rejected the notion of 'customer'.

The opinions of DS-Duncan concerning "the (customer) identity about these formed and shaped and reinforced by the outside world often doesn't work well within the confines of the university" and "students will not act as internal customers within a university as they will act as external customers in the rest of the world" correspond, as quoted above, with Bhahba's (1994) statement that "mimicry is also the sign of inappropriate, however, a difference or recalcitrance" (p. 86). This could be because "It is not a question of harmonizing with the background, but against a mottled background, of becoming mottled". (Jacques

Lacan, "The line and light', *Of the Gaze*, cited in Bhabha, 1994: 84)

In the process of negotiation, some other groups of university staff have had the idea of clientele, hybridised from the differences between 'learners' and of 'customers':

> "We do regard them as clients, as people who are taking up our services and so we are aware that everything should be done to make us commercially competitive and to make us attractive to OSs. So we also see them as ambassadors, which I think is a much nicer title than a customer."
> (HIO-Siddle, Greenford University)

Along with attempting to conceal their market orientation, 'ambassador' here emerges as a complementarity, seeking to diminish these contradictions between the learner and customer identities in the university, at least to the level of OSs as "a source of fee income" and as "an essential part of the academic community" (Bolsmann & Miller, 2006: 81). This is another example of a hybridization of the teaching-learning and customer relationships in the context of the marketisation of higher education, as argued above.

Conclusion

In this Chapter, I aimed to look at the way in which university staff' perceptions about OSs are influenced by their participation in the construction by their resistances and negotiations in the construction of entrepreneurialism, its interrelated and competing discourses. I interviewed academic staff, heads of international offices and senior members of staff in the faculties or in the institutions from four case-study institutions: Bluefield University (post-'92), Greenford University (pre-'92), Redfield University (post-'92), and Whiteford (pre-'92).

As some researchers have previously explored, some university staff are resistant the discourse of entrepreneurialism. Their resistance could emerge to be due to fluctuations and negotiations between their personal beliefs and the prevailing

entrepreneurial culture in academia. These staff' resistance, fluctuations and negotiations might reflect not only upon their professional identities, but also upon the way in which they relate with OSs. Thus, they could be indecisive about the notion of the student as customer.

My data suggests that there are some staff who see OSs more as learners than as customers and that some may take an opposite view. It is also important to demonstrate that some staff have found themselves in the process of negotiating their view concerning whether OSs are customers or learners. I have also illustrated Diagram 1 and 2 in an attempt to categorize and to theorise and conceptualise staff' perspectives about OSs.

Negotiation, ambivalence and hybridity are three interrelated concepts that repeatedly appeared in my interview data with staff and significantly construct staff' perceptions about OS learner and customer identities. Some staff intention to negotiate the structure of difference between teaching-learning and customer relationships and learner and customer identities result in ambivalence. Thus, the hybridity of the notion of the learner and the notion of the customer is generated through the process of negotiation. For instance, some academic staff have articulated these two notions and come up with the term 'clientele' as a result.

The discourse of mimicry that emerged with the entrepreneurialism suggests that terminologies or ideas borrowed from the commercial world were considered as the resolution, as a hybridization of the teaching-learning and customer relationships in the discourse of entrepreneurialism. In my research, mimicry seems to imply that there are differences between the identities of OSs as learners and as customers, but that they also evolve to share common perceived features with each other. In contrast, however, "mimicry is also the sign of the inappropriate" in which "coheres the dominant strategic function" (Bhahba, 1994: 86) of entrepreneurial discourse.

I intended to answer questions about whether or not there are significant differences in staff' perceptions about OSs' learner and customer identities between the pre- and post-'92 universities. I decided to be tentative when drawing conclusions from a relatively small sample. The fact is that I only conducted this research with two pre-'92 and two post-'92 universities. Therefore, I am unable to generate the connection between the perceptions of institutional and academic staff.

Chapter Seven
Negotiating Overseas Students' Identities

Introduction

As discussed in Chapter One, the OSs have been the subjects of many studies and media. However, OSs' own accounts concerning their learner and customer identities negotiations have very often been missing from current literature and news. In this chapter, I want to examine the way in which OSs contest and negotiate their learner and customer identities.

As discussed in Chapter Two, I utilised theoretical perspectives of symbolic interactionists in general, identity theorists in particular, and some cultural studies scholars such as Grossberg (1996) and Hall (1990). Based on these theoretical perspectives, I consider two fundamental theoretical points to analyse my empirical data concerning OSs' identity construction, which I also examined in Chapters Three and Six. First, the construction of OSs identities is a complex process that is shaped by interactions with others. As already discussed in Chapters Four, Five, and Six, I respectively examined the influential roles of the UK government (particularly policy role), UK HEIs, and different groups of university staff in relation to the identity construction of OSs.

Second, although learner and customer identities could co-exist because their relationship is significant in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, each identity is differentiated according to its relative importance and the individual's commitment to her or his roles. When OSs encounter different people in different social interactions, their learner and customer identities would be ordered hierarchically.

First, I look at how OSs contest and negotiate their learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. I illustrate two diagrams of negotiation

(3 and 4) that depict OSs' perspectives that parallel the diagrams of negotiation (1 and 2) that depict staff perspectives, as described in Chapter Six. Second, I will separately examine the reasons why some OSs prefer to emphasise their learner identity while others prefer to emphasise their customer identity.

Third, I discuss the idea that negotiation continuously serves as an important component of understanding OSs identity construction in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. I suggest that OSs have not been only affected by their resistances and negotiations between notions of learner and customer, but were also participants in and contributors to the constitution of entrepreneurial discourse.

I also want to suggest that as showed in my empirical research, I found that neither are OSs as vulnerable and problematic as some literature tends to depict them, nor do many of them think it is legitimate for them to fully exercise their rights as customer. The idea of change agents is taken by OSs as an attitude of defying the challenges they have to encounter in the UK. OSs sacrifice many things, such as family life and money, and experience tremendous stress. After all, these students expect to learn to defy challenges, to be independent, to pursue their self-defined interests, and eventually to achieve personal satisfaction.

Diagrams of Negotiation - OS Perspectives

To present my empirical data, I have used Diagrams 3 and 4 (please see **Appendix 9**) to theorise the way I understand OSs' identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. The purpose of illustrating these diagrams here is to suggest that the ways in which university staff have negotiated between the notions of students as learners and students as customers have affected OSs' identity formation, with the result that OSs also negotiate their learner and customer identities.

I have already discussed respectively in Chapters Four, Five, and Six how OSs' identity construction is shaped as a result of which the UK government, UK HEIs, and university staff participate in the process of construction of entrepreneurial discourse and their resistances and negotiation with entrepreneurialism and its interrelated discourses. In this chapter, by beginning with the discussion of these two diagrams, I focus on how OSs' identity construction is shaped by and negotiated through their own participation in and contribution to constructing entrepreneurial discourse and its interrelated and competing discourses.

Both the illustration in Diagrams 3 and 4 and the development of my theoretical argument are consistent with my ontological and epistemological positions, theoretical perspectives, and methodological approaches. Furthermore, as noted in Chapter Three (Methodological Chapter), I demonstrate that my methodological approach was directed by my constructivism-oriented *ontological and epistemological positions*, which shaped my choice and use of particular methods to gather and analyse the data and which these two diagrams illustrate in relation to my data analysis

With respect to the theoretical foundation of these two diagrams, as discussed in Chapter Two, I look at the OSs' identity construction from both micro and macro levels. With respect to the micro level, I have adapted theoretical perspectives of interactionism in general, and identity theory in particular, when I examine OSs' interpersonal relationships with others (particularly with university staff). Specifically, there are two concepts -- the first is aligning identities, the second is the identity salience hierarchy -- which have helped me to examine OSs' "perceptions, feeling, thoughts, motivations, actions and so forth" (Simon 2004:43) regarding the construction and negotiation of their learner and customer identities.

Aligning Identities

> "I feel that I am a student when I am taught in the lecture room; I feel I am a customer when I asked by the financial department, 'How would you like to pay your tuition? By credit cards or in instalments?'".

This quotation is from an informal conversation I had with my OSs friend. Since it was a private conversation, I did not record it for use in my research when it occurred. However, the more interview data I collected from the case study institutions, the more insight I gained into the implications of this informal conversation.

The insight from that informal conversation paints the picture that some OSs perceive themselves as simultaneously learners and customers after interacting with their institutions' staff. As Stets and Burke (2000) indentify in their research:

> Teacher and student are roles that are defined within the group/ organization of a school'. Meanings and expectations are tied to each of these roles, regarding the performance and the relationships between these roles. At the same time, teacher and student are social categories or groups that constitute in-groups and out-groups.(p.228)

As already used the same question of Stets and Burke in Chapter Three (page 98), here I repeat it to emphasise that the learner identity of OSs seems to have aligned with their academic relationship with their host institutions, and their customer identity with their customer relationship.

In this chapter, the idea of aligning identities is the concept for which I intend to interpret the data concerning OSs' identities. 'Alignment' is a term used by Goffman (1974, 1981) to discuss how participants in social gatherings change how they position themselves relative to one another when these interactions progress (Ylanne-McEwen, 2004: 520). These changes in relation to participants' positions are 'connected with role and identity alignment' (ibid.).

When their social interactions progress, participants also engage in an ongoing process of negotiating the interpersonal relationships or alignments that comprise those social interactions (Goffman's, 1959, 1981; Gordon, 2003:397; Ylanne-McEwen, 2004: 520). This suggests that OSs also engage in an ongoing process of negotiating interpersonal relationships or alignments that comprise their social interactions and that there are shifts in participants' identities and identity alignments within their negotiations with one another.

I have adapted Goffman's idea of alignment here to examine the extent that, for instance, their (actual, communicated or conceived) identities align with their learner identities and with their customer identities. As mentioned in preceding chapters (e.g., Chapters Two, Four, and Five), one of the essential arguments I propose in this thesis is that the academic relationship is conventionally regarded as the dominant relationship tied up the UK's HE Institutions (HEIs) and OSs. The concept of markets was introduced to the HE sector back in the 1970s/80s when the Conservative Government was in power. The idea of portraying students (OSs in particular) as customers is part of the package of this concept. Three decades after this concept was introduced to the HEIs, I can still read books and papers written by scholars who engage in debates regarding whether or not students (in general) should be treated as customers.

Identity Salience Hierarchy

The identity salience hierarchy is one significant idea, developed by identity theorists, which I have adapted here to examine why, in some situations, OSs tend to prioritise one identity over another, a factor that affects their general self-perception and actions (Callero, 1985: 203). As presented, there seem to be two opposing views that OSs express about whether or not they are learners or customers. Indeed, this is one of the dimensions at which I intend to look.

However, the more important finding is concerned with the degree to which OSs regard themselves as either customers or learners. My empirical data seem to suggest that some OSs see themselves as both learners and customers, depending on "the demand of the situation" (Turner, 1978: 9). This also suggests one identity is more often prioritized than the other in some circumstances. A specific identity could be more important, significant, and central than the other one to that learner.

From the interactionists' perspective, the self can be interpreted as a structure of role-identities (Callero, 1985: 203) that consists of a "hierarchical ordering of identities, with each identity differentiated according to its salience and one's

commitment to his or her role relations" (Owens & Serpe, 2003: 87). In short, "the organization attributed to a self constructed of multiple identity (or role-identities) is hierarchical" (Stryker & Serpe, 1994: 17).

The assumption underlying the "hierarchical ordering of identities" coincides with that of the interactionists' 'identity salience hierarchy' (e.g., Stryker, 1980; Callero, 1985; Stryker & Serpe, 1994; Hoelter, 1983). As Stryker and Serpe (1994) have noted, "the hierarchy in which identities are organized is based on identity salience, defined as a readiness to act out an identity as a consequence of the identity's properties as a cognitive structure or schema" (p17).

When studying in the UK, OSs might constantly experience changes in their commitments and encounter situations of which they might have to alter their behaviours in order to 'fit' into new social relationships. These changes and situations are anticipated to have an effect on the salience of their identities as some researchers identified (for instance, Serpe, 1987; Stryker & Burke, 2000: 286).

Stryker and Serpe (1994: 17) suggested that "identity schemas are one type of cognitive structure, defined as internal organizations of stored information and meanings operating as frameworks for interpreting experience" (p18). In short, identity schemas are "cognitive bases for arriving at definitions of situations in which persons find themselves" (ibid.).

In line with the notion of the identity salience hierarchy, the more salient an identity is to OSs, the more likely they are to act it out or speak about it (Stryker, 1980; Callero, 1985; Stryker & Serpe, 1994; Hoelter, 1983). This may explain why, in some situations, either their learner identity or customer identity could be the dominant aspect of the OSs' self and affect their general self-perceptions and actions (Callero, 1985: 203). For instance, OSs are more likely to define situations such as tutorials and attending lectures as those that invoke their learner, rather than their customer, identity. Consequently, in the lecture room, they are more

likely to act out and interact with academic staff as a learner, rather than a customer (Stryker & Serpe, 1994 18).

In the context of entrepreneurial discourse, teaching- and learning-oriented activities can be defined by the individual, who certainly "will vary in the degree to which they are 'open' to interpretations or definitions that call for one identity rather than another" (Stryker & Serpe, 1994: 18), although this situation itself does not determine either customer identity or learner identity invoked in it (ibid.).

Although some students may still maintain their academic-related identities, some may not. From the identity theorists' viewpoint, "humans are self-reflexive" (Hoelter, 1983: 146). OSs turn their experience back upon themselves, "using it to evaluate performance and guide behaviours" (ibid.). Accordingly, in my research, the OSs' identity salience is considered as "transsituational, and as a personal variable carried by persons as they move across situation and respond in particular situations" (Stryker & Serpe, 1994: 18).

Yet, considering that the OSs' identity salience is transsituational, these situations are subject to their interpretation. Regardless of whether or not OSs make the customer identity as the primary one, it is noteworthy that entrepreneurial discourse (ED) plays an imperative role in the process of their identity negotiation. Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter One, entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses play a vital role in relation to the construction of OSs learner and customer identities. Whether OSs in my empirical studies are consciously aware of it or not, they are on the course of negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses.

The Construction of OS Identity and Negotiations

I drew the dashed line "O.S.A", shown in Diagram 3 (please see **Appendix 9**), to highlight the role that the discourse of entrepreneurialism plays in relation to the identities of OSs. The idea of entrepreneurialism was examined in Chapter One, where I suggested that this discourse has noteworthy effects on the construction of

OSs' identities. From a social constructivist perspective, I see the discourse of entrepreneurialism as a way of acting, thinking, and speaking about the marketisation of HE. The meanings that OSs make and the ways they act towards the entrepreneurial discourse "involve development, progression and change" (Kress, 1996: 301).

In addition, in line with Kress's argument, OSs are "agents of the progression", causally involved in progression change, and consequently that progression or change affects the formal constitution of the discourse of entrepreneurialism. Thus, it is still OSs who are "agentive on the progress" (op.cit., p. 303). Thus, the entrepreneurial discourse is in a state of shifting that mirrors the current, rapid development of entrepreneurial-oriented OS recruitment and the OSs and UK HEIs that participate in and experience it. The way in which contemporary universities adapt entrepreneurial cultures and marketing mechanics have significant impacts on important values of heartlands of universities, such as quality, academic standards, pedagogical relationships between academic staff and OSs. More importantly, these entrepreneurial cultures and marketing mechanics have significant impacts on not only some university staff but also on some OSs in relation to the way that they are ambivalent about the notion of learner and that of customer, negotiate entrepreneurialism and its competing discourse such as OSs as change agents and OSs as ambassadors.

As mentioned in Chapter One, OSs act to respond to the way in which they interpret the social situations and how academic and support staff relate to them. By resisting and negotiating to be a learner or a customer, OS experience the process of identity negotiation. OSs may internally make a decision of which identities to prefer to highlight (either learner or customer identity), particularly when they interact different individual staff in different events or social situations.

In other words, the way in which OSs negotiate entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses significantly affects the OSs' identity salience hierarchy. As referenced in some official documents and in my interview

data, UK HEIs employ marketing techniques to recruit OSs as if they are customers, while UK universities act as educational services providers in the global HE marketplace. Business-oriented language and terms, such as "customers", "services providers" and "marketplace", seem to have been used as a form of "social practice", to some extent.

From Fairclough's (1992) viewpoint, these business-oriented languages are used as "a form of social practice, rather than a purely individual activity or a reflex of situational variables" (p63). In the process of constructing the discourse of entrepreneurialism, these business languages reflect how 'we' (as discussed in Chapter One, 'we' refers to my research participants and to the imagined reader, who contribute to the construction of social knowledge about OSs identities) (Anderson 1989:254; Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983: 113) interpret and understand OSs' identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, and how we act, speak and construct 'our' knowledge about OS identities.

Fairclough (1992) also argued that "there is a dialectical relationship between discourse and social structure, there being more generally such a relationship between social practice and social structure: the latter is both a condition for, and an effect of, the former" (p64). In line with Fairclough's argument, the discourse of entrepreneurialism is produced and reproduced through the ways in which social actors (such as the UK government, UKHEIs, university staff and OSs in this research) interact with one another.

The concept of OSs as customers plays a vital role in ED. From conducting my empirical research until reporting my research results, I have come more and more to see the concept of OSs as customers could be looked at as the resource, the product, and the reproduction of ED. It is noteworthy that 'we' may not be constrained completely by ED, particularly regarding OSs as customers of UK HEIs. Nevertheless, ED may reframe the way 'we' speak about and understand OSs' identities (Cohen & Musson, 2000:34).

Kress and Hodge (1985) pointed out, "discourses are seen as dynamic and evolving, a site of potential struggle" (cited in Cohen & Musson, 2000:34). The process of constructing entrepreneurialism and that of negotiating with its interrelated and competing discourses are always incomplete. A struggle between the customer and learner relationships may occur from this process, however. A struggle of this kind, as identified in Chapter Five, could be seen as the consequence of the multifarious fusion of attraction and repulsion that characterize the interface between the academic and customer relationships.

In my empirical study, there are signs of this struggle, which create a fluctuation between the learner and customer identities of OSs. UK HEIs have reached a state of ambivalence with regard to managing the interrelationship between the customer and academic relationships. Paradoxically, in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, both relationships are necessary for UK HEIs and OSs. The customer relationship would not exist without the academic relationship.

Apart from being 'social product' and 'self-meanings', one distinctive feature of identity that Burke and Reitzes (1991) claim in their research is 'reflective' (p242) Burke and Reitzes also (1991) note that:

> Persons can use their identities as reference points to assess the implications of their own behaviour as well as of other people's behaviour...... identities are a source of motivation for action (Foote 1951; Gecas 1982; Heise 1978), particularly actions that result in the social confirmation of the identity (Hull and Levy 1979). The self becomes an active agent of interaction......identities as active agents are conceptualized most effectively as cybernetic control systems (Powers 1975)......Identity processes, viewed from a cybernetic perspective, may act like a thermostat. A thermostat compares an input (the current temperature) with its setting (also a temperature) and acts to produce outputs (turning on the furnace or air conditioner) until a match exists between the current temperature (input) and the setting. (p242)

In line with Burke and Reitzes's (ibid.) argument, firstly, I would like to make the point that OSs may use one of their identities as "thermostats" to assess the identity implications of their interactions with the staff at their universities and to initiate actions that maintain this identity or change their identities in order to match the current situation (ibid.). Secondly, to small or large extent, OSs are aware of

entrepreneurialism. OSs are either consciously or unconsciously aware that they are in the process of constructing entrepreneurialism and negotiating with its interrelated and competing discourses.

As I argued in previous chapters, OSs are recruited (before they apply to study in the UK), or possibly, in some cases, told they are or treated as customers (when they study in the UK). They live with the progression of constructing entrepreneurial discourse and experience resisting and negotiating within entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses. Some OSs may have discussed their role or identity as a customer of their universities with their colleagues and with me in our interview sections.

Diagram 3 (please see **Appendix 9**) - The graphic image of Diagram 3 and the ways it moves is based on the idea of quadrants in mathematics. This quadrant is constituted by the X-axis and Y-axis. There may be a line OS.A, where OS is the origin, which makes an angel θ with the X-axis. The angles may lie from 0-90°. In Diagram 3, I have used the quadrants idea to explain the ways to spell out how I understand the fluctuating identities of OSs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. I refer to O.S. as to the coordinates of a point at the X-axis and Y-axis. The X-axis represents the academic relationship between OSs and UK HEIs, in which OSs are regarded as learners and UK HEIs as distributors of knowledge, whereas the Y-axis represents the customer relationship, in which OSs are regarded as customers and UK HEIs as providers of educational services.

Following up on my literature research, I illustrated this diagram to conceptualise what I had been thinking about my research. Diagram 3 provided me with the direction for my empirical work. However, it is not surprising to see that what I observed and found from my fieldwork are far more complicated than what I thought at the initial stage of my PhD work. In other words, I found that the Diagram 3 cannot represent or explain what I have been researching in the field. Thus, I needed to modify Diagram 3 or/and to illustrate another diagram to depict the pictures I have seen in my case-study institutions. Diagram 4, shown in

Appendix 9, is what emerged.

As in Diagram 3, I again used the idea of quadrants in Diagram 4 to explain how I understand the changes in OSs' learner and customer identities through their interactions with the staff in their host institutions. As I tried to suggest above, from a macro perspective, OS's experience of resisting and negotiating to be a learner or/ and a customer, to a small or a large extent, affects the identity salient of OSs, as my empirical research suggests. In addition, some OSs are more likely to speak about their customer identities and the degree to which they prefer to prioritise their customer identity as their primary identity is significant. Yet, there are some OSs who also strongly commit to their teaching-learning relationship with staff and align with their learner identity to a large degree.

As examined above and in Chapters One and Four, entrepreneurial discourse is in the state of reciprocity and vibrancy because it constantly has relational connections with the ways in which how social actors, for instance, policy-makers, university managers, staff and OSs, participate in it and how they construct and reproduce meanings through it. Furthermore, as examined in Chapter One and Three, entrepreneurial discourse is never really a thing like container, never fixed, and never impervious. Thus, OSs' would often experience resisting and negotiating within entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses. This process of resisting and negotiating these discourses is always incomplete.

In the Diagram 4 (please see **Appendix 9**), the discourse of entrepreneurialism is sometimes located in where the dashed line O.S.A is and sometimes in dashed line O.S.B. The unfixed locations of the entrepreneurial discourse corresponds with the idea of which both OSs and those who interact with OSs on the basis of academic and customer relationships constantly negotiate entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses.

Like the role that the symbol θ takes in Diagram 3, θ referred to the angles made by dashed lines and the X-axis. As argued, the discourse of entrepreneurialism is

always on the course of progression and change, which either moves either towards or away from the academic relationship, depending on the situation. The value of symbol θ would be equivalent to and suggest the degree to which OSs align and misalign with their learner or customer identity; or the degree to which OSs prefer to prioritise their learner or customer identities as primary, either by interacting with university staff or by interpreting their perceptions in the reciprocal relationships.

As argued, some students prefer to prioritise their learner identity, while some tend to prioritise their customer identity. However, my research also reveals that some OSs undergo the process of negotiation between their learner and customer identities simultaneously.

As a Learner

As identified in my empirical study, some OSs' identity significantly aligns more with their academic than their customer relationships with their host universities. As argued, some OSs participate to some extent in constructing entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses. OSs indeed were aware that they were recruited as customers by their institutions and cognized that the concept of customer *play*s an influential role in their relationships with their institutions. Yet, they have a constant belief that they are learners rather than customers. In this section, I identify four reasons that OSs tend to prioritise their learner identity.

Firstly the fact that OSs view themselves as a learner is the result of their pedagogical interactions with academic staff in the academic relationship. The academic relationship has become a fulfilling and successful experience for OSs. It is fulfilling in the sense that it seems to OSs that the academic staff understands that obtaining a Masters of Arts (MA) degree from an English university is an important and glorious academic achievement for OSs back home. A member of academic staff help the OSs work hard to achieve this goal and this work is based

on an academic relationship in which OSs are regarded as learners.

These students confirm their identity as a learner within this relationship. This research confirms what Mead argued, that the self is constructed through its relations with others (Mead, 1934: 175; Edgar & Sedgwick, 2002: 185). OSs act as learners through the organised set of action of others (for instance, academic and support staff) which they assume.

Some OSs in my research said that they would tend to highlight their learner identity, instead of customer identity, when they interact with the staff in their institutions. 'Teacher' and 'learner' are one set of reciprocal identities that are closely tied with one another through their academic network (Stets & Burke, 2000: 228). On the one hand, under this academic network, OSs create their learner identity. On the other hand, those with whom OSs interact in their academic network, for instance, academic staff, confirm their learner identities.

The structure of the teacher-student relationship is assumed to be relatively stable over time as a consequence of the stability of academic relationships (Serpe, 1987: 44). For instance, an OS from China, Fang, expressed that her learner identity is totally aligned with her academic relationship with the academic staff. She faithfully believes that she is a student, a learner.

> I think I am a student...... for a student I think I need to act positively, pro-actively as well. I need to study on my own and I learn from here teacher teach me, the lecture teaches me and tell me what to do and I should do it on my own......
> (Fang, China, Greenford University)

Furthermore, there is an issue concerning the link between OSs' commitment and their learner identity. From the identity theorists' perspectives, "commitment impacts (on) identity, salience impacts (on) role performance" (Stryker, 2007: 1091). Furthermore, "the more salient the identity, the more prominent that identity is in the hierarchy", and "the higher an identity, the more it is invoked across situations" (Kerpelman & Schvaneveldt, 1999: 193). As long as OSs like Fang are committed to their learner identity to the extent that her social relationships in her

university are built upon this identity (Simon, 2004: 24), she would not only see herself as a learner, but also behave as a learner.

Fang had her own perception about how to act as a learner. Her learner identity has an academic network as its source. In this network relationship with academic staff which "defines a position within a pedagogical structure that has rights, responsibilities, and behavioural expectations" (Smith-Lovin, 2003: 170), Fang may have the meanings of 'learner' and what to behave in order to attach these meanings. Fang may have internalised her role-identities in her academic interaction with her counter-roles, for instance, her tutors and with those who give her lectures (ibid.).

With a strong commitment to her learner identity, Fang worked effectively to verify and maintain this identity. Fang seems to set her learner identity at a certain degree of academic responsibility. She may believe that her behaviours then would be assessed in terms of academic responsibility (Burke & Reitzes1991:242; Stryker & Burke, 2000: 289). Concentrating on the lectures and absorbing what she was taught by lecturers as much as she can are what she meant by acting positively and pro-actively. In her own studying time, she forces herself to be disciplined.

Fang studied at Greenford University and would locate herself in the Sector B.OS.DoK, because she believes her learner identity is greater than her customer identity. These two identities – the academic staff as the distributor of knowledge, and, in parallel, the OSs as learners – are reflexive. Both academic staff in the University and OSs share a certain degree of understanding of their academic relationship that is reflected in the ways in which they interpret their individual responsibilities and behavioural expectations in relation to interacting with one another. By leading her learner identities in most social interactions with staff at her university, Fang may portray her institution more as a distributor of knowledge and less as a provider of educational service.

Callero (1985) notes that an identity salience influences our relations with others and helps us to "establish individual perspectives used in the perception of and evaluation of other". As mentioned in the interview with Fang, she was very persistent with her learner identity. In addition, she also said in her interview that staff were generally very nice to her, was not treated differently from home students; and, most importantly, she disagreed that staff saw her as a customer. The intention of prioritising her learner identity, Fang announced to others that she is a learner, yet even doing that did not divorce her from her customer identity.

However, Callero's (1985) research also noted that the salience of our identity may not be positively associated with what others expect us to be (p206) or perfectly matched with what others find salient in us (p205). This point is vital in my research and is what motivated me to conduct this research. My research also reveals that there *were* mismatches between perceptions of OSs and that of staff. For instance, although other OSs like Fang may see her/ him as a learner, which may not match how some of the staff at her university categorise her identities. Similarly, misalignments may occur when the majority of university staff tend to highlight OSs' learner identity but the latter tend to behave more as a customer.

Secondly, some OSs tend to behave in the ways that they believe will match their identity standards, which they learned from their most familiar pedagogical model and that was reinforced in their social interactions (Thoits, 2003: 191). OSs' previous experiences become resources for their identities and performances in the UK. In addition, these experiences have OSs engage in the academic (teaching-learning) relationship with academic staff in the UK.

In terms of pedagogical interactions, for instance, the majority of my OS interviewees, who are either from China or India, are used to adapting the teacher-centred model into their engagements in the classrooms. In this model, the teacher is the authority in the field and the student plays a relatively passive role in the learning process. In this model, the teacher-student relationship is much more hierarchical than in the student-centred one. Those OSs are more likely to present

their learner identity to others.

The way in which Fang from China studied at Greenford University, for instance, described her learning style and the way she related to academic staff in particular at her university, as Ryan and Hellmundt (2003) noted, could challenge many "fundamental traditional Western academic paradigms such as the importance of 'independent', 'critical thinking', 'originality of scholarship', 'individualistic approaches to learning', the 'independent self' and 'individual ownership of knowledge'"" (p3).

Furthermore, there are issues concerning OSs as postcolonial subjects (e.g., Bullen & Kenway, 2003), their learning style preferences (e.g., Ramburuth & McCormick, 2001), false stereotypes by certain groups of students (for instance, Chinese students), cultural background and previous experiences (e.g., Chalmers & Volet, 1997).

Yet, my main research focus is still on OS's identities and their interactions with staff at the university. Thus, rather than superficially from just the teaching and learning aspect, I would tend to approach Fang's words from the dimension of the teacher-student relationship to understand the way that Fang constructed her identity and interpreted her relationship with academic staff. What Fang presented to me could be an opposite picture to traditional Western academic paradigms. She may be even regarded as a dependent learner who is less self-directed and sees her teachers as authority figures.

As Plaut (1993) argued, "there is always an element of power" (213) in this kind of relationship, which here seems to have played a powerful role in constructing her relationships with academic staff there. Like Fang, some OS research participants (from Greenford University and Redfield University) , seem to have the same view and attitude towards their relationships with staff (in general) and the way they construct their identities. OSs who hold this view also tend to highlight their learner identity compared to those who do not.

In my research, it appears to me that the more OSs interpret the staff's role as stronger and authoritative, the stronger and tighter the link seems to be in the teacher-learner relationship. The salience of learner identity appears to be correlated with the stronger and tighter link between teachers and learners. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the academic and customer relationships dichotomy may have divided learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. Moreover, university staff and OSs would often experience resisting and negotiating within entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses, and which may have made the understanding of OSs' identities complex.

There are three patterns by which OSs interpret their identities in this context: as a learner, as a customer, and negotiating being a learner and being a customer. It is very likely that students who have been strongly influenced by the hierarchical teacher-student interaction model will tend to regard themselves more as a learner and less as a customer. OSs' commitment to their learner identity could result from the fact that there is a hierarchical relationship between teacher and student. For instance,

> Biya: what I realise in the UK some amount of emphasis is placed with respect to individual students work. The teacher is very much the centre in the Cameroon where there is information flow from the teacher to the student....... The hierarchy (in Cameroon) between the teacher and the student is obvious......
> Yu-Ching: Hierarchy?
> Biya: Well that means not really hierarchy specifically but the contact in Cameroon the teacher is like the expert where the students have no opinion, the students cannot really challenge what the teacher says. But while in the UK there is more contact and exchange of opinions and ideas.
> (Biya, Cameroom, Greenford University)

This model of teacher and student interaction is hierarchical. This teacher-centered model suggests that teachers/lecturers are seen as the centre of knowledge or the "chief conduit of most of the content knowledge to be transmitted" (Simmons *et al.*, 1998). As far as Biya understood from his comparative learning experience between Cameroon and UK, students are required to be more active in their pedagogical interaction with one another in the UK context.

To some extent, even if students are aware that teacher and student interactions in the UK are not as hierarchical as in their home context, their learner identity is still salient in their interaction with academic staff in the UK. From their pedagogical interactions with staff, they reconfirm their learner identity. As 4 out of 21 staff interviewees from four case study interviewees pointed out, OSs seem to be slightly passive in their pedagogical engagement. As one staff member from Greenford University said,

> If somebody challenges me I want them to have a reason to challenge but that's the whole part of it. I mean the best sessions we have on MBA's for example are where somebody challenges, somebody else says, "OK well that may not work in my organisation but it might work in another context" and this sort of thing. And you get a discussion going and the professor's just probably sitting there watching and just facilitating because you are getting the interaction. Particularly on those courses you've got more experience of the course members than you have of the professors.
> (HBS- Fletcher, Greenford University).

My interviews with university staff show that they think some Asian students are reluctant to challenge them. Being a student means to (HBS) that the lecturer has to make this point overtly for the students to challenge what they are taught. The challenge here is to encourage OSs to have input to the construction of their knowledge, not simply to be a receiver of knowledge.

What some UK staff may not understand is that not to challenge staff or what they were taught or told is one way of matching the OS's identity standards, as learners from the teacher-centred model. OSs from Asia, for instance, may not have been encouraged to ask questions or to challenge the academic staff. They are rarely being trained to challenge those who are recognised as experts in the field in the past. Some OSs believe that they are here in the UK to *receive* knowledge from these experts and thus are less likely to challenge the UK academic staff. This is partly because these OSs see teachers as the authority in their field, and may not be encouraged to challenge that authority.

These OSs may seem to UK academic staff to be passive recipients in their pedagogical interactions. UK academic staff, however, may not be aware that OSs have had strong influences in relation to this teacher-centred teaching that is

difficult to shift to the student-centred in a year's time. On the other hand, some OSs believe that this is their way to show their respect to their teachers, as a "good, modest learner". And it is a way to reconfirm their learner identity through this pedagogical interaction, which is important to some students, for in fact, this is why they have come to study in the UK.

Thirdly, being a learner is different from being a customer because OSs believe that, in the context of education, they are not authorised to exercise their 'rights' as customers as much as in the commercial world. For instance, Liu, who studied at Redfield University, regarded herself as a learner and believed that the academic relationship was supposed to be the principal one on the university campus.

> Students are not like customers. Because in China you know your thinking you study in the School you're a student not a customer. And I don't know maybe Chinese students always think as a student not as a customer, it's quite different. You know if you're a customer there are a lot of things you can do and you can ask the School why you didn't buy something like that.
> (Liu, China, Redfield University)

Similarly, Su, also from China, made a very similar point.

> Because you go to School to study, your role is student. And if you are a customer you can always complain, you can always complain but you can't complain to your teachers, but if you are a customer you can.
> (Su, China, Redfield University)

Some OSs think it would be inappropriate to perform as a customer in the context of education. The dichotomy between these two identities is transparent in some of my interviews. Some OSs intended to say that learner identity and customer identity are binary oppositional concepts, at least in the context of education, and they tend to overlook that there is an intersection or a blurred area between their identity as a learner and a customer in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. As noted in Chapter Two, each identity is internalised role expectations that attach to positions occupied in networks of relationships (Stryker & Burke, 2000: 286).

As discussed in Chapters Five and Six, some universities are prepared to see their OSs perform as customers, to exercise their rights as customers to some extent. However, some OS interviews showed that in one way or another, the idea of

treating students as customers, allowing them to exercise their rights as a customer, seem to be in the state of dysfunction, at least to the extent to which some OSs think that there is no way they can exercise the rights of a customer in their universities.

The discussion concerning the dysfunctional nature of exercising customer rights in the universities, even if it is encouraged to some extent by some universities, may have to pause here; it is affected by many reasons and has complex and unpredictable implications, as reported by the media, such as, *The Times Higher Education* (e.g., Newman, M. (13 July, 2007) 'Move to Curb Student Rights'; Newman, M. (13 July, 2007). 'NUS Alarmed by One-Sided Student Contract'. Gill, J. (24 April, 2008). "Academic Lawyer Cautions on Use of Overly Formal Student Contracts').

Fourthly, from some OSs' perspectives, there are intrinsic motivations of attending HE institutions (HEI) in the UK. Thus, some OSs in my data said that they understood one of the reasons they must pay full-cost fees is because they did not pay tax to the UK government. They were also aware that some of their OS friends may see and purchase education as a good, however, that may not have strongly influenced their decision to prioritising their learner identity. They would not regard or perform as customers themselves because the intrinsic values of receiving HE from UK universities is essential to them. This intrinsic value in HE would exist when students' learning experience is appreciated as an end in itself. For instance, Saha, studying at Redford University, considered himself as a learner, not a customer.

> I'm not looking as a customer because I'm paying money. I want to come to study here for something. I'm looking at what something, which is going to develop my basics of what I apply. ….What I'm looking is not because I've paid money. I want to do something, it is because I'm looking at a certain relationship is that I want to develop within me, the concepts very clear of what I've applied like I've taken up international finance as a subject. So those concepts have to be developed within me. That is the reason, that relation is what I'm looking from the study……. So I don't feel as a customer that is true.
> (Saha, India, Redfield University)

The customer relationship, as discussed in previous chapters, implies an exchange between tuition fees (from OSs) and educational services (from HEIs). Saha firstly rejected his customer relationship with his institution, even if he paid for his study in the UK. His denial of this customer identity emerged from his strong, intrinsic motivation in learning 'something', making him say '*I want to do something, it is because I'm looking at a certain relationship is that I want to develop within me*'. It was his strong inner commitment (Lickona, 1996: 97) that motivated him to take the MA course. His intrinsic commitments could be related to "several constructs such as exploration, curiosity, learning goals, intrinsic intellectuality and finally the IM (intrinsic motivation) to learn" (Vallerand *et al.* , 1992: 1005). In the end, he receives pleasure and satisfaction from his participation (op.cit., p. 1004-5).

As mentioned above, in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, OSs are recruited and treated as customers. It is noteworthy that, under this condition, 'we' cannot take OSs' commitments to preserve or to maintain their learner identities for granted. If 'we' are aware of ambivalences between the academic and customer relationships, between wanting to be a learner and a customer, perhaps some questions should be raised here; for example, "Why do they prefer to maintain their learner identity, rather than their customer identity, in the context of entrepreneurial discourse?" "What role do OSs' intrinsic commitments or motivations play in their participation in the UK HEIs?".

As a Customer

As my empirical research has shown, some OSs prefer to prioritise their learner identity, as examined in last section, whereas some emphasise their customer identity. In this section, I will examine OSs' voices concerning their customer identity. There are four reasons that OSs prefer to prioritise heir customer identity, as follows. Firstly, OSs paid full-cost fees, which were two or three times more than what their home or EU counterparts paid. Some OSs may not see that paying full-cost fees could be a resource contributing to the formation of their customer

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identity. For instance,

> Of course it's a little unfair. The local students they just need to pay maybe £2,000 maybe, just £2,000. And an OS needs to pay maybe £6,000 I think so yes. But as an overseas I pay £9,000......I don't feel, actually I'm a customer because I pay but I feel I'm not a customer.......actually I think because I paid so if they say I am a customer I think no way they treat me as a customer.
> (Zheng, China, Redford University)

Like some other OS interviewees, Zheng's quotation here reveals three plausible points that could be considered as essential components of the construction of customer identity. First, OSs ought to pay higher fees than their home and EU counterparts. Second, there is an issue of fairness regarding tuitions, social integration, and accessibility to staff among home, EU, and OS students. Third, there were significant numbers of OSs expressing their awareness concerning the marketisation of UK HE and their participation in the process of constructing entrepreneurial discourse. However, Zheng tended to misalign with her customer identity, preferring her learner identity. Her preference for the learner identity seems to place her in the Sector B.OS.DoK in Diagram 4 (please see **Appendix 9**).

Yet, some OSs have taken an oppositional stance to views expressed by Zheng. For example,

> It's quite, quite expensive here. And we pay a lot more than the European and UK students. Maybe it seems a little unfair because we are treated the same but we pay much more than that...... Not scared of value for money anyway...... I think much like a customer you pay money and they teach you something then you finish, the transaction is finished.
> (Ting, China, Greenford University)

> I'm paying a fee and I'm getting educated for that. So I would say I am a customer cause I am gonna go after a year and then others are gonna come, they're gonna go, so it's basically......university education fee is becoming a business. ...... So basically I would say that you know education probably has lost the real meaning of education, it's becoming a business.
> (Sheikh, Pakistan, Redford University)

For Ting of Greenford University and Sheikh of Redford University, "value for money", "transaction", "losing the real meaning of education", and "education is

becoming business" are not only key concepts associated with the fact that OSs pay higher fees, but are also primary components in the formation of customer identity.

Secondly, OSs' dissatisfaction about services provided by their institutions could make some of them prefer to highlight their customer identity in order to demand better service. In general, there were complaints regarding their perception that some UK universities were ignorant about OSs and of miscommunication between them and their universities. In particular, their dissatisfactions were primarily generated from the fact that they felt they lacked sufficient academic and/or administrative support from their institutions.

Taking academic support as an example, some OS interviewees complained that some academic staff were not very approachable. Without sufficient support, they ended up with the attitude "*we have to help each other*" (Focus Group, Greenford University). As White (2007) rightly put it, "The absence of a sense of connection with teachers means that when students are having trouble with a subject, they tend to either seek help from their fellow students, or to withdraw" (p.598).

This particular focus group was dominantly formed by Mandarin speaking students (either from Taiwan or China), speaking about the ways in which they supported each other during the time they took their MA programmes at Greenford University. The previous quotation from the focus group interview, however, also corresponds to some extent with why some academic staff and home/EU students express their concerns about some OSs always sticking with their home groups and being distant from the rest, particular the home students.

Thirdly, as some OS interviewees said, some services provided on the basis of the customer relationship can secure and improve the quality of their academic experiences in UK HEIs. When I conducted this research, I was very surprised to see a tendency to connect the idea of customer identity with improvement in the quality of academic experiences in the context of the marketisation of HE. I was

even more surprised to hear the ways in which my OS interviewees chatted about it with their colleagues in their courses. The affiliation of the customer identity concept with the improvement of learning experiences has seemed to become a widespread phenomenon among, at least, OSs, as far as my research is concerned.

In addition, there is a rising concern regarding improving international students' experiences in UK HEIs. There is increasing research in this area, which could be possibly the result of the "effect of the Higher Education Academy". This phenomenal growth has attracted both researchers and HEIs to carry out research, discussions and conferences in this area. The main focus of the research and conferences may be highlighting the area of teaching and learning.

However, what the research, the conferences, and the efforts of the Higher Education Academy may have inspired in the UK HEIs are the ways they are trying to improve international students' learning experiences by regarding them as customers. As mentioned in Chapter Two, there is a customer care policy to look after students in my institution. As noted in the policy, "customer care should be required of all staff who deal with prospective, registered and former international students" (see my institution's website), which suggests that international students should be regarded as customers in order to improve their experiences not only in the area of teaching and learning, but also in other areas. Correspondingly, some university staff whom I interviewed have mentioned that the idea of regarding students (in general) as customers have a positive impact on their learning experiences, which was discussed in Chapter Six.

As a result of promoting the customer care policy and of treating OSs as customers by some institutions and their staff, it should not be surprising that some OSs hold the same viewpoint concerning the interconnection between the idea of being a customer and the improvement of the quality of learning experiences. From the interactionists' perspective, as examined in Chapter Two, this could be largely because they either directly or indirectly receive the message from their institutions

and academic staff that later becomes a source injected into the formation of their customer identity. For instance, Mei from Taiwan pointed out that:

> Students are those people who come here to gain more knowledge and experience…..and customer, I think, for service they mostly should treat the student as a customer because we want to, I mean, for service. In terms of service I think the university should treat students as customers because maybe students want a high quality of service that the university provides. But sometimes I don't think university should not be too commercialised……But I just, I mean maybe university should make a balance between treating students as a student and as a customer yeah.
> (Mei, Taiwan, Greenford University)

Despite the fact that she vacillated concerning to what extent universities should be commercially oriented towards OSs, Mei believes that being a customer in the customer relationship can secure the quality of her academic experiences at Greenford University. My research suggests that there is a tendency of some OSs, such as Mei, to prefer that their institutions recognize and treat them as a customer. The essence and importance of being a customer is that their institutions mean to provide relatively better services to their students. From the OSs' viewpoint, if their institutions regard their own identity as being providers of educational services and OSs as customers, then satisfactory customer services ought to be provided by those institutions based on their customer care philosophy and policy. There are many principles in this regard, with the most controversial, critical but phenomenal being that "the customer is always right".

The fourth reason is OSs were not only passively affected by, but also actively participated in and contributed to the process of constructing entrepreneurialism . Some OSs adapt the notion of students as customers and prefer to prioritise their customer identity. Apart from interviews with Ting of Greenford University and Sheikh from Redford University, from which we extracted key concepts within entrepreneurialism such as "value for money", "transaction", "losing the real meaning of education", and "education is becoming business", there were other examples of OSs' participation in constructing entrepreneurialism becoming one of the sources of the formation of customer identity. For instance,
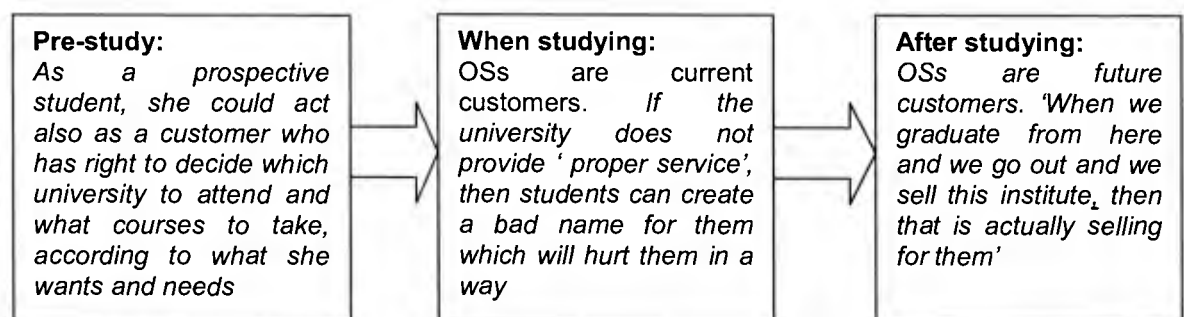
> I am a customer. Most definitely oh yes….. Oh yeah most definitely in fact the Business School because we all come from a corporate world we see the Business School as a business. I mean, anyone who is actually running

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the school is not running it for charity so they want to make some money out of it. So they are charging us and we in a way are customers, quite clearly so yes….. And we explained to them about how we are actually their future customers also because when we graduate from here and we go out and when we sell this institute then that is actually selling for them. So if they don't give us the proper service then we can create a bad name for them which will hurt them in a way. So we try and talk about all these issues there it seems to work.
(Sami, MBA, Saudi Arabia, Greenford University)

Here I am required to look at to what extents do Sami's family, social, and economical backgrounds affect her negotiations between her learner and customer identities. As mentioned in Chapter One, not to investigate the dimensions and dynamic relationships between these demographic variables (e.g. social class, age and so on) is one of these limitations of my research. But my primary focus is on to what extent OSs' identity construction and negotiation is affected by key participants in this research.

Sami's words underlined that she is aware of these analogies between being a customer in a material/corporate world and in the university. Her preference for her customer identity seems to place her in the Sector PoES.OS.A in Diagram 4 (please see **Appendix 9**), perceiving her role as a customer as more important than that of a learner. Her experiences of being a customer in the corporate world correlated with her behaviours or performances in her university. Sami could see that her institution were becoming an enterprising institution; and her professional training makes her conceptualise her relationship with her university on the basis of the "marketing cycle" and describe herself as a "future customer", as shown below.

Pre-study:	When studying:	After studying:
As a prospective student, she could act also as a customer who has right to decide which university to attend and what courses to take, according to what she wants and needs	OSs are current customers. If the university does not provide ' proper service', then students can create a bad name for them which will hurt them in a way	OSs are future customers. 'When we graduate from here and we go out and we sell this institute, then that is actually selling for them'

Sami, to some extent, was influenced by and participated in the process of constructing the discourse of entrepreneurialism. Sami repeatedly framed herself as a customer by using the concepts of entrepreneurialism, such as, "corporate", "business", and "customer" to interpret her relationship with her institution.

Indeed, Sami is an entrepreneur in her life who sees her education at Greenford University as a form of "personal investment" (Peters, 2001: 60). She believes that she is a customer of her institution. The customer identity is activated by how she is treated by Greenford University in their customer relationship. That she became a customer was both a condition and a consequence of ED (Sturday & Wright, 2008: 430). OSs, as customers, can be seen as "recipients of the discourse or practices of the enterprise" (ibid.).

After examining four reasons as to why the majority of OSs prefer to highlight their customer, instead of the learner identity, I think a significant issue concerning "the culture of complaint" deserves our attention here. I cannot ignore this issue concerning student complaints because some OSs see this as a right that they can exercise as a student customer. For some OSs, complaining is vital to the formation of their customer identity. For instance, Su from China said:

> Because you go to School to study your role is student. And if you are a customer you can always complain you can always complain but you can't complain to your teachers but if you are a customer you can.
> (Su, China, Redfield University)

This quotation may look on the surface as if Su was fluctuating between her learner and customer identities. However, upon reflecting on this quotation, it appears that complaining has become one of those dodgy, trick issues in the context of the marketisation of HE.

To a certain degree, if it is not initiated as a result of enterprising universities or ED, making complaints is indeed encouraged. Yet, the premise of this view underlines the fact that a university that regards itself as an entrepreneurial university is willing to improve the quality of educational services, to improve the experiences of OSs. This does not take into account such issues as the intersectional elements,

similarities, and differences between the rights of the learner and the rights of the customer or whether the customer is always right, or the tricky, dodgy (and perhaps ethical as well) aspect of making complaints and dealing with complaints, as examined in Chapters Two, Four and Six. This raises some fundamental questions: is HE a business and has promoting UK HE abroad been considered as a business?

Indeed, complaint policies and the marketisation of HE could be separate issues. Universities do not have to see students as customers in order to encourage them to make complaints. Making complaints could be simply seen as a means of communication between the university and students in general, with its primary aim to improve student experiences at the university. However, there is a trend for some institutions to promote students' customer identity and encourage complaint cultures and policies.

In addition, in adopting the idea of customer service from the commercial world, these institutions would normally have units or departments dealing with students' complaints, aimed at lifting the level of satisfaction of student experiences. Accordingly, students found it quicker and easier to make complaints. Take Greenford University, for example:

> They (The Greenford University) have a structure that students can complain......they call it The Student Consultative Council......There is no need having the Students Consultative Council at the end of the semester when we are graduating and getting our degree. So we make the complaint and we have, will have experience obvious response, well its an error we will make some changes next semester and things like that. We are not here to pay a huge sum of money not to be involved in the future generation......So there should be a robust system that monitors the way lecturers teach a class, immediate changes can be made, and any wrong doings can be brought to their attention.
> (Biya, MBA, from Cameroon, Greenford University).

Given the fact that individual students have diverse needs, the Student Consultative Council at Greenford University, for instance, functions as a channel that initiates and facilitates communications between the university and its students. Academic staff representatives, for instance, are expected to attend these meetings, discuss, understand, and negotiate in what ways their teaching

would fit better the needs of OSs.

These meetings were expected to bring outcomes that not only meet what OSs want and need, but also improve the quality of teaching delivery. Thereafter, as some OSs reported, students in those schools seemed to have benefited from the decisions and actions that resulted from those meetings. For instance, some OS interviewees said that they seemed to have developed ownership in their learning through this kind of student-centred teaching approach. Some may like to be involved with these discussions concerning the curriculum, the teaching and learning process, and the contents of teaching with the Business school.

Furthermore, for some OSs, their customer identity seems to have been confirmed by their participation on the Council. For instance,

> there is a committee (Student Consultative Council) that deals with this kind of concern...... The complaint committee or something like that deals with these kinds of requests. So the university is making sure that our voice is heard by setting up these committees...... so students are pleased with the quality of teaching of one professor we have many channels to have our voice heard and yeah we can raise these issues very easily. So yes there is this option to do it.
> (Castillo, Mexico, Greenford University)

Castillo from Mexico believes that now he can make complaints as a customer. Indeed, there is the Student Consultative Council, a system that provides specific types of communication and to which customers can express their dissatisfaction concerning a product or service brought to the School. This complaint culture could reinforce the development of entrepreneurial cultures in which OSs are regarded as customers by their host institutions. Studying within the atmosphere of entrepreneurial culture, some OSs may find it difficult not to prioritise their customer identity.

However, simultaneously, to highlight her/his customer identity may not be a comfortable process for some OSs because, as Douglas (1992, cited in Peters, 2001:66) has pointed out, that "is a collective process involving a whole network of judgments and consumption is an active process that takes place against a

background of shared categories, beliefs and values constituting a culture". At least, in some of the business schools, some OSs seem to develop ownership in their learning through this kind of student-centred teaching approach. Some OSs may like to be involved with discussions concerning the curriculum, the teaching and learning process, and the contents of teaching with the Business school. For instance, an OS from Cameroon identified some problems in his course. The Greenford Business School provides a channel where students in general can raise these issues that concern them.

However, there is an emerging concern about the complaint culture and policy. An article published by a weekly paper, titled *'If you treat people like customers, don't be surprised if they behave like customers'* depicted a partial picture concerning student complaints in HE.

> Universities - and lawyers - are preparing for a rise in litigation as fees change students' expectations......For the administrators dealing with a growing number of student complaints, the past few years have probably not been pleasant and agreeable either. According to Ruth Deech, the independent adjudicator for HE, the number of complaints received by her office has trebled in a year. *A Times Higher* inquiry under the Freedom of Information Act last summer found that students had brought almost 6,000 cases under formal complaints procedures over the previous three years, rising from 1,840 in 2002-03 to 2,799 in 2003-04 - and that institutions had been forced to pay out more than £300,000 in compensation or refunds....... David Palfreyman, bursar of New College, Oxford, and author of *The Law of HE*, to be published in August, says the effect on institutions of increasingly commercial attitudes towards HE in Britain is beginning to mirror the US situation.
> (Swain, 31 March 2006, The THE)

The complaint culture in some UK HEIs is promoted or encouraged and has been operated based on the principles of customer service provided by commercial sectors to their customers. However, this article indicated the problematic aspects of this complaint cultures and the idea behind it.

Furthermore, Peter Senge (1990) in *The Fifth Discipline*, said, "today's problems come from yesterday's solutions; today's solutions also create tomorrow's problems" (p57-8) which reflects the partial picture this research implies. In the context of the marketisation of global HE, "today's solution" could be referred to as

some UK HEIs' responses to these criticisms by regarding OSs as customers and promoting complaint cultures strategically. For instance, as Naidoo and Jamieson (2005) argued:

> consumer rights have been strengthened by the elaboration and institutionalization of complaints and redress mechanisms (See QAA Code of Practice, QAA 2000) and there is currently a national pilot of a student satisfaction survey, and proposals for the compulsory publication of information relating to the quality of academic programmes such as external examiner reports—all of which will be placed in the public domain. The assumption is that students will utilize such mechanisms to demand high quality provision and will apply pressures on universities to make courses more relevant to the skills they require for the workplace. The related assumption is that consumerist forces will have a positive impact on the professional practices of academic staff since the increased competition within and between universities will force providers to respond to student pressure or lose out on customers. (p. 268)

Some universities' staff may also like to see if this complaint culture or policy might help their institutions to have a better understandings about what OSs really want and need, which eventually could improve OSs' experiences in the UK. Yet, as the *THES* reported, some negative consequences arrived as a result of dominant complaint cultures. The ways in which students make complaints and perhaps exercise their rights as customers seem to have gone beyond what some university senior members of staff and marketing team anticipated and could possibly manage.

Students' complaints became another problem for these universities, particularly regarding which students can exercise their right as customers in the university, and the degree that the meanings and expectations of being customers in the commercial world are compatible in HEIs. I tend to believe that UK HEIs and students in general would expect 'another solution' for this current problem. This problem, indeed, possibly leads to another solution for the uncertainty of UK HE in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. This question in relation to uncertainty among UK universities makes me concern about what experiences, conformations, and challenges OSs might have to go through in the process of identity construction.

Negotiating Learner and Customer Identities

As argued in Chapters Four, Five and Six, in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, the way in which OSs construct their identities is partly a result of how the policy-makers, university managers and staff perceive them. Particularly in Chapter Six, I reported that a number of university staff interviewees resisted and negotiated between the notions of OSs as learners and OSs as customers. I want to argue here that the way in which university staff negotiate these two notions is influential and affects OSs' identity construction, such that OSs also negotiate their learner and customer identities as a result of that influence.

The idea of negotiation cannot be omitted when discussing the process of OSs' identity construction and negotiation. This identity is very often in a fluid state. From Grossberg's (1996) perspective, identities "are always relational, incomplete, and in process" (p89). Similarly, Hall (1990) stated that identity "is a matter of becoming' as well as 'being'" (p225). It belongs to the future as much as to the past; it is not something that already exists. In contrast to the orthodox viewpoint, which assumes that the self is very stable and independent of all external influences (Edgar and Sedgwick, 1999: 184-5), both Grossberg (1996) and Hall (1990) took the same theoretical stance, emphasising that one's identities would never be in the same form. In other words, the process of identity formation is one of negotiating among differences, which are constantly vacillating.

Hall (1992) explained that "identity becomes a 'moveable feast': formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us. It is historically, not biologically, defined" (op.cit., p. 277). Hall's (ibid.) words, e.g., "movable", " transformed", "continuously", repetitively imply that our identities are always in a state of fluidity, as discussed above. At this point, the identity may sound as if it is abstract. Some have not found uncertainty in relation to their identities. Perhaps the only thing that remains unchanged or certain is that not only is there always change, but also one change leads to another.

It is significant that Hall highlights the fact that these transformations with regard to our identities correspond to changes in environments. It is worthwhile noting that our perceptions of learner identity may change following changes in our environments. It seems to me, for an OS, that changes in perception of learner identity could correlate with that of other identities. Apparently, when OSs change from the learning environments they were familiar with to the UK's, w they feel compelled to accommodate new ways of interacting with UK HEIs as a whole.

There are two *negotiating point*s with regard to looking for where someone belongs, to modifying her or his self-construction. The first point lies in between learning styles and the cultures with which OSs are familiar and the UK's culture. A negotiation of this kind makes OSs change their perceptions in relation to the concept of the student and learner in the UK HEIs. OSs have to negotiate these concepts at the personal, cultural and academic levels. The negotiation of these concepts, for OSs, eventually contributes to the negotiation or construction of their learner or customer identity. Any transition that emerges from the process of negotiation demands that OSs change their perceptions and understandings of learners, which implies that being a learner in their home countries and in UK are different experiences. Some OSs who participated in my empirical research revealed this process of negotiation, like T6 from Greenford University, quoted above.

The second negotiating point is that although the choice for OSs to be a customer could be optional, it may not be what they apprenticed to be before they went to the UK. The element of taking an identity as "student customer" could be rather innovative to both OSs and UK HEIs. To some extent, this is partly because the broad environment of HE has changed, and I have just caught up to the era in which HEIs in general are in the transitional stage between for-profit and not-for-profit status.

Like the university staff whom I mentioned in Chapter Six, some OSs are ambivalent and there is a continual fluctuation between wanting to be regarded as

a learner and as a customer. OSs may see themselves either as a learner or as a customer to their institutions. Recognizing themselves as a learner also suggests that is a negotiated identity that they confirm with staff through their interactions.

Some OSs talk a great deal of the identity negotiation, although it could be unconsciously, casually, and unintentionally. I think that some of my OS interviewees would locate themselves in Sector A.OS.B of Diagram 4 (please see **Appendix 9**), where they negotiate their identities. Taking, as an example, Singh (an Indian student), who studied at the Greenford University,

> I guess both as a student you are looking for a place where you can benefit from and learn from the most and a customer is like you are getting the value of what your paying for. And this is taking the two parts separately. But then when you combine them together from a student he wants to learn more to gain more so he could act in a better way in the future. And the same thing goes for the customer, his paying for that because he wants to get the benefit in the future......*it's a two way sort, two edged knife.* Yes I have a right if I feel that they're cramming me and its not just me, I mean the majority also. Um, and then you can take in on an individual basis. If I feel that they could conduct it in a better way if the course how can I say that? Yes I have a right to criticise it and tell them "that I feel that if you did it this way or that way we will benefit more as well as you do because I'm here to, I'm paying for this, I'm paying for my learning. You're not doing it out of charity so I want the best outcome".
> (Singh, India, Greenford University)

When undergoing the process of identity negotiation, some OSs may experience an unsettled state, which Giddens (1991: 184-5) spelled out this way: "it fuels a general climate of uncertainty which an individual finds disturbing no matter how far he seeks to put the back to his mind"; and "it inevitably exposes everyone to a diversity of crisis situations of greater or lesser importance, crisis situation which may sometimes threaten the very core of self-identity". Sometimes, some OSs ended up with having doubt denial on their learner and customer identities. For instance,

> I am not a customer. Because sometimes the university doesn't know what we want and what there is we want and how satisfied we are. And just like I said before they are more efficient administration ability so I think that is a big problem to me because I think it is really, really a waste of student's time. Maybe they think it's not a big deal but for students we don't think so. So as a customer I don't think the university is a good service provider (Mei, Taiwan, *Greenford University*)

During our interview conversation, Mei engaged herself with a process of identity negotiation. Mei also did not intend to prioritise her learner identity when encountering staff in Greenford University. It seemed to me that Mei had already decided to expect some services as a customer. Mei's response to the process of identity negotiation could be considered as a defensive response to such 'detraditionalisation' by asserting an idea that this is an innovative mechanism of enhancing the quality of teaching and learning (Callero, 2003: 64).

Mei's denial of her customer identity was that she believed neither because her interactions or relationships with the staff at her university were purely academic oriented, nor did staff confirm her expectations. She did not suggest that her university did not treat her as a learner. The denial came from the fact that her university failed to serve her as a customer; therefore she was not a customer.

OSs may prefer to highlight their customer identity and downplay their learner identity in some situations, depending on who they encounter or/ and in what social situations. For instance,

> I would say like 70% a student and 30% a customer. Because sometimes people don't treat us like a customer. They treat us like students. But some of them they treat you like a customer......some professors offer services here they treat you like customers....and think who is really the customer themselves because they feel authority and they feel that they are customers, but they are the providers of the services...... and they should think that they need to provide a service to others too and make sure that all the learners are happy with their teaching.
> (Kanoute, Mexico, Greenford University)

When negotiating his identities, Kanoute went into the process of 'self-verification', which Stets and Burke (2000) defined as an essential component that sees "the self in terms of the role as embodied in the identity standard" (p232). Furthermore, these identities (learner and identity) are organized hierarchically, as Howard (2000) noted, "on the basis of their salience to the self and the degree to which we are committed to them, which in turn depends on the extent to which these identities are premised on ties to particular other people" (p: 371).

In line with Howard's (ibid.) argument, if, at the end of a negotiation, OSs see their learner identity as more significant than their customer identity, then the implication is that they are committed to it. Furthermore, prioritising their learner identity is subject to the condition that they develop a mutual definition about their identity as a learner together with, for instance, the academic staff. Similarly, if OSs prefer to emphasize their customer identity and are committed to it, this could be because they see their interaction with staff as commercially oriented.

> From my viewpoint, I do consider that I am a customer here. And I will deal with this because like all the products on the shelves of a supermarket, education supermarket...... And I took my product from outside the university through this kind of service. So and until now I think this product is quite good, its not too bad, its not so good.......Only once there was one of my lecturers and he said, and he has asked for comparison........And he has asked, prepare it properly because you pay the money for your tuition fee and you pay a lot and it means you are a customer here. That is the only time I've heard that they have said that we are customers.......When someone says we can say we have two identities here, one is we are students and another one we are consumer/customers here. And because we study here that is why we are students here and we pay the money for this kind of study so we are customers.
> (Wang, from China, the Redfield University)

It was inevitable that some students in that situation would regard themselves as customers like Wang, as Swann (1987) identified:

> People have a fundamental desire to know what to expect from their worlds. Toward this end, they observe their own behaviour, the reactions of others to them, and the relation of their own performances to those of others; gradually, they translate these observations into self-conceptions. (p1038-9)

To encourage or motivate students to work hard to attain good value for the money they paid, the lecturer who assessed Wang in that module referred to these students as customers in this situation. Wang studied at Redfield University Zregarded himself as a customer. Lecturing, comparison or assessment have conventionally been regarded as situations that bring the student- and the academically-oriented identities into play. As the discourse of entrepreneurialism becomes an everyday practice, it is not surprising that OSs prefer to highlight their customer identity.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I suggest that identity constructions of OSs affected by the process of resisting and negotiating with entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses, (such as such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents, and OSs as ambassadors). Diagrams 3 and 4 were presented to illustrate how OSs negotiate their identities in the process of constructing these discourses.

I identify four reasons as to why OSs tend to prioritise their learner identity. Firstly, OSs have had positive pedagogical interactions with the academic staff in their academic relationships. Secondly, some OSs tend to behave in ways that they believe will match their identity standards, which they learned from their most familiar pedagogical model, which was reinforced in their social interactions. When studying in the UK, OSs tend to highlight the most familiar identity-the learner identity, which is rooted in their previous learning environment where the teacher is the authority and the student plays a relatively passive role in the learning process.

Thirdly, OSs prefer to prioritise their learner identity because in an educational context in which they are not authorised to exercise rights as customers as in the commercial world. Fourthly, the reason some OSs reject their customer identity and have been persistent in their learner identity is because they have strong intrinsic motivations for their study in the UK. What they are really looking for is pleasure and satisfaction from their learning in the HEIs.

I also identify four reasons that some OSs may like to prioritise their customer identity. The first is that OSs have paid full-cost fees that are two or three times more than what their home or EU counterparts paid. Second, OSs were not satisfied with the services provided by their institutions that could make them prefer to highlight their customer identity in order to demand better service. Third, prioritising their customer identities secures and improves the quality of their academic experiences in the UK HEIs. Fourth, not only were some OSs passively

affected by the process of constructing the discourse of entrepreneurialism, but they also participated in and contributed to it. Some OSs adopted the notion of students as customers and prefer to highlight their customer identity.

I discuss that a number of university staff interviewees negotiated between the notion of OSs as learners and that of OSs as customers in the process of constructing the discourse of entrepreneurialism. I argue that the ways that university staff negotiate these two notions influences and affects OSs' identity construction, resulting in OSs also negotiating their learner and customer identities. Furthermore, the idea of negotiation is significant in the process of OSs' identity construction because, firstly, like the university staff, some OSs are in a state of ambivalence, implying there is a continual fluctuation between wanting to be regarded as a learner and as a customer. Secondly, when undergoing the process of identity negotiation, some OSs may experience an unsettled state, and thirdly, learner and customer identities could be organized hierarchically.

Chapter Eight

Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter is divided into several sections. Firstly, I will revisit the role that the UK government, the UK HEIs, different groups of university staff and OSs play in the context of entrepreneurial discourse and their influences on the way in which OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities. Secondly, I will report the central argument of this research. Thirdly, I will indicate the limitations of this research. To improve these limitations, I will outline some possible future research directions after this PhD. Fourthly, I will elaborate on my reflexive accounts in reference to the process and key findings of my research. I want to suggest that there is a need to pay attention to the positive aspects of OSs. I also want to highlight that neither are OSs as vulnerable and problematic as some literature tends to depict them, nor do many of them think it is legitimate for them to fully exercise their rights as customer. The view of them as victims, problems, or beneficiaries is a partial picture that disregards the possibility that OSs are change agents. Completing their courses in the UK with English as their second or third language has made OSs feel transformed and enhanced their self-empowerment. OSs' experiences of studying in the UK necessitate long-term perspectives and plans in order to face their future challenges and opportunities. Finally, I will share what I have learned from conducting this research. I regard the process of learning and of researching as a research adventure.

Summary of this Research

The aim of this research was to look at how OSs negotiate and contest between their learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. In

particular, I aimed to explore how OSs negotiate and contest between their learner and customer identities through the interrelated and competing discourses, including entrepreneurialism, in the political, economic, social, cultural, and academic contexts in the UK.

My research question examined **to what extent do OSs' interactions with other social actors (university staff in particular) influence the construction and negotiation of their learner and customer identities** in the context of entrepreneurial discourse?

I identify the UK government, the UK HEIs, university staff (in which I divided into senior members of staff such as pro-vice chancellors and deans of school, heads of international offices, support staff, academic staff), and OSs are key social research participants in my research, in order to examine the way in which they influence the construction and negotiation between OSs' learner and customer identities.

My theoretical foundations were based on symbolic interactionism in general and on identity theory in particular, as well as on various cultural-theoretical perspectives. I identified the following features of these theoretical perspectives necessary for the purpose of this study:

- OSs identity must involve self-construction, stimuli, responses, feeling different, a sense of belonging, identity crisis, and negotiation;
- OSs must negotiate their identities through interactions with others;
- their identities must be hierarchically ordered. When encountering different people in different social interactions, OSs may prioritise either their learner or customer identity, depending on whom they encounter and in what social situation.
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To answer this research question, driven by my theoretical positions, I extracted the following three key epistemological and methodological points central to this research: the knowledge regarding OSs is socially constructed; is created primarily

but not exclusively by social actors (e.g. policy-makers, staff senior members, academic staff, heads of international offices, and OSs in my research); and is reflexive, which is a point that is imperative to my research.

In order to answer my central research question and sub-questions, the exploratory study was conducted at the Whiteford (a pre-92 University) and Bluefield (a post-'92 University) Universities, whereas my confirmatory study was conducted at the Greenford (pre-'92 University) and Redfield (post-'92 University) University Business Schools. In terms of gathering data, I drew on the following techniques: case studies, participant observations, interviews, documentations (e.g. newspaper articles, the prospectuses of case study universities, and application forms, and focus groups.

I outline different the role that different research participants play in the context of entrepreneurial discourse and their influences on the way in which OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities as follows:

The UK Government

In Chapter Five, I discussed that the financial pressures of UK government have been transferred onto HEIs strategically through educational policies (Jarvis, 2001) and that the UK HEIs are expected to produce desirable results to meet their ambitions (Salter & Tapper, 1994). The UK HEIs adapted a large extent of the UK government's entrepreneurial cultures and business oriented views toward OS market largely through HE policy and particularly through OS-related policies. As reviewed in Chapter One, the UK government has always had financial incentives towards OSs market. Starting charging OSs full cost fees was not only a financial resolution to relieve excessive burden placed on the British taxpayers but also to reduce the general funds that UK HEIs spent on HE in 1981 by 15 per cent (Williams, 2000).

I argue that OSs have been portrayed politically and culturally as *the other* and economically as a *customer*. As examined in Chapter Four, the term 'OS'

generates an abundant field of meanings and connotations that have been found in official documents, for instance, in the *Higher education Students Early Statistics Survey 2005-06* published by the Higher Education Funding Council. This term appears to connote a group of students that is exclusively *different* from home and EU counterparts and associated with HEIs' income generation.

In Chapter Five, I also examined that the UK government's political and economic ideologies regarding OSs are very likely to have been conveyed via policy and through its funding body's guidance for income diversification and generation to UK HEIs. These policies and guidance have strong implications for the concept of OS as customers. As mentioned before, through these policies and documents, the ways in which the UK government constructs the meanings of OSs has influenced the UK HEI.

To examine the ways in which the UK government constructs entrepreneurial discourse and its influence on the way in which OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities, I examined the recent development in OS related policies. These policies and regulations for OSs present a picture that is the result of the disputes and negotiations of many different political and economic interests and pressures, I want to argue that there are conflicts and inconsistencies embedded in UK government's OS' related policies which have significant influenced OSs construction and negotiation of their learner and customer identities.

I identified six layers of paradox of these policies.
- These inconsistent policies also reflect the UK government's paradoxical position regarding OS issues. To some extent, at a surface level, these conflicts and inconsistencies policies may create oppositional positions among the UK government, the UK HEIs, and OSs. At a deeper level, these conflicts and inconsistencies also reflects different UK government units and departments competing to win discourses respectively promoted by their individual departments.

- These policies seem to show the UK government being both retrograde and liberal towards OSs. It is liberal towards collaborations with other countries, for instance, China and India, by encouraging UK firms to employ Chinese or Indian graduates. These initiatives of collaborations can be considered as ways in which the UK government promotes educational diplomacy between UK and other countries. Simultaneously, it is retrograde in relation to the policy concerning OSs' tuition fees, visa and immigration regulations. For instance, OSs are charged increasing amounts of money for the cost of the immigration services they use. OSs must prove they have the means to support their study and supply their fingerprints to the UK Border Agency.

- OS-related policies are subject internally to the political economic dynamic behind the UK's current environment, and externally to the immense changes in the world political-economic environment.

- There are some unwelcoming policies which reflect the fact that both the UK HEIs and OSs lack power or access to the process of policy-making that concerns them.

- The inconsistencies within the UK government's policies – e.g., the government's visa and immigration policies and its OS recruitment policy –might have misguided, misled, and even confused the ways that UK HEIs make their own strategies to recruit and their internal/institutional policies regarding OS issues.

- These inconsistencies within the UK government's policies may reflect how individual staff reacts to both external (government) and internal policies. These inconsistent policies may also influence university staff's attitudes and interactions with OSs in very inconsistent ways.

UK HEIs

To understand the role that UK HEIs play in the context of entrepreneurial discourse and their influence on the way in which OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities, I discussed that the political and economic forces exerted by the UK government and government policies strongly influence the entrepreneurial thinking and actions of UK HEIs that reflect on the meaning,

interpretation, and attitudes of 'OSs', 'international students' and 'foreign students'.

I also examined the entrepreneurial thinking and actions of UK HEIs in sample job openings posted by the Vice-Chancellor and Senior Marketing Office for an International Office. I outlined (in Chapter Five) the common and general external environmental forces that the UK HEIs face these days, and summarised marketing strategies, particularly in relation to the ways in which postgraduate OSs are recruited.

I argued that in the process of participation in the construction of entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses, the UK HEIs create new values, but simultaneously, are forced to undertake some risks. In particular, I identified pedagogical risks, quality risks, academic standard risks, and financial risks. Many MPs, researchers, all others who work with OSs, and media have posited questions and have criticized two positions that OSs take, learner and customer. Accepting these positions has led to current and potential risks.

Senior Members of University Staff

With respect to perspectives of senior members of staff, my research revealed two significant features. Firstly, these senior members of staff revealed that their position changes, for instance a member of academic staff promoted to be a dean of school, may require senior members of staff to consider OSs in a different way, at least compared to two or three decades ago. As PVCDB-Ferguson in Redfield University say, *"that is not because of some perception in me, it is because the system drives you that way".* Secondly, one of the key interview questions asked whether there are different institutional and departmental policies applicable only to OSs.

The majority of my interviewees responded 'no' regardless of the extent to which their institutions, on seeing OSs as customers, implemented customer service policies. However, different groups of students receive different support based on a philosophy of *'equality of treatment'* according to which home and OS students are

treated in the same way.

In some UK HEIS, academic departments would be expected to look after OSs' learning needs, and other service units or departments would look after their expectations as customers. From an institutional management perspective, having different units or departments looking after OSs' academic and non-academic matters is sensible, effective and probably the best the institutions can do to manage OSs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse.

However, I want to argue that both the identities and the experiences of OSs have been managed very robotically. by their host institutions. If OSs' identities and experiences are mechanically managed, the risk is that they will be dehumanised by the current mechanical and bureaucratic systems, which, paradoxically, are designed to enhance their experiences.

Academic Staff

My research findings have shown that some academic staff applaud the adoption of the notion of customers, while some are extremely reluctant to accept the customer relationship, preferring to view OSs as learners. More significantly, my research findings showed that inherent ambivalences exist among the perceptions of academic staff regarding OSs' learner and customer identities. These ambivalences can be synthesised in two ways. Firstly, the priority and aim of teaching-learning relationships have changed. Secondly, the customer approach has been used as a technique to enhance the teaching-learning relationship between OSs and their institutions.

Some interviewees believed the idea of 'hybridity', as a compromise between the teaching-learning and customer relationship, would resolve the dilemma between the learner and customer identities. Some academic staff in my interviews not only stated that the customer approach is used as a technique to enhance the teaching-learning relationship, but also argued that considering OSs as customers is not because of the higher fees they pay. Their institution took the customer-focused

approach, in which both home and OSs are considered as customers.

Students in general are treated as customers who receive student-centred services. The student-centred teaching style allows OSs to gain some ownership of their learning. The customer-centred focus is used not only in OS recruitment, which is concerned more about what courses will interest OSs more, but also in lecture rooms. The customer-centred and student-centred focus are similar in that both concepts focus on what students want and need to learn, as well as on what teaching and learning process can work more effectively. Furthermore, One of academic staff suggested the idea of 'hybridity' to resolve this dilemma, whereas some of them mentioned the idea of clientele, which is hybridised from the differences of 'learners' and of 'customers.

Heads of International Offices and Student Services

Before I interviewed this group of staff, I anticipated that they would be inclined to consider OSs more as customers rather than learners because of their work relationship with OSs. Surprisingly, but importantly, interviews with this group involved complementarities and contradictions because many staff were in the process of resistance, negotiating whether OSs should be seen and treated as customers or learners. Some interviewees said that, even though their office was very much market oriented or provided services and support to students based on the idea of customer care in their institutions, not all of them view OSs as customers. Some voices strongly resisted the notion of students as university customers.

As discussed in Chapter Six, the idea of negotiation is vital to this research and appeared very often in my interview conversations with different groups of university staff across different case study institutions. There is an ongoing process of negotiation in that some university staff. Like academic staff members, heads of international offices and support staff regarding academic and customer relationships are ambivalent. They were aware that the conventional view is to see these two relationships as incompatible, but their institution wanted to see these

two relationships become integrated, although there could be a dilemma between 'incompatibility' and 'integration', for instance, the term 'ambassador' was regarded as "a much nicer title than a customer" (HIO-Siddle, Greenford University).

OSs

As already discussed in Chapter Seven, I suggested that not only were OSs passively affected by the process of negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses (such as such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, and OSs as ambassadors), but they also participated in it and contributed to it. OSs negotiate their learner and customer identities amid their interactions with university staff.

I identified four reasons as to why OSs tend to prioritise their learner identity. Firstly, OSs tend to experience positive pedagogical interactions with the teaching staff in their academic relationships. Secondly, some OSs tend to behave in the ways that they believe will match their identity standards, which they learned from their most familiar pedagogical model and that was reinforced in their interactions with university staff. OSs' previous experiences become resources for their identities and performances in the UK.

Some of OS interviewees are used to adopting the teacher-centred model into their engagements in the classrooms. In this model, the teacher is the authority in the field and the student plays a relatively passive role in the learning process. In this model, the teacher-student relationship is much more hierarchical than in the student-centred one. Those OSs are more likely to present their learner identity to others.

Thirdly, some universities are prepared to see their OSs perform as customers, to exercise their rights as customers to some extent. However, some OS interviews showed that in one way or another, the idea of treating students as customers, allowing them to exercise their rights as a customer, seem to be in the state of dysfunction, at least to the extent to which some OSs think that there is no way

they can exercise the rights of a customer in their universities.

Fourthly, OSs have strong intrinsic motivations to study in the UK. They would not regard or perform as customers themselves because the intrinsic values of receiving HE from UK universities is essential to them. This intrinsic value in HE would exist when students' learning experience is appreciated as an end in itself.

I also identified four reasons that may provide some explanation as to why some OSs may like to prioritise their customer identity. Firstly, OSs pay tuition fees that were two or three times higher compared to their home or EU counterparts. Secondly, many OSs are not satisfied with their institutions' services because, in order to demand better services, they would have to prioritise their customer identity. Thirdly, prioritising their customer identities secures and improves the quality of their academic experiences in the UK HEIs. Fourthly, some OSs are passively affected by the way in which they negotiate entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses. They feel that they are treated as customers, thus react as customers. Consequently, some OSs adapt the notion of students as customers and prioritise their customer identity.

It is very important to show that, in my research, I identified three reasons as to why OSs may fluctuate between their learner and customer identities. Firstly, OSs may respond to their academic and support staff and may reflect the way in which these members of staff negotiate their own perceptions about OSs. Secondly, when undergoing the process of identity negotiations, some OSs may either doubt or deny their learner and customer identities. Thirdly, OSs may prioritise their customer identity and downplay their learner identity in some situations, depending on whom they encounter and in what social situations.

Central Argument of this Research

The primary objective of this research is to 'explore' how social knowledge about OSs negotiating learner and customer identities is articulated, produced, and re-produced by all research participants. I discussed that a number of university staff interviewees negotiated between the notion of OSs as learners and of OSs as customers in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. My central argument is that the ways in which university staff negotiate these two notions influence OSs' identity constructions and their negotiation of learner and customer identities.

From the discussion of this research, I theorise that the literature, policy makers, university managers, university staff, and OSs reflexively construct and/or negotiate learner and customer identities. The hidden debates on overseas students' learner and customer identities were latently entwined with the construction of overseas students as victims (who are unfairly treated in the UK), as problems (tarnishing the higher quality of UK HE as a result of which the HEIs over-promote and emphasise the synthesis between learner and customer identities). These hidden debates illuminate challenges which overseas students have to overcome when they resist and negotiate their learner and customer identities.

My research and ideas should counterbalance the one-sided and distorted perspective, particularly made by the media, which portrays OSs as sources of income as well as sources of problems for the UK universities. Furthermore, my research provides a different perspective on OSs, particularly in relation to their views on their customer identities.

Limitations and Further Research

This research has a number of limitations. If possible, I want to conduct further research to improve these limitations.

I examine the influence of demographic characteristics, for instance, how OSs' nationality, religion, ethnicity, age, social class, or linguistic background could influence the way in which they construct, contest, and negotiate their learner and customer identity. Further research is needed to investigate the dimensions and dynamic relationships between demographic characteristics and the way in which OSs negotiate their learner and customer identities.

My research might be unable to provide monolithic picture about the development of OSs learner and customer identities. The main reason is that the political, economic, social, cultural, and academic contexts in the UK could rapidly change by the time the reader reads this research because I collected my empirical data in 2003-2004.

I have to note here that I did not pay too much attention to theoretical issues such as the personal identity and the social identity in relation to OSs' learner and customer identities. Furthermore, I did not consider whether OSs' learner and customer identities relate to individual or collective identity negotiation (Jenkins, 2004).

Additionally, prior to conducting my empirical research, I hypothesised that certain patterns of data would emerge such that the post-'92 universities would be much more entrepreneurially oriented, as a result receiving less research funds, and would be expected to look for other financial resources in comparison to their pre-'92 counterparts. Recruiting OSs would solve some of their financial deficits. Aggressive marketing strategies would be used to recruit OSs as customers. Consequently, compared to pre-'92 institutions, more OSs in post-'92 institutions would feel that their customer identity is greater than their learner identity.

However, I was unable to provide answers concerning my hypotheses for numbers of reasons. For instance, I visited only four case study institutions, which is insufficient to draw any general conclusion.

As a result of rapid changes in political, economical, social, cultural, and academic environments, the UK HEIs and senior management teams might feel that they are pressured to respond to these changes. I devoted only relatively short period of time to my interviews and observations, which is a short period; therefore, I was unable to conduct an in-depth investigation about the decision-making processes involved in responding to these changes. In addition, I did not have access to data because many of these decisions, internal policies, and documents are confidential to the outsiders.

If I have the chance to undertake post-doctoral research, I am interested in including more than just four case study institutions and including undergraduate and postgraduate research courses. Additionally, my interviewees should be from different academic disciplines, not exclusively from the business schools.

Certainly, 'a relatively small sample' is challenging to other researchers as well (e.g., Lomas, 2007). As mentioned, I conducted this research at two post-'92 Universities (Redfield University and Bluefield University) and two pre-'92 Universities (Greenford University and Whiteford University), both focusing primarily on teaching postgraduate Business courses. Undergraduate and postgraduate research courses (MPhil, PhD.) were excluded. However, I am aware that my further research would need to consider to what extent interactions between different levels of OSs and university staff affect OSs' customer and learner identity constructions and negotiations.

To develop my further research, I would interview both OSs and academic staff from different academic disciplines, not exclusively from the business schools. Additionally, I would consider other key players (e.g. UK government officers, policy-makers, UKCISA, British Council) and their influences on the contesting and negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses- such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents and OSs as ambassadors.

Additionally, I would consider other key players (e.g. UK government officers, policy-makers, UKCISA, British Council) and their influences on the contesting and negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses- such as OSs as learners, OSs as customers, OSs as change agents, and OSs as ambassadors.

Furthermore, Lomas's (2007) research focus was on the perceptions of academic staff about the notion of the student as a customer. He suggested in his research that "academic discipline, rather than the type of university, appears to be influential in determining attitudes towards the notion of the student as a customer" (p. 31). My research focus is on both perceptions of different university staff and OSs about notions of the student as a customer and as a learner. The implication of Lomas's (2007) research is how the impact of academic discipline may affect the way in which the academic staff perceive OSs. One of the major limitations of this research was that my interview data was collected only from business studies. As mentioned in Chapter Three, I did intend to look at the other disciplines- engineering and technology- after I gathered data from Higher Education Statistics Agency. As Table 7 (page 87) shows, in terms of non-EU OS participation, there is a gradual growth and a relatively larger number in engineering and technology, as well as business and administrative studies, than in other subjects of study. At the initial stage of the exploratory study, looking at both subject areas was planned. However, since I did not receive positive responses from those who were responsible for these programmes, it was not possible to conduct my research in their departments. It is my sincere hope that my research will stimulate and encourage those who are interested in research about OSs to undertake further research with university staff and OSs from different ranges such architecture, building and planning, social science, economic and political studies, and creative arts and design.

I also want to add that the issue of tensions and differences between the various groups within the university staff is very important in the context of internationalisation of HE agenda. I also intended to discover the possibilities of

whether institutional power may play a role in reinforcing OSs' customer identities through staff and OSs' interactions. However, as previously stated, my research question is to consider the extent to which OSs' interactions with other social actors (university staff in particular) influence the construction and negotiation of their learner and customer identities in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. My primary focus should, therefore, be on the ways in which OSs and university staff interact with one another. Furthermore, it would be incautious to suggest in this research that these signs of tensions and difference were necessarily significant.

Finally, I would also like to conduct a research from a different perspective that would highlight positive aspects of OSs in the UK. The purpose of conducting research of this kind would be to examine the extent to which OSs influence UK HE and UK home and European students.

My Reflexive Accounts

When I started conducting my research, I was very much preoccupied by the dominant research trends of which considered OSs as powerless objects and paying less attention to different challenges they have to face when coming to the UK. However, after the completion of my empirical research conducted at four UK HEIs, I altered the ways in which I looked at OSs in the context of entrepreneurial discourse. I kept a fieldwork diary after each interview. One of the most frequent words that I used to describe some of my OSs interviewees was 'impressive'. Many OSs interviewees were in their early 20s, and for most of them, it was the first time living abroad for so long and so far away from home. On the 5th of July 2003, after conducting two interviews in Greenford University, I wrote:

> I am JUST impressed by these OSs. They really know what they are talking about. I am used to seeing them (OSs) as powerless object in the UK HEIs, particularly they have no power to respond to some unfair criticisms and treatments against them or to change their positions as victims. However, the thing is that they do not see themselves as victims. Where does the idea of

'victim' come from? They really taught me a lot. They completely challenged my research assumptions and changed the way I used to see them (and myself as an OS). They were not forced to become 'customer' of their institution. In fact, some of them chose to be. They were able to choose to be what they wanted to be. They were so determined about their responsibilities at the Greenford University Business School. They took responsibility for themselves. They are the protagonists taking charge of their own lives.

At least to some extent, they made the choice by and for themselves, not for the UK higher education institutions. This also reflects that the university marketing team's slogan, such as, 'what OSs want and need', is rather superficial. What OSs really want and need could be something different and at a different level from what the marketing team can imagine. What many OSs really want and need is 'something about the future'. Thus, what the university can provide for OSs is limited in this regard and might not accurately reflect 'what OSs really want and need' because OSs see their study in the UK as a part of their life journey, an interim period of time before they achieve their ultimate goal. OSs would not mind making sacrifices because they are looking forward to their future.

My research was not designed to look at other aspects of OSs, for instance, their positive attitude and determination to finish their courses even if they are struggling and having difficulties. Indeed, this is an important research dimension that is either not addressed by current research or receives very little attention.

If improving OSs' experiences were part of the UK government's policy agenda and of the UK universities' institutional missions, then 'we' (refer back to Chapter One: Introduction about the reason I use 'we') would need to take different perspectives when conducting research about OSs, focusing or highlighting OSs' optimistic attitudes, courageousness, and positive experiences.

I also want to suggest that devictimising OSs in order to enhance their experiences in the UK is essential in order to enhance OSs' self-empowerment and to make OSs feel that pursue their self-defined interests and to achieve their personal satisfaction after they finish their courses in the UK. In addition, even if some academic entrepreneurs in the UK HEIs 'have to' see OSs as customers, it is imperative not to treat them as 'infantilised adults' (Nayak & Beckett, 2008a).

The authorities (such as government policy-makers) and those who work with OSs at the universities need to be aware of OSs as change agents. Studying abroad can be regarded as an opportunity to explore their life possibilities, to be innovative in their life, and to have an influence on their own communities, educational systems, and work, among others. Some OSs may be primarily motivated by "pecuniary incentives" (Licht & Siegel, 2006) not in the sense that they would want to improve their prospects of upgrading their future income, but more for other decisional dimensions, such as vision, stability, lifestyle, leadership, innovation, independence, contribution, and challenges (ibid.).

Many OSs I interviewed sacrifice many things, such as family life and money, and experience a lot of stress. After all, OSs expect to learn to defy challenges, to be independent, to pursue their self-defined interests, and eventually to achieve their personal satisfaction (Hisrich & Peters, 2002).

Research Adventure

If asked myself, what treasure(s) have I found? I keep reinterpreting my own definition of 'treasures' during my adventure. In my own definition, the treasures could be non-material and material. Material treasure is the tangible treasure of this research journey that would include this 80,000 words doctoral thesis. Non-material treasure would include my experiences and knowledge that I would be able to obtain, or even re-generate after this adventure.

What have I experienced? What have I learned from this adventure? I gained two non-material rewards from this adventure. I used to lack self-confidence to write my thesis. I was anxious to engage with other researchers in my field intellectually, mainly because I was aware of my limited knowledge of this subject. How could a powerless overseas PhD student such as myself possibly challenge the mainstream and faulty assumptions concerning OSs as victims, problems, and beneficiary of marketisation of HE?

Apart from my current supervisor's (Penny's) encouragement, I was inspired by some feminist scholars, for example, Sandra Harding and Donna Haraway, who proposed the idea of all knowledge being partial, political, and situated (Haraway, 1991). I should not dismiss the political and ethical aspects of knowledge regarding the construction of OS identities in my thesis, particularly with my authorial presence in this thesis. On the one hand, as Haraway (1988) argued:

> positioning implies responsibility for our enabling practices. It follows that politics and ethics ground struggles for and contests over what may count as rational knowledge. This is, admitted or not, politics and ethics ground struggles over knowledge projects in the exact, natural, social and human sciences (p587)

On the other hand, my writing does not present an omniscient point of view; instead, it is limited because "only partial perspective promises objective vision" and "in this way we might become answerable for what we learn how to see" (Haraway, 1991:190-1).

As an overseas doctoral student and a novice researcher, I am still learning to communicate and negotiate with my reader at personal and intellectual levels. As an OS, I still have to contest, adapt to, and negotiate with the western academic writing style. I used to experience difficulties challenging these kinds of issues. My difficulties are complex as they are interrelated politically, culturally, intellectually, and linguistically. I experience difficulties at two levels, personal and institutional. At a personal level, I am learning English as a foreign language, struggling with technical skills while increasing my linguistic competence or cultural assimilation (Lea and Street, 1998). As a novice researcher, I also struggled with 'epistemology, authority, and contestation over knowledge' (ibid.), which Hyland

(2002) identified:

> authorship in academic writing in English both carries a culturally constructed individualistic ideology and places the burden of responsibility for the truth of an assertion heavily on the shoulders of the writer.....to display an authoritative persona among Asian writers may, in part, be a product of a culturally and socially constructed view of self which makes assertion difficult (p1110-1111).

Hyland's (2002) study reflects my position in that I used to be afraid of revealing my authorial self, as explored in Chapter Three. I used to think that making arguments is an offensive conduct.

At an institutional level, when I started writing my PhD thesis, my first supervisor strongly advised me to use the third person pronoun-'it' or 'one' in particular, instead of the first person pronoun-'I', "as a means to establish objectivity, to generalise, and to conceal the existence of a specifically located subject with opinions" (Pennycook, 1994:177). Despite being invisible, the relationship between supervisor and supervisee regarding power and authority has been institutionalised, implicitly suggesting that some rules or instructions for writing are politically correct and I am supposed to adapt and some which are not (Lea and Street, 1998: 168). These 'writing instructions' mistakenly led me to consider academic writing less concerned with 'epistemology, authority and contestation over knowledge', and more in line with 'technical skills, surface linguistic competence or cultural assimilation' (Lea and Street, 1998: 160).

At the stage of finalizing my research, I seem to have overcome some of my difficulties. I began to look at writing my PhD thesis as an adventure, to be more precise, an adventure in search of answers to my argument. In other words, my PhD journey is seen as an invaluable adventure that allows me to discover some intellectual treasures. This adventure consists of uncertainties, awaiting explorations, and joy of obtaining social knowledge about the negotiation and contestation of OSs' identities.

To start my research adventure and develop my argument, I would need a map, which is my methodology that I described in Chapter Three. As this is my *own*

intellectual adventure, I had to create my own map. I found myself keep altering the map during my adventure for numerous reasons. For instance, by taking into account the element of 'intersubjectivity' (Finlay, 2002a: 211), I am no more than a co-constructor of social knowledge concerning OSs. I had to thus alter my methodology to create the space of negotiation with my research participants who are co-constructors of my knowledge concerning OSs.

Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter Three, I interpret both my research participants and myself as co-constructors of social knowledge (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1983; Anderson, 1989; Finley, 2002a). In addition, the relationship between my research participants and me as a researcher is reciprocal and dynamic. Conducting interviews with more than 50 postgraduate overseas students and 22 university staff at different levels across universities was an invaluable experience. Both university staff and OSs interviewees have been challenging from time to time during this research adventure.

For instance, instead of beginning our interviews soon after we introduced ourselves to one another, I would start our conversation talking about my research setting and asking research questions. I had a habit of keeping a research diary after each interview. Very often, I could not stop writing, as our interviews were stimulating and fundamentally challenged my knowledge about OS identities and experiences. I realized that I had much thinking to do after some interviews.

In addition, my research makes me consider some business-oriented concepts such as neoliberalism, customers, clients, market, entrepreneurialism, and customer services, among others. Some interviewees who work as academic staff in my case study business schools have been helpful, giving me guidance or insightful knowledge about some of these difficult concepts.

More importantly, I also have to alter my methodology to some extent in order to formulate and develop an argument for my thesis. Formulating an argument was problematic for me because many international students (not only OSs), like

myself, might misinterpret the meaning of argument and argumentation in academic writing. Having an argument may not be socially and intellectually acceptable in all cultures. It has taken me a great deal of time to learn to think and write in order to comprehend the concept of argumentation in academic writing and the function of this concept in writing thesis.

Jackson's (1997) idea about argument, among others, is the one that I found very accommodating. In line with Jackson (ibid.), I believe that my argumentation in my thesis is a way of my 'personal engagement' (op.cit., p. 18) with my readers. Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven, describes debates, literatures, reports, documents, and my research participants. I developed a series of arguments to explain the influence of the UK government, UK HEIs, university staff members, and OSs themselves on OSs' contestations and negotiations between learner and customer identities. I understand other researchers might have developed completely different arguments from different standpoints, which are "equally valid" (ibid.) because there is no objective reality (ibid.).

The series of arguments is formulated around my central argument that suggests the ways in which university staff members contest and negotiate the notions of OSs as learners and OSs as customers influence the ways in which OSs negotiate their learner and customer identities.

At this stage of my PhD, I also find that developing my argumentation to meet the requirement of academic writing has less to do with experiencing cultural and academic hegemony. Rather, developing solid arguments has more to do with logic-based knowledge discovery. Indeed, my thesis or my argumentation has become "a product of a culturally and socially constructed view of self" (Hyland, 2002: 1111).

In the earlier stage of my writing, I used to struggle to communicate and negotiate the academic writing and cultures in British academia and at home. After many years of writing my PhD thesis, I am aware that I am experiencing cultural and

academic 'hybridisation' and I am probably in the position of taking 'interstitial perspective' (Bhabha, 1990, 1994). Furthermore, rather than focusing on differences between Chinese writing and English academic writing, it is more productive to focus on "academic writing as competing and contested sets of writing methodologies and social practices rather than as homogeneous sets of skills" (Burke & Hermerschmidt, 2005: 347-8). What I have learned from this research adventure is that the more I write communicate and negotiate with broader readers and researchers who are interested in the construction of OSs identities, the more I have something to learn and to explore.

Appendix 1:

The SWOT analysis- Nottingham University as a Case study

Strengths	Weakness
The research of the University has a significant influence on society and culture, science and technology, the health of the community, and the environment	The University has to look to collaborate more with international and commercial partners
The university is a member of Russell Group	To pursue higher quality curiosity-driven research
The University is one of the UK's leading research universities with six departments gaining the coveted 5★ rating	The university has to recruit and retain high quality, well-motivated and flexible staff
The University is one of the top four Universities earning research funding from private industry and commerce	The University has to increase the library and computer spending
The University has one of the largest number of schools whose teaching is rated as 'excellent'	The University has to increase the facilities spending
The University has a strong international reputation for research and teaching and has successfully developed extensive collaborative overseas links	There is insufficient University-owned accommodation for international students
The University's staff is helpful in dealing with students' difficulties	The University has to pay more attention to promote its reputation abroad
The Universities offers transport between campuses	
University Park is one of the largest and most attractive campuses in the UK	
Opportunities	Threats
The University is a founder member of Universitas 21, an international association of major research-intensive universities	1. It is likely that the University has to continue to expand its extensive links with business, industry and commerce
The University offers one- year MA course for International students	Most of the University's funding is controlled by Higher Education Funding Council for England
The University has an extensive network of exchange links through which students are able to study part of their degree abroad.	A large number of polytechnics have become universities since 1992, and they are trying to share the global market with traditional universities.
The University offers a variety of educational progammes in order to meet the wide ranging needs of international students	Other universities in the UK are very keen on recruiting international students as well
The University is located in a safe and quiet place, an important factor which international students would take into account for studying abroad	Apart from the USA being a strong competitor, Australia, Canada and Japan pay more and more attention to attracting international students
The University of Nottingham in Malaysia is the first branch campus of a British	

university in Malaysia	
The University has a rich history, recently celebrating its for Golden Jubilee year	
The University guarantee accommodation in University-owned accommodation for students in their first year of their studies	
The University's Centre for English Language is able to support students whose first language is not English	
The University offers a number of full or partial scholarships for international students	
Opportunities	*Threats*

(Source: Kuo, 2000: 117-8)

Appendix 2:

Questions Asked to Key Research Participants

Key research participants	Sub-questions
To understand the role that the **UK government** plays in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, and its influence on the way in which OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities (See **Chapter Four and Five** in detail)	• What role does the UK government play to encourage entrepreneurial cultures adapted in UK HEIs? • What role does the UK government play in relation to overseas students' (OS) fees and policies? • How are the terms 'OS' and international students interpreted and manipulated in official document? • What are the changes and developments of the UK government OSs related policies? Are they articulated to reflect the concept of OSs as customers and to reflect how OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities?
To understand the role that **senior members of staff** play in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, and their influence on the way in which OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities (See **Chapter Four and Five** in detail)	• Do their institutions have special policies applied to OS only? • To what extent do they see their universities as entrepreneurial? • What are their views about entrepreneurial cultures and how do these views affect their institutions, academic staff, international offices, and OSs? • Do they consider OSs as customers, in what contexts?
To understand the role that **heads of International Offices** play in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, and their influence on the way in which OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities (See **Chapter Six** in detail)	• To what extent are they involved in marketing activities and university policy concerning international strategies and OSs? • What does their office stand for within their institutions? • What type of work does their office perform in relation to overseas students and their academic departments? • What are their views about student support? • Do they consider OSs as customers, in what contexts?
To understand the role that **support staff** play in the context of entrepreneurial discourse, and their influence on the way in which OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities (See Chapter Six in detail)	• What are their views about student support? • Do they see the entrepreneurial cultures of their institutions affecting the ways they support OSs? • Do they consider OSs as customers, in what contexts?
To understand the role that **Academic staff** play in the constitution of ED, and their influence on the way in which OSs construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities (See **Chapter Six** in detail)	• What are their perceptions about OSs? • Do their institutions provide guidance about how to interact with OSs? • What are their opinions about the notion of student as customer? • Do they consider OSs as customers, in what contexts?
To understand the role of **OSs** in the context of	• How do they interpret their relationships with

entrepreneurial discourse, and their influence on the way in which their construct and negotiate their learner and customer identities (See **Chapter Seven** in detail)	their institutions, their departments, and in particular academic staff? • Do they consider themselves as customers since they pay such high fees? Do they believe that their institutions treat them differently because of paying high fees? If yes, why? Any other reasons? • If no, do they have been persistent in their learner identity, given they are aware of business oriented approaches of their institutions? Why? • Do some of them find themselves negotiate their learner and customer identities?

Appendix 3: Coding System

This coding system was designed to serve help the reader to understand how these codes were made show refer all interviewees who participated both the exploratory study and the main study. Each interviewee was given a unique code that would indicate coding system was designed and all interview participants have been given a unique code that would indicate interviewees' position within their universities. On one hand, this system would help the researcher to refer to any of these interviewees without mentioning their names as they were guaranteed confidentiality. Using interviews as a chief method of collecting data for this research, the researcher is conscious of protecting interviewees from any forms of harm. Fontana and Frey (1994) indicate that traditional ethical concerns have revolved around (1) the research topics of informed consent, (2) right to privacy and (3) protection from harm (1994: 372). This is to say that every decision in the process of conducing empirical work,

1. University codes

   This study basically distinguished all case study universities by colours. However, to make a further distinction regarding the development of the university, pre-'92 universities have given a code-river and post-'92 universities have given a code- field, followed by a colour, e.g.

   Pre-'92 universities: Greenford University; Whiteford University

   Post-'92 universities: Bluefield University; Redfield University.

2. Staff codes

   Staff who participated in this research fell into seven categories.

   (1) Those who played roles of senior members of staff (pro-vice chancellors, deputy vice chancellor) in the institutional level were given a code- PVC with a fictional name

   (2) Two of them were also in charge of business school received a code-PVCDB with a fictional name

   (3) The code given to heads of department or directors was – HD with a fictional name

   (4) Academic staff were given a fictional name for each of them

   (5) Dean of students received a code- DS with a fictional name.

   (6) MA Programmes Director received a code- MPD with a fictional name

   (7) The code for the Financial Department officer was FDO with a fictional name

   (8) The code for heads of International Office was HIO with a fictional name.

3. Overseas students codes: I gave each of them a with a fictional name (See Appendix 5)

Exploratory Study

	Key interview questions	Whiteford University MSc in International Management	Bluefield University M.A. in International Business
Senior members of staff	• To what extent do you involve in marketing activities to recruit overseas students? • Is there any policies made by your university concerning overseas students in particular? • What would describe overseas students in your university? • What is your opinion about the notion of student as customer? • Do you see OSs as customers to some extent? • Do you see and treat home students and overseas students differently? • Do you give extra support to overseas students? • Do you have any concerns about overseas students in respect of teaching and learning?	**HBS-Perry** (18 November, 2002)	**HBS** (20 September 2002)
Academic Staff	• What would describe overseas students in your university? • Did your head of institution/ school discuss with you about how to interact with OSs? • Do you see and treat home students and overseas students differently? • Do you give extra support to overseas students? • Do you have any concerns about overseas students in respect of teaching and learning? • What is your opinion about the notion of student as customer? • Do you see OSs as customers to some extent?	**Terry** (11 July 2002) **Owen** (15 July 2002)	**Smith** (24 July 2002) **Wilson** (9 Oct 2002)
Head of International Office	• How do you support overseas students? • Do you give support to overseas students? • What is your opinion about the notion of student as customer? • Do you see OSs as customers to some extent? • Is there any international strategies or policies made by your university concerning overseas students in	HIO-Thomas (2 July 2002)	HIO-Denly (15 July 2002)

	particular? • What would describe overseas students in your university? • What is your office is doing for both the university and overseas students? • Do you consider your offices as a bridge between the university and overseas students? • To what extent do you involve in marketing activities?		
Overseas Student (Group 1, 2)	• Why do they come to study in the UK and at this university? • Do you consider yourself as a customer since you pay such high fees? • If you think you are a customer, do you think you have right to ask for what you want • Do you think you have any difficulties to study in the UK? • Do you think your university response well to your request • Do you receive extra- support as overseas students • What would you describe your interactions with the university in general, with teaching staff and specifically with other students? • What do think of your experiences of engaging in different academic cultures?	**WFG1** (1 May 2003)	**BFG** (3 June 2003)
Overseas Student (Group 2)		**WFG2** (22 May, 2003)	

Interview Schedule (Main study)

	Key interview questions	Greenford University Business School	Redfield University Business School
Senior Member of Staff	- To what extent do you involve in marketing activities to recruit overseas students? - Would you mind to tell me something about international strategies/ policy of your institution? - Is there any policies made by your university concerning overseas students in particular? - What would you describe overseas students in your university? - How did you transfer your role from teaching staff to senior managers of the university? What do you think about it? - What is your opinions about 'The right of customer' and 'The right of students' - To what extent do you see your university as entrepreneurial university - What is your opinion about the notion of student as customer? - Do you see OSs as customers to some extent? - Do you worry whether high-quality education provision of your institutions will be tarnished by increasing numbers of overseas students?	**PVC- Strauss** (2 May 2003)	**PVC-Bresnan** (14 April 2003)
Senior member of staff Group 2	- To what extent do you involve in marketing activities to recruit overseas students? - Is there any policies made by your university concerning overseas students in particular? - What would you describe overseas students in your university? - How did you transfer your role from teaching staff to senior managers of the university? What do you think about it? - What are your opinions about 'the right of customer' and 'the right of students'? - To what extent do you see your university as entrepreneurial university - What is your opinion about the notion of student as customer? - Do you see OSs as customers to some extent? - Do you worry whether high-quality education provision of your institutions will be tarnished by increasing numbers of overseas students?	**PVCDB- Miller** (2 May 2003)	**PVCDB- Ferguson** (3 June 2003)

Head of Department /course leaders	• What would you describe overseas students in your university? • Is there any policies made by your university/ school concerning overseas students in particular? • Do you see and treat home students and overseas students differently? • Do you give extra support to overseas students? • Do you have any concerns about overseas students in respect of teaching and learning? • What is your opinion about the notion of student as customer? • Do you see OSs as customers to some extent?	**HBS- Fletcher** (9 June 2003)	**HBS- Moores** (11 July 2003)
Academic Staff	• What would you describe overseas students in your university? • Did your head of institution/ school discuss with you about how to interact with OSs? • Do you see and treat home students and overseas students differently? • Do you give extra support to overseas students? • Do you have any concerns about overseas students in respect of teaching and learning? • What is your opinion about the notion of student as customer? • Do you see OSs as customers to some extent?	**Klum** (12 June 2003) **MPD-Broad** (26 June 2003)	**Coleman** (15 July 2003)
Dean of Student	• What is your office doing for both the university and overseas students? • What is your opinion about the notion of student as customer? • Do you see OSs as customers to some extent? • Do you give extra support to overseas students? • Can you tell me your institution's student support system/ policy? • What would you describe overseas students in your university? • Do you involve in any marketing activity to recruit overseas students?		**DS-Duncan** (13 May 2003)
Financial Department	• Tuition fees issues • What would describe overseas students in your university?	**FDO-Johnson** (12 June 2003)	
Head/ Director International Office	• How do you support overseas students? • Do you give support to overseas students? • What is your opinion about the notion of student as customer? • Do you see OSs as customers to some	**HIO- Siddle** (16 April 2003)	**HIO-Morgan** (28 May 2003)

	extent? • Are there any an international strategies or policies made by your university concerning overseas students in particular? • What would describe overseas students in your university? • What is your office doing for both the university and overseas students? • Do you consider your office as a bridge between the university and overseas students? • To what extent do you involve in marketing activities?		
Overseas Students (Group 1/Group 2) α. **Group1: English as their mother/ official language** β. **Group 2: English as their Second Language**	• Why do they come to study in the UK and at this university? • Do you consider yourself as a customer since you pay such high fees? • If you think you are a customer, do you think you have right to ask for what you want • Do you think you have any difficulties to study in the UK? • Do you think your university response well to your request • Do you receive extra- support as overseas students • What would you describe your interaction with the university in general, with teaching staff and specifically with other students? • What do think of your experiences of engaging in different academic cultures?	GFG1 (12 June 2003) GFG2 (12 June 2003) GFG3 (24 July 2003) 22 students (Winter/ Spring 2004): 3 E1L(1,2,3) 19 E2L(1.2….20) (See Appendix 5 for detail)	3 students (Summer 2003) 20 students (Winter/ Spring 2004): 4 E1L(1,2, 3, 4) 16 E2L(1.2….,16) (See Appendix 6 for detail)

Appendix 4

An example of a letter requesting to interview pro-vice chancellors, deputy vice chancellor, and have access to their institutions

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14 March 2003
Dear Professor PVC- Strauss,

My name is Yu-Ching Kuo. I am currently a research student from Taiwan studying at the Institute of Education, University of London.

I am tackling my PhD thesis on identities of overseas students in British Universities. I would very much like the Business School at Greenford University to be one of my two case studies, and I should like to interview key people who are concerned with overseas students in the University.

I understand that you have responsibilities in leading your University's activities on student support and recruitment, and I wonder if I could ask you a favour that is the privilege of a short meeting in connection with my research. It could be quite a short meeting or, if it could possibly extend to a full interview, it might take around an hour. It would be very helpful to us if I discuss with you the possibility of your helping me to gain access to other relevant colleagues in the university. I know that is asking a lot, but I would also hope to give helpful feedback to the University.

I would be very grateful for your help and, if you agree, perhaps I may telephone your secretary to arrange a convenient time?

Yours sincerely,

Yu-Ching Kuo

I am supportive of this research by Yu-Ching and I do hope that it will be possible for the univerity to give Yu-Ching support for her enquires.

Professor of Higher Education

Appendix 5

An example of a letter requesting to interview dean of Business School and have access to their schools

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20 January 2004

Dear Professor **PVCDB-** Ferguson,

<u>Overseas students in UK universities</u>

I am writing to thank you both for giving me a chance to interview you and for your great help in the summer time when I needed your permission in gaining access to your school to interview overseas students. Thank you very much indeed!

Unfortunately, the result of that exercise was disappointing. I did not recruit sufficient number of overseas students. I was only able to interview three students in the end. It was not a good timing for me to visit your School in August/ September since students were not much around. I do understand this.

In this stage, I probably need to interview 20-25 overseas students in your School. I would be very grateful for your help and, if you agree, I would value your advice as to the best way that I might access overseas students in your School. What I have done with other case study universities is to contact the Directors or course leaders of MA programmes and seek their agreement to allow me to speak to their students in last 5-10 minutes of their lectures. Within those 5-10 minutes, I would introduce myself and my research to overseas students and ask for volunteers who will be willing to be interviewed. I wonder if this would be a feasible approach at Redfield?

I know this is asking a lot, but I would also hope to be able to give helpful feedback to the Business School. Many thanks indeed.

Best Wishes,

Yu Ching Kuo

Appendix 6

List of OS Interviewees (Greenford University)

Type NO.	Code	Registered Course	Gender	Nationality	Mother Tongue	English as	Interview Date
T1	Nabulyato	MA in Corporate Strategy & Governance	F	Zambia	Loel	2nd	23rd Feb 2004
	Babangida	MA in Corporate Strategy & Governance	F	Nigeria		2nd	23rd Feb 2004
T2	Lili	MA in Insurance Studies	F	China	Mandarin	2nd	23rd Feb 2004
T3	Kanoute	MSc in Opecations Management & Manufacturing System	M	Mexico	Spanish	2nd	23rd Feb 2004
T4	Ting	MSc in Tourism Management & Marketing	F	China	Mandarin	2nd	24th Feb 2004
T5	Mei	MA in Marketing	F	Taiwan	Mandarin	2nd	24th Feb 2004
T6	Fang	MA in Marketing	F	China	Mandarin	2nd	24th Feb 2004
T7	Nana	MA in Finance and Investment	F	China	Mandarin	2nd	24th Feb 2004
T8	Matekoni	MBA	M	Botswana	Tswana	2nd	25th Feb 2004
T9	Wen	MA in Corporate Strategy & Governance	F	China	Mandarin	2nd	25th Feb 2004
T10	Shamsher	MSc in Tourism Management & Marketing	F	Nepal	Hindi	2nd	25th Feb 2004
T11	Biya	MBA	M	Cameroom	English	1st	25th Feb 2004
T12	Ang	MSc in Tourism Management & Marketing	F	China	Mandarin	2nd	25th Feb 2004
T13	Fukuda	MBA	M	Japan	Janpanese	2nd	26th Feb 2004
T14	Kyprianou	MA in Finance & Investment	F	Cyprus	Creek	2nd	26th Feb 2004

Type NO.	Code	Registered Course	Gender	Nationality	Mother Tongue	English as	Interview Date
T15	Dinda	MA in Finance and Investment	M	India	Indian	1st	26th Feb 2004
T16	Mouseion	MA in Finance & Investment	M	Cyprus	Creek	2nd	26th Feb 2004
T17	Han	MSc in International Business	F	Taiwan	Mandarin	2nd	26th Feb 2004
T18	Castillo	MBA	M	Mexico	Spanish	2nd	27th Feb 2004
T19	Sami	MBA	F	Saudi Arabria	Arabic	2nd	27th Feb 2004
T20	Singh	MBA	M	India	Hindi	1st	27th Feb 2004
T21	Wei	MBA	F	China	Mandarin	2nd	27th Feb 2004
T22	Hui	MBA	F	Taiwan	Mandarin	2nd	27th Feb 2004
Type NO.	Code	Registered Course	Gender	Nationality	Mother Tongue	English as	Interview Date

Appendix 7

List of OS Interviewees (Redfield University)

Type NO.	Code	Registered Course	Gender	Nationality	Mother Tongue	English as	Interview Date
T1	Gony	MSc in Financial Management	M	India	Gujarati /Hindi	Foreign	20th Feb 2004
T2	Adukwu	MSc in Financial Management	M	Nigeria	Nigeria	1st	20th Feb 2004
T3	Sithanen	MSc in Financial Management	M	Mauritius	Creole/ French	2nd	2nd March 2004
T4	Patel	MSc in Financial Management	F	Inida	Hindi	2nd	3rd March 2004
T5	Plastinina	MSc in International Business Economics	F	Russia	Russian	2nd	3rd March 2004
T6	Saha	MSc in International Business Economics	M	India	Bengall	Foreign	3rd March 2004
T7	Zheng	MA in Human Resource Management	F	China	Mandarin	2nd	3rd March 2004
T8	Koller	MA in Human Resource Management	F	Switzerland	German	Foreign	4th March 2004
T9	Yang	MSc in Financial Management	F	China	Mandarin	2nd	4th March 2004
T10	Elugbaju	MSc in International Business Economics	F	Nigeria	Nigeria	1st	5th March 2004
T11	Shajuigbi	MSc in Financial Management	M	Nigeria	Yo-usa Language	2nd	5th March 2004
T12	Waldron	MSc in Financial Management	F	Trinidad	English	1st	5th March 2004
T13	Liu	MSc in Financial Management	M	China	Mandarin	2nd	5th March 2004
T14	Kumar	MSc in Financial Management	F	India		Foreign	8th March 2004
T15	Ceylan	MA in Human	F	Turkey	Turkish	Foreign	8th March 2004

Type NO.	Code	Registered Course	Gender	Nationality	Mother Tongue	English as	Interview Date
		Resource Management					
T16	Sheikh	MSc in Finance	M	Pakisian	Urda	Foreign	8th March 2004
T17	Wang	MA in Marketing and Management	M	China	Mandarin	2nd	9th March 2004
T18	Su	MSc in Financial Management	F	China	Mandarin	2nd	9th March 2004
T19	Sithanen	MSc in Financial Management	M	Mauritius	Creole/French	2nd	9th March 2004
Type NO.	**Code**	**Registered Course**	**Gender**	**Nationality**	**Mother Tongue**	**English as**	**Interview Date**

Appendix 8

The customer Relationship

U.S.as PoE

C.　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　U.S

OSs. as Customers

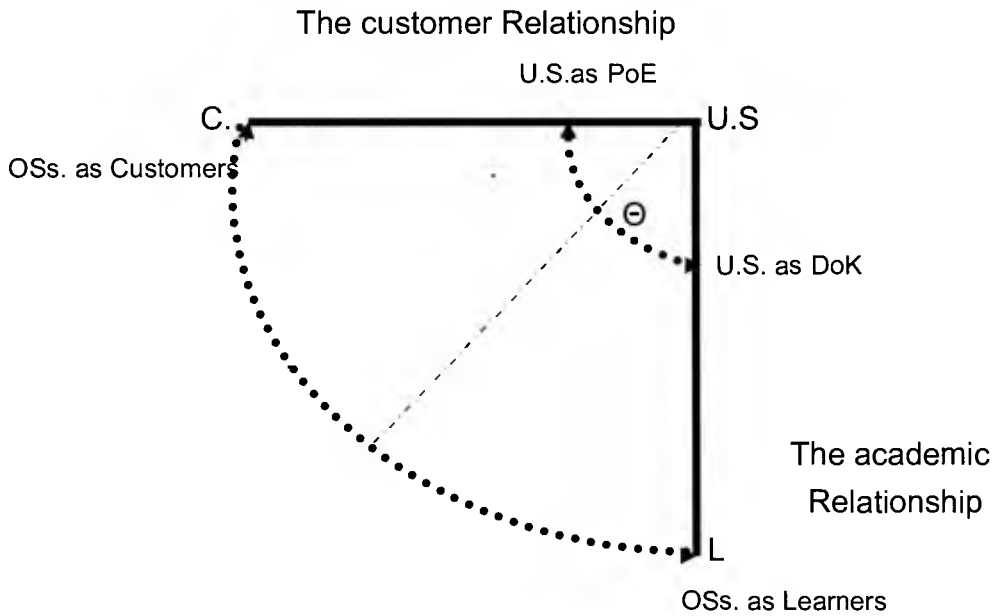U.S. as DoK

The academic
Relationship

L

OSs. as Learners

Diagram 1: University staff negotiate customer and academic relationships

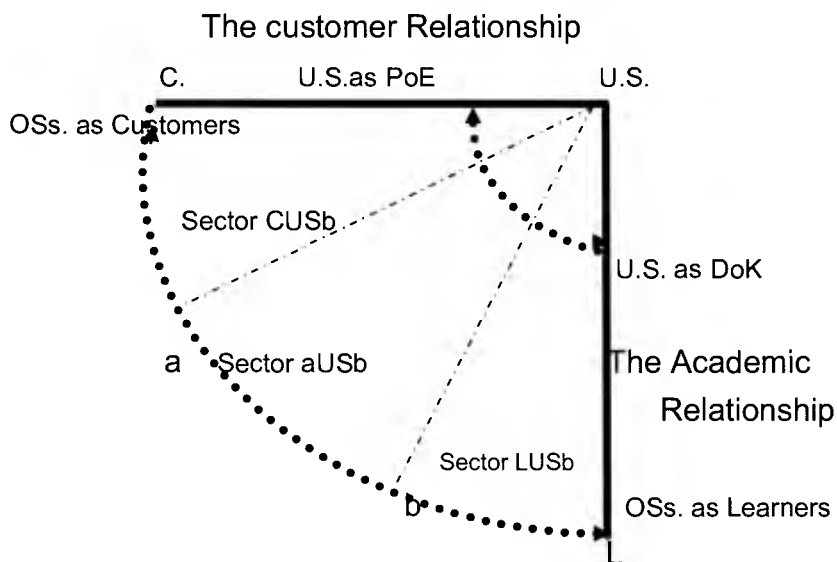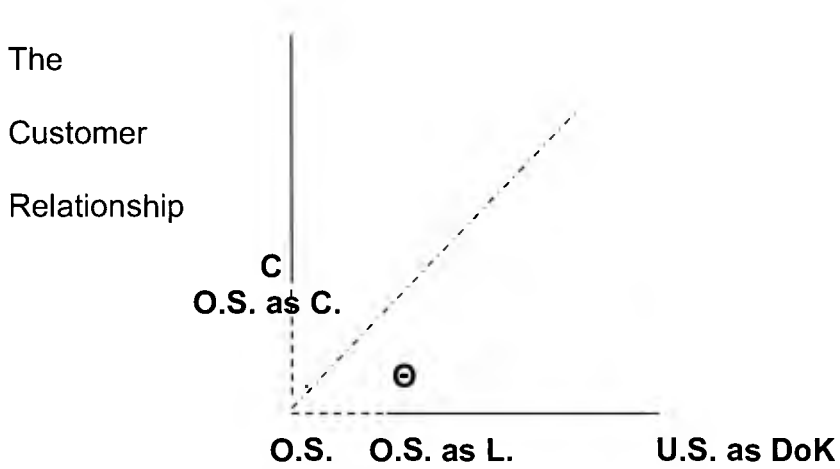(N.B: see next page for abbreviations and interpretation of the Diagram 1& 2)

The customer Relationship

C.　　　　U.S.as PoE　　　　　U.S.

OSs. as Customers

Sector CUSb

U.S. as DoK

a　Sector aUSb

The Academic
Relationship

Sector LUSb

b

OSs. as Learners

L

Diagram 2: the perceptions of university staff about OSs and their negotiations of the notion of learner and the notion of customer

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The keys of abbreviations and interpretation of the Diagram 1& 2

OSs	Overseas Students
C	Customers
PoES	The Provider of Educational Services
DoK	The Distributor of Knowledge
U.S	University staff
L.	Learners/ Students
X-	staff/ student axis -In terms of the **academic relationship**, from university staff's point of view, they might position themselves as distributors of Knowledge, while consider OSs as learners.
Y	staff/ student axis-In terms of the **customer relationship**, from university staff's point of view, they might position themselves as providers of educational services, while consider OSs as customers
>	greater; salient
Θ	the degree to which university staff are affected by their negotiation of entrepreneurialism and its competing discourses
Sector L.US.b **DoK > PoES;** **L. > C.**	From the point of view of some university staff, they perceive that their role as distributors of knowledge is more important than that of providing educational services. OSs could be perceived by some university staff more as learners than as customers
Sector C.US.a: **PoES > DoK;** **C. > L**	From the point of view of some university staff, they perceive that their role as providers of educational services is more important than that of knowledge distributors. OSs could be perceived by some university staff more as customers than as learners.
Sector a.US.b: **PoES >,< ,=** **DoK;** **C. >,< ,= L**	From the point of view of some university staff, they are negotiating entrepreneurialism and its competing discourses. They seem to see that their role as the provider of educational services could be as important as the distributor of knowledge. OSs could be perceived both as customers and learners

Appendix 9

U.S.as PoES

The

Customer

Relationship

C

O.S. as C.

Θ

O.S.   O.S. as L.   U.S. as DoK

The Academic Relationship

Diagram 3: OSs negotiate customer and academic relationships

(N.B.: see next page for the abbreviations and interpretation of the Diagram 3 & 4)

US

US.as PoES

Sector PoES.OS.A

The Customer
Relationship

OSs as Customers

Sector A.OS.B

B

Sector B.OS.DoK

OSs   θ   US

OSs as Learners.   US as DoK
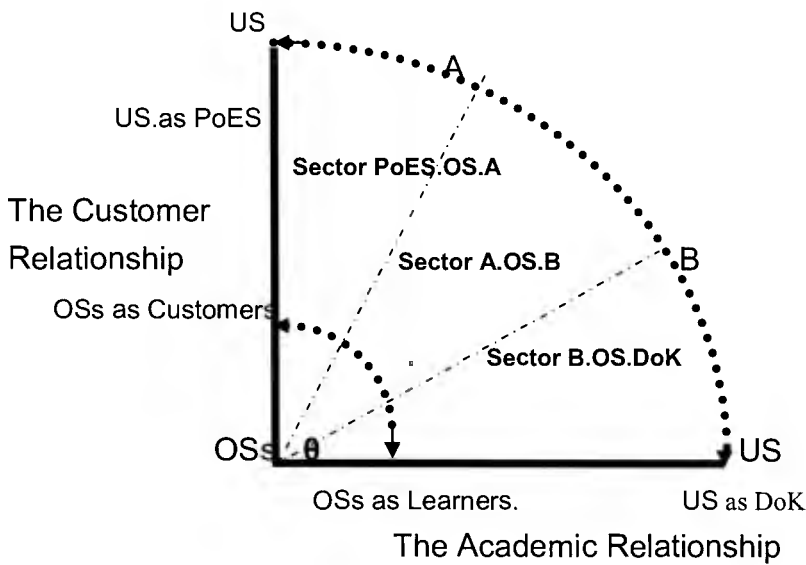
The Academic Relationship

Diagram 4: the perceptions of OSs concerning their negotiations of learner and customer identities

The keys of abbreviations and interpretation of the Diagram 3 & 4

OSs	Overseas Students
C	Customers
PoES	The Provider of Educational Services
DoK	The Distributor of Knowledge
U.S	University staff
L.	Learners/ Students
X-	staff/ student axis - In terms of the **academic relationship**, from OSs' point of view, they might position themselves as learners, while consider university staff as distributors of Knowledge
Y	staff/ student axis- In terms of the **customer relationship**, from OSs' point of view, they might position themselves as customers, while consider university staff as providers of educational services.
>	greater; salient
Θ	The degree to which OSs. are affected by their negotiation of entrepreneurialism and its competing discourses

Sector B.OS.DoK. **L.> C.** **DoK > PoES**	From the point of view of some OSs, they perceive that their role as learners is more important than that of customers. University Staff could be perceived by some OSs more as distributors of knowledge than as providers of educational services

Sector PoES.OS.A **C. > L.** **PoES > DoK**	From the point of view of some OSs, they perceive that their role as customers is more important than that of learners. University Staff could be perceived by some OSs more as the provider of educational services than as the distributor of knowledge

Sector A.OS.B **PoES = DoK** **C.= L.**	From the point of view of some OSs, they are negotiating entrepreneurialism and its interrelated and competing discourses. They see themselves negotiate between their learner and customer identities. University Staff could be perceived by some OSs both as the provider of educational services and as the distributor of knowledge

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